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Stephen Gerald Derry

TRADITION, IMITATION, AND INNOVATION:

Jane Austen and the Development of the Novel, 1740-1818.

This thesis explores Jane Austen's relationship with earlier and contemporary novelists, reassesses proposed sources, and suggests new ones. Her naturally-allusive creative mind accorded well with aesthetic theories such as those of Joshua Reynolds, which encouraged artists to draw upon existing traditions and create new combinations, surpassing their predecessors.

Samuel Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* is a vital influence throughout her work, though ironically not very important in *Lady Susan*, her major epistolary fiction. Fanny Burney rewrote *Grandison* in *Cecilia*, and this study of love versus snobbery is seen as the seminal text of the age; Charlotte Smith and Robert Bage wrote versions of it, and it underlies nearly all Jane Austen's work from 'Jack and Alice' onwards, including *Lady Susan*, with *Pride and Prejudice* as its most self-conscious re-rendering. The most underrated influence on Jane Austen is Charlotte Smith; her *Ethelinde* is the major source for *Sense and Sensibility*; *Persuasion*'s Elliot family recalls the Ellesmeres in *The Banished Man*, while *Mansfield Park* draws on *The Old Manor House*.

Though Jane Austen's later works draw more widely than the earlier on drama and poetry, the novelists she read in her first twenty years always remain the greatest influences; few novels written after 1800 are important sources for her work. An ingenious contemporary novel-reader would have recognized her new combinations, including recasting some radical works from an Anglican, Tory viewpoint.

Other authors whose influence is investigated include Maria Edgeworth, Richard Graves, Elizabeth Inchbald, Ann Radcliffe, Regina Roche, Frances Sheridan, Jane West; her recollections of Shakespeare and Spenser and the relationships that exist between her own works are also explored. Her use of nomenclature is shown to be naturalistic, allusive and suggestive. A brief survey of her influences on later writers concludes the work.

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TRADITION, IMITATION, AND INNOVATION:
Jane Austen
and the
Development of the Novel
1740 - 1818

by

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CONTENTS

	Page No.
Chapter One Introduction	1
End Notes to Chapter One	16
Chapter Two <i>Juvenilia, Lady Susan, The Watsons</i>	18
2.1 <i>Juvenilia</i>	18
2.1.1 Introduction	18
2.1.2 'Jack and Alice'	19
2.1.3 'Henry and Eliza'	22
2.1.4 'Love and Freindship'	23
2.1.5 'Lesley Castle'	33
2.1.6 'A Collection of Letters'	34
2.1.7 'Evelyn'	37
2.1.8 'Catharine; or, The Bower'	39
2.1.9 'Sir Charles Grandison'	42
2.1.10 Conclusion	43

2.2	<i>Lady Susan</i>	43
2.2.1	Introduction	43
2.2.2	Relationship with the <i>Juvenilia</i>	44
2.2.3	Relationships with Other Works	45
2.2.4	Relationship with Jane Austen's Subsequent Works	57
2.3	<i>The Watsons</i>	61
2.3.1	Introduction	61
2.3.2	Influence of Other Works	62
2.3.3	Influence of Jane Austen's Previous Work	66
2.3.4	Influence on Jane Austen's Subsequent Works	66
	End Notes to Chapter Two	69
Chapter Three <i>Sense and Sensibility</i>		74
3.1	Introduction	74
3.2	Influence of Charlotte Smith	74
3.3	Influence of Frances Sheridan	93
3.4	Influence of Fanny Burney	94
3.5	Influence of Samuel Richardson	97
3.6	Influence of Ann Radcliffe	103
3.7	Influence of Robert Bage	105
3.8	Influence of Richard Graves	107
3.9	Influence of Jane West	109
3.10	Influence of Maria Edgeworth	114

3.11	Influence of Mary Brunton	115
3.12	Influence of Henry Mackenzie	116
3.13	Influence of William Shakespeare	117
3.14	Influence of Alexander Pope	118
3.15	Associations with Romanticism	120
3.16	Conclusion	122
	End Notes to Chapter Three	127
Chapter Four	<i>Pride and Prejudice</i>	133
4.1	Introduction	133
4.2	Influence of Fanny Burney	133
4.3	Influence of Charlotte Smith	146
4.4	Influence of Bage	158
4.5	Influence of Richardson	162
4.6	Influence of Egerton Brydges	169
4.7	Influence of Graves	171
4.8	Influence of Maria Edgeworth	174
4.9	Influence of Regina Roche	176
4.10	Influence of Henry Fielding	178
4.11	Influence of Richard Brinsley Sheridan	178
4.12	Influence of Shakespeare	179
4.13	Politics and Nomenclature	182
4.14	Conclusion	184
	End Notes to Chapter Four	188

Chapter Five	<i>Mansfield Park</i>	195
5.1	Introduction	195
5.2	Influence of Charlotte Smith	195
5.3	Influence of Clara Reeve	201
5.4	Influence of Edmund Spenser	202
5.5	Influence of Richardson	204
5.6	Influence of Fanny Burney	209
5.7	Influence of Maria Edgeworth	214
5.8	Influence of Elizabeth Inchbald	217
5.9	Influence of Mary Wollstonecraft	218
5.10	Influence of Fielding	220
5.11	Influence of Ann Radcliffe	220
5.12	Influence of Elizabeth Hamilton	221
5.13	Influence of Lady Morgan	222
5.14	Influence of Frances Sheridan	223
5.15	Influence of Choderlos de Laclos	224
5.16	Influence of Sophie Cottin	225
5.17	Influence of George Crabbe	226
5.18	Influence of John Milton and the Bible	226
5.19	Influence of August von Kotzebue	228
5.20	Influence of Shakespeare	232
5.21	Nomenclature	236
5.22	Influence of Jane Austen's Previous Work	239
5.23	Conclusion	240
	End Notes to Chapter Five	242

Chapter Six	<i>Emma</i>	247
6.1	Introduction	247
6.2	Influence of Regina Roche	247
6.3	Influence of Barrett	254
6.4	Influence of Charlotte Lennox	258
6.5	Influence of Ann Radcliffe	260
6.6	Influence of Charlotte Smith	261
6.7	Influence of Fanny Burney	266
6.8	Influence of Richardson	272
6.9	Influence of Mary Brunton	274
6.10	Influence of Jane West	275
6.11	Influence of Clara Reeve	276
6.12	Influence of Elizabeth Inchbald	277
6.13	Influence of Henry Mackenzie	278
6.14	Influence of Madame de Genlis	279
6.15	Influence of Mary Wollstonecraft	280
6.16	Influence of Spenser	281
6.17	Influence of Kotzebue	283
6.18	Influence of Shakespeare	284
6.19	Influence of Jane Austen's Previous Work	286
6.20	Conclusion	287
	End Notes to Chapter Six	289

Chapter Seven *Persuasion* 293

7.1	Introduction	293
7.2	Influence of Charlotte Smith	294
7.3	Influence of Ann Radcliffe	300
7.4	Influence of Fanny Burney	301
7.5	Influence of Richardson	302
7.6	Influence of Maria Edgeworth	309
7.7	Influence of Bage	311
7.8	Influence of Brydges	313
7.9	Influence of Jane West	314
7.10	Influence of Walter Scott	315
7.11	Influence of Shakespeare	318
7.13	Influence of Chaucer	322
7.14	Other Influences	324
7.15	Nomenclature	326
7.16	Influences of Jane Austen's Previous Work	327
7.17	Conclusion	330

End Notes to Chapter Seven 332

Chapter Eight *Northanger Abbey* 336

8.1	Introduction	336
8.2	Influence of Charlotte Smith	338
8.3	Influence of Fanny Burney	346
8.4	Influence of Richardson	354

8.5	Influence of Fielding	357
8.6	Influence of Ann Radcliffe	360
8.7	Influence of Maria Edgeworth	373
8.8	Influence of Charlotte Lennox	375
8.9	Influence of George Moore	378
8.10	Influence of Horace Walpole	381
8.11	Influence of Sophia Lee	381
8.12	Influence of Matthew Lewis	382
8.13	Influence of William Godwin	383
8.14	Influence of Agnes Maria Bennett	385
8.15	Influence of Bage	386
8.16	The " <i>Northanger</i> Novels"	388
8.17	Influence of Shakespeare	394
8.18	Relation to Jane Austen's Other Works	395
8.19	Political Background	397
8.20	Conclusion	398
	End Notes to Chapter Eight	404
Chapter Nine	<i>Sanditon</i>	411
9.1	Introduction	411
9.2	Influence of Charlotte Smith	412
9.3	Influence of Fanny Burney	414
9.4	Influence of Richardson	417
9.5	Influence of Jane West	420
9.6	Influence of Mary Brunton	421

9.7	Influence of Mary Hays	421
9.8	Influence of Thomas Love Peacock	422
9.9	Influence of Thomas Skinner Surr	423
9.10	Influence of Frances Sheridan	424
9.11	Influence of Mackenzie	425
9.12	Influence of Shakespeare	425
9.13	Influence of Jane Austen's Previous Work	426
9.14	Conclusion	429
	End Notes to Chapter Nine	431
Chapter Ten	Conclusion	433
	End Notes to Chapter Ten	442
	Key to Abbreviations	443
	Select Bibliography	444
I.	Primary Sources	444
(a)	Jane Austen	444
(b)	Other Authors	444
II.	Secondary Sources	451
(a)	Critical, Biographical, Bibliographical	451
(b)	Miscellaneous	466

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Anne Elliot in *Persuasion* requests of Captain Harville, "if you please, no references to examples in books."⁽¹⁾ But examples in books were of the utmost importance to the young Jane Austen, when she first began to write, and references drawn from her reading are an important part of her novels. Many critics have noted this; Lascelles wrote of Jane Austen that her "reading coloured her imagination, and consequently her writing . . . an allusive habit of expression [was] peculiar to her,"⁽²⁾ while Moler noted that "Jane Austen habitually expresses herself in terms of imitation, parody, correction of her predecessors and contemporaries."⁽³⁾ This could be traced to the nature and context of her earliest works:

[she] began her literary career with parody and burlesque written for the bookish family whose tastes, opinions and libraries she shared.⁽⁴⁾

Such colouration and expression are not uncommon in writers, especially when serving their apprenticeships; much the same could be said of Jane Austen's contemporary, M.G. Lewis, who wrote a burlesque entitled 'The Effusions of Sensibility' when he was sixteen,⁽⁵⁾ and who published *The Monk* - which draws on a wide range of his reading - at twenty. The youthful efforts of other novelists have also involved parody and burlesque, as with Thackeray for example; and Jane Austen's own family circle included older brothers who, when at Oxford, produced a *Rambler*-like periodical entitled *The Loiterer* (to which



Jane Austen herself may have contributed).⁽⁶⁾ But in Jane Austen's adult fiction her "allusive habit of expression" can be noticed still, as a fundamental aspect of her work, perhaps more than is the case with most other writers. She never appears to have changed or unlearned that attitude to fiction found in her *Juvenilia*, that new fiction should draw upon the material and patterns of the old.

Jane Austen's approach to the writing of novels was not based on any literary theory, or on particular advice about writing them; the Novel, at the end of the Eighteenth century, was considered a fairly lowly form of literary achievement, and many considered that in Richardson's and Fielding's works it had reached its peak, and was subsequently in decline. However, some critical advice that accords with Jane Austen's own practice can be found, as in this excerpt from *The Monthly Review*, discussing *The Monk*:

The great art of writing consists in selecting what is most stimulating from the works of our predecessors, and in uniting the gathered beauties in a new whole, more interesting than the tributary models. This is the essential process of the imagination, and excellence is not otherwise obtained. All invention is but new combination. To invent well is to combine the impressive.⁽⁷⁾

Outside of the literary reviews, Jane Austen might, if she had wished to discover a parallel for her practice, have found it articulated in the art criticism of Sir Joshua Reynolds. To apply art criticism to the Novel would not be inappropriate, as many novelists compared their work to pictures - Smollett in *Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753) described the Novel as "a large diffused picture",⁽⁸⁾ while Fanny Burney's *Camilla* (1795) is subtitled 'A Picture of Youth'. Jane Austen's own

comparison of her work to bits of ivory, on which she worked with a fine brush, suggests that she saw herself as being akin, in some ways at least, to a miniature-painter. The work of Ann Radcliffe, so much in vogue in the 1790s, when Jane Austen first began writing novels, attempted to reproduce Italian landscape paintings in written descriptions in fiction.

Reynolds observed in his 'Sixth Discourse', in 1774:

I am not only very disposed to maintain the absolute necessity of imitation in the first stages of the art; but am of opinion that the study of other masters, which I here call imitation, may be extended throughout our whole lives . . . by imitation only, variety, and even originality of invention is produced . . . even genius . . . is the child of imitation.^{<9>}

The study of other practitioners is vital:

It is vain for painters or poets to endeavour to invent without materials on which the mind may work, and from which invention must originate. Nothing can come of nothing.^{<10>}

The fire of the artist's own genius operating upon these materials which have thus been diligently collected, will enable him to make new combinations, perhaps superior to what had ever before been in the possession of the art.^{<11>}

It is noteworthy that Reynolds saw his comments as applicable to literature as well as to painting. He thought that:

An artist should enter into a competition with his original, and endeavour to improve what he is appropriating to his own work.^{<12>}

Jane Austen might well have known the *Discourses*, which were first published in 1778, for her letters, and to some extent her novels, both reveal an interest in paintings; but it is not claimed that she

based her own approach or aesthetic ideas on those of Reynolds. Her mature works follow techniques first established when she was writing her juvenile pieces in her teens, wh^{en} she was unlikely to have been affected by theoretical considerations. But the ideas of Reynolds, and of the reviewers, demonstrate that an attitude to creativity, which was not unlike Jane Austen's, was prevalent at the time in which she wrote; her art was dependent upon the productions of others, her imagination excited by the imaginations of others. (This is not, of course, to imply any kind of plagiarism.) This approach, apart from deriving from early habits and environment, or her own cast of mind, and apart from any possible theoretical influences, could have been adopted after observing the habits of other authors. A voracious reader might well have noticed how novelists borrowed from and drew inspiration from one another.

Fielding began as a novelist by drawing upon and parodying *Pamela*, first in *Shamela* and then in *Joseph Andrews*, producing in the latter a novel out of an anti-novel. Imitations of and sequels to *Sir Charles Grandison* were produced by a number of authors. Clara Reeve in her Preface to *The Old English Baron* described her novel as "the literary offspring of *The Castle of Otranto*, written upon the same plan."¹³ The novels of Fanny Burney, Charlotte Smith and Ann Radcliffe display their mutual indebtedness and cross-fertilisation of ideas (for example, Charlotte Smith used the device of smugglers frightening intruders in *The Old Manor House*, and Ehrenpreis considered that this inspired Ann Radcliffe in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*;¹⁴ Fanny Burney drew on Ann Radcliffe's Gothic in *Camilla*¹⁵). This awareness on the

part of novelists of their predecessors and contemporaries in the form manifested itself both by direct and by indirect imitation and allusion - Charlotte Smith, for example, used "allusions to contemporary fiction in almost the same way poets use references to Greek mythology."⁽¹⁶⁾ Jane Austen was to draw not only upon the material of other novelists, but upon their established allusive techniques - but with greater artistry, complexity and sophistication than had before been found in the Novel.

Lascelles noted that Jane Austen's allusive technique required the attentions of a kind of literary archaeology to be fully understood:

There are implicit allusions of many kinds - lying as it were at various depths - in Jane Austen's writings . . . It seems likely that there may be many more still lying perdu - not noticeable, because they sprang from an impulse of expression rather than of communication, were nothing but the spontaneous record of her response - whether assent or protest - to what she read.⁽¹⁷⁾

The word "spontaneous" suggests "unplanned" or "inadvertent", which seems an unlikely attribute in a conscious and scrupulous artist like Jane Austen; any seemingly natural spontaneity might well be an example of the art that conceals art. The allusions, implicit and explicit, found in Jane Austen's work, may be "not noticeable" to modern readers, but many of them may well have been apparent to her contemporaries; as Moler remarked, her "borrowings" or "allusions" are "implied references that she expects to affect her audience."⁽¹⁸⁾ Jane Austen's ideal reader might well have been Jane Austen herself; but a well-read and ingenious reader could have been expected to relate Jane Austen's narrative material both to general and specific

part Jane Austen's use of, and debt to, earlier novelists. The reviewer in *The Champion* related her work to Richardson, by noting that "Harriet Smith is a sort of vulgar resemblance of Emily Jervois",⁽²²⁾ a character in *Sir Charles Grandison*. The author of the notice in the *Augustan Review* reckoned that Mr. Woodhouse was "conceived in the spirit"⁽²³⁾ of Sir Hugh Tyrrold in Fanny Burney's *Camilla* (both are idiosyncratic and inadvertently humorous old gentlemen; but the parallel is not particularly close).

Victorian readers placed Jane Austen alongside other women writers, some of whom were her contemporaries or near-contemporaries, such as Fanny Burney, Maria Edgeworth, Ann Radcliffe, Susan Ferrier and Madame de Staël; however, few attempts were made to explore allusive connections between their works and Jane Austen's. Simpson's important essay of 1870 compared Jane Austen, in part, to Shakespeare, suggesting their affinities in character-drawing (a comparison made earlier by Macaulay and Lewes, and echoed by Tennyson), and that *Persuasion* might have deliberately recalled *Twelfth Night*.⁽²⁴⁾ With Richardson scholarship in decline, critics tended to compare Jane Austen to Fielding and Scott, as well as to women novelists, thus losing sight of her real influences.

In the early part of the Twentieth century, academic interest in Jane Austen increased; the "Northanger novels" were identified for the first, but not the last, time in 1901,⁽²⁵⁾ and the first thesis on her work was written in 1906. Her popularity increased during the First World War, partly at least because of the contrast readers perceived

between her world and the conflicts of their own. Chapman's great edition of the novels, produced in the 1920s, marked this developing popular and academic esteem. Jane Austen's use of *Columella* in *Sense and Sensibility*,⁽²⁶⁾ and her debt to Fanny Burney,⁽²⁷⁾ were discussed in this time, with Johnson, Dodds and Chapman himself making notable contributions. In 1939 Lascelles produced *Jane Austen and her Art*, the most important critical work about her to have been written before the Second World War, which recognised the allusive nature of her writings and the crucial importance of understanding her relationship to her sources and influences.

Q.D. Leavis in her famous *Scrutiny* articles followed up, rather wrongheadedly, Lascelles's work, and proposed that Jane Austen's novels drew on the *Juvenilia* and on characters and events in her family and neighbourly circles, detecting living prototypes among the often shadowy cast of her letters for her fictional creations. Although there are some interesting insights in her work, Q.D. Leavis seems both to have inferred too much from Jane Austen's letters and also misunderstood essential aspects of her creative process; Southam in *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts* and elsewhere has demonstrated the shortcomings of the 'Critical Theory', which had been accepted relatively unchallenged throughout the 1950s. The work of Q.D. Leavis is to some extent incidental here, as her main concern was not with the influences of other authors; but she was correct to consider whether Jane Austen's own early productions, both published and unpublished, provided her with material for recollection and

rearrangement in her later work, thus creating her own sources, as it were; this topic is returned to below.

Since the Second World War a considerable amount has been written about Jane Austen, and she has become required reading for English students at schools and universities. Her general and specific debts to other authors have been explored in book-length studies by Bradbrook and Moler, and more recently by Fergus and Kirkham; much material on those topics has also appeared in articles and notes in learned journals. Possible sources, influences and parallels have been prepared for all Jane Austen's works from the *Juvenilia* to *Sanditon*. Yet it is the contention of this study that more can usefully be said. As Bradbrook commented:

readers of Jane Austen's novels are constantly adding to the evidence of their traditional character, the subject being of such complexity that it is by no means exhausted.⁽²⁸⁾

Despite the work that has been done since these words were written in 1966, they remain valid.

In preparing this study, every novel mentioned by Jane Austen in her works, or her letters, has been examined. So too have been those novels which, though not mentioned, she was likely to have read, because they were popular "classics" or because she is known to have read other works by their authors. In addition, assisted by recent bibliographical studies, all the works that have been proposed as sources or influences by previous scholars have been examined, and the validity of the proposals reassessed. As a result, a number of

received ideas have seemed worth challenging or modifying, and some new theories have been put forward.

Although the main concern of this study is with novels, other literary works, whether composed between 1740 and 1817 or not, are discussed where appropriate; for sometimes poetry and drama are quite clearly entangled with fiction in their influences on Jane Austen's work, and to exclude discussion of them altogether would be to suggest, wrongly, that only novels contributed to Jane Austen's literary imagination, and to deny the complexity of her art, with its ability to synthesize material drawn from a variety of sources. But the main interest lies with novels written between 1740 and 1817, the year in which Jane Austen died; though 1818 is cited in the title, as it was in that year that Jane Austen's contribution to the development of the novel culminated with the publication of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*; 1818 also saw the publication of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, a very different novel to any of Jane Austen's, which will on occasions be compared and contrasted to them in the chapters that follow. 1740 is taken as the starting-point because it saw the appearance of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, the earliest example of what has come to be known as the "bourgeois novel", in the tradition of which Jane Austen wrote. She may have known the works of prose fiction writers of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth centuries, and probably knew some of the works of Bunyan and Defoe, but no real evidence for this can be found in her writings (Halperin has claimed otherwise, but has failed to adduce any real evidence to support his view - see Chapter Two).

The emphasis in this study has been on finding specific sources of or influences on Jane Austen's narrative material, rather than on a more general consideration of her relationship to literary conventions, although this obviously develops from the former to some extent. Affinities have been explored in the areas of plots, characters, descriptions, conversations, phraseology and nomenclature. Such a search has obvious potential pitfalls which must be recognised. Lascelles warned of these when noting of many Eighteenth century novelists that, because of the confinement of their attention to a particular social scene:

their stories will probably resemble one another as to many of the major incidents, and if they draw on these limited resources like spendthrifts such resemblances will be inevitable - and therefore not significant. (29)

In proposing sources and influences, these words have been heeded; similarities between works have to be very strong, very suggestive, or multiple in their nature, before being put forward as cases of influence being exerted, in order to try and minimise mistakes of identification arising *sui generis* rather than through a process of deliberate recollection or borrowing.

Naturally, many affinities exist between Jane Austen's own works, and unregulated discussion of these could proliferate almost without end. Jane Austen used her previous works, both published and unpublished, as a resource to be quarried in her later writings, and she does appear to be inviting her readers, in some instances, to make reference to her novels, perhaps to point out different treatments of material with a common source. However, this too can represent

treacherous ground for the unwary. In her first *Scrutiny* article, Q.D. Leavis remarked of Jane Austen:

Her novels are geological structures, the earliest layer going back to her earliest writings, with subsequent accretions from her reading, her personal life and those lives most closely connected with hers.⁽³⁰⁾

But it is one thing to note resemblances between the *Juvenilia* as it has survived and the published novels (although these must not be over-emphasised), quite another to claim to be able to determine the (extremely problematic) nature of the earlier drafts, no longer extant, of the works published as *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*. Southam rightly refuted Q.D. Leavis's over-confident assumptions about the relationships of *Lady Susan* and *The Watsons* to the later works; but he was himself too willing to accept the "geological" analogy, and to believe that *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice* in their published forms retained detectable traces of their earlier versions. Lock has given convincing reasons why this view should be treated with scepticism;⁽³¹⁾ his arguments are discussed more fully in the appropriate chapters below, but here it may be said that he is surely correct to regard such survivals of earlier drafts, supposedly manifested in dullness or inconsistencies, as peculiar for a scrupulous artist like Jane Austen, who had many years in which to smooth and polish the texts of these novels.

Biographical criticism, invoking the lives and experiences of Jane Austen and her circle, is even less safe. To seek a close correspondence between an author's life and works is nearly always, especially where a great artist is concerned, to glibly over-simplify

the nature of the creative imagination. Southam summed up what must be the only credible viewpoint:

While . . . there is, at certain points, a direct relationship between Jane Austen's life and her art, we must beware of attributing undue significance to similarities between the novels and the real world Reproduction or imitation [of living people] are no part of her aim; whereas verisimilitude and fidelity to common experience are inseparable from her concept of artistic truth. (32)

Many of the authors Jane Austen drew upon wrote themselves in a supposedly "realistic" vein; thus, parallels may exist between Jane Austen's life experiences, incidents in works she read, and material in her own work. As she could not expect her readers to be familiar with her life, except those few in her own close circle, where such a triple correspondence occurs (as it does in the case of Harriet's "treasures" in *Emma* - see below) it must be assumed that Jane Austen's intention was to allude to and recollect the literary parallel, which would be accessible and comprehensible to her ideal, ingenious reader.

The word "realism" is, of course, anachronistic when applied to Jane Austen's practice; it did not enter the critical vocabulary until later (the Oxford English Dictionary's first citation in this context is from Ruskin in 1856). But the concept certainly existed in her time; after all, Richardson had posed as the editor, rather than the author, of the letters in his novels (perhaps marking a lingering Puritan suspicion of undisguised fiction), and his example had frequently been followed. Fanny Burney's talent as an observer and diarist gives a natural feeling to much of *Evelina*, as well as to parts of her later work, while Charlotte Smith attempted to draw what

she called "*le vrai semblance*". Jane Austen's own advice to her niece, when she was writing a novel, emphasized the importance of writing about what she knew, and what was most probable and likely.

A modern author, seeking realistic names for his characters, might consult a telephone directory. Jane Austen could draw upon literature, and upon names found in lists of subscribers in books, and names in newspapers and magazines, and Army and Navy lists. Jane Austen did not, in her novels, give her characters non-naturalistic, satirical names, although sometimes a name may slyly indicate or ironically comment upon an aspect of its bearer's personality (Lucy Steele, Penelope Clay). Nor did she use the highly-coloured, romantic, exotic names frequently borne by characters in Eighteenth century fiction (and even within her own family - for example, Cassandra and Philadelphia), drawing rather from the naturalistic end of that great pool of names available therein. Many of the names she used are not uncommon English surnames, and might well be found in a modern English telephone directory; in Jane Austen's own day, a glance at the Index to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1807 would have revealed 67 names used by her in her novels. This does not imply that the Index was a source employed by Jane Austen; it merely illustrates her concern for contemporary verisimilitude in the names she used. But it is also apparent that the names do make literary allusions or follow literary fashions, or make some kind of other allusion, perhaps of a political or historical nature. But a discovery such as Bander's, that the names "Crawford" and "Dalrymple" occurred on the list of

subscribers to *Camilla*,⁽²⁴⁾ along with Jane Austen's, is unlikely to have any real significance (both names are in the Index).

In the following chapters, the *Juvenilia*, *Lady Susan* and *The Watsons* are discussed in order of composition, so far as it is known, and the novels in order of publication, with a subsequent chapter on *Sanditon*. The main break with the usual practice in discussing Jane Austen's novel comes in discussing *Northanger Abbey* towards the end rather than the beginning; the explanation for this is that when published in 1818 it may well have incorporated revisions dating from 1816, even though in its original form it was being composed before 1800. As these revisions may have recalled the novel to Jane Austen's mind when she began writing *Sanditon* at or near the same time, it is logical to place it just before the discussion of that final work, which several critics have seen it as influencing - although, obviously, in its earlier versions it could have influenced the other novels as well.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

1. Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, 234.
2. Mary Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art*, 41.
3. Kenneth L. Moler, *Jane Austen's Art of Allusion*, 1.
4. Moler, *op. cit.*, 225.
5. see M.G. Lewis, 'The Effusions of Sensibility', *passim*.
6. see Sir Zachary Cope, 'Who was Sophia Sentiment? Was She Jane Austen?', *passim*.
7. quoted in Eino Reilo, *The Haunted Castle*, 104.
8. Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 2.
9. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Literary Works*, I, 384-5.
10. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, I, 389.
11. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, I, 387.
12. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, I, 398.
13. Clara Reeve, *The Old English Baron*, 3.
14. see Anne Henry Ehrenpreis, ed., *The Old Manor House* by Charlotte Smith, xv.
15. see Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom, ed., *Camilla* by Fanny Burney, xvi.
16. Carol Lee Fry, *Charlotte Smith, Popular Novelist*, 41.
17. Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art*, 45-46.
18. Moler, *Jane Austen's Art of Allusion*, 2.
19. Jane Austen, *Letters to her Sister Cassandra and Others*, 298.
20. quoted in Margaret Kirkham, *Jane Austen: Feminism and Fiction*, 77.
21. Jane Austen, *Letters*, 298.

22. quoted in William S. Ward, 'Three Hitherto Unnoted Contemporary Reviews of Jane Austen', 471.
23. quoted in Ward, *op. cit.* 475.
24. see Richard Simpson, 'Jane Austen', 144
25. see John Haney, '*Northanger Abbey*', 223-24.
26. see A.L. Humphreys, 'Jane Austen and Columella', 429-30.
27. see M.H. Dodds, '*Cecilia's* Godchild', *passim*.
28. Frank W. Bradbrook, *Jane Austen and her Predecessors*, 3.
29. Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art*, 42.
30. Q.D. Leavis, 'A Critical Theory of Jane Austen's Writings', 64.
31. see F.P. Lock, 'The Geology of *Sense and Sensibility*', *passim*.
32. Brian Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 138-39.
33. Charlotte Smith, *The Banished Man*, I, v.
34. Elaine Bander, 'A Possible Source for Jane Austen's Names', 209.

CHAPTER TWO:
JUVENILIA, LADY SUSAN, THE WATSONS

2.1 *JUVENILIA*

2.1.1 Introduction

The early works collectively described as the *Juvenilia* were written by Jane Austen in her mid-to-late teens; thus they mostly date from the early 1790s. Jane Austen gathered together the various pieces and transcribed them into three notebooks, at a later date; it is uncertain whether, or to what extent, she may have revised them, nor is it certain that everything that she wrote was transcribed. None of these pieces were intended for publication; they were intended rather as contributions to the amusement of a highly literate family, a point made by Cecil:

Jane Austen was only one of a family of authors . . . She embarked on a literary career less as a means of self-expression than as a way to contribute to home entertainment.¹

Many of these pieces are very slight, and it would be straining after a gnat to subject them to solemn analysis; but all, especially the more extended pieces, comment upon and mark Jane Austen's responses to the literature that she and her family read; and the future importance of several works by favourite authors is foreshadowed by their presence in or influences upon the *Juvenilia*. What follow are analyses of the more significant and lengthy pieces.

2.1.2 'Jack and Alice'

Halperin described 'Jack and Alice' as: "a series of disconnected fictional autobiographies spoken by the characters largely in a parody of the manner of Defoe."² But this ignores the close links between the piece and sentimental fiction of the late Eighteenth century, as well as reminiscences of Richardson. Charles Adams, in 'Jack and Alice', appears to be a parody of Sir Charles Grandison. They share the same Christian name, while the surname "Adams" suggests Man in his unfallen state, and may both comment on Grandison's perfections and recall how Harriet compared Sir Charles to Adam, speculating that he would have refused Eve's apple.³ In Charles Adams, Grandison's physical beauty and general perfection - which caused Eagleton to describe him as "Jesus Christ in knee-breeches"⁴ - is parodied by exaggeration. It is said of Sir Charles that "there is no living with the blazing glory of this man",⁵ and Jane Austen takes this literally, and thus to extremes, describing Charles Adams as a:

young Man, of so dazzling a beauty that none but Eagles could look him in the Face . . . the Beams that darted from his Eyes were like those of that glorious luminary [the sun] tho' infinitely superior.⁶

This last comparison may also recall *Tom Jones*, in which Allworthy - Fielding's Grandison, his ideal man - is described as "more glorious"⁷ than the sun.

Grandison's tendency to have women fall in love with him is also parodied in that Charles Adams:

had subdued the hearts of so many of the young ladies, that of the six present at the Masquerade but five had returned uncaptivated. ⁽⁸⁾

Adams appears to be an insufferably vain and arrogant character, something Jane Austen may, for all her devotion to Richardson's work, have felt on occasions about Grandison.

One of Grandison's literary descendants is Mortimer Delville, hero of Fanny Burney's *Cecilia* (1782). Moler has shown that the Masquerade scene in 'Jack and Alice' is a parody of the Masquerade that features prominently in *Cecilia*. Everyone in the Masquerade in 'Jack and Alice' dresses in transparent guises, totally suitable to their characteristics - Envy, Ambition, Self-admiration and so on. This represents an exaggeration of what is found in *Cecilia*, where:

Burney allows her imagination to over-ride her judgement . . . Many of the principal characters . . . appear in "disguises" that all too obviously symbolise their real natures or their role in the story, or attempt to sustain characters of whom, in real life, they are the exact opposites. ⁽⁹⁾

But Jane Austen is also satirising a more general use of the Masquerade setting in Eighteenth century novels. Bathetically, at the Pammydiddle Masquerade in 'Jack and Alice' the most illicit occurrences are Alice's falling in love with Charles Adams, and "the whole party" becoming "Dead Drunk". ⁽¹⁰⁾ This is little enough compared to the intrigue carried on by Mr. B. in the Masquerade in Part Two of *Pamela*, or Harriet Byron's abduction in *Grandison* - dressed as an Arcadian princess, a figure of Romance, she can expect Romantic things to happen to her, like an attempt at a forcible

marriage and a violent rescue. Booth, Fielding's goodhearted if not spotless hero in *Amelia*, walks around unmasked at a Masquerade, indicating his fundamentally honest and open nature. The rather obvious use of masquerade disguises made by other novelists is exaggerated by Jane Austen, beyond parodying the "humorous improbabilities"⁽¹¹⁾ of Fanny Burney's scene in *Cecilia*; it is an early example of how Jane Austen was "training herself by observing the lapses of her fellow novelists."⁽¹²⁾

Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline* (1788) was, in part, modelled on *Cecilia*. These two novels were to prove major influences on Jane Austen's work. 'Jack and Alice' is of special significance amongst the *Juvenilia* because it draws on both these novels and on *Grandison*. Chapters 4 and 5 of 'Jack and Alice' show Lady Williams and Alice, walking out into a Citron Grove and discovering the injured Lucy. This parodies the discovery of Adelina in Woodbury Forest by Emmeline in Charlotte Smith's novel. Lucy, metaphorically wounded in the heart by Charles Adams, has also been wounded in the leg by one of his man-traps; Adelina has been injured by her lover Fitz-Edward, as she is pregnant, and when found is ill as a result. Lucy is ministered to in a fairly superficial way by Lady Williams and Alice, which parodies the careful nursing of Emmeline and Mrs. Stafford (like Lady Williams and Alice, an older woman and her younger friend). Whereas Adelina is drawn from the gentry, Lucy is merely a tailor's daughter. The sarcasms of Lady Williams contrast with the faithful friendship of Mrs. Stafford, while Alice, Drunkard and Gamester, contrasts with the impossibly perfect Emmeline.

In her liveliness, Lady Williams may recall the equivocal Lady Betty Williams, who takes Harriet to the Masquerade in *Grandison*, while as an attractive, witty widow she provides a prototype for the heroine of *Lady Susan*; 'Jack and Alice' illustrates how the *Juvenilia* was an important stage in Jane Austen's literary career, drawing upon the works of others and also providing a source for her own future writings.

2.1.3 'Henry and Eliza'

Halperin compared the heroine of 'Henry and Eliza' with Moll Flanders, but in so doing invokes Defoe unnecessarily. A rather better comparison would be with *Tom Jones*; like Fielding's hero, Eliza is of apparently mysterious origin, is expelled from her benefactors' house for indiscretions, and is eventually revealed to be a child of her benefactors' family. The early history of Eliza also recalls that of the heroine of Agnes Maria Bennett's *Anna: or The Memoirs of a Welsh Heiress* (1786), in which a child of unknown origin is discovered, and later sent away in tears, after being falsely accused of theft; Jane Austen's variant is to make her heroine a real thief (which anticipates Laura and Sophia in 'Love and Freindship'); Jane Austen may well have had a youthful fascination with Newgate biographies. But the main plot of 'Henry and Eliza' follows, in miniature, a part of the plot of Sophia Lee's huge rambling novel *The Recess* (1783-85). While *Anna* is a variant on Cinderella and *Cecilia*, *The Recess* is one of the earlier "historical" novels (though its history is somewhat confused), and imports the tradition of Prévost into English. Eliza's

love for the aristocratic Henry (given the appropriately Elizabethan surname of "Cecil"), their secret marriage, flight to France, his death there, her distress and her arrest and imprisonment with her children on her return to England, all correspond to and parody similar events in *The Recess*. Eliza's distresses combine those of Elinor and Matilda, daughters of Mary Queen of Scots (a favourite historical character of Jane Austen's) and the Duke of Norfolk in Sophia Lee's novel; while the scorned and implacable Duchess of F. recalls the Queen Elizabeth of *The Recess*, persecuting her rival's children. The shortness of the narrative and breakneck speed of events may satirise the sheer bulk of *The Recess*; in this, 'Henry and Eliza' would follow the 'Grandison' playlet, or 'Amelia Webster', of which Honan remarked "Here she mocked epistolary romances . . . The main joke, of course, was in . . . [its] brevity".⁽¹³⁾

2.1.4 'Love and Freindship'

'Love and Freindship' was written in 1790, and may have taken its title from several sources; Jane Austen's motto for the work, "Deceived in Freindship and Betrayed in Love" is the last line of an anonymous popular song, while the phrase is also found in *Sir Charles Grandison* and in *The Loiterer*.

'Love and Freindship' manages to make sport with nearly all of the features of the sentimental novel of the period; as Hopkins noted, "with the exception of the elements of horror, few of the plague spots of sentimental romances have been left uncovered."⁽¹⁴⁾ "Horror" was

not at that date as prominent a feature of novel-writing as it was to become; Ann Radcliffe's greatest works, and the imitations that they spawned, were as yet unwritten. But the piece almost certainly drew on influential sentimentalists such as Sterne and Mackenzie. The latter - whose *Man of Feeling* is burlesqued in 'Mr. Harley' - may have helped to contribute to the emphasis on fainting fits found so comically in the piece. Laura's father perhaps foreshadows Mr. Bennet in some ways, while Hopkins suggested that his is:

the unmistakable voice of the Reverend Laurence Sterne . . . [There is] the same retardation of action when the necessity for action is imminent, the same disinclination to act on the part of those most eager to have their curiosity satisfied, the same irresponsibility of action [that is found in the domestic scenes of *Tristram Shandy*].⁽¹⁵⁾

Both 'Love and Freindship' and Sterne's novel feature a quirky father and a querulous mother. The "Door-Knocking scene" may also parodically recall the similar scene in *Macbeth*, with its comic and irrelevant delaying conversation.

Hopkins noted that the opening letter:

recalls at once Miss Howe's request for a meticulous account of the circumstances leading to Clarissa's rupture with her family . . . [It is] an open thrust at Richardson's too often ill-concealed consciousness of the responsibilities entailed by the epistolary method.⁽¹⁶⁾

However, in the main, 'Love and Freindship', despite its epistolary structure, shows little of the influence of Richardson.

Mudrick wrote that Jane Austen, when seeking a model, and a target for her parody:

concentrated on the flourishing lachrymose novel . . . Most heavily, it is likely, on a very obscure but characteristic example "By a Young Lady", *Laura and Augustus*.⁽¹⁷⁾

This "Young Lady" has been identified as Elizabeth Bromley; her novel was published in three volumes in 1784. "The Perseverance of disagreeable Lovers and the cruel Persecutions of obstinate Fathers"⁽¹⁸⁾ mentioned in Letter the First of 'Love and Freindship' is a succinct description of much of the action in Elizabeth Bromley's novel, which is also an epistolary work. When Anderson wants to marry Nancy Westley, his father opposes the match, expecting him to wed instead Miss Ploughshare, a farmer's daughter, and "in vain did the lover plead his passion to an inexorable father."⁽¹⁹⁾ In 'Love and Freindship', Edward's father wants him to marry Lady Dorothea, who - in contrast to Miss Ploughshare - is "lovely and engaging",⁽²⁰⁾ but Edward, drawing on the behaviour of lovers in novels, feels he has to oppose his father's choice. So Edward and Laura, like Anderson and Nancy, marry secretly.

The correspondent telling the story in the novel is Laura Levison, whose close friend is Cecilia Byng. Laura is, like her namesake in 'Love and Freindship', a model of sensibility, as this passage illustrates:

. . . does not it argue an insensibility one would conceive impossible? How different were our feelings, my amiable friend, at our separation! For neither the novelty of surrounding scenes, nor the tenderness of my parents, could for one moment banish you from my thoughts!⁽²¹⁾

It is this kind of effusive female friendship that Jane Austen is satirising in 'Love and Freindship'. Her Laura was a grand-daughter

of "a Scotch peer [and] an Italian opera-girl", and received her "Education at a convent in France."⁽²²⁾ Eliza, the nun in the Bromley novel, was the daughter of "a native of Italy" and "was educated at the convent of the Noblesse in Paris";⁽²³⁾ Mudrick noted that "she turns out later to be the natural daughter of an English Duke."⁽²⁴⁾ Augustus in 'Love and Friendship' shares his name with, and may have been based on, the sentimental hero of Elizabeth Bromley's novel, Augustus Montague.

It has not previously been noted that *Laura and Augustus* is in many ways a rewriting of Sarah Fielding's novel, *David Simple*; this is, significantly, the only work of fiction alluded to in Elizabeth Bromley's novel. Both are stories of false friendship - "How few are there in the world, that know the just etymology of the word friendship!"⁽²⁵⁾ - and unfortunate love, and these themes recur in Jane Austen's work. In both *David Simple* and *Laura and Augustus* the action extends to the West Indies; and Jane Austen may have been parodying a West Indian scene in the latter when she wrote:

We sat down by the side of a clear limpid stream to refresh our exhausted limbs. The place was suited to meditation. A grove of fully grown Elms sheltered us from the East - A Bed of fully grown Nettles from the West - Before us ran the murmuring brook and behind us ran the turnpike road.⁽²⁶⁾

This may be modelled on the following (which Mudrick failed to note):

My seat is on one side surrounded by sugar-canes, and on the other by a hedge formed of lime, orange and pomegranate . . . the prattling of a beautiful cascade, lulls my soul into a kind of heavenly tranquility.⁽²⁷⁾

This seems a more likely model than either that proposed by Chapman - who saw Jane Austen as parodying a description in Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Isles*⁽²⁸⁾ - or that suggested by Pinion, who thought it echoed a passage in *Tristram Shandy*.⁽²⁹⁾ The two passages quoted above have more in common, as both emphasise the botanical, the idealness of the places for contemplation, and the noise of water.

After Laura's elopement in Elizabeth Bromley's novel, her father "solemnly made oath, that, were she starving, he would not bestow a penny to save her from rotting in prison."⁽³⁰⁾ In 'Love and Freindship', Augustus and Sophia never face the "tryal of their noble independence"⁽³¹⁾ that reconciliation with their parents would entail; they risk starvation with Laura and Edward, as the two men are imprisoned for debt. (The mothers of Augustus and Gustavus do starve to death.) When Laura in the Bromley novel is forced into indigence because she has defied parental wishes, she seems to teeter towards madness - "O! My friend, my mind is a perfect chaos, reason at times totters"⁽³²⁾ - while Jane Austen's Laura raves when her "senses were considerably impaired"⁽³³⁾ after the carriage accident.

Laura and Augustus extols marrying for love rather than for money, a conventional sentimental viewpoint; Jane Austen shows her opinion of the high ideals which are manifested in the novel in her comedy in 'Love and Freindship'. When Macdonald is reproached by the heroines for objecting to his daughter marrying for love an "unprincipled fortune-hunter",⁽³⁴⁾ this may satirise the scene in *Laura and Augustus* in which Miss Sidney calls Mr. Levison an "unfeeling monster . . .

unworthy so great a treasure" as his daughter, after he has called Augustus Montague "a low beggarly rascal";⁽³⁵⁾ this possible model was not noted by Mudrick.

When Augustus dies in the Bromley novel, Laura "for six hours . . . was in successive fits",⁽³⁶⁾ which may have suggested Sophia's response to the death of her husband, Augustus. Elizabeth Bromley's Laura and Jane Austen's Sophia both eventually die. The death scene in the Bromley novel is a debased version of Clarissa's, while the lovers are buried in Northamptonshire, Grandison's county, thus delivering a tribute to Richardson's influence on the sentimental novel. In noting how *Laura and Augustus* redeployed material found in *David Simple* and in Richardson's novels, the fifteen-year-old Jane Austen may have found hints for her own practice.

As the names "Laura" and "Augustus" have a specific source - although they are fairly conventional heroic names - so "Edward" and "Sophia" may also have been taken from a specific source - possibly *The Convent: or The History of Sophia Nelson*, written by a "Young Lady" (tentatively identified as Anne Fuller) and published in two volumes in 1786. In this epistolary novel, the hero and heroine are named Edward Stanhope and Sophia Nelson. Jane Austen may have drawn on the main characters in *Laura and Augustus* and *The Convent* for their names, but reallocated its couples, Puck-like, as part of the joke. Whereas *Laura and Augustus* remains serious, and attempts to be tragic, throughout its sentimental excesses, *The Convent* is a rather tongue-in-cheek novel, goodhumouredly treating sentimental material with less

than total reverence. *The Convent* is both a sentimental novel and, to some extent, a joke at the expense of sentimental novels; in what seems to be the only modern critical mention of the work, Murray called it "a rather remarkable anticipation of both the true and the parodic sentimental Gothic",⁽³⁷⁾ and compared it to *Northanger Abbey* (though the novel has its parallels with *Persuasion* too, in that it features a blockheaded son called Dick, and a worthy character named Wentworth). Although *The Convent* is, conventionally, about the harassment of lovers by their elders, it does not provide parallels with 'Love and Freindship' in the way that *Laura and Augustus* does.

The scene in 'Love and Freindship' where Lord St. Clair encounters his grandchildren draws on a stock situation in sensational and sentimental literature. Jane Austen may have recalled Sheridan's comic treatment of the recognition scene in *The Critic*:

No orphan, nor without a friend art thou -
I am thy father, *here's* thy mother, *there*
Thy uncle - this thy first cousin, and those
Are all your near relations!⁽³⁸⁾

Lord St. Clair's rather edgy comment:

What an unexpected Happiness is this! to discover
in the space of three minutes, as many of my
Descendants!⁽³⁹⁾

may parody Sir John Belmont's speech in Fanny Burney's *Evelina*, when he is presented with the heroines, while believing an impostor to be his real child

I have already a daughter, to whom I owe everything; and it is not three days since, that I had the pleasure of discovering a son; how many more sons and daughters may be brought to me, I am yet to learn, but I am already perfectly satisfied with the size of my family.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Jane Austen could also have been influenced by the absurdities found in Mary Harley's novel *Priory of St. Bernard*, a medieval tale:

A lady in deep mourning sat at a table . . .
Hubert took her hand, and joining it with Lord
Raby's cried, "My deal Lord, receive from your
faithful Hubert, a sister, too long unknown: this
is the Lady Maud, eldest sister of my honoured
Master" . . . Suddenly a door opened, with
precipitate haste, and the amiable Laura appeared.
Hubert . . . thus addressed her. "Behold my
rightful Lord, your long expected, long lamented
brother!"⁽⁴¹⁾

Raby thus discovers two sisters hitherto totally unknown to him. Later he meets a mysterious hermit, who is then revealed to be his (supposedly dead) father. In both 'Love and Freindship' and *Priory of St. Bernard* there is a reference to an "amiable Bertha"; both works feature a sentimental Laura, subject to fainting fits; thus memories of the character in the Harley novel would reinforce the recollection of Laura in *Laura and Augustus*, thus making Jane Austen's use of the name doubly allusive.

Priory of St. Bernard was first published under a slightly different title (*St. Bernard's Priory*) in 1786 but, more significantly, it was republished in 1789 by the Minerva Press, and was noticed by the *Critical Review*, and so may have achieved a fairly wide readership; the author's third novel came out that year - this was her first - so she had obviously gained some kind of reputation. Jane Austen could then have written 'Love and Freindship' shortly after, or even while, reading the novel in its Minerva Press edition in 1789-90. Perhaps the family had been reading it, and thus the recognition scene would have had an immediacy about it, as she exaggerated still further the

already risible material found in the Harley novel. But in the absence of detailed knowledge of Jane Austen's reading at the time, the association of 'Love and Freindship' with *Priory of St. Bernard* can only be speculative.

Laura in 'Love and Freindship' dislikes Lady Dorothea for refusing to confide in her; this recalls Clarinthia Ludford's dislike of Emmeline for her refusal to confide her feelings, in Charlotte Smith's novel, *Emmeline*; however, gushing female friends telling each other their intimate secrets are stock figures in sentimental fiction, so it is possible to see this as a reaction against such conventions, rather than as a direct recollection of *Emmeline*. (Jane Austen was to repeat the theme of refused intimacy between women in *Sense and Sensibility*, with Lucy and Elinor, and in *Emma*, with Emma and Jane.) Possibly Jane Austen also recalled Charlotte Smith's first novel, *Emmeline*, for in that, Fitz-Edward is rebuked by Stafford for his melodramatic language, and in 'Love and Freindship' "Sir Edward rebukes his son in similar terms".^{<42>}

Mention has already been made of Sheridan's *The Critic*; possibly Laura's speech beginning "Talk not to me . . ." ^{<43>} may be an imitation of Tilburina's mad rantings in that play:

Is this a grasshopper! - Ha! no, it is my
Whiskerandos - you shall not keep him -
I know you have him in your pocket -
An oyster may be crossed in love!^{<44>}

Southam suggested that Laura's ravings may be "a parody of Lear's mad speeches",^{<45>} and Jane Austen may also have recalled Belvidera in

Otway's *Venice Preserv'd*, whose madness is probably the target of Sheridan's parody. More certainly, the line "we fainted alternately on a Sofa"^{<46>} recalls the stage direction in the recognition scene of *The Critic* (mentioned above): "They faint alternately in each other's arms".^{<47>} Doody suggested that *Agnes De-Courci* (1789), by Agnes Maria Bennett, might also have contributed to the mad scene; the heroine of the novel is deeply distressed when she encounters the dead body of her husband, whom she has just married, and who is also her brother; his name was also Edward. For Doody, *Agnes De-Courci* is one of the "unnamed presences"^{<48>} in Jane Austen's work; the date fits well, although there is otherwise no compelling reason for her to be correct, as other possible sources for the mad scenes have been suggested above.

The recollections of Sheridan and other playwrights add to the theatrical atmosphere of 'Love and Freindship', in which Gustavus and Philander earn their living as strolling players, under the names Lewis and Quick (which were the names of real actors); they also pick up some theatrical allusions found in *Laura and Augustus*. The importance of the context of the composition should not be overlooked either; Southam noted that these references would also "remind Jane Austen's family audience of their own theatricals".^{<49>}

2.1.5 'Lesley Castle'

Written in 1792, 'Lesley Castle' is "relatively so dull that one may suspect that a serious intention was creeping in",⁽⁵⁰⁾ in Chapman's opinion. It does seem to mark a departure from burlesque writing towards something more like "realistic" fiction, but it is still tinged with parody. According to Hopkins, "in title and in description of locality, 'Lesley Castle' is a very mild parody on Gothic romance",⁽⁵¹⁾ an increasingly popular form of writing at the time; although Lesley Castle's situation also relates it to the cult of the sublime.

Charlotte Lutterell, with her obsession with cooking and food, appears to be a parody of Carlotta, in Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werter*. Her sister Eloisa is also named after a celebrated sentimental heroine. Charlotte's lack of emotion contrasts with Eloisa's excessive feeling, and represents Jane Austen's first use of the scheme of sisters with such contrasting temperaments. Margaret Lesley may have been intended to recall Arabella in Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote*. The plight of Mr. Lesley, whose "worthless Laura left him, her child and her reputation a few weeks ago in company with Danvers and dishonor",⁽⁵²⁾ suggests Jane Austen is recalling Sir Edward Newenden in *Ethelinde*, whose wife abandons him and their children and flees with Lord Danesforte.

'Lesley Castle' appears to prefigure characters who reappear in later works, thus demonstrating both the thriftiness and the evolutionary nature of Jane Austen's work. Sir George Lesley, who "remains the Beau . . . gay, dissipated and thoughtless at the age of 57"⁽⁵³⁾ and who marries for a second time, may represent a first consideration of the figure who will become Sir Walter Elliot in *Persuasion*. Charlotte Lutterell, the plain daughter who has a talent for domestic organisation and who is single and growing older, may be recalled in Charlotte Lucas in *Pride and Prejudice*; they both are romantically insensible to a considerable extent. Lady Susan Lesley suggests, in her name, her scheming, her selfishness and detestation of children, Lady Susan Vernon (see below).

2.1.6 'A Collection of Letters'

Southam dated 'A Collection of Letters' to November 1791;⁽⁵⁴⁾ Miss Cooper, to whom the work is dedicated, became Mrs. Williams in December 1792, which would appear to be the last date at which it could have been written. Southam believed that the transcription of the *Juvenilia* "was carried out at various times over a long period" and that there is "no sign" that Jane Austen "did carry out any general scheme of improvement"⁽⁵⁵⁾ while doing so. However, Jane Austen did revise 'Catharine', introducing a reference to Hannah More's *Coelebs in Search of a Wife*, and it is also possible that she may have revised other pieces, at some point after they were first composed. This is relevant to 'A Collection of Letters' in that, in 'Letter the Second', McCarthy wrote, "Miss Jane's story . . . is

plainly reminiscent of Susannah Gunning's *Memoirs of Mary*,⁽⁶⁶⁾ a novel published in 1793. McCarthy made her comment in ignorance of the likely date of composition of 'A Collection of Letters', but the resemblance she notes is close; *Miss Jane's Story* tells how she secretly married her love, of whom her father disapproved; the lover was then killed in war, and Jane's father died without ever knowing of the union. In Susannah Gunning's novel, Mary contracts a secret marriage with her lover, Montague, who is subsequently killed in the war with America; Mary's father never learns of this marriage. Of course, secret marriages were a staple of sentimental fiction, and it is possible that Jane Austen, facetiously, and Susannah Gunning, seriously, thought independently of this variation upon the theme. If Jane Austen did respond to the Gunning novel, though, then this suggests either that 'Letter the Second' was revised in 1793 or later, or that it was originally written separately and later than the other pieces in 'A Collection', and perhaps incorporated with them at the time of transcription.

In some ways, 'Letter the Second', 'From a Young Lady, crossed in love to her friend', seems to prefigure *Sense and Sensibility* in that it features a faithless Willoughby. Jane Austen may well have recalled Charlotte Smith's novel *Celestina* (1791), in which the heroine is abandoned by her apparently faithless lover, Willoughby. Disappointment in love seems to have undermined the health of the Young Lady (Sophia), as it does in the case of Marianne Dashwood, after her desertion by Willoughby and his marriage to Sophia Grey; "My Friends are all alarmed for me; they fear my declining health; they

lament my want of spirits; they dread the effects of both".^{<57>} But unlike Marianne, who is suffering from the painful intensity of a first love, Sophia has had a succession of admirers.

One or two of the other names in 'Letter the Second' also are recalled in *Sense and Sensibility*; there is, for example, a character named Lady Bridget Dashwood; Edward Willoughby may have given his first name to the faithful Edward Ferrars; while Colonel Seaton's name finds an echo in Colonel Brandon's. Both Sophia and Marianne suffer from the presence of other people, even though the company is intended to cheer them up - "but what can the presence of a dozen indifferent people do to me, but weary and distress me."^{<58>} It is possible, then, that in 'Letter the Second' Jane Austen began to play around with some of the material that was to resurface in *Sense and Sensibility*, although this insight does not particularly help to resolve the dating problem.

Lady Greville, in 'Letter the Third', seems to be a kind of preliminary sketch for Lady Catherine de Bourgh; she insults Maria much as Lady Catherine insults Elizabeth, and makes allusions to her mercantile origins. In keeping Maria standing in the cold wind when talking to her from her carriage, Lady Greville may have suggested Miss de Bourgh's inconsiderate treatment of Charlotte Collins (whose origins were also in trade). Maria, like the Collinses, is summoned as a dinner-guest when there is no-one else available. The Bingley sisters' criticism of Elizabeth's appearance when she arrives at Netherfield to see Jane is an echo of Lady Greville's strictures on Maria's "ruddy and coarse" complexion.

'Letter the Fourth' presents a version of a popular scene in sentimental fiction, in which the feeling heroine is impertinently quizzed by a vulgar would-be confidante. An example of this is found in Charlotte Smith's *Ethelinde*, where Clarinthia Ludford attempts to force confidences from the heroine. Lucy Steele is one such interrogator in Jane Austen's mature fiction, and, in her own way, Emma is another. Both *Emma* and 'Letter the Fourth' are notable in that they invert the common practice, by being written from the point of view of the interrogator. Miss Greville, with her polite rebuffs and orphan status, suggests faintly Jane Fairfax. The letter ends, as it must to avoid paradox, with the impertinent writer "silenced" and "awkward".

2.1.7 'Evelyn'

In 'Evelyn', Jane Austen tilts at a number of the sacred cows of sensibility. As Litz said:

love-at-first-sight, inexplicit lapses of memory, cruel parents, tears and fainting - all come in for their share of satire . . . there are also some ironic hits at Gothic atmosphere and scenery . . . but the bulk of the irony is reserved for emotional and irrational generality, Benevolence uncontrolled by Judgement. ~~(E)~~

96 *of Evelyn*

At Evelyn, "everyone . . . was remarkably amiable", ⁽⁶⁰⁾ the name having paradisaal associations, and Mr. and Mrs. Webb practice a reckless, feckless, almost mindless benevolence and charity, giving their entire property to Mr. Gower when he asks for it. Their comic and shocking openness is only matched by his rapacity, made more pointedly ironic with his raptures over Evelyn's beauty.

The picturesque is burlesqued in the description of the paddock at the Webbs' house:

. . . the paddock was unencumbered with any other timber, the surface of it perfectly even and smooth, and grazed by four white Cows which were disposed at equal distance from each other . . . (61)

This is like stepping into an unnatural picture-world of perfection. Within it, almost surreal events occur. Mr. Gower mentally criticises the Castle for its lack of picturesque qualities, so very fittingly it frightens him in return:

The gloomy appearance of the old castle frowning on him as he followed its winding approach, struck him with terror. Nor did he think himself safe, till he was introduced into the Drawing room where the family were assembled to tea. (62)

As McKillop suggested, Mr. Gower's fear:

at the thought of being alone at nine o'clock on an August night, with a full moon shining . . . is hardly full-fledged burlesque of the Gothic but a caricature of the situation of the benighted rider as found, say, in the Aikins' famous sketch of "Sir Bertrand". (63)

Unlike the wonders encountered by Sir Bertrand, Mr. Gower facetiously discovers a conventional domestic scene.

'Evelyn' is so much a burlesque of an entire way of writing that it is impossible to identify specific targets; a whole host of novels and novelists, their basic assumptions and plot materials, are attacked and made ludicrous.

2.1.8 'Catharine; or The Bower'

'Catharine' has been considered as providing a preliminary sketch for elements of *Northanger Abbey*. Partly this is because of the common Christian name of the two heroines, although Catherine Morland was not so named in the original version of the novel; its title, when sold to be published, was *Susan*, and it is fair to infer that this was its heroine's name. On that evidence, Jane Austen can have intended no very close link. However, both Catherine Morland and Catharine Percival are young and inexperienced women, beginning to learn about the world, and the pitfalls of female friendship and meeting young men.

Catharine's relationship with Camilla Stanley resembles in some ways Catherine Morland's friendship with Isabella Thorpe, especially in their conversations on books. While Catherine Morland disliked history, Catharine, like Eleanor Tilney, appears to enjoy it - at any rate, "she was well-read in modern history".⁽⁶⁴⁾ Jane Austen's defence of novels in *Northanger Abbey* is anticipated when she calls those works Catharine talks about "books of a lighter kind . . . Books universally read and Admired"⁽⁶⁵⁾ which turn out to be Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline* and *Ethelinde*. "But did you not find the story of Ethelinde very interesting?"⁽⁶⁶⁾ asks Catharine; Jane Austen certainly did, as will be noted. Camilla's vapidly unintelligent remarks on the novels perhaps anticipates the limited critical vocabulary of Isabella and Miss Andrews; by contrast, the two heroines are interested in fiction. Camilla's comments show that:

the satire is on the silly novel-reader, not the novels . . . [Jane Austen] believed Mrs. Smith's novels at least deserved more intelligent readers than Camilla Stanley. (67)

At the beginning of *Northanger Abbey*, Catherine Morland's difference from the conventional novel heroine is stressed - perhaps especially, her difference from Emmeline. Catharine, though, "had the misfortune, as many heroines have had before her, of losing her Parents when she was very young." (68)

Catharine's personality is described realistically - she can be seen to resemble Catherine Morland in this - in these words:

her spirits were naturally good, and not easily depressed, and she possessed such a fund of vitality and good humour as could only be damped by some serious vexation. (69)

She thus represents what is Jane Austen's first attempt to portray a realistic heroine. Catharine is misunderstood by her elders, suffers the stupidity of insipid and unworthy female friends, and finds young men like Edward Stanley equivocal beings; in these things, she recalls the heroines of standard sentimental fiction, but where she differs from them is in living a life that is ordinary; in 'Catharine', Jane Austen begins to moderate rather than exaggerate the features of conventional fiction.

There are suggestions, also, of material found later in *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*. Edward Stanley's sudden and unexpected arrival may be recalled in Willoughby's similar appearance at Cleveland, while the Dashwoods' dependent state is reminiscent of

the Wynnes' predicament in 'Catharine'. In the proud, stupid Dudley family Jane Austen foreshadows a number of similar families in her adult fiction, families including such characters as Lady Catherine de Bourgh in *Pride and Prejudice*. In drawing the Dudleys, and these later families, Jane Austen may have recalled the Deviles in *Cecilia* and the Montrevilles in *Emmeline*. Ironically, Catharine, who admires *Emmeline*, encounters characters drawn from that novel; Mrs. Dudley, like Lady Montreville, was:

an ill-educated, untaught woman of ancient family, [who] was proud of that family almost without knowing why . . . haughty and quarrelsome, without considering for what.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Though Mrs. Dudley may suggest a character in *Pride and Prejudice*, the judgement that "Edward Stanley's arrogance and vanity . . . reminds one of Darcy"⁽⁷¹⁾ looks like another mistaken idea on Halperin's part. Darcy is arrogant, or "proud", but he is not "vain"; and his pride consists rather of silence and withdrawnness, rather than the lively conversation of Edward. Darcy would not converse with an unknown young woman in such a semi-rakish manner. Edward's comments on "the prettiest little maid" suggest a rake-like tendency on his part, and his easy conversation perhaps links him with such glib rakes as Willoughby or Wickham. It may be significant that Stanley was the name of a rake in Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire's novel *The Sylph*. But this may be doing him an injustice; perhaps his mercurial wit is that of a Henry Tilney. Catharine herself is capable of some quite sharp conversation, suggesting the future Elizabeth Bennet. However, 'Catharine' is not without the Sadean flavour detectable in the earlier juvenile pieces, as when Camilla cries out about the Dudleys:

I declare it is quite a pity that they should be suffered to live. I wish my father would propose knocking all their brains out. (72)

2.1.9 'Sir Charles Grandison'

The playlet 'Sir Charles Grandison', drawing on Richardson's novel, was probably compared at various times during the 1790s, with the earlier and later sections possibly separated by some years. Jane Austen did not preserve it with her *Juvenilia* and from the conjectured dating it is in fact a later work, written only for the amusement of her family circle. Like the playlets of the *Juvenilia*, it is unlikely that 'Sir Charles Grandison' would ever have been acted; and it lacks the sheer farcical verve of a piece like 'The Mystery'. What humour there is lies in the implicit contrast of the structure and scale of the playlet and the original novel; as Southam remarked:

The essence of the joke . . . is the reduction of a mammoth novel to a miniature play. It is a *reductio ad absurdum*, a pin-prick to deflate *Grandison's* epic proportions and the elaboration and leisureliness of its procedure. (73)

The playlet does display Jane Austen's intimate knowledge of the novel, and shows her willingness to make fun of even such a firm favourite as *Grandison* itself. But it is in the adult novels, not the *Juvenilia*, that Jane Austen matches herself against Richardson's novel, rewriting and re-exploring it in various ways.

2.1.10 Conclusion

In the *Juvenilia* Jane Austen unleashes impulses that are subversive, cynical and sadistic. The violence, illogic and anti-logic of the world portrayed here is her "sick and wicked" response to the "pictures of perfection" in which sentimental novels abounded. The creative impulse was clearly bound up with the destructive. The world of the *Juvenilia* is a recognisable middle class society that has spawned characters who are monsters in their deeds, thoughts and motivation. By combining the real with the surreal in this youthful fiction, Jane Austen prepared herself to write the realistic fiction of her adult years; fiction anticipated in part in the later pieces in the *Juvenilia*, such as 'Lesley Castle' and 'Catharine'. From her early, exuberant exercises in exaggeration, seizing delightedly upon the absurd, she moved to the development of an aesthetic of fidelity to life and nature, notable in her modification of the conventions of the epistolary novel in *Lady Susan*, in which work literary ambition eclipses the mere production of ephemeral entertainment.

2.2 LADY SUSAN

2.2.1 Introduction

Lady Susan was written in the early 1790s, according to accepted evidence, although it survives only as a fair copy made c.1805-6. It marks the transition, begun in 'Lesley Castle', from the generally

wild and madcap world of the *Juvenilia* to the "realistic", detailed context of Jane Austen's adult fiction. *Lady Susan* draws upon and redeploys material found in the *Juvenilia* in a more serious context, as well as drawing upon the work of other novelists.

2.2.2 Relationship with the *Juvenilia*

Lady Susan Vernon has some resemblance both to Lady Williams in 'Jack and Alice' and Lady Susan Lesley in 'Lesley Castle'. Lady Susan Vernon and Lady Williams are both widows; Lady Susan "is really excessively pretty",⁽⁷⁴⁾ Lady Williams has "the remains of a very handsome face".⁽⁷⁵⁾ Both are witty, indeed sarcastic; Lady Susan has an intimate friend named Alicia Johnson, and there is an Alice Johnson who is a friend of Lady Williams. Lady Susan seeks to marry the wealthy and eligible Reginald de Courcy, though he is younger than her; Lady Williams, though supposedly "too sensible to fall in love with one so much her junior"⁽⁷⁶⁾ finally marries Charles Adams, the young Grandison of her neighbourhood.

Even her jealous sister-in-law describes Lady Susan Vernon as pretty, "delicately fair, with fine grey eyes and dark eyelashes."⁽⁷⁷⁾ Lady Susan Lesley is "extremely well made . . . naturally pale . . . has fine eyes and fine teeth . . . and is altogether very pretty".⁽⁷⁸⁾ Like Susan Vernon, she has "a great taste for the pleasures of London"⁽⁷⁹⁾ and "sincerely repented"⁽⁸⁰⁾ travelling to Lesley Castle, just as Lady Susan Vernon disliked Churchill - "that insupportable

spot, a Country Village".^(e1) The two Lady Susans are also linked by a common dislike of children.

Evidence of there being a "more serious intention" at work in 'Lesley Castle' may be strengthened by this consideration of how *Lady Susan* draws upon it, placing some of its material into a more realistic, completely revised setting. Both works are told in letters. However, *Lady Susan* retains an undercurrent of the Sadean world of the *Juvenilia* (a world not wholly absent from 'Lesley Castle'). When Sir James Martin arrives unexpectedly at Churchill, Lady Susan writes "I could have poisoned him",^(e2) echoing the sentiment of an Anna Parker or a Camilla Stanley.

2.2.3 Relationships with Other Works

It is not difficult to imagine Lady Susan as a poisoner; more wickedness than adultery lies beneath the surface of the work, whose heroine has been called "one of Jane Austen's most disagreeable, unpleasant creations. Vain, greedy, heartless, cynical, and dishonest, she dominates this dark story."^(e3) This is the comment of a male critic. A feminist critic calls Lady Susan a "monster", but can also find excuses for her: "In many ways the 'heroine' of *Lady Susan* is Austen's version of the energy that [Mary] Shelley was to call a 'monster' "^(e4) - but then:

part of the problem . . . is that society fails to provide any power adequate to Lady Susan Even in this patriarchal society there are simply no men strong enough either to engage or resist her irrepressible energy . . . the only real contest in *Lady Susan* is between the heroine and

Mrs. Vernon; Reginald and Frederica constitute the pawns and the spoils. (25)

Lady Susan thus anticipates the conflicts between female characters that are so important in *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Mansfield Park*. But, for all her powers, *Lady Susan* conforms to certain prescriptive patterns of male-shaped morality. "Despite her aggressive hostility to feminine stereotypes" *Lady Susan* represents:

the typical female the mid-eighteenth century moralists described: she is vain, obsessed by men, dominated by her appetites, and, finally, incapable of creating any identity independent of the one she tries to denounce. (26)

So *Lady Susan* both anticipates Romantic restlessness and dissent, and conforms to traditional eighteenth century notions. But the restless and the monstrous can be found in eighteenth century novels of seduction, in the Gothic novel, and, indeed, in the sentimental novel.

The Marquise de Merteuil in Laclos' *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* (like *Lady Susan*, written in epistolary form) has been suggested as a source for the character of *Lady Susan*. It may be that Jane Austen's future sister-in-law, Eliza de Feuillade, introduced her to the novel, but it is unlikely that Eliza herself was conflated with the Marquise or in any way influenced the character of *Lady Susan*; Jane Austen would not risk an identification that could only cause offence.

The Marquise and *Lady Susan* - like the Crawfords in *Mansfield Park* - share the view that flirtation and seduction are forms of "amusement" - *Lady Susan* writes that Reginald "promises me some amusement" (27) - though with varying degrees of seriousness. The Marquise, with her

male accomplice Valmont, is concerned to seduce and oppress innocence, and Lady Susan's attitude to Reginald and Frederica is not dissimilar. Nevertheless, with Lady Susan, malice for the sake of it is tempered by worldly calculation.

In her desire for power over others, Lady Susan resembles a female version of that literary "monster", the Gothic villain. Outwardly she is the antithesis of the scowling Manfred in *The Castle of Otranto*, or such villains as Montoni and Schedoni in Ann Radcliffe's fiction (Montoni and Lady Susan are almost exactly contemporary creations), but like them she is motivated by a lust for power:

there is an exquisite pleasure in subduing an insolent spirit, in making a person predetermined to dislike, acknowledge one's superiority. (88)

Lady Susan is as keen to rule others as a Gothic tyrant, though she requires no band of bravoos or monk's cowl as external trappings. In *Lady Susan*, Jane Austen explores the way in which the psychological impulses that underlie Gothic fiction (and are found also in Sadean fiction) can exist and manifest themselves in the English Midland counties. This anticipates *Northanger Abbey*, in which the interaction of middle-class reality and Gothic fantasy is explored.

But *Lady Susan* does not, primarily, represent an Anglicization of the novel of scandal and seduction, such as *Les Liaisons*, nor the transportation of Gothic tendencies into the world of the English gentry; rather, it marks a response to such works as *Cecilia* and

Emmeline, parts of which had been burlesqued in the *Juvenilia*. Now Jane Austen's response is more serious and complex.

In Fanny Burney's *Cecilia*, the heroine Cecilia Beverley, despite being wealthy and virtuous, is not considered fit to marry the last surviving male of the ancient Delville line, Mortimer, because he can only utilise her wealth for his impoverished family by taking her surname (the Beverleys being extinct in the male line). Despite her conspicuous moral rectitude, Cecilia is regarded by the proud Mr. Delville as little better than an impudent, plebeian adventuress out to ensnare his son. Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline* was written as a variant on *Cecilia*'s theme; Lord and Lady Montreville see Emmeline Mowbray as an adventuress because she has, unwittingly and unwillingly, become the object of the affections of her cousin, their only son, Lord Delamere. *Emmeline* at seventeen is as dazzling in her rectitude as Cecilia; neither in any way deserves the opprobrium that is hurled at them. Neither wishes to destroy the peace of the ancient family to which they are connected - Cecilia as Mr. Delville's ward, *Emmeline* as Lord Montreville's supposedly illegitimate niece. Both heroines are pictures not just of perfection, but of injured innocence.

Like Mortimer Delville and Lord Delamere, Reginald de Courcy is the last male of his line; his surname is not dissimilar. Like them, it is important that he should marry well, and like them, in his relationship with Lady Susan, he appears to have contracted an undesirable connection. But whereas it is obviously wrong of the Delvilles and Montrevilles to feel that an innocent girl, in her teens

or barely out of them, of obvious rectitude, is some sort of adventuress, in *Lady Susan* Reginald's family is quite right to believe this about the heroine. Lady Susan is not misunderstood, not an injured innocent; she is scheming for marriage and its associated good things. At thirty-five, she is cynical and worldly, not young and ingenuous. She is all that Cecilia and Emmeline - and Jane Austen heroines like Catherine Morland and Elizabeth Bennet - are unjustly thought to be.

So *Lady Susan* represents a rewriting of a traditional novel plot; instead of this being the story of an innocent mistaken for an adventuress, a lamb in wolf's clothing, as it were, it is rather the story of an adventuress, recognised as such by some, pretending to be an injured innocent; a wolf in lamb's clothing - and a wolf who tells her own tale. In Jane Austen's later fiction, worthy heroines will, like their models in *Cecilia* and *Emmeline*, face unjust family prejudice - Elinor from Mrs. Ferrars, Elizabeth from Lady Catherine, Catherine Morland from General Tilney. But in *Lady Susan*, the pattern that she later adopts is found in reverse; a proud family is justified in fearing for their heir, in the clutches of an adventuress - as Leroy Smith noted, "Sir Reginald de Courcy regards [Lady Susan] as a kind of female buccaneer who pursues his son as a prize".⁽²⁹⁾

The fear is compounded by the fact that Lady Susan is not an "upstart" or "outsider", as those other heroines are or seem to be, or as Thackeray's Becky Sharp is; rather:

she is . . . an intrigante in a society that is hers by birth . . . Lady Susan is not the

outsider who cannot get into the exclusive club, nor the rebel at odds with the standards; she is more like the club member who . . . cheats at cards. (90)

The "rebel" might be a Gothic or Romantic figure, the "outsider" would feature in the sentimental novel; Lady Susan is an inversion of the latter, she is the enemy within.

Although Catherine Vernon and the de Courcy family are supposedly shocked and horrified by Lady Susan, their values are not much less of the world. For Reginald, part of the attraction of Lady Susan is that his involvement with her makes him seem a man of the world, while all the:

other characters in *Lady Susan* [except Frederica . . . concern themselves generally, like the cast of *Sense and Sensibility* . . . with questions of money, settlements, inheritances, entailments, and speculations on the length of life of fathers, uncles and guardians. (91)

This combines in realistic fashion the cruelty and cynicism of the *Juvenilia*, and it illustrates that Lady Susan is not the Serpent in Eden, a worldly threat to an ideal or an idyll; she is simply the most energetic, and perhaps (in a way a peculiar virtue) the least self-deceiving, of a whole set of worldly characters. Her daughter, Frederica, the victim of her slanders, is the meek who inherits the de Courcy earth, but she is the conventional lachrymose victim-figure with whose apotheosis most sentimental novels concluded; in *Lady Susan* she does triumph, and her mother loses, but she is silent almost throughout the book, a marginalisation that indicates Jane Austen's impatience with characters like Frederica. She does represent the unfairly-slandered teenage heroine of the Emmeline-type, of course.

Lady Susan has been seen as deriving from a literary tradition of the Merry Widow, drawn from the stage, or from France:

the actual or spiritual home of the Merry Widow is often France, thus emphasising even further the intrusion of an alien, sophisticated manner into the quiet English countryside.⁽⁹²⁾

but there is no evidence of any kind of conflict between English or French values in *Lady Susan*, though contrasts are made between Town and Country. *Lady Susan* is not Jane Austen's version of a novel like Maria Edgeworth's *Leonora*, where French manners and English are contrasted in a tale of infidelity.

Lady Susan is a widow motivated by power and status, rather than by sexual appetite in itself. She is not an aging woman seeking reassurance that her sexual allure has not faded, nor is she simply open-handed sexually for its own sake. In this she contrasts with such figures as the Wife of Bath, widows in Restoration comedies, or, in the Novel, Lady Bellaston (in *Tom Jones*), Widow Wadman (in *Tristram Shandy*) or Lady Booby (in *Joseph Andrews*). Mrs. Elton's friend Mrs. Partridge, imagined by Emma to be a "dashing vulgar widow"⁽⁹³⁾ most likely stands in this line, while Mrs. Smith and Lady Russell in *Persuasion* are rejections of this type. The dowager in love, who could be found in *Tom Jones* or Richard Graves's *Plexippus*, to give but two examples, was a figure Jane Austen perhaps intended to treat in *The Watsons*, where Lady Osborne is supposed to love Mr. Howard (though possibly *Miss* Osborne was meant, and not her mother). The closest character to Lady Susan in Jane Austen's later fiction is the worldly, scheming Mrs. Clay in *Persuasion*; but she is the daughter of Sir

Walter Elliot's steward, not a member (like Lady Susan) of the same social class as her "victim".

Curiously, perhaps, Lady Susan herself has been seen as a victim - Mudrick called her "the ultimate tragic victim"^{<94>} - but it is hard to agree. Lady Susan's emotions were not engaged by Reginald, her motivations were money and the joy of power; her marriage will be unlikely to circumscribe her future activities, given the limitations of Sir James's understanding. Of course, a "monster" can be a "victim" (as in *Frankenstein*) but Jane Austen concludes the work on a note of triumph, pointing out how Lady Susan's seductiveness defeated Miss Manwaring, for all the latter's expenditure on clothes. (Jane Austen possibly intended the name to be a play on the idea of "war" for a "Man".)

Although *Lady Susan* was composed in the early 1790s, it is impossible to know if it was altered or revised when the fair-copy was made more than ten years later, or if indeed any revisions had been made in the intervening years. Possibly the conclusion was only added when the copy was made; but it is also possible that some changes were made to nomenclature, incidents or characters.

An anonymous novel of 1795, *Robert and Adela*, features as a feminist protagonist a "Lady Susan . . . a young woman of great beauty and intelligence"^{<95>} who is a rich advocate of female equality. She is one of life's disrupters, but she does not appear to have influenced Jane Austen's *Lady Susan*; the latter is not a feminist, she is a

person of predatory type, who happens to be female. The other Lady Susan is "reformed" by marriage to a wife-beater; she is far more of a victim than Lady Susan Martin, née Vernon.

It is possible that the name "Vernon" was not introduced until the making of the copy. This can only be speculation, but an interesting parallel may be found, that could be coincidental, or could be more than that. The parallel is between Lady Susan and Madame de Vernon, a character in Madame de Staël's novel, *Delphine*. This was first published in 1802, and was translated into English in 1803; like *Lady Susan*, it is an epistolary novel. Madame de Vernon has "graces of . . . mind . . . gaiety of disposition"^{<96>} but is also capable of "inequality and coldness";^{<97>}

though she is at least forty, she still appears charming even among the young and beautiful of her own sex.^{<98>}

recalling both Lady Susan's character and appearance. It is said of Madame de Vernon (whose first-name is Sophia, giving her the same initials as Lady Susan) that:

though she is a person endowed with many excellent qualities, yet she seems to regard success as everything, and to put too little value on the principles of human conduct.^{<99>}

Both Madame de Vernon and Lady Susan have "sprightliness of wit",^{<100>} but both are also "deceitful, perfidiously deceitful" and "destitute of principles and affection".^{<101>} Madame de Vernon is a French Merry Widow, who "goes to bed late, delights in gambling, and sees a deal of

company"⁽¹⁰²⁾ and, like Lady Susan, experiences financial difficulties - she "was much involved in debt".⁽¹⁰³⁾

Madame de Vernon and Lady Susan both try to scheme their daughters into an advantageous but loveless marriage. Lady Susan tries to gain her own ends by forcing Frederica to marry Sir James, although she knows she does not love him. Madame de Vernon tricks Leonce into marrying her daughter Matilda, even though she knows that he loves Delphine. There are rumours about Delphine's conduct, and Madame de Vernon betrays her friend by not denying them. In their roles, then, as faithless friends and scheming, cynical, worldly mothers, the "two Vernons" have much in common. The two characters resemble each other quite closely; it can be said of both that she "has no fixed principles of any kind, and has a great capacity and understanding".⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Madame de Vernon is a deceiver who gains her own ends at the expense of others; she regards her own daughter in a light similar to Lady Susan's view of Frederica; Matilda supposedly "possessed . . . very little sensibility, and a mind more obstinate than comprehensive".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ The moral of *Delphine* is that women cannot afford to defy convention; whether Lady Susan would agree is a moot point.

There is no certain evidence that Jane Austen read *Delphine* but in a family of novel readers it is not unlikely (she certainly knew the author's *Corinne*). Reading the novel, she might have been struck by the similarities between Madame de Vernon and Lady Susan, in their characters and actions. Possibly it was a reading of the novel that

recalled *Lady Susan* to Jane Austen's mind, and perhaps led to the making of the fair copy. Jane Austen might have given Lady Susan the surname of "Vernon" to point the parallel with *Delphine*. It is, of course, possible that *Lady Susan* was revised in the light of *Delphine* in further ways, pertaining to Lady Susan's character, but it seems unlikely; the story, as conceived in the early 1790s, would require Lady Susan's character to be essentially the same as it is known now.

It is perfectly possible that the parallel nomenclature is just a coincidence, and that similarities between Madame de Vernon and Lady Susan exist because both draw on a literary tradition of unscrupulous widows. Perhaps both Jane Austen and Madame de Staël were alluding, in the name "Vernon" to some earlier, mutual source. But Jane Austen could have revised aspects of *Lady Susan* in the light of *Delphine*, for it would accord with her established practices. As noted above, she altered the text of 'Catharine' years after it was first written, in order to mention Hannah More's *Coelebs in Search of a Wife*. Catherine Morland and Henry Tilney must have borne different names in *Northanger Abbey's* earlier version, *Susan*. Jane Austen seems to have referred back to and drawn on the *Juvenilia* throughout her writing life. It is not, therefore, beyond the bounds of possibility that Jane Austen intended to allude to *Delphine* through the name "Vernon".

The name "de Courcy" would appear to lack any exact allusive quality, but it is similar to Delvile and Delamere, and was used by other novelists of the period; there is a novel entitled *Agnes De-Courci* (1789) by Agnes Maria Bennett, and the name is also found in Regina

Roche's *The Nocturnal Visit* (1800). Probably other examples could be found. The essential point was that the name, like Fitzwilliam Darcy (which itself perhaps represents a contraction of "de Courcy") - should be suggestive of an aristocratic family. (Trollope, of course, later used it for this purpose.)

Lady Susan may resemble in a general way the cynical women of Restoration comedy, whose characteristics continued onto the Eighteenth century stage, but it is probably fruitless to seek a specific source. Litz suggested that Lady Bell Bloomer in Hannah Cowley's play *Which is the Man?* may have contributed to Lady Susan, and it is a tempting parallel, as Jane Austen certainly knew the play. But while Bell is, like Lady Susan, a beautiful and witty widow, she is also goodnatured and virtuous. Jane Austen could have darkened Bell's character to produce Lady Susan, but she could have derived the attributes of wit and amorality from other sources. The play does feature a character named Mrs. Johnson, but this is almost certainly sheer coincidence (the name is hardly uncommon).

Lady Susan is Jane Austen's only serious attempt to write an epistolary novel; what is surprising about it is, that given her knowledge of Richardson, there is little sign of his influence. Lady Susan might be seen, broadly, as a kind of female Lovelace, rejoicing in her plots and manipulation; but Laclos - who was himself, of course, influenced by Richardson - provides a closer parallel. Nor was Richardson's influence apparent in either the matter or the manner of 'Lesley Castle' and 'Love and Freindship'. *Lady Susan's* letters

are, technically, more credible than Richardson's, being sharp, to the point, and not attempting to describe conversations minutely. Nevertheless, as her conclusion to the work showed, Jane Austen was aware of and probably dissatisfied with the artificiality of the epistolary form.

2.2.4 Relationship with Jane Austen's Subsequent Works

Q.D. Leavis in her *Scrutiny* articles put forward the theory that *Lady Susan* represented a kind of preliminary version of *Mansfield Park*, with Mary Crawford being a development of Lady Susan. This argument was rejected by Southam in authoritative terms, and it is unnecessary to repeat the controversy here. Both Mary and Lady Susan are, in the broadest sense, disruptive "outsiders" of a kind, though drawn from the same rank of society as their hosts, and they are both witty, cynical and ultimately defeated. Mary's attempt to help Henry marry Fanny again somewhat recalls Lady Susan's efforts to unite Frederica and Sir James. The latter, in his inferiority, has similarities with Rushworth. But it would be an exaggeration to claim *Lady Susan* as a source of "borrowings" for *Mansfield Park*, on the basis of such resemblances.

As noted above, *Lady Susan* represents a rewriting of the theme of *Cecilia* and *Emmeline*, and thus has affinities with other Jane Austen works which also draw on these novels, such as *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Northanger Abbey*. All these three works were originally composed in the years following the writing of *Lady Susan*,

suggesting how central to Jane Austen's imagination the *Cecilia*-theme was throughout the 1790s.

When Edward's engagement to Lucy is made public in *Sense and Sensibility*, Mrs. Ferrars threatens him with all possible forms of harassment; in this she contrasts with Sir Reginald de Courcy, who writes, "My ability of distressing you during my life, would be a species of revenge to which I would hardly stoop under any circumstances".⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Lucy is Elinor's opposite and is a younger version of Lady Susan, and she is also a genuine "outsider".

Catherine Vernon's dislike of Lady Susan would appear to have an element of sexual jealousy in it which perhaps parallels Caroline Bingley's attitude to Elizabeth in *Pride and Prejudice*. Of Charles Vernon, Paris has written:

[He] is the epitome of his family's "milkeness". He has a "generous temper", thinks the best of everybody, is easily deceived and "live[s] only to do whatever he [is] desired". His closest counterpart in the novels is Bingley.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Because of the common source material, it is difficult to determine what exact influence, if any, *Lady Susan* specifically exerted on the three novels written in the 1790s. However, it is possible to speculate on why Jane Austen's original heroine for *Northanger Abbey* was called (like the novel) Susan. Possibly she intended to contrast the cynical Lady Susan Vernon with a young, ingenious Susan, innocently threatening General Tilney's avaricious marital schemes. "Miss Susan" would thus have been the antithesis of Lady Susan, and a

return to the literary model found in *Cecilia* and *Emmeline*, in the sense of her basic virtue (in other respects, Susan must have represented a satire upon these models). It is interesting to note that when Jane Austen altered her heroine's name (possibly because a novel had been published in 1809 entitled *Susan*), she substituted the name "Catherine", the name of Lady Susan's opponent who, perhaps significantly, married Mr. Vernon despite being the victim of slander from Lady Susan (Catherine Morland is the victim of John Thorpe's slanders). Susan/Catherine is seventeen; Lady Susan is thirty-five, just over twice her age. The heroine of *Susan* contrasts with Lady Susan, and recalls Frederica; General Tilney, as it were, considering Susan/Catherine a schemer, confuses a Frederica with her mother. Both Susan/Catherine and Frederica are parodies of the accomplished heroines in *Cecilia*, *Emmeline* and other sentimental fiction; both girls are, through their youth and ignorance, capable of making mistakes. But in *Lady Susan* Frederica is of marginal interest; Jane Austen's main concern is not to parody accomplishment but to rewrite a plot, justifying a proud family's fears; whereas in *Susan/Northanger Abbey* the interest lies in satirising the abilities of the traditional heroine.

Catherine resembles Frederica in that it could be said of both that their "disposition was excellent", their "natural abilities . . . good".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Like Susan/Catherine, Frederica comes to be loved by the hero through her gratitude to him:

For we know the power of gratitude on such a heart
as his. (109)

Catherine Morland may be seen as combining aspects of all three Vernon women - Lady Susan, Catherine and Frederica - and perhaps her similarity with and contrast to the latter can be seen in the references to her not being the daughter of parents addicted to locking up their children. Frederica, like many a traditional heroine, is virtually imprisoned by her mother until she will yield in marriage. There is something rather *Clarissa*-like about this aspect of Lady Susan, but parental tyranny was a commonplace of the novel. The final "question" of *Northanger Abbey*, regarding whether it advocates parental tyranny or filial disobedience, might also be posed in *Lady Susan*. Lady Susan's Letter 35, written to Reginald, has a parallel in Isabella's final letter to Catherine, both manifesting a false artlessness and glossing-over of the truth. Mr. Johnson, with more justice, like General Tilney forbids a correspondence between the "disrupter" and her friend (Eleanor, Mrs. Johnson). Some of the "allusions" that may have been "lying perdu" in the original version of *Northanger Abbey* may be seen in *Lady Susan*.

Lady Susan does not represent a blind alley or unsuccessful experiment in Jane Austen's fiction; rather it manifests her consistent interest in redeploying traditional material in new patterns, making some kind of ironic comment on the originals by so doing. That it is written in epistolary form represents no kind of regression; Maria Edgeworth and Scott among others were to alternate direct narrative with epistolary fiction; Charlotte Smith wrote her

first three novels in narrative, then wrote *Desmond* in letters. A mid-Victorian novel like *The Woman in White* can be seen as a variant on epistolary fiction. Its theme of the threatened family is reproduced in Jane Austen's next three fictions; indeed it is possible to see it as recurring, in some form, in all of Jane Austen's fiction, through to *Persuasion* (and there is a hint of it in *Sanditon*) - this is explored in the chapters that follow. Perhaps *Lady Susan*, written so early and so soon after the *Juvenilia*, represents the most radical rewriting of the theme; Lady Susan really is as black as she is painted, and the generally sympathetically portrayed de Courcys are correct to fear her. *Lady Susan* is a story told by a predator; though the heroine may look back at Eighteenth century materials, she also demonstrates the continuity of literary depiction, for she is an anticipation of Becky Sharp, the Victorian Age's most classic amoral heroine. Yet, despite its borrowings, *Lady Susan* reads smoothly; there is little sign that it is an apprentice work and, had it been published when written or written by some other author, it would stand high in the ranks of Eighteenth century fiction; it is fair to call it "a fully accomplished and important piece of fiction".⁽¹¹⁰⁾

2.3 THE WATSONS

2.3.1 Introduction

In terms of chronology of composition, *The Watsons* does not belong with the *Juvenilia*, but it is discussed here for the sake of convenience. Southam dated the work to 1804, and there seems no

reason to query this. So Jane Austen had already written the original version of *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice* and *Northanger Abbey* when she began *The Watsons*.

2.3.2 Influence of Other Works

Jane Austen's use of literary models in *The Watsons* is general rather than particular. Southam commented that:

She was telling the story of a distressed heroine, the staple character of sentimental and gothic fiction.⁽¹¹¹⁾

But she had no particular distressed heroine in mind. Southam compared her to Fanny Burney's heroines:

The story turns on the suffering and endurance of a sensitive, educated girl, whose life is made almost unbearable by the impertinence and snobbery of her family and neighbours . . . Jane Austen was establishing the situation of the distressed heroine in a domestic setting, in "the current of real life", with a considerable advance upon the degree of realism achieved by Fanny Burney.⁽¹¹²⁾

In a sense, Emma Watson recalls Evelina, educated and protected at Berry Hill, and then suddenly plunged into the London of Madame Duval and the Branghtons. But this is too general to support the view that *Evelina* provided a model. It was a standard ploy to have an apparently prosperous heroine's situation dramatically altered; heroines had to be educated and refined, so as to suffer mentally, and continued prosperity provided little in the way of a story.

Emma's aunt married a second time, to an Irish Captain, who it is implied is a fortune hunter. This view of the Irish was a stock one in the Eighteenth century; Captain Anderson in *Grandison*, who harasses Charlotte, is an example. So Emma has to return home to live with a family to whom she is a stranger. Among the local populace she encounters Tom Musgrave, a rake and a toady with a general literary provenance but no specific model, though he perhaps recalls Sir Clement Willoughby. Mr. Howard, the clergyman-hero, is an unremarkable example of that familiar type. At the Ball, Emma avoids the distress often inflicted on heroines; in an original twist, they are bestowed on the young Charles Blake, and Emma can combine the role of rescuer with that of a heroine proving her tenderness to an admiring hero. The melodramatic possibilities surrounding "the arrival of a chance visitor"⁽¹¹³⁾ - so abundantly milked by Fanny Burney, for example, with Evelina and Cecilia regularly found in some equivocal situation - is transferred into a study of embarrassment and impudence and of the habits of different classes, when Tom and Lord Osborne call on the Watsons at tea-time. Lord Osborne himself contrasts with usual depictions of aristocratic over-bearingness or aristocratic perfection; he is awkward and a trifle stupid, but fundamentally not an unkind or dishonourable man. Again, there is originality in this character.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Watson are the standard representatives of the *petite bourgeoisie*, giving themselves airs as they try to rise in the world; Robert has some of the self-satisfaction and vanity of a junior Sir Walter Elliot, or a parody of a Mr. Elton. They would probably

develop into a kind of burden on the heroine comparable with the Branghtons in *Evelina* or the Ludfords in *Ethelinde*, though both Charlotte Smith and Fanny Burney could provide other parallels as well. But such types are drawn as much from life as from literature - in a general sense, in both cases (Jane Austen does not appear to have modelled any of her characters on a living person).

Family tradition told that *The Watsons* would continue with Mr Howard falling in love with Emma, while he was himself loved by Lady Osborne. It would have been interesting to see how Jane Austen handled the theme of the Dowager in Love, one that is obviously allied in literature to that of the Merry Widow. In literature, it could be handled tragically or farci^cally - Mrs. Slipslop's designs on Joseph's virtue in *Joseph Andrews* being an example of the farcical. A more serious, more realistic treatment of the subject is found in *Plexippus: or The Aspiring Plebeian* by Richard Graves; the low-born hero finds that a virtuous middle-aged lady is in love with him, while he is in love with a younger woman. Graves handles this theme with a degree of tact and sympathy rare in the novels of the time. The more general view is that older women in love are merely making fools of themselves - which view Robert Watson and his wife express with reference to Emma's aunt. Lady Osborne's love for Mr. Howard would thus have provided a kind of commentary on the circumstances that cast Emma adrift - a neat piece of artistry. It has been suggested that the tradition misremembered Lady Osborne when Miss Osborne was meant; but this would be less satisfying artistically.

Southam expressed reservations about the art of *The Watsons*, following on from Lascelles, who remarked that in the piece:

Jane Austen seems to be struggling with a peculiar oppression, a stiffness and heaviness that threaten her style.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

There were biographical reasons for her to feel oppressed; she had written three novel-length works, none of which had been published, even though one - *Susan/Northanger Abbey* - had been sold and even advertised. It is also possible that she was going through some emotional traumas. But perhaps another reason for this oppression, and for the unsatisfactory nature of *The Watsons*, was that she had, for once, no specific model or models to follow; Jane Austen's use of literary tradition in this piece was too general, not particular enough. Even so, despite or perhaps because of this, there are original touches, as in the scene with Charles Blake and the characterisation of Lord Osborne. But Jane Austen did not have an *Emmeline* or an *Ethelinde*, or *Cecilia* or an *Evelina* to follow in writing *The Watsons*. It was much easier for her to transform specific incidents and characters than general, broadly-based material.

The Watsons may have been abandoned because Jane Austen felt it was artistically unsatisfying. However, a biographical fact may also be important, perhaps crucial, here; in 1805, Jane Austen's father died. Apart from the obvious trauma at this loss, which might well affect her capacity to write, to continue with *The Watsons* would have meant writing about the death of the heroine's father. Nowhere in Jane Austen's adult fiction is there a death-scene and perhaps she felt it inappropriate for her art; besides, in the case of *The Watsons*, it

might well have been too distressing as a re-living of a personal experience.

2.3.3 Influence of Jane Austen's Previous Work

With three completed novels and the *Juvenilia*, as well as *Lady Susan*, to draw upon, it is noteworthy that Jane Austen in *The Watsons* makes little use of her own previous work as a resource. Those affinities that exist are almost certainly accidental, and inevitable in the type of novel that she wrote.

The acute sibling rivalry of *The Watsons* is an intensification of that found at Longbourn in *Pride and Prejudice*. The desperate desire to marry may recall Charlotte Lucas's decision to marry Mr. Collins in the same novel. If Lord Osborne had ever proposed to Emma, as was supposedly intended, then his rejection could be placed alongside Elizabeth's dismissal of Darcy. But such resemblances are no proof of conscious or unconscious borrowing. As *The Watsons* does not draw upon the specific works that influenced the previous novels, and helped to link them together, this lack of borrowing is not surprising.

2.3.4 Influence on Jane Austen's Subsequent Works

Q.D. Leavis regarded *The Watsons* as a model for *Emma*; Southam showed why, in general, this view was untenable. Nevertheless, resemblances do exist between the works that go beyond the shared Christian name

and initials of the heroines. Jane Austen, thrifty in her use of material, redeployed certain aspects of *The Watsons* in *Emma*; this does not represent the conscious, if often complex imitative and creative "rewriting" of the published works of others, that is a feature of Jane Austen's art; she did not imagine an ingenious reader having *The Watsons* available for comparison with *Emma*. But it does show how Jane Austen applied her imitative tendencies to her own previous work, as well as to the work of others.

Emma Watson was educated to fill a wealthy place in society, rather like Emma Woodhouse; but with her aunt's remarriage her money has gone. While Emma Woodhouse lives with a father who is a hypochondriac, in a large house, and her only sister married and in London, Emma Watson lives with a father who is genuinely ill, in a small house surrounded by discontented unmarried sisters. Emma Watson resembles Jane Fairfax, whose education outstrips her financial destiny; the benefactors of both girls have moved to Ireland, forcing them to live in straitened circumstances with relatives; Jane faces governessing, a prospect also considered by Emma Watson. Mr. Watson's death can be rendered, painlessly, as that, off-stage as it were, of the never-seen Mrs. Churchill.

Robert Watson's self-satisfaction at marrying the boss's daughter, as it were, is recalled by Mr. Elton's congratulatory tone towards himself after catching a wife supposedly worth ten thousand pounds, while Jane Watson, mother of a small daughter named Augusta, has herself all the "smart vulgarity of Augusta Elton".⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Charles

Blake is snubbed by Miss Osborne, and rescued by Emma, in a way recalled in *Emma* by Mr. Knightley's rescue of Harriet after she has been snubbed at the ball by Mr. Elton; but the latter's motives are more complex, and even less creditable, than those of the purely selfish Miss Osborne. In Frank Churchill there may be detected some of the insincerity and self-regard for assumed cleverness found in Tom Musgrave. The Bateses are helped by their friends in Highbury, as regards transport to the ball, rather like the Watson sisters being aided by the Edwardses. D-----, the setting for *The Watsons*, resembles Highbury in a very general sense, each being a large village, or small town, in Surrey.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO;
JUVENILIA, LADY SUSAN, THE WATSONS

1. Lord David Cecil, 'Foreword', *Jane Austen's 'Sir Charles Grandison'*, viii.
2. John Halperin, *The Life of Jane Austen*, 39-40.
3. Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, II, 609.
4. Terry Eagleton, *The Rape of Clarissa*, 96.
5. Richardson, *Grandison*, I, 284.
6. Jane Austen, *Minor Works*, 13 (hereafter referred to as *MW*).
7. Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 59.
8. *MW*, 14-15.
9. Kenneth L. Moler, 'Fanny Burney's *Cecilia* and Jane Austen's "Jack and Alice"', 41-42.
10. *MW*, 14.
11. Moler, 'Fanny Burney's *Cecilia*', 42.
12. *ibid.*
13. Park Honan, *Jane Austen: Her Life*, 53.
14. Annette B. Hopkins, 'Jane Austen's "Love and Freindship": A Study in Literary Relations', 44.
15. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 44-46.
16. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 41.
17. Marvin Mudrick, *Jane Austen: Irony as Defense and Discovery*, 5.
18. *MW*, 77.
19. Elizabeth Bromley, *Laura and Augustus*, I, 5.
20. *MW*, 81.
21. *Laura and Augustus*, I, 7-8.
22. *MW*, 77.
23. *Laura and Augustus*, I, 42.

24. Mudrick, *Jane Austen: Irony*, 8-9.
25. *Laura and Augustus*, I, 83.
26. *MW*, 97.
27. *Laura and Augustus*, I, 94.
28. R.W. Chapman, ed., *MW*, 459.
29. see F.B. Pinion, 'A Sterne Echo in "Love and Freindship"', *passim*.
30. *Laura and Augustus*, II, 30.
31. *MW*, 88.
32. *Laura and Augustus*, III, 40.
33. *MW*, 100.
34. *MW*, 97.
35. *Laura and Augustus*, III, 74.
36. *Laura and Augustus*, III, 135.
37. E.B. Murray, *Ann Radcliffe*, 46.
38. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *The Critic*, III.i.76-80.
39. *MW*, 91-2.
40. Fanny Burney, *Evelina*, 371.
41. Elizabeth Harley, *Priory of St. Bernard*, I, 40-42.
42. Brian Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 12.
43. *MW*, 100.
44. *The Critic*, III.i.295-98.
45. Brian Southam, ed., *Volume the Second* by Jane Austen, 212.
46. *MW*, 86.
47. *The Critic*, III.i.86.
48. Margaret Ann Doody, 'Jane Austen's Reading', 360.
49. Southam, ed., *Volume the Second*, 212.
50. *MW*, 1.

51. Hopkins, 'Jane Austen's "Love and Freindship"', 38.
52. *MW*, 111.
53. *ibid.*
54. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 14.
55. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 18.
56. Bridget MacCarthy, *The Later Women Novelists 1744-1818*, 250.
57. *MW*, 153.
58. *ibid.*
59. A. Walton Litz, *Jane Austen: A Study of her Artistic Development*, 34.
60. *MW*, 180.
61. *MW*, 181.
62. *MW*, 187.
63. Alan D. McKillop, 'Allusions to Prose Fiction in Jane Austen's "Volume the Third"', 429.
64. *MW*, 198.
65. *MW*, 198-9.
66. *MW*, 199.
67. McKillop, 'Allusions to Prose Fiction', 429.
68. *MW*, 192.
69. *MW*, 193.
70. *MW*, 195.
71. Halperin, *The Life of Jane Austen*, 46.
72. *MW*, 204.
73. Brian Southam, ed., *Jane Austen's 'Sir Charles Grandison'*, 21.
74. *MW*, 251.
75. *MW*, 13.
76. *MW*, 15.

77. *MW*, 251.
78. *MW*, 120.
79. *ibid.*
80. *MW*, 123.
81. *MW*, 246.
82. *MW*, 280.
83. John Halperin, 'Unengaged Laughter: Jane Austen's Juvenilia', 296.
84. Mary Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer*, 174.
85. Poovey, *op. cit.*, 177.
86. Poovey, *op. cit.*, 176.
87. *MW*, 254.
88. *ibid.*
89. Leroy Smith, *Jane Austen and the Drama of Women*, 55.
90. Louis Kronenberger, *The Polished Surface*, 134.
91. Halperin, 'Unengaged Laughter', 297.
92. Jay Arnold Levine, 'Lady Susan: Jane Austen's Character of the Merry Widow', 26.
93. Jane Austen, *Emma*, 275.
94. Mudrick, *Jane Austen's Irony*, 138.
95. Allene Gregory, *The French Revolution and the English Novel*, 260.
96. Madame de Staël, *Delphine*, I, 18.
97. *Delphine*, I, 41.
98. *Delphine*, I, 30.
99. *Delphine*, I, 33.
100. *Delphine*, I, 47.
101. *ibid.*
102. *Delphine*, I, 26-27.

103. *Delphine*, I, 28.
104. *Delphine*, II, 152.
105. *Delphine*, I, 37.
106. *MW*, 261.
107. Bernard J. Paris, *Character and Conflict in Jane Austen's Novels*, 190.
108. *MW*, 273.
109. *MW*, 272.
110. P.J.M. Scott, *Jane Austen: A Reassessment*, 23.
111. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 65.
112. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 65-66.
113. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 66.
114. Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art*, 99-100.
115. Robert Liddell, *The Novels of Jane Austen*, 92.

CHAPTER THREE: *SENSE AND SENSIBILITY*

3.1 Introduction

Sense and Sensibility, in 1811, was the first of Jane Austen's novels to be published. A first draft of the novel, about which little is certainly known, was written c.1795-6 and entitled *Elinor and Marianne*; after writing *First Impressions* (the original of *Pride and Prejudice*) Jane Austen expanded this draft into *Sense and Sensibility*, c.1797-8. There is no doubt that she edited the manuscript before publication; the references to Scott and the two-penny post prove that; but it is impossible to know whether editing was confined to updating, or whether it was more radical.

3.2 Influence of Charlotte Smith

It is received wisdom that: "*Sense and Sensibility* ought not to be considered as a rewriting of any particular source."¹ This is true, in the sense that many works have made some form of contribution to the novel; Jane Austen cast her allusive net widely. But one novel does stand out, in terms of the multiplicity and complexity of Jane Austen's allusions to it throughout *Sense and Sensibility*, and her rewriting of its plot to form Marianne's story. That novel is Charlotte Smith's *Ethelinde* (1789). It is not unknown to critics of *Sense and Sensibility* - both Moler and Magee have noted parallels -

but no-one has previously recognised the extent to which the two novels are inter-linked.

Ethelinde Chesterville is a picture of perfection, who is (like Marianne by Willoughby) described as an "angel" (Sophia Grey, Willoughby's wife, is a "devil"). While staying in the Lake District, she is several times rescued from danger by Montgomery, a handsome but penniless youth who lives reclusively nearby with his mother. Ethelinde and Montgomery fall in love, but his poverty forces him, after many vicissitudes, to sail to India to seek his fortune. Ethelinde is sought in marriage by Sir Edward Newenden, whose wife has proved unfaithful. Although Ethelinde's brother has acquired a wealthy wife, his selfishness means that she is still not rich. As Sir Edward proposes to Ethelinde, Montgomery, who has been presumed dead, returns Odysseus-like, to claim Ethelinde and acquire sufficient wealth for marriage.

Ethelinde was a successful novel, and Jane Austen certainly knew the work - it is mentioned in 'Catharine'. By imitation and inversion she transformed Ethelinde's story into that of Elinor and (especially) Marianne, with allusions and parallels marking her debt to Charlotte Smith's novel being found throughout her own. *Ethelinde* itself, like the novelist's previous work, *Emmeline*, owed a debt to Fanny Burney's *Cecilia*, thus placing *Sense and Sensibility* in a tradition of literary inheritances.

Ethelinde herself suggests, in different ways, both Elinor and Marianne. Ethelinde proves herself by nursing the Newenden children through an illness, paralleling Elinor's devotion to Marianne when she is sick. Ethelinde has the good sense, and feeling for other people, that is found in Elinor. At the same time, Ethelinde displays the hallmarks of a sentimental heroine. Jane Austen may well have drawn on Ethelinde's reaction to parting from Montgomery as a basis for Marianne's ordeal:

She traversed the room with hasty steps; now watched at the window; now listened to the noises within the house . . . so violently was she now affected . . . She had no longer any power to struggle against the agitation of her mind; but feeling herself very faint, she was compelled to lie down on the bed . . . she sighed from the very bottom of her heart; and without any farther attempt to check the acuteness of her grief, was satisfied that she had acquitted herself by the effort she had already made, and with a melancholy and gloomy kind of satisfaction, gave herself up to regret and tears. ⁽²⁾

This kind of reaction Jane Austen expands and explores in presenting Marianne's case-history. Ethelinde's watching and listening suggest Marianne's behaviour upon her arrival in London, waiting for Willoughby, looking into the street, listening for raps on the door. Ethelinde's faintness, sighs and tears are also reproduced in Marianne, but heightened - for she "almost screamed in agony".⁽³⁾ If Jane Austen is seeking to illustrate the damaging effects of sensibility, then *Ethelinde* provides a suitable literary model to "protest" against, for the three central characters all display this attitude to a marked degree.

Jane Austen transforms Montgomery, the sentimental hero, into Willoughby, who appears to be the same. He shares, or appears to share, Marianne's taste for sentiment: "the same books, the same passages were idolized by each"⁴ - but he behaves like a dissolute rake out of a sentimental novel; Elinor regards him as "deep in hardened villainy"⁵ - a phrase that is "thorough novel slang",⁶ and deliberately so. Willoughby's tastes may be genuine, but he does not lead his life in accordance with either sentimental ethics or those of a kind that would satisfy Elinor.

Montgomery first meets Ethelinde when he rescues her from a rainstorm; Willoughby first meets Marianne when she falls, running down a hill, to escape from a driving rain; his help leads Margaret to label him "Marianne's preserver".⁷ Willoughby carries Marianne home in his arms, and this seems to conflate the rainstorm episode in *Ethelinde* with another encounter Montgomery has with Ethelinde, after she has fallen from her horse:

Montgomery then remained alone on a wide down, where no human habitation or human creature appeared, holding in his arms the woman he adored to distraction, who seemed to his terrified imagination to be torn from him for ever.⁸

Jane Austen retains the downland setting, but softens the nature of the mishap, and reduces melodrama by placing it in sight of Marianne's home and family. The introduction of a hero to a heroine by his rescuing her from some discomfort or danger is hardly confined to Charlotte Smith's works; it is one of the fundamental clichés of romance (a similar incident can for instance be found in Jane West's *A*

Gossip's Story, discussed below). For Marianne, or for Margaret, it may seem like an incident in a sentimental novel, and Willoughby must therefore conform to the rôle of hero. Montgomery's most dramatic rescue of Ethelinde is to save her from drowning when out on a lake. There is no equivalent of this in *Sense and Sensibility*, although this incident may explain the passing references to boating in the novel: "parties on the water were made as often as a showery October would allow"⁽⁹⁾ - these being social occasions upon which Willoughby can shine in Marianne's eyes. The first encounter of Ethelinde and Montgomery, in the rainstorm, may have been suggested by the storm that later brings about an *éclaircissement* between Mortimer and Cecilia in *Cecilia*; thus Charlotte Smith alludes to Fanny Burney, and is alluded to in her turn by Jane Austen.

If Willoughby's first encounter with Marianne represents a conflation of Montgomery's rescues of Ethelinde, so his final appearance has its parallels in Charlotte Smith's novel. Apart from his fortuitous appearance when required to succour Ethelinde, Montgomery makes several other unexpected reappearances at crucial times. Volume I ends with Montgomery arriving to tell Ethelinde that her brother and father have been arrested. Supposedly lost at sea, he reappears to interrupt Sir Edward as he proposes to Ethelinde; Willoughby's sudden and unexpected arrival at Cleveland is a reworking of this equally sudden return. But Willoughby is not in a position to claim Marianne. His dash across country from London can be seen as the last desperate attempt of the "Smithian" hero to remain within Jane Austen's fiction; but as a rake, and a married man, he is doubly disqualified, too

flawed to play a hero's rôle. Other heroes and heroines are separated in some way or another; but Willoughby cannot be reabsorbed. His reappearance is in many ways even more startling than Montgomery's; in the case of the latter, the experienced novel reader might have expected something of the sort; but there is no such expectation surrounding the reappearance of Willoughby, by now the villain of the piece.

Both Lascelles and Southam have speculated that Willoughby's confession to Elinor might originally have come in letter form - perhaps in the context of an epistolary structure for the entire novel. But Lock is surely correct in stating, "an epistolary confession would have been a much tamer thing",⁽¹⁰⁾ and the parallel with *Ethelinde* suggests that a final face-to-face meeting was always intended. The implications of the parallels with *Ethelinde* for the conjectured history of *Sense and Sensibility's* composition are discussed fully elsewhere.

Willoughby's sudden arrival at Cleveland parallels several other such moments in *Ethelinde*. When Ethelinde is ill, Sir Edward mistakes the arrival of his wife for that of the physician, just as Elinor mistakes Willoughby's arrival for that of Mrs. Dashwood. Willoughby arrives only after the moment of medical crisis for Marianne has passed; Sir Edward arrives at Denham House where Ethelinde is nursing his son only after the young patient has begun his recovery.

While Montgomery's return leads (inevitably) to his marriage with Ethelinde, no such similar outcome is possible for the guilty Willoughby; he cannot assume the place of his model and predecessor in this novel. But Willoughby does at least move from being first a dream-hero, then a nightmare-villain, towards the status of a "mixed character" - and so a figure created by Marianne's and Elinor's literary fancies, from the pages of the sentimental novel, comes closer to individuality and reality. Ironically, however, the Willoughby who appeared earlier in the novel to embody all Marianne's wish fulfilments, as a perfect hero, now meets her new dream requirement, that he be not evil, only "fickle . . . very fickle".

In drawing Willoughby, Jane Austen set about creating a character who is an anti-Montgomery, lacking his fidelity and integrity. From *Ethelinde* she could derive models for the villainous part of Willoughby's rôle from the characters of Lord Danesforte and Davenant. (Although of course libertine characters are stock figures in the novels of the period.) Danesforte - who possibly suggested Danvers in 'Lesley Castle' - ran off with Sir Edward Newenden's wife; this may have been recalled in Willoughby's seduction of Eliza Williams. Both Danesforte and Davenant - but especially the latter - are, like Willoughby and many real-life young men of the time, involved in hunting, racing and gambling. Willoughby shares an interest in hunting with Sir John Middleton, Davenant with Miss Newenden. Davenant neglects a "widowed aunt, his mother's sister, old, indigent and deprived by death of her children, whom he had never noticed since he became old enough to assist her".⁽¹¹⁾ Willoughby neglects his

aunt, Mrs. Smith, and behaves improperly towards her - for example, by showing Marianne around her home at Allenham - but Jane Austen redresses the balance for Davenant's aunt by making Willoughby dependant on her fortune. The name of Mrs. Smith may perhaps have been suggested by that of the author of *Ethelinde*.

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If Montgomery helped to suggest Willoughby, created as a "protest" against his sentimental perfection, then Sir Edward Newenden can be seen to suggest both of the heroes of *Sense and Sensibility*, but especially Colonel Brandon. Significantly, the name "Brandon" occurs on the very first page of *Ethelinde*, as the name of one of Sir Edward's ancestors:

The abbey . . . was given . . . to the family of Brandon, from whence it descended by a female to Sir Edward Newenden, its present possessor.⁽¹²⁾

Just as Sir Edward suffers unhappiness in marriage, with his wife ruined by a seducer, Colonel Brandon sees the woman he loves married to another, then seduced and ruined. *Ethelinde* is seen by Sir Edward as his consolation and compensation for his wife's infidelity, while Colonel Brandon loves Marianne and sees her as his consolation for the loss of the woman he loved. Sir Edward:

is a sentimentalised version of Monckton in *Cecilia*, who tries to prevent Cecilia's marriage in the hope that he will be able to marry her himself when his old wife dies.⁽¹³⁾

but unlike the villainous Monckton, he does not try to place obstacles in *Ethelinde*'s way (though Montgomery's suit is so beset with troubles that he hardly needs to). Colonel Brandon has to struggle, like

Monckton and Sir Edward, with the promptings of self-interest versus honour; in his case, whether he should reveal what he knows of Willoughby's villainy.

For Jane Austen, the rewriting of *Ethelinde* meant that the aborted union of the older man and the younger girl should be fulfilled in *Sense and Sensibility*. With Montgomery assumed dead, it is said of Ethelinde that, "perhaps the united voice of all her friends may influence her to reward the merit of the living, since the dead are not to be recalled".⁽¹⁴⁾ As the married cannot be recalled either, Marianne must be bestowed on Colonel Brandon, and the "united voices" of Ethelinde's friends becomes the "conspiracy against"⁽¹⁵⁾ Marianne. Jane Austen emerges as a dissatisfied reader of Charlotte Smith's novel, more interested in Sir Edward - a sympathetic character derived from a villainous model in *Cecilia* - than in the conventionally perfect, insipid and forgettable Montgomery; in her rewriting, the Montgomery figure is revealed as unfit to be a hero and Colonel Brandon, Sir Edward's counterpart is rewarded instead.

One of the lessons of *Sense and Sensibility* is that sensibility does not represent a suitable system of values. When Ethelinde rejects Sir Edward's suit, she does so in terms intelligible to Marianne, excusing herself thus:

I know that to the generality of men this would be considered as sentimental declamation, the effect of romantic enthusiasms.⁽¹⁶⁾

Jane Austen destroys the validity of "romantic enthusiasm" in Marianne's mind, thus removing the obstacle to her loving Colonel

Brandon - the idea that she should remain faithful to a tragic first love.

Colonel Brandon is himself a sentimental figure - inevitably, for in his depression, his melancholy, his fidelity and honour he resembles Sir Edward. These shared characteristics make both men more interesting, individual and credible figures than their younger rivals. However, Sir Edward Newenden also has points of correspondence with the other suitor in *Sense and Sensibility*, Edward Ferrars, which extend beyond their (intentionally?) shared first name. Sir Edward is held back from addressing Ethelinde because of his marital commitment to an unworthy woman; only Lady Newenden's removal frees him; Edward Ferrars cannot address himself to Elinor, because of his engagement with the worthless Lucy. Both exhibit symptoms of melancholy, though Edward Ferrars does so the less obtrusively; he is also portrayed as almost aggressively anti-sentimental, in his arguments with Marianne, thus correcting the overly sentimental tendencies of Sir Edward Newenden. Another link between the two was noticed by Magee:

Like Edward Ferrars, who carries a lock of Lucy Steele's hair in a ring which causes a scene of dramatic anguish for Elinor Dashwood, Sir Edward Newenden has a miniature of Ethelinde's which greatly embarrasses the heroine.⁽¹⁷⁾

Magee also notes a link between Willoughby and Sir Edward:

Willoughby is as much concerned as Sir Edward about living with a mean wife when he laments to Elinor his loss of Marianne through his wealthy marriage to a difficult woman: "Domestic happiness is out of the question."⁽¹⁸⁾

Jane Austen transfers the problem besetting Sir Edward for most of *Ethelinde* to Willoughby, as his "punishment"; Edward Ferrars, by contrast, obtains what matters most to himself and Sir Edward, the fulfilment of "his wishes [which] centred in domestic comfort and the quiet of private life".⁽¹⁹⁾ Edward Ferrars also represents a kind of "anti-Montgomery". Willoughby represents the hero become a villain, Edward a satire on Montgomery's perfections, not unlike Catherine Morland's satirical relationship to Emmeline (noted by Lascelles and discussed in the chapter below on *Northanger Abbey*). Charles Montgomery, "understand[s] several languages . . . is proficient in music. He understands tolerably every other science; and in drawing he is almost a master."⁽²⁰⁾ Edward, in specific contrast, "does not draw himself" and is considered by Marianne - whose judgement is probably correct, even if her value-system as a whole is not - to "have no taste for drawing".⁽²¹⁾ Just as Catherine Morland is an unlikely heroine, Edward is an unlikely, unconventional hero; he, "was not recommended by any peculiar graces of person or address. He was not handsome" though "His understanding was good".⁽²²⁾

Ethelinde, although resembling Elinor in certain ways, has clearer affinities, generally, with Marianne. Both are the same age at the start of the story - Marianne is seventeen when she meets Willoughby, while "Ethelinde was not yet eighteen".⁽²³⁾ Both girls can indulge in a sophistry drawn from their sentimental beliefs; in *Ethelinde* the following:

in a few moments she had argued herself into the most perfect conviction of the propriety of what she was desirous to do.⁽²⁴⁾

- is a partner to and a comment on Marianne's belief that:

if there had been any real impropriety in what I did, I should have been sensible of it at the time, for we always know when we are acting wrong. ⁽²⁵⁾

Aside from her rewriting of the main characters, Jane Austen drew on *Ethelinde* in other areas as well. Selfishness is a major theme in both novels. Ethelinde's brother Tom marries a foreign girl who turns out to be an heiress, but he does not relieve Ethelinde's distress with his money. This has its parallel in *Sense and Sensibility*, as McKillop noted:

when Ethelinde's selfish brother argues to himself step by step that his sister needs no part of a newly acquired fortune, we are reminded of the John Dashwoods. ⁽²⁶⁾

An even clearer parallel to and source for the famous scene in *Sense and Sensibility* can be found in the behaviour of the cold-hearted and selfish Lady Hawkhurst, who tries to demonstrate to her husband that his neglect of his brother, Colonel Chesterville, Ethelinde's father, is totally natural. This is recreated in the relationships found in Jane Austen's novel. Like Fanny Dashwood, Lady Hawkhurst fears that money may go to the other side of the family. Lady Hawkhurst has less success than Fanny, indicating that Jane Austen's vision of the world in her novel is darker even than Charlotte Smith's. And *Ethelinde* is dark enough. There is only the doctrine of sensibility to oppose a world of Vice, Greed, Selfishness and almost total lack of family feeling; and on occasions extreme sensibility only increases distress,

rather than providing any form of compensation - one reason for Jane Austen's criticism of it. Lady Newenden, Tom Chesterville, Harcourt, Pevensey and Lady Hawkhurst all show total lack of concern for relatives when it is really required; Lust or Avarice take precedence.

Colonel Brandon may have been allotted that rank in allusion to Colonel Chesterville. The latter lives in Cleveland Row, in London, and it is perhaps not entirely coincidental that the Palmers live on a property named Cleveland. Elinor Dashwood shares her name, although not her characteristics, with the blunt-speaking, horse-mad Eleanor Newenden, Sir Edward's sister.

Mrs. Montgomery, a sentimental widow in penurious circumstances, living remote from London, resembles Mrs. Dashwood, though Jane Austen moves the setting from the Lake District to Devon. Both ladies contrast with Mrs. Ferrars; whereas genuine penury prevents Montgomery addressing Ethelinde, Mrs. Ferrars imposes poverty upon Edward in an attempt to prevent him from marrying. Mrs. Montgomery's mother, in further adumbration of the theme of selfishness, is badly treated by her brother, at his wife's instigation:

His wife, by whose means his fortune had been promoted, convinced him that his sister and her child could not be commodiously removed into his house. ⁽²⁷⁾

"The pride and ill nature of his wife" ⁽²⁸⁾ suggests that of Fanny Dashwood, and this scene, conflated with those mentioned above, appears to have contributed the ideas out of which Jane Austen

constructed the conversation between John and his wife, which ends with his resolving not to give his relatives any financial aid. (These scenes in *Ethelinde* seem to provide a more likely source than, as Seronsy has suggested, *King Lear* II.iv., where Lear's entourage is reduced to none by his daughters. Seronsy noted of John and Fanny that:

Between them they manage to reduce to nothing a filial obligation quite as successfully as Goneril and Regan have done with their promise to their father. Jane Austen may well have had the scene from Shakespeare before her.⁽²⁹⁾

John Dashwood is a "thankless child", but even if Jane Austen did think of Shakespeare's play - and she was perfectly capable of drawing upon multiple sources - the main allusion is likely to be to *Ethelinde*.)

Robert Ferrars appears to have been drawn with Robert Ludford, *Ethelinde*'s cousin, in mind. Ludford, referred to ironically as being "reckoned a young man of infinite talent",⁽³⁰⁾ is a vulgarised version of Belfield in *Cecilia*. His sister, Clarinthia, sets herself up as *Ethelinde*'s (unwanted) confidante, in the way of Henrietta Belfield to *Cecilia* or Lucy Steele to *Elinor*. Ludford, like Robert Ferrars, is a vain coxcomb; Clarinthia, like Lucy, the future Mrs. Robert Ferrars, comes from an essentially vulgar family background. In her description of Mrs. Ferrars, Jane Austen echoes a phrase of Charlotte Smith's, describing Robert Ludford:

his hair . . . together with his high cape, took up so much of his whole person, that his face would have escaped from view, if his nose, somewhat long and sharp, had not *fortunately rescued it from oblivion*.⁽³¹⁾ [italics added]

This is recalled in these lines:

a *lucky* contraction of the brow had *rescued* her countenance from the disgrace of insipidity, by giving it the strong characters of pride and ill-nature. ^{<32>} [italics added]

Although *Ethelinde* is the novel of Charlotte Smith's that is most influential on *Sense and Sensibility*, several other works by that author also have parallels in Jane Austen's novel.

In *Emmeline*, Charlotte Smith created a hero, Frederic Delamere, later Lord Delamere, who proves unworthy of the heroine, and is replaced as her successful suitor by the soldier, Captain Godolphin. Willoughby is more an anti-Montgomery than a Delamere, whose offences rise from lack of control rather than calculated villainy, while Colonel Brandon, though a military man like Godolphin, is in age and status and sentiments closer to Sir Edward; but Jane Austen may have taken the idea of making an apparent "hero" unworthy, and replacing him, from *Emmeline*, but applied it to the material of *Ethelinde*.

Emmeline does contribute some material however. Colonel Brandon tried to come to terms with the seductions of his Eliza and her daughter; Godolphin must face up to his sister having been seduced and made pregnant by the rake, Fitz-Edward. Emmeline, like Ethelinde and Elinor, proves her worth as a nurse, caring for Godolphin's sister Adelina.

The proud, prejudiced and stupid Lady Montreville perhaps contributed to Mrs. Ferrars; when Edward, like Delamere, loves an unsuitable woman, from his family's point of view, the girl is subjected to harassment. Emmeline is innocent of playing the role of an adventuress (as is Elinor); Lucy is not. Mrs. Ferrars is a bigot, but Lucy is actually the unscrupulous minx she believes her to be; as in *Lady Susan*, Jane Austen rewrites the "injured innocent" theme of *Emmeline*, with reference to Lucy. Both Lady Montreville and Mrs. Ferrars have unamiable and ambitious daughters named Fanny, as full of pride as they are deficient in understanding. When Edward is bribed to abandon Lucy by being offered an estate in Norfolk, this may recall how Delamere refuses to go with his family to their estate in Norfolk, because he does not wish to meet there the aristocratic female his family has selected for him in place of Emmeline. Edward is offered Miss Morton, Lord Morton's daughter (and thirty thousand pounds); he may thus parallel Delamere in situation, but his quiet, reticent character is in contrast with Delamere's passion and impetuosity.

Although Willoughby's arrival at Cleveland most resembles Montgomery's sudden return, it also has affinities with a scene in *Emmeline*. The heroine, nursing Adelina at a remote house, is startled to encounter Fitz-Edward walking in the grounds, driven there by guilt. Thus, in both *Emmeline* and *Sense and Sensibility*, the nurse of a wronged woman encounters unexpectedly the remorseful author of those wrongs. This scene may have been conflated with Montgomery's return in the writing of *Sense and Sensibility*.

Magee has commented of Charlotte Smith's third novel, *Celestina* (1791), that it:

parallels parts of *Sense and Sensibility*, as the orphan heroine finds herself strangely abandoned by her betrothed lover Willoughby, just as Marianne Dashwood is deserted by her Willoughby. After similarly being shuttled from house to house and living precariously with strangers, *Celestina* differs from Marianne in finally marrying him. (33)

There is a "Willoughby" in 'A Collection of Letters' who abandons a girl, probably representing Jane Austen's first response to *Celestina*. By naming her supposed hero in *Sense and Sensibility* Willoughby, Jane Austen may have intended to make readers familiar with *Celestina* imagine that there is some excuse for his actions, and that he and Marianne might be united. (Charlotte Smith's Willoughby vanishes suddenly because he fears *Celestina* is actually a close relative; fortunately it turns out that she is not.) The true hero of *Sense and Sensibility*, Colonel Brandon, disappears mysteriously, so preventing the visit to Whitwell, after receiving a letter, and this recalls how Willoughby in *Celestina* abandoned the heroine after receiving a mysterious letter. Jane Austen uses material from *Celestina* to both mislead and to suggest correctly who is her novel's real hero. After their separations, *Celestina* and Marianne are alike in attempting to contemplate the distant estates of their lovers; *Celestina* with the aid of a telescope! Marianne must make do with her naked eye and her "fancy".

Jane Austen drew extensively on the first three novels of Charlotte Smith, in writing *Sense and Sensibility*. A few parallels may be found

with that author's later works as well. In *Desmond* (1794), there is a Miss Elford, who like Nancy Steele likes to talk of scandal and is in love with a Doctor; she may have contributed to Nancy, although the latter is undoubtedly a composite character, drawn from a number of sources. Magee noted "Like Lucy Steele with Edward, the indiscreet Rosalie Lessington of *Montalbert* surrenders a lock of hair to her secret lover"⁽³⁴⁾ - not in itself a persuasive parallel, although *Montalbert* is a kind of rewritten version of *Emmeline*, and Jane Austen may have noted this when the novel was published in 1795, and used it as a model of how to rewrite and redeploy existing material.

The phrase "Sense and Sensibility" does not appear to have been as common as that of "Pride and Prejudice", numerous examples of which have been found, but it is probable that the concepts of "sense" and "sensibility" were not uncommonly contrasted; in Charlotte Smith's *Marchmont* (1796) the heroine Althea is rebuked:

"Come, come", added he, "you have so much *sense* as well as *sensibility* . . ." ⁽³⁵⁾

Here, although the qualities are opposites, they are both found in the same person; this is true in *Sense and Sensibility* as well, although they are unequally distributed between Elinor and Marianne. (The phrase may also have derived from Cowper's 'The Task':

Tho' graced with polish'd manners and fine sense
Yet wanting sensibility . . . ⁽³⁶⁾

- here the qualities seem to be mutually exclusive.)

Charlotte Smith's novel *The Old Manor House* (1793) may have contributed something to the portrayal of Edward, and to his

relationship with Lucy. Charlotte Smith's hero, Orlando Somerive, resembles Edward in his lack of interest in a profession (though necessity eventually forces him into the army): "His values are the traditionally feminine ones of private virtue and domestic happiness".⁽³⁷⁾ Orlando dislikes the legal profession, which helps "to assist men in ruining each other",⁽³⁸⁾ the military, the Church and trade; Jane Austen, the conservative clergyman's daughter, is less hard on the Church than is Charlotte Smith, but in other respects Edward follows Orlando. (This kind of passivity, of resemblance in some ways to women, is a feature of a number of Eighteenth century heroes; but Jane Austen does not necessarily fully approve, as the comments on the significance of *Columella*, discussed below, indicate.)

Edward's situation, as well as his temperament, also recalls Orlando's; Edward has contracted a secret engagement with Lucy, his social and educational inferior, because he fears the disapproval of his mother, upon whom he is financially dependant. Orlando contracts first a secret engagement, then a secret marriage, with Monimia (whose real name is Mary), the niece of his aunt's housekeeper; his prospects of inheriting a fortune depend upon his aunt's caprices. (Willoughby, of course, is also in a somewhat similar position.) Like Emmeline, Monimia is far too correct in her conduct to be credible, given her upbringing; and Jane Austen may satirise this in her presentation of Lucy, ill-educated and inadequately literate (as marked by Edward's critique of her letter-writing); Lucy is also, of course, selfish and spiteful. Jane Austen may have felt that the Orlando-Monimia relationship was neither credible nor creditable, and so she shows the

equivalent between Edward and Lucy to be unsuitable, and introduces Elinor as a more appropriate partner. As discussed in a later chapter, Jane Austen appears to have drawn on *The Old Manor House* in *Mansfield Park*, and it is possible to see Edmund, Fanny and Mary, in the latter as reworkings of the temperaments and situations, in some respects, of Edward, the equivocal, Elinor, the silent sufferer, and Lucy, the malicious coquette.

3.3 Influence of Frances Sheridan

Charlotte Smith's novels were undoubtedly influenced by Frances Sheridan's *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph* (1761), especially in her portrayal of impetuous young men like Delamere who resemble Sidney Bidulph's unfortunate suitor Faulkland. The sudden arrival of Victorine's rich father, in *Ethelinde*, appears to draw upon the arrival of the wealthy West Indian, Warner, in *Sidney Bidulph*; Tom Chesterville's selfishness and neglect of his family recalls that of Sir George Bidulph, and both may have influenced *Sense and Sensibility*. Sir George, like John Dashwood, might have been amiable, with a better wife; but Lady Sarah, whom he marries, resembles Fanny Dashwood in her ignorance and coldhearted selfishness. Willoughby, with his mixture of faults and virtues, recalls Faulkland, although he is a figure of much less stature.

The *Continuation of the Memoirs* (1767) features two sisters of contrasting temperaments living with their widowed mother, the former Sidney Bidulph; Dorothea loves young Orlando, Faulkland's son, and

rejects her virtuous older lover, Lord V--; but when Orlando's sins are revealed, she becomes Lord V--'s wife. In outline, this suggests the basic situation of the Dashwood sisters, and of Marianne's history. The libertine Sir Edward Audley in the *Continuation* seduces a Miss Williams, which is also the name of Willoughby's victim. *Sidney Bidulph's* main influence on *Sense and Sensibility* is probably indirect, transmitted through Charlotte Smith's fiction; but Jane Austen would appear to have known the novel, and it may well have had some direct influence. Willoughby's cross-country dash to Cleveland recalls Faulkland's journey from Ireland to Sidney's home, and his sudden, unexpected, alarming appearance; Faulkland, believing he had killed his wife, came to marry Sidney; and for the reader recollecting Frances Sheridan's novel, Willoughby's arrival may for a moment have been intended to suggest a similar scenario. Faulkland's devotion to Sidney, even after his marriage, is recalled by Willoughby's continued veneration of Marianne.

3.4 Influence of Fanny Burney

Fanny Burney was a common influence on Charlotte Smith and Jane Austen. Sometimes her influence on Jane Austen was transmitted through Charlotte Smith; but it was also felt directly.

Pollock asked at the end of the Nineteenth century:

Does not Mr. Robert Ferrars somehow recall . . .
two [characters] of Miss Burney's - the languid
yet swaggering dandies who appear in *Evelina* and
Camilla?⁽³³⁾

Presumably he meant Sir Clement Willoughby and Sir Sedley Clarendel; but Robert Ferrars is a poor sort of "dandy" compared to them.

Strauch recognised that Brimley Johnson had "of all the critics . . . dealt most extensively with Fanny Burney's influence".^{<40>} Brimley Johnson wrote, uncontroversially, of Colonel Brandon that his "human sympathy . . . For the unfortunate Eliza [and his] . . . responsibility towards mother and daughter . . . recalls Mr. Villars's anxious care for two generations".^{<41>} However, his opinion that *Sense and Sensibility* drew on *Camilla*, with Marianne in the role of Camilla and Elinor in that of Edgar, was first called into question by Tompkins,^{<42>} and disposed of by Strauch. Marianne is seventeen at the start of the novel, the same age as the heroine in the bulk of *Camilla*; and Camilla is impetuous and Edgar cautious and condemning. But Marianne's troubles derive from her being a disciple of the cult of sensibility; Camilla's distresses are brought on by financial imprudence, due partly to misplaced benevolence (which *is* one aspect of sensibility) but mainly through inexperience. The compassionate Elinor is far removed from the pharisaical Edgar.

More than the Villars/Brandon parallel can be found between *Evelina* (1778) and *Sense and Sensibility*. According to Bradbrook:

Madame Duval is the model for Mrs. Jennings . . . and Mrs. Bennet in *Pride and Prejudice* . . . characters which contrast in a similar way with the delicacy of the heroines.^{<43>}

But the goodnatured if sometimes vulgar Mrs. Jennings is, in that case, far removed from her model, who is bigoted and splenetic, and

spiteful. Marianne is embarrassed by Mrs. Jennings, and so is Lady Middleton; and Evelina, with far more justice, was embarrassed by Madame Duval. But Jane Austen focusses on the unfairness with which Marianne treats the kind old lady, rather than on any sufferings from her vulgarity; Marianne is herself a source of embarrassment to Elinor. John Dashwood's "cold indifference" to his sisters comments upon the "ethereal relationship"^{<44>} between the brother and sister Macartney and Evelina in Fanny Burney's novel, possibly influenced by the dark view taken of family ties in *Ethelinde*.

The Steele sisters resemble the Branghtons in *Evelina*, in their vulgar background and attempts to be fashionable. The Steeles are introduced to the Dashwoods through Mrs. Jennings, who thus has the same function as Madame Duval, whose connections the Branghtons are. Nancy embarrasses Lucy, and Lucy herself embarrasses Edward - causing him to resemble a Fanny Burney heroine; he exclaims, of reading Lucy's letters in private "how I have blushed over the pages of her writing!"^{<45>} In McKillop's view, the Steeles represented, with the Middletons and the Ferrars family, "the heartless world, cutting to some extent across class lines, to which Mme d'Arblay's [Fanny Burney's] heroines are exposed."^{<46>}

Nancy Steele may derive in part from Miss Larolles in *Cecilia*. Both share a foolish volubility, and both wish to be teased about men. Miss Larolles says:

I thought it had been something about Mr. Sawyer, for I declare I have been plagued so about him, I am quite sick of his name.^{<47>}

while Nancy says ("affectedly simpering"), "everybody laughs at me so about the Doctor, and I cannot think why."⁽⁴⁸⁾

Mr. Palmer, with his capacity for ignoring his wife and other people, recalls the Insensiblist Mr. Meadows in *Cecilia*; the vestiges of "the ton" remain about the minor characters in *Sense and Sensibility*.

The Ferrars family in its pride recalls not only the Montrevilles but their model, the Delviles in *Cecilia*. No objection can be made to the Dashwood connection on the grounds of class - they had been "long settled in Sussex"⁽⁴⁹⁾ and so were an ancient family of country landowners, and Fanny found John suitable enough. So the objection to Elinor lies in her poverty. Lucy has no connections and is a genuine vulgar adventuress (as discussed above); the unamiable Mrs. Ferrars resembles more nearly Lady Montreville than Mrs. Delvile, though her avarice recalls that of Mr. Delvile, but with even less justice - she is rich, his fortunes are decayed.

3.5 Influence of Samuel Richardson

Elinor's story is a parallel to Harriet Byron's ordeal in *Grandison*. Harriet has to wait while Sir Charles, the man she loves and who loves her, has to deal with the prior claims of Clementina, and still retain his honour. Like Sir Charles, Edward has contracted a previous engagement, although Lucy is a contrasting character to the worthy Clementina; Elinor has to watch Edward maintain his engagement to Lucy for the sake of his honour. The situation is a simplification of that

found in *Grandison*, in that Lucy is not a rival for the real affections of Edward or the reader. Harriet fell in love with Sir Charles, and for a while was perplexed by his mysterious conduct towards her, not knowing of Clementina; Elinor also has her fears about Edward's feelings:

the longer they were together the more doubtful seemed the nature of his regard; and sometimes, for a few painful minutes, she believed it to be no more than friendship.⁽⁵⁰⁾

- and cannot find totally satisfactory reasons to explain this, as she does not know of Lucy's engagement.

Edward became involved with Lucy because he did not find life at home pleasant and because, as Mr. Deane comments in *Grandison*, "Idleness . . . is a great friend to love."⁽⁵¹⁾ Sir Charles became involved with Clementina because his father kept him abroad, refusing to let him come home. Sir Charles is kept away by his father's feelings of guilt about his lifestyle, Edward because of his mother's ill-nature.

Aspects of *Grandison* are also found in Marianne's story. Colonel Brandon, like Grandison (whose name he slightly echoes), "has been a victim of a first attachment"⁽⁵²⁾ although it takes time for Elinor to learn of this, as it takes time for Harriet and her circle to learn of Clementina. Colonel Brandon's guardianship of Eliza recalls not just Mr. Villars in *Evelina* but also Grandison's concern for his ward, Emily Jervois.

Marianne falls in love with a man who has loved another, learning the falsity of her views on a first love; this parallels the "education" of Harriet Byron:

Harriet's preconception (or "prejudice") in favour of being someone's first love, and her idea that only thus can she expect truly gratifying and tender sentiments, is utterly defeated by Sir Charles's situation. <53>

Richardson makes his attitude to first love explicit; as the Countess of D. writes, "I cannot allow the sacredness young people are apt to imagine in a first love." <54>

Bradbrook noted that:

Captain Anderson, in *Sir Charles Grandison*, who pays court to Harriet Byron's friend, Charlotte Grandison . . . might be the model for Willoughby . . . or Wickham. <55>

In a sense this is so, but the parallel fits Wickham much better than Willoughby, who is Marianne's social equal at least, whereas Anderson is an "upstart".

The Selby sisters in *Grandison* perhaps suggested the Steeles in *Sense and Sensibility*; they share the same Christian names - "Lucy and Nancy Selby are the heroine's cousins and Lucy her principal correspondent." <56> The Steeles are "cousins . . . after a fashion" <57> of the Dashwoods.

The Steeles, though they have most triumphantly outgrown their origins, began as caricatures of the Selbys. Both Steeles and Selbys come into the story as cousins of a leading character (Mrs. Jennings, Miss Byron). Neither is shown with parents, both have uncles (Mr. Pratt, Mr. Selby) with whom they stay . . . The Lucies are

prettier, sharper-witted and altogether more important than the Nancies. <58>

But while Harriet can share her worry and grief with her cousin Lucy, and indeed a wide circle of friends and relatives, Elinor is the recipient of Lucy Steele's unwanted secrets, and she cannot share her fears with Lucy or with anyone else. Jane Austen's Lucy is an antagonist of the heroine's, not a friend or confidante. The secrecy of the engagement - or non-engagement - in *Sense and Sensibility* contrasts with the open discussion of those in *Grandison*. Elinor is more isolated as a character than Harriet, even though she is not motherless.

Lucy Selby, like Marianne, first loved an unworthy man. Harriet, praising her for overcoming her passion, asks:

When the love fever was at its height, did you make anyone uneasy with your passion? Did you run to the woods and groves . . . ? <59>

The answer in Lucy's case is "no"; but in these lines there may be a starting point for the contrasting portrait of Marianne, for whom the answer is "yes". At Cleveland, she literally runs to the woods and groves - and so catches a near-fatal chill.

Marianne, however, is more closely drawn from Clementina. The latter suffers bouts of near-madness because of her love for Sir Charles, and these may be paralleled by Marianne's anguish in London and sickness at Cleveland. Clementina has a suitor waiting for her to reject Sir Charles, in the Count of Belvedere (who at one stage wants to

challenge Grandison to a duel). Colonel Brandon, who does fight a duel with Willoughby, represents a rewriting of Belvedere, making him more important, conflated with the virtues of Sir Charles. George Moore spoke of Marianne's "burning human heart",⁽⁶⁰⁾ here appearing for the first time in the English novel; but Marianne's plight is, largely, that of Clementina, and Jane Austen's preference for Elinor over Marianne inevitably follows Richardson's promotion of Harriet, as the worthier, over Clementina.

The name "Brandon" is found in *Grandison*, but this is probably not very significant; it illustrates that "Brandon" was one from the pool of names found in Eighteenth century novels; *Ethelinde* was almost certainly the source of the name's allusive significance. Elinor's Christian name may have been intended to link her with the Grandisons' Aunt Eleanor, whose name was a byword for prudent behaviour (Eleanor Tilney in *Northanger Abbey* is also a model of rectitude).

Willoughby, compared to Lovelace in *Clarissa*, or even Pollexfen in *Grandison*, is poor paste; he, "is simply, sordidly (and conventionally too) a libertine"⁽⁶¹⁾ and he has no real close link with any of the seducers in Richardson's fictions; such links as these are maybe explained in Richardson's own comment that, "there is a sameness in the lives, the actions, the pursuits of libertines"⁽⁶²⁾. Jane Austen rejects as firmly as Richardson the idea that a reformed rake makes the best husband. Willoughby's resentment of Colonel Brandon perhaps recalls Pollexfen's attitude to Sir Charles; but whereas Pollexfen



(conventionally) dies at the end of the novel, Willoughby, "lived to exert . . . and frequently to enjoy himself"⁽⁶³⁾ Jane Austen is dealing with a real rather than an ideal world, and rejects the poetic justice of the Richardsonian sentimental novel, or the Gothic novel (whose villain might have "fled from society, or contracted an habitual gloom of temper"⁽⁶⁴⁾ - "habitual gloom" is a phrase used to describe Schedoni, the monk in Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian*.)

Richardson's first novel, *Pamela*, was not as important to Jane Austen as *Grandison*, but possibly she drew upon it in portraying Lucy Steele.

Bradbrook noted:

Pamela . . . supplied hints for the satirical portrayal of Lucy . . . [who] adopts the same tones of ignominious flattery towards Mrs. Ferrars as Pamela does to Lady Davers.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Lucy Steele - "as her name indicates . . . a luminously cold, hard individual",⁽⁶⁶⁾ is undoubtedly a composite creation; but *Pamela* may indeed underlie this aspect of her character; certainly to Mrs. Ferrars, a servant-girl would hardly have exacted greater indignation as to the connection, than Lucy does herself. (Hardy considered that Becky Sharp in *Vanity Fair* may have derived "several of her features - name, eyes and cunning"⁽⁶⁷⁾ from Lucy Steele; possibly, too, Surtees's Lucy Glitters, in *Mr. Sponge's Sporting Tour*, may have been in part modelled upon her.)

3.6 Influence of Ann Radcliffe

Parallels may be noted between *Sense and Sensibility* and Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). Liddell noted that, when he met Marianne, "Willoughby appeared in his shooting-jacket . . . in such a costume Valancourt first appeared to Emily in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*".⁽⁶⁶⁾ Valancourt at first seems to be an ideal sentimental hero. Then he disappears off to Paris, where he encounters the temptations of the gaming-table. For a while it seems, and Emily for a while believes, that he is unworthy of her, and that a new admirer, Du Pont, is in the ascendant; but Valancourt's errors are shown to be minor, and he and Emily are reconciled. Perhaps Ann Radcliffe toyed with, or made her readers think she might be toying with, following *Emmeline*, and replacing the first hero with another. Willoughby's appearance as a hunter, and his sentimental qualifications suggest Jane Austen had Valancourt in mind - and so did Marianne perhaps, constructing Willoughby out of her favourite heroes, for he is, in a sense, "a 'simulacrum' or a 'figment' of Marianne's imagination."⁽⁶⁷⁾ Unlike Valancourt, however, Willoughby, though he can be partially rehabilitated, can never attain the heroine's hand.

Emily St. Aubert resembles, in part, Elinor, in part Marianne. On occasions she behaves with over-sensibility or irrationality, in a Marianne-like way; and she sighs over the loss of her home at La Vallée as Marianne does over Norland. But generally she exhibits the control and good sense of an Elinor.

M. Quesnel, Emily's uncle, may have hinted at John Dashwood. He intends to cut down the trees on the St., Aubert estate, despite his brother-in-law's objections - St. Aubert opposes the destruction of, "that noble chestnut, which has flourished for centuries"⁽⁷⁰⁾ - and suggests John Dashwood, intent on building a greenhouse, with the consequence that, "the old walnut trees are all come down to make room for it"⁽⁷¹⁾ The Quesnells are relatively recent landed gentry (Ann Radcliffe's setting is Fifteenth century France and Italy, but her characters often seem like Eighteenth century Englishmen), and have all the self-importance of parvenus; they lack a sense of responsibility for their servants and neighbours. M. Quesnel "dismiss[es] an aged and faithful servant, destitute of either support or asylum",⁽⁷²⁾ an action that might well be approved by Fanny Dashwood, with her mean dislike of annuities going to similar persons. The Quesnells and the Dashwoods are alike coldhearted philistines.

Nelson Smith considered that Emilia and Julia, the heroines of Ann Radcliffe's earlier novel, *A Sicilian Romance* may:

suggest the identical pictures of Miss Austen's Elinor and Marianne Dashwood. Mrs. Radcliffe, however, does not develop the contrast but instead follows the adventures of Julia'.⁽⁷³⁾

Perhaps these two sisters do resemble the two elder Dashwood girls slightly, but Marianne generally resembles Ann Radcliffe's sentimental heroines, with her melancholy, and her delight in gloomy solitude (and dead leaves). Edward's references to the picturesque views and

"banditti" beloved of Marianne, suggests she is a reader of Ann Radcliffe's novels, and that she sympathises with their heroines.

3.7 Influence of Robert Bage

Jane Austen is known to have possessed a copy of Robert Bage's *Hermsprong* and it is likely that she knew the other novels of this Midlands paper manufacturer. A case can certainly be made out that *Sense and Sensibility* draws on aspects of his novel of 1784, *Barham Downs*.

In this novel, a girl called Lucy Strode is engaged to marry Henry Davis (his real family name is Osmond). He is generous to his sister, giving her £5,000 when she gets married (in contrast to John Dashwood) but his business starts to fail; so Lucy switches her attention to Henry's brother, whom she marries. This was possibly the source for the story of the similarly-named, similarly calculating Lucy Steele, who transferred her affections (such as they were) from Edward Ferrars to his brother Robert, when Edward's financial prospects looked poor. Lucy's letter to Edward perhaps was modelled upon Lucy Strode's letter to Henry in *Barham Downs*:

Sir,
Your behaviour on Wednesday night convinced me of what I long suspected, that we were not formed to make each other happy in the marital state. For which reason, I presume I am entitled to your thanks, as well as my approbation, for having this morning given my hand to your brother.
Your affectionate sister,
Lucy * * * Osmond⁽⁷⁴⁾

Lucy Steele was, "very sure I have long lost your affections"⁽⁷⁵⁾ and wrote her letter to Edward on the day of her wedding. It is perhaps an allusive joke of Jane Austen's that Lucy Steele's sister Nancy is supposedly admired by a Dr. Davis. Henry Davis resembles Edward Ferrars in certain ways. He is referred to as, "a man of some small accomplishment I believe; but no spirit, no fire"⁽⁷⁶⁾, which may be recalled in Marianne's criticism of Edward - "his eyes want all that spirit, that fire."⁽⁷⁷⁾ However, Henry is also "a man of fine sensibility",⁽⁷⁸⁾ unlike Edward, who is a critic of the cult, although Edward's melancholy is not unlike that of a sentimental character, and he probably exaggerates his criticism of sensibility; he is not insensible like John Dashwood. Bage's criticism of sensibility is clear, though his focus is from a male viewpoint - "that artificial mode of thinking, or of feeling . . . sensibility, spoils you for a man."⁽⁷⁹⁾ Henry later falls in love with Annabella Whitaker, the elder of two sisters, of contrasting natures:

Annabella, the eldest, is the gravest also, and seems the more reflective. The youngest, Margaret, has a greater portion of lively spirits.⁽⁸⁰⁾

(Margaret is, of course, the name of the third Dashwood sister.) Edward's situation is more complicated than Henry's, as he is not, as it were, off with the old love, before he is on with the new.

Barham Downs refers to:

The ingenious author of *Columella* [who] . . . wrote his book to prove man incapable of this effort, when pleasure or profit have no share in the inducement.⁽⁸¹⁾

and Jane Austen also makes an explicit reference to *Columella* in *Sense and Sensibility*.

3.8 Influence of Richard Graves

Richard Graves, novelist and clergyman, "was probably a well-known figure to Jane Austen when living in Bath".⁽⁸²⁾ Certainly she knew his novel, *Columella*, referring to it in *Sense and Sensibility*. The character of *Columella*, who ill-advisedly idles away his life in early retirement from the world, is based partly on Graves's own life, partly on the life of his friend Shenstone. The moral of *Columella* is:

that an active life is generally attended with more happiness than an indolent or retired one⁽⁸³⁾

so it is fittingly mentioned when Edward is boasting that:

idleness was pronounced on the whole to be the most advantageous and honourable . . . I was therefore entered at Oxford and have been properly idle every since.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Mrs. Dashwood refers to *Columella*'s children, who are early bound to different professions, in the hope of avoiding "tedium" and "disgust". *Columella*, as noted above, was referred to by Bage in *Barham Downs*; it was probably a well-known work in Jane Austen's day, and the allusion might be readily understood. But there is a further ironic point to this allusion; living in retirement, *Columella* contracts an unsuitable marriage with his housekeeper; living idly at Mr. Pratt's, even after his education there was complete, Edward contracts his engagement with Lucy:

a foolish, idle inclination on my side . . . the consequence of ignorance of the world - and want of employment. ^(e5)

An ingenious reader of *Columella* and *Sense and Sensibility* might anticipate that Edward had done something of the sort, in his idle hours. Jane Austen makes clear throughout her work her opposition to idleness, as is indicated in her later portrayal of characters like Lady Bertram and Arthur Parker. She was also wary of excessive energy, as depicted in Mrs. Norris and Diana Parker. Edward, as the clergyman at Delaford, will not have an idle future.

Graves was not an author of the sentimental school; he was a novelist "who found pleasure in contemplating the real". ^(e6) His criticisms of sensibility in his novel *Eugenius; or, Anecdotes of the Golden Vale* are recalled by, and possibly provide a model for, Edward's strictures on Marianne's outlook in *Sense and Sensibility*.

Eugenius says:

I dignified the most familiar objects by viewing them through the mists of an enthusiastic imagination. What they called a hill, I called a mountain; an old wood or copse I considered a sacred grove; and a neighbouring heath . . . appeared to me a wild forest, which I fancied to be inhabited . . . by outlaws and robbers. ^(e7)

Edward reverses this process:

I shall call hills steep, which ought to be bold; surfaces strange and uncouth, which ought to be irregular and rugged; and distant objects out of sight, which ought only to be indistinct through the soft medium of a hazy atmosphere. ^(e8)

His subsequent references to "banditti" perhaps recalls Eugenius's "outlaws and robbers".

The significance of *Columella* was recognised by Dodds:

It is most appropriate that this book should be quoted . . . as it carries to excess Elinor Dashwood's distrust of romance and belief that everybody ought to be like everybody else. The moral is that every young man ought to work hard at some profession in order to keep himself out of mischief and that every middle aged man ought to marry. ⁽⁸⁹⁾

The applicability of this to Edward and Colonel Brandon can readily be seen; so it is surprising that Marilyn Butler has written that, "the idea that a gentleman ought to be socially useful does not appear at all in *Northanger Abbey* or *Sense and Sensibility*". ⁽⁹⁰⁾ Edward as a clergyman, Colonel Brandon as a soldier and a landowner, are socially useful; Edward idling at Longstaple, and Robert leading a dissipated London life, are not. (Both General Tilney's sons in *Northanger Abbey* have their professions, the Army and the Church.)

As a further indication that *Columella* was a reference that authors confidently expected their readers to understand, one can be found in Charlotte Smith's *The Banished Man*, where Captain Caverley's "domestic arrangements were not unlike those of *Columella*". ⁽⁹¹⁾

3.9 Influence of Jane West

Jane West's novel *A Gossip's Story* (1796) has been proposed as a source for *Sense and Sensibility* by Melander, and as a "starting

point" for that novel by Tompkins. Certainly, the two works have a number of features in common.

Both feature a heroine named Marianne - a coincidence that may have been over-influential in the minds of some critics; for coincidence it must be; *A Gossip's Story* was published in 1796, and *Elinor and Marianne*, the first version of *Sense and Sensibility*, had been written before then. This is not to say that Jane Austen did not respond to a similarity of names by inspecting *A Gossip's Story* closely, and perhaps reworking some of its material when she was rewriting *Elinor and Marianne*. Marianne Dashwood is saved from an unsuitable match; not so Jane West's Marianne Dudley, whose fate represents that of Marianne Dashwood, if she had married the sentimental Willoughby of her imagination. Jane West's Marianne is a devotee of the cult of sensibility, living with her grandmother after her mother's death, until she too dies. Her admirer, Clermont:

gains admission to the family at Stannadine by rescuing Marianne from an accident on a frightened horse . . . soon they are practising music together, and he is bringing her books. In just this fashion Willoughby makes his entry into the Dashwood home and behaves when he is there.⁽⁹²⁾

Clermont and Marianne marry; he is no libertine like Willoughby, but a fellow sentimentalist (as Willoughby seemed to be); in spite of - or rather, because of - this, the marriage is an unhappy one.

Marianne Dudley's elder sister Louisa has "an informed well-regulated mind",⁽⁹³⁾ similar to Elinor. Louisa's eventual husband Pelham was originally an admirer of Marianne's - so, like Elinor, Louisa has to

see the man she loves involved with another - in this case, her own sister. Marianne breaks with Pelham because, rather like Edward, he is too tame - "her presence indeed seemed to give him satisfaction, but not of the transporting kind she expected".⁽⁹⁴⁾

The role of the libertine is taken in *A Gossip's Story* by Sir William Milton, but his engagement to Louisa is broken off when he is revealed to have, like Willoughby, seduced a girl and abandoned her. His victim is a Miss Morton - the name of Edward's proposed wife in *Sense and Sensibility*; possibly this is an allusive joke on Jane Austen's part, although the name is not uncommon in novels of the time. Willoughby poses as a sentimentalist; he receives in *Sense and Sensibility* the punishment of suffering the same fate as the genuine sentimentalist Marianne Dudley in *A Gossip's Story*, an unsuccessful marriage - though Jane Austen, preferring the realistic to the idealistic, makes clear that he was still able to enjoy life, and that, "his wife was not always out of humour, nor his home always uncomfortable".⁽⁹⁵⁾

Marianne and Louisa have been brought up apart since their mother's death; in this sense the difference in their outlook can be more realistically explained than the difference between Marianne and Elinor; they have been shaped by different environments. Marianne Dudley inherited a fortune from her grandmother; perhaps this is recalled in Margaret's wish that someone would leave them each a large fortune.

Nancy Steele, chasing her doctor, has a parallel in the ageing coquette Miss Cardamum, though she is a composite figure undoubtedly; her spying on Lucy parallels Marianne's maid spying on Clermont. In Pelham's grounds there is, "a fine Doric temple . . . dedicated to Integrity and Fortitude"⁽⁹⁶⁾ while Cleveland also features a Grecian temple, to which Marianne intends to walk regularly. Both novels, almost certainly drawing upon the same didactic models, such as *Columella*, condemn Idleness - Jane West comments acidly of Mr. Alsop the attorney that he, "educated his son in what he esteemed the distinguishing mark of a gentleman, *Idleness*".⁽⁹⁷⁾ Pelham is attracted to Louisa by her abilities as a nurse (as Sir Edward Newenden is to Ethelinde) - this is a stock situation; Elinor, too, of course displays her fortitude in nursing Marianne.

Tompkins is right to observe between the two novels:

a relation too close to be accounted for simply by the fact both novelists were drawing on the common stock of . . . the contemporary novel⁽⁹⁸⁾

and there can be little doubt Jane Austen read *A Gossip's Story* and rewrote some of its material in *Sense and Sensibility*; both works (like many other novels of the time) attack sensibility, but Jane Austen, may, as Melander speculated, have "found *A Gossip's Story* dull" and wanted to "write more sensibly about sensibility".⁽⁹⁹⁾ However, Jane Austen probably integrated the material when she was rewriting the first version of her novel, one drawing upon material taken mainly from Charlotte Smith, Fanny Burney and Richardson; so *A Gossip's Story* was not a "source" or a "starting-point"; rather it was a point along the way. The integration of material from *A Gossip's*

Story into a text already in some kind of existence might be seen as analogous to the possible revision of *Lady Susan* in the light of *Delphine* (except that *A Gossip's Story* has, undoubtedly, stronger links). Jane Austen's basic material - a pair of contrasting sisters, whose stories illustrate the fallacies of sensibility - was almost certainly therefore conceived separately from and without any influence from *A Gossip's Story*; it was an underlying, coincidental similarity that led Jane Austen to rewrite aspects of that work in her own novel. Tompkins noted that demonstrating "the evils of ill-regulated sensibility . . . in the parallel love-stories of two sisters"⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ is a device to be found only in these two novels; but pairs of sisters of contrasting temperaments were actually not uncommon, and it is perfectly possible that Jane Austen and Jane West hit upon their ideas coincidentally, through thinking along similar lines - indeed, it is more than possible. Jane Austen was, after all, probably drafting *Elinor and Marianne* before she ever read *A Gossip's Story*.

Willoughby's victim is Miss Williams (the similarity of names perhaps suggesting their coming-together to satisfy their sexual wills), and it is a Miss Williams who is the intended victim of the libertine Sir Henry Neville in Jane West's first novel, *The Advantages of Education* (1793). This may be an allusive joke of Jane Austen's; an earlier, successfully seduced victim of Neville's is a Miss Seymour, whose Christian name is "Eliza" - like that of Willoughby's victim. It is possible that working on material from *A Gossip's Story*, Jane West's second novel recalled to Jane Austen's mind these names from the

first, and led her to include them. Sir Henry resembles Willoughby in that his misconduct separates him from the heroine of the novel, who subsequently marries a more solidly worthy man - Mr. Herbert in Jane West's novel, Colonel Brandon in Jane Austen's.

3.10 Influence of Maria Edgeworth

Two works of Maria Edgeworth's first published in 1795 had been proposed as possible suggestions for *Sense and Sensibility* - her short story 'Mademoiselle Panache' (Part One), and 'Letters of Julia and Caroline' in *Letters for Literary Ladies*.

Moler saw 'Mademoiselle Panache', in *The Parent's Assistant* (1795-96), as suggesting the novel's design of a clear-sighted sister and a deceived one. Helen Temple is equated with Marianne, her sister Emma with Elinor. Helen is deceived in her friendship with Lady Augusta, whom she regards as charming, but who is actually a "cold-hearted, unprincipled girl".⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Augusta drops Helen for more fashionable friends, paralleling how Willoughby drops Marianne for Sophia Grey and her £50,000. Emma's wariness, like Elinor's, is vindicated.

Talmadge remarked of 'Julia and Caroline' that "it is possible this little work suggested the framework of *Sense and Sensibility*",⁽¹⁰²⁾ or rather perhaps the framework of the supposedly epistolary *Elinor and Marianne*; in 'Julia and Caroline' two correspondents speak up for contrasting viewpoints, one advocating sensibility, one prudence. Julia, the devotee of sensibility, marries the wrong man, is

unfaithful, and dies. But they are not sisters; and as early as 'Lesley Castle' Jane Austen had depicted sisters of differing temperaments. It is possible that *Elinor and Marianne* may have recalled 'Julia and Caroline' - the title seems to - but not enough is known of this first version of *Sense and Sensibility* to be sure; 'Julia and Caroline' does not have much in common with the finished version of the novel. Julia's unsuccessful marriage, like Marianne Dudley's in *A Gossip's Story*, serves as a warning that sentimentalist rarely are happy in married life; this is a traditional theme of the anti-sentimental novel, and suggests again that Marianne and Willoughby would not have been happy together.

3.11 Influence of Mary Brunton

Spender has written of Mary Brunton's first novel that, "Jane Austen . . . intently studied the style of *Self-Control*, and . . . was concerned that she would not attain the same level of excellence".⁽¹⁰³⁾ There is no evidence for this wild statement. Jane Austen was revising *Sense and Sensibility* when *Self-Control* was published. She was briefly afraid that Mary Brunton's novel might deal in much the same themes as her own, be too clever and forestall her own characters. She need not have worried, for "it is utterly unlike *Sense and Sensibility*".⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ When she did read *Self-Control* she found it, "an excellently-meant, elegantly-written Work, without any thing of Nature or Probability in it".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Jane Austen's own

manner was to emphasise the natural and the probable; as Ehrenpreis has written:

Her characteristic reaction to this kind of artificiality is to laugh it out of existence. She will exaggerate the silliness of such writing - slip Laura's canoe across the Atlantic - so that anyone can see how grotesque it is. (106)

"Elegantly-written" damns with faint praise, and hardly suggests Jane Austen modelled her style on Mary Brunton's. Her style does not alter between *Sense and Sensibility* - written without the benefit of exposure to Mary Brunton - and *Pride and Prejudice*, or *Mansfield Park*. The style of the novels clearly has its forerunner in the *Juvenilia*. Spender adduces no stylistic evidence to support her statement - presumably because there is none. She must have known that Jane Austen ridiculed Mary Brunton's novel, because she quotes from a letter in which Jane Austen does so; yet presumably because it does not suit her, she makes no reference to this. Her claim is nonsensical, her approach close to dishonesty. *Self-Control* provides an interesting contrast to *Sense and Sensibility*, defining it by being all that it is not; the Jane Austen of the *Juvenilia* shines through in the adult woman's response to the novel, but it had absolutely no discernible influence on her work.

3.12 Influence of Henry Mackenzie

In Hardman's view, of all *Sense and Sensibility*'s proposed sources "none seem to have a better claim than one of Mackenzie's papers". (107) This is No. 64 of *The Lounger*, written in the form of a letter from one Constantia, bewailing the ill effects of her

sensibility. Left fatherless when young, she and her only sister are both well-educated, but of contrasting temperaments; Constantia tended to create for herself "a visionary picture of happiness, arising from a highly refined sensibility".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Her sister "was contented to think as other people thought".⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Hardman felt that here were the models for Marianne and Elinor. Constantia's mother argued from a prudential position, but by nature was an enthusiast for sensibility; this trait was more marked in Mrs. Dashwood. Constantia has two suitors, Florio and Alcander, roughly corresponding to Willoughby and Colonel Brandon, although Alcander also resembles Edward in some ways. Florio[']s handsome, elegant, and speaks the language of sensibility, but is deficient in a husband's necessary qualities; Constantia marries him, and like the heroine of *A Gossip's Story*, comes to regret her choice. Alcander, a favourite of Constantia's mother, was noted for his "good sense and useful knowledge"⁽¹¹⁰⁾; rejected by Constantia, he finds happiness with her sister. (At one point in *Sense and Sensibility*, Colonel Brandon seems to have transferred his interest to Elinor.)

Jane Austen is likely to have known *The Lounger*, a probable model for *The Loiterer*; and certainly parallels do exist between the periodical pieces and the novel. But Hardman's estimation of Mackenzie's importance seems over-stated; temperamental differences between two sisters or close friends are a standard feature of eighteenth century novels, tracing back to Richardson's heroines (Clarissa and Anna Howe, Harriet and Charlotte Grandison, Harriet and Clementina), if not to Shakespeare's (in *As You Like It* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, for

instance). That hypocrites can speak the language of sensibility, and that it is an inadequate basis for happiness, are also commonplace conclusions in the novels of the time. Jane Austen works in a tradition, her novels drawing upon many "sources" - though in many instances, that is too strong a word - and making multiple allusions; Hardman's proposal is valid, but its influence would appear to be as much generic as specific.

3.13 Influence of William Shakespeare

Marianne and Willoughby are obviously enthusiasts for Shakespeare; Willoughby calls the horse he keeps for Marianne "Queen Mab", and he was reading *Hamlet* to the Dashwoods when he went away. The name "Queen Mab" may have been intended by Jane Austen to have an ironic significance; in *Romeo and Juliet*, Mercutio says of her that:

. . . she gallops night by night
Through lovers' brains, and then they dream of
love.⁽¹¹¹⁾

Mercutio says "that dreamers often lie"⁽¹¹²⁾; told "^{thou} talk'st of nothing", he replies "I talk of dreams."⁽¹¹³⁾ This exchange, recalled by the name, may imply that Marianne's hopes of future happiness with Willoughby will have all the substance of "dreams", that they will come to "nothing"; he is her dream-lover (almost her demon-lover, for whom she will literally wail), as it were, and he lies to her. Perhaps the reading of *Hamlet* broke off at the point where Ophelia is being repulsed by Hamlet, and told to go to a nunnery. Ophelia commits suicide, while Marianne comes to feel that if she had died at Cleveland, it would have been "self-destruction". Thus both the

explicit Shakespearean references in the novel in some way foreshadow an aspect of the future development of Marianne's life.

Possibly Marianne's name also contains an implicit Shakespearean allusion; for Jane Austen may have recalled Mariana in *Measure for Measure*, who is, like Marianne Dashwood, the victim of a heartless jilt, a seducer who is a seemingly respectable man who feels he cannot afford to marry her, because of her relative poverty. But such a suggestion can only be tentative.

3.14 Influence of Alexander Pope

Marianne receives from Willoughby "every assurance of his admiring Pope no more than is proper".¹¹⁴ Pope is seen as the representative of an urbane style of poetry that the sentimentalist rejects. Yet Pope's poem 'The Rape of the Lock' is perhaps fleetingly recalled in the novel.

When Elinor discovers Edward has a plait of hair in a ring, she assumes that it is hers; he claims that it is his sister's - actually, of course, it is Lucy's. Elinor knows that she did not give it to him, and so "was conscious [it] must have been obtained by some theft or contrivance unknown to herself",¹¹⁵ it must have been gained illicitly. Momentarily, perhaps, the illicit obtaining of a lock of hair in Pope's poem is brought to the reader's recollection. (Lucy freely bestowed her hair on Edward; but his embarrassment, and Elinor's suspicions, about it do manifest the secretive, unsanctioned,

illicit relationship he has with Lucy. Willoughby had a lock of Marianne's hair, which annoyed his wife.)

3.15 Associations with Romanticism

Sense and Sensibility draws on the material of the Eighteenth century novel; its view of sensibility places it in a tradition of novels which discuss the antitheses of prudent and sentimental viewpoints such as Elizabeth Inchbald's *Nature and Art* (which argues in favour of sensibility) and the novels of Jane West. But the novel also has features about it that would associate it with Romanticism. By the time the novel was published, Romanticism was replacing - indeed, pretty much had replaced - Sentimentalism; or had, at any rate, absorbed most of its features. Between the first drafting and the publication of the novel, the *Lyrical Ballads* had been published; so had Scott's early poems. The novel responds to this Romanticism, as several critics have recognised. George Moore wrote, "here we find the burning human heart in English prose narrative for the first, and, alas for the last time".^{<116>}

For Empson:

Sense and Sensibility . . . is a pretty full-blown piece of romanticism . . . Marianne can "scream in agony" and be convincing about it . . . we have Willoughby seeing all the way in front of him, as he drives all night through a storm to the supposed death-bed of Marianne, the face of deathly agony with which she had received his insults and rejection. It is a detail that you might get in Dostoevsky.^{<117>}

Jane Austen may reject the viewpoints of Marianne and Willoughby, but she does not reject the materials of Romanticism in her writing.

Marianne and Willoughby represent a comment on literature's "star-crossed lovers". Jane Austen understands Marianne's urges:

The narcissistic desire to join oneself to a double of the opposite sex is . . . a displacement of the death-wish. It both covertly expresses that wish and yet postpones its fulfilment by expressing it in a figurative form.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

- for as Marianne herself admits, recovering from her illness, "had I died - it would have been self-destruction".⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Willoughby, with his similarity of tastes, is a kind of simulacrum, derived from her fantasies, fuelled by her reading; "against a figure out of her imagination, she has no defence".⁽¹²⁰⁾

Willoughby is a dark double of her own creation, relating him to the destructive "doubles" found in *Caleb Williams* or *Frankenstein* and in Romantic poetry. Indeed, such "doubles" feature in later novels such as James Hogg's *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*; Jane Austen is anticipating the Romantic infatuation with a double and with death. Marianne's restoration to her senses, her recognition of her false value-scheme, recalls Arabella's recovery after illness in Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752), and Clementina's acceptance of the impossibilities of marriage to Sir Charles after her sickness in *Grandison*; but it also takes its place in a tradition that later includes Thomas Hardy's *The Well-Beloved*, where Pierston is only cured of his recurring obsession after a bout of illness. In attacking the

attitudes of Sentimentalism and its successor, Romanticism, Jane Austen employs an antithetical model within a didactic tradition, but she also employs a motif of "doubleness", a form of the divided self, which is central to Romanticism. A Romantic strategy is used, as it were, to criticise Romantic ideology. The novel was conceived in the 1790s, the decade when Britain was divided against itself in its response to revolution, a decade in which paranoia and the divided self were expressed fictionally in Godwin's *Caleb Williams*; it was published in the decade in which Godwin's daughter Mary Shelley composed *Frankenstein*, perhaps the ultimate myth of the creation of a destructive double. For all that *Sense and Sensibility* drew on the literature of the Eighteenth century, when published in 1811 it was in some ways very much a work of, or even in advance of, its own time.

3.16 Conclusion

Elinor and Marianne, written and read to the family before 1796, has been supposed to have been in epistolary form. The main source for this view is a note made by Caroline Austen:

Memory is ^{treacherous} fallible, but I cannot be mistaken in saying that *Sense and Sensibility* was *first* written in letters, and *so* read to the family. ⁽¹²¹⁾

But Caroline had no first-hand knowledge of this, as she was not born until 1805; Southam commented that "she must have picked up these details from family talk". ⁽¹²²⁾ But Cassandra, who knew more about Jane Austen's creative processes than anyone else, merely noted in a memorandum that "I am sure something of the same story and characters

had been written earlier and called *Elinor and Marianne*;"⁽¹²³⁾ which makes no reference to its being epistolary. Caroline Austen's memory could have been "treacherous"; she almost seems to protest too much; her own brother, the author of the *Memoir*, rejected her recollection. Thus the case for an epistolary origin for *Sense and Sensibility*, drawn from biographical details, looks shaky.

Both Q.D. Leavis and Southam believed in an epistolary origin, however, and based their arguments on readings of the text as well as on Caroline's statement; both drew upon Lascelles, who believed also in an epistolary *Elinor and Marianne*. As some of the *Juvenilia*, and *Lady Susan*, were written in the form of letters, it would not be unreasonable to speculate on the nature of *Elinor and Marianne*. But it can only be speculation, in the absence of a manuscript or any description of it. And the attempts to find the fossil remains, as it were, of an epistolary original incompletely integrated in the final text of *Sense and Sensibility* seems highly dubious. Jane Austen was not a slovenly artist; she had many years in which to polish *Sense and Sensibility*; it would be surprising if she allowed inconsistencies or errors of tone to survive from a very different original.

If the plot of *Elinor and Marianne* bore any resemblance to that of *Sense and Sensibility*, then it is hard to see between whom the letters could have passed; Southam postulated that Elinor and Marianne both wrote to a friend or friends back in Sussex. He suggested that "the existence of such a companion is hinted at"⁽¹²⁴⁾ in the lines which say of Elinor that her amusements "afforded her no companion that

could make amends for what she had left behind . . . Neither Lady Middleton nor Mrs. Jennings could supply to her the conversation she missed".⁽¹²⁵⁾ In Southam's view:

"The conversation she missed" was not that of her mother and sisters . . . this reference . . . survives from the original correspondence scheme, where such a confidante would be required.⁽¹²⁶⁾

But, as both Hardy and Lock have pointed out, this is to misunderstand the context of the passage. Because of Willoughby's regular presence, Marianne is not often available to Elinor, as she and Willoughby "scarcely spoke a word to anyone else".⁽¹²⁷⁾ Elinor is not altogether happy about this intimacy, but she cannot speak to Mrs. Dashwood about it. The person to whom she could have spoken, and whom she has "left behind", is not a female friend, but Edward, who often came to Norland - as his sister lived there - but who could have little excuse for coming to Barton. So the passage is fully comprehensible without postulating that it is an unintegrated survival from an earlier version.

Obviously no letters could pass between Edward and Elinor. If the latter did have a female friend and correspondent, then it is difficult to see how she could have communicated to her the discovery of Edward's engagement to Lucy - after all, she is sworn to secrecy and adheres so strictly to this that even Marianne is not informed. Elinor's response to this crisis is central to the story's moral vision, and to the contrast between the sisters. Possibly Edward or

Lucy had confidantes, or wrote letters to one another - or, more likely, *Elinor and Marianne* was not an epistolary work.

Southam believed that:

A number of Marianne's speeches read like passages from the letters of a sentimental heroine . . . these passages may have been carried over from her original letters to a confidante at Norland.⁽¹²⁸⁾

But even if Marianne's speeches (in a work of literature) sound literary, this may well be intended simply to suggest their bookish origin; for all the spontaneity valued by Marianne, her speeches, ironically, suggest superficiality and lack of originality - thus contributing to Jane Austen's critique of sensibility. Occasional stiffness in writing does not require the postulation of an epistolary origin to explain it.

In *Lady Susan*, Jane Austen's most serious attempt at writing in the epistolary mode, there are few reported conversations - because Jane Austen would consider that pages of minutely recollected talk are unbelievable and unnatural, even if they are a convention in Richardson and in later novels-in-letters. (Her impatience with such things is made clear in *Northanger Abbey*.) *Lady Susan* is one of the most natural and believable epistolary novels written in the Eighteenth century, but Jane Austen's awareness of the limitations of the form are notable. It is more than likely that after writing *Lady Susan* she turned her back for ever on writing epistolary works.

Lock, in his discussion of the question of an epistolary origin - from which some of the points made above are drawn - considered that explanations could be found for all the supposed evidence of such an origin and remarked:

. . . criticism must resist the temptation to fall back on 'Elinor and Marianne' to explain weak or unpleasing elements in *Sense and Sensibility*. The evidence of what 'Elinor and Marianne' was like , perished with the manuscript. (129)

Essentially, "there is no need to posit an epistolary origin". (130)

All this is supported by a consideration of Jane Austen's sources in the novel; Richardson aside, all the major influences, including *Ethelinde*, the strongest of all, are narratives; and little should be made of Richardson's influence in terms of suggesting an epistolary original, for Richardson is a powerful and pervasive influence on all Jane Austen's novels, right up to and including *Persuasion*, for which no epistolary origins have ever been conjectured. So the idea that *Sense and Sensibility* grew out of an original written in letters would appear to be a misconception, and one that should be laid to rest.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE:
SENSE AND SENSIBILITY

1. Moler, *Jane Austen's Art of Allusion*, 58.
2. Charlotte Smith, *Ethelinde*, I, 240-41.
3. Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 132 (hereafter referred to as *SS*).
4. *SS*, 47.
5. *SS*, 184.
6. Jane Austen, *Letters*, 404.
7. *SS*, 46.
8. *Ethelinde*, III, 17.
9. *SS*, 53.
10. F.P. Locke, 'The Geology of *Sense and Sensibility*', 252.
11. *Ethelinde*, I, 34.
12. *Ethelinde*, I, 1.
13. Fry, *Charlotte Smith, Popular Novelist*, 55.
14. *Ethelinde*, III, 299.
15. *SS*, 378.
16. *Ethelinde*, III, 303.
17. William H. Magee, 'The Happy Marriage: The Influence of Charlotte Smith on Jane Austen', 128.
18. Magee, *op. cit.*, 128-29.
19. *SS*, 16.
20. *Ethelinde*, I, 125.
21. *SS*, 19.
22. *SS*, 15.
23. *Ethelinde*, I, 5.

24. *Ethelinde*, I, 67.
25. *SS*, 68.
26. McKillop, 'Allusions to Prose Fiction', 429.
27. *Ethelinde*, I, 88.
28. *ibid.*
29. Cecil C. Seronsy, 'Jane Austen's Technique', 304-5.
30. *Ethelinde*, I, 282.
31. *Ethelinde*, I, 282-83.
32. *SS*, 232.
33. Magee, 'The Happy Marriage', 123.
34. Magee, *op. cit.*, 125.
35. Charlotte Smith, *Marchmont*, IV, 164.
36. William Cowper, 'The Task', IV.11.561-62.
37. Katherine M. Ropers, 'Dreams and Nightmares', 11.
38. Charlotte Smith, *The Old Manor House*, 160.
39. Walter Herries Pollock, *Jane Austen: Her Contemporaries and Herself*, 93.
40. Gerard Strauch, 'Jane Austen's Response to Fanny Burney', 217.
41. R. Brimley Johnson, *A New Study of Jane Austen*, 40.
42. see J.M.S. Tompkins, 'Elinor and Marianne: A Note on Jane Austen', *passim*.
43. Bradbrook, *Jane Austen and her Predecessors*, 96.
44. Strauch, *op. cit.*, 222.
45. *SS*, 365.
46. Alan D. McKillop, 'The Context of *Sense and Sensibility*', 70.
47. Fanny Burney, *Cecilia*, I, 59.
48. *SS*, 218.
49. *SS*, 3.

50. *SS*, 22.
51. Richardson, *Grandison*, II, 30.
52. Jan Fergus, *Jane Austen and the Didactic Novel*, 53.
53. Fergus, *op. cit.*, 79.
54. *Grandison*, II, 546.
55. Bradbrook, *Jane Austen and her Predecessors*, 87.
56. E.E. Duncan-Jones, 'Letter', *TLS* (10 Sept. 1964), 845.
57. *SS*, 119.
58. Duncan-Jones, *op. cit.*, 845.
59. *Grandison*, I, 67.
60. George Moore, 'The Means are as Simple as the Results are Amazing', 276.
61. Fergus, *Jane Austen and the Didactic Novel*, 53.
62. *Grandison*, II, 667.
63. *SS*, 379.
64. *ibid.*
65. Bradbrook, *Jane Austen and her Predecessors*, 84-85.
66. Joseph Wiesenfarth, *The Errand of Form: An Assay of Jane Austen's Art*, 46.
67. Barbara Hardy, *A Reading of Jane Austen*, 71n.
68. Liddell, *The Novels of Jane Austen*, 18.
69. *ibid.*
70. Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, 13.
71. *SS*, 226.
72. Liddell, *op. cit.*, 19.
73. Nelson C. Smith, 'Sense, Sensibility and Ann Radcliffe', 590n.
74. Robert Bage, *Barnham Downs*, I, 33.
75. *SS*, 365.

76. *Barnham Downs*, I, 91.
77. *SS*, 17.
78. *Barnham Downs*, I, 33.
79. *Barnham Downs*, I, 165.
80. *Barnham Downs*, I, 47.
81. *Barnham Downs*, I, 7.
82. Humphreys, 'Jane Austen and Columella', 430.
83. Richard Graves, *Columella*, I, 10.
84. *SS*, 103.
85. *SS*, 362.
86. J.M.S. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England 1700-1800*, 175.
87. Richard Graves, *Eugenius*, I, 24-25.
88. *SS*, 97.
89. M.H. Dodds, 'Jane Austen and Columella', 453.
90. Marilyn Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 154n.
91. Charlotte Smith, *The Banished Man*, I, 211.
92. Tompkins, '*Elinor and Marianne*', 35.
93. quoted in Tompkins, '*Elinor and Marianne*', 33.
94. Jane West, *A Gossip's Story and A Legendary Tale*, I, 45.
95. *SS*, 379.
96. quoted in Tompkins, '*Elinor and Marianne*', 35.
97. *A Gossip's Story*, I, 22.
98. Tompkins, '*Elinor and Marianne*', 33.
99. Martin Melander, 'An Unknown Source of Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*', 155.
100. Tompkins, '*Elinor and Marianne*', 33.
101. Kenneth L. Moler, '*Sense and Sensibility* and its Sources', 415.
102. Abby Talmadge, 'Letter', *TLS* (4 Jan. 1934), 12.

103. Dale Spender, *Mothers of the Novel: 100 Good Woman Writers Before Jane Austen*, 331.
104. M.H. Dodds. 'More Notes on Jane Austen's Novels', 405.
105. Jane Austen, *Letters*, 344.
106. Anne Henry Ehrenpreis, ed., *Northanger Abbey* by Jane Austen, 7-8.
107. Philippa Hardman, 'Jane Austen and the Periodical Works of Henry Mackenzie', 323-24.
108. Henry Mackenzie, ed., *The Lounger*, II, 275.
109. *ibid.*
110. *The Lounger*, II, 278.
111. William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv.70-71.
112. William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv.51.
113. William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv.96.
114. *SS*, 47.
115. *SS*, 98.
116. Moore, 'The Means are as Simple as the Results are Amazing', 276.
117. William Empson, '"Sense" and "Sensibility"', 298.
118. J. Hillis Miller, 'Introduction', *The Well-Beloved* by Thomas Hardy, 21.
119. *SS*, 345.
120. Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art*, 66.
121. quoted in Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 54.
122. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 54n.
123. quoted in Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 53.
124. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 56.
125. *SS*, 54.
126. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 56.
127. *SS*, 54.
128. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 56.

129. Lock, 'The Geology of *Sense and Sensibility*, 255.

130. Lock, *op. cit.*, 250.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRIDE AND PREJUDICE

4.1 Introduction

The original version of *Pride and Prejudice*, called *First Impressions*, was written between October 1796 and August 1797, between *Elinor and Marianne* and the rewriting of that as *Sense and Sensibility*. *First Impressions* was offered for sale in November 1797, and declined. A change of title was necessitated by the publication of a novel entitled *First Impressions* (by Mrs. Holford) in 1800. Jane Austen undoubtedly revised her novel at some time between 1797 and 1812, but precisely how and when is a matter for conjecture. *Pride and Prejudice* was published in January 1813.

4.2 Influence of Fanny Burney

A number of critics have discussed the relationship between Fanny Burney's novels, especially *Cecilia*, and *Pride and Prejudice*; they include Brimley Johnson, Chapman in his edition of the novel, Q.D. Leavis, Bradbrook, Strauch and Fergus. The critics have been led to comparing *Cecilia* and *Pride and Prejudice* through the latter's title occurring at a prominent place at the end of Fanny Burney's novel. The phrase was in fairly widespread use in the second half of the

Eighteenth century, but there can be no doubt that Jane Austen intended primarily to refer to *Cecilia*.

Fanny Burney's novel concerns the wish of a proud man, Mortimer Delvile, from an even prouder family, with a notable name, who is the last of his line, to marry a young woman, Cecilia Beverley, who despite her personal qualities, is judged unacceptable because of her family connections, in the eyes of Mortimer's parents. Cecilia has inherited a fortune, which would be useful to the Delviles, whose finances have decayed; but her legacy from her uncle is conditional upon her husband taking the Beverley name, which would otherwise become extinct, and the Delvile pride cannot accept this. This predicament is a rewriting of the central situation of *Grandison* - where the conflict is between love and religion - in class terms; Fanny Burney is "the first novelist . . . to make a thorough study of snobbery".⁽¹⁾ And snobbery lies behind Lady Catherine's objections to Elizabeth in *Pride and Prejudice*. The latter follows on from Fanny Burney's works:

Cecilia is both a novel of analysis and a comic picture of social life. Fanny Burney had not a strong enough talent to fuse the two with complete success. For that the English novel had to wait for Jane Austen.⁽²⁾

Jane Austen deliberately pointed the similarities of her novel to *Cecilia* through her choice of nomenclature. "Darcy" and "Bennet" slightly echo "Delvile" and "Beverley". There is a "Miss Bennet" in *Cecilia*, a companion of Lady Margaret Monckton - "she was low-born, meanly educated and narrow minded"⁽³⁾ and in this is recalled by *Mrs.*

Bennet in *Pride and Prejudice*, who "was a woman of mean understanding, little information, and uncertain temper".^{<4>}

Ironically, in view of Mrs. Bennet's enthusiasm for marriage, Miss Bennet's major role in the plot of *Cecilia* is to stop a marriage - she is the mysterious woman who objects to Mortimer marrying Cecilia when they are at the altar. She is described thus:

"Miss Bennet agreeable!" cried Mrs. Harrel, "I think she's the most odious creature I even knew in my life; a nasty spiteful old maid!"^{<5>}

By contrast, Jane Austen's *Miss Bennet* (Jane) is the most kind-hearted of characters.

There are other similarities in nomenclature. Both novels feature a minor character named "Hill". Chapman noted, "the resemblance of *Pemberley* to *Pemberton*, the family name in *Cecilia*, of the Duke of Derwent".^{<6>} ("Pemberley" perhaps combines "Pemberton" with "Beverley".) "Derwent" is a north country name, and such names are also found in *Pride and Prejudice*, as Chapman observed:

both the D'Arcys, Earls of Holderness, and of course the Fitzwilliams (Darcy's father married Lady Anne Fitzwilliam) were Northern magnates.^{<7>}

The central plot-issue of *Cecilia*, the need to take a new name upon marriage, is not obviously present in *Pride and Prejudice*. However, some work by Rossdale in the legal field suggests that such a situation may obtain in Jane Austen's novel:

An estate could, and still can, be entailed subject to a condition as to adopting and using a specific surname . . . we know that on the death of Mr. Bennet without a son, Mr. Collins is the

next to take Longbourn. If indeed they were born with the same surname (being paternal relatives) the inference is that the document constituting the entail of Longbourn contained a provision requiring the use of the surname "Bennet" . . . Mr. Bennet and his wife made their plan to have a son and disentail. That perhaps is why Jane Austen makes him and his wife use their surname to each other a little more frequently than the other married couples in her books. This is the sting in Lady Catherine's calling the Bennet family "upstart".⁽⁸⁾

Rossdale makes this conclusion without reference to *Cecilia*; as other imitations of *Cecilia*, such as *Emmeline* and *Hermsprong* contain "name-takings", it would be reasonable to expect *Pride and Prejudice* to do so; if Rossdale is correct, it does, though in a way apparent only to an informed and ingenious reader.

The major characters in *Cecilia* resemble those in *Pride and Prejudice* in a number of ways, although there are also important differences in *Cecilia*: "both the pride and prejudice are on the young man's side, and the heroine is blameless".⁽⁹⁾ Jane Austen depicts the middle class distrust of the aristocracy; Darcy's and Elizabeth's marriage is one of reconciliation between classes. (Darcy is untitled, but in wealth, outlook and connections he is to all intents an aristocrat.) The marriage also concludes a process of growth on the part of both characters. Elizabeth, unlike *Cecilia*, is self-confident (too much so!) and rejoices in conversational fireworks - "when *Cecilia* is challenged by Mrs. Delville, whose family pride makes her oppose the marriage, her complete surrender contrasts with the defiance of Jane Austen's heroine".⁽¹⁰⁾ Lady Catherine's pride resembles that of Mr. Delville or Lord Montreville in *Emmeline*; Mrs. Delville is a woman of greater moral stature; when *Cecilia* met her:

she found, indeed, that it was not for nothing she [Mrs. Delvile] was accused of pride, but she found at the same time so many excellent qualities, so much true dignity of mind, and so noble a spirit of liberality, that however great was the respect she seemed to demand, it was always inferior to what she felt inclined to pay.⁽¹¹⁾

Mrs. Delvile resembles Darcy more than she does Lady Catherine, or than he does Mortimer; she has a "mixed" character, flawed but with many good qualities, and capable of moral development. *Cecilia's* imitators generally preferred to reproduce Mr. Delvile's meaninglessly proud outlook, as in the Montrevilles and in Lord Grondale. It is nevertheless ironic that Jane Austen who applauds "mixed" characters in *Northanger Abbey*, and regarded extremes of perfection or villainy as absurd, should transform Mrs. Delvile into a kind of caricature, almost a monster, like Lady Catherine.

Wickham may have been modelled in part on Belfield in *Cecilia*. Wickham is the son of the steward of Pemberley; well-educated, he tries careers in the Law, the Church and the Militia, and finally enters the Army. Belfield moves from occupation to occupation, but finds none that suits his education; he has tried both the Army and the Law before the novel opens. Mortimer is Belfield's patron, as Darcy is Wickham's. However, in his pride, Belfield suggests Darcy; his devoted sister Henrietta says of him:

take but from him that one fault, pride, and I believe he has not another; and humoured and darling child as from his infancy he has always been, who at that can wonder, or be angry?⁽¹²⁾

Belfield, like Mortimer, Delamere in *Emmeline* and Darcy himself, is the product of a faulty upbringing. Belfield is embarrassed at his

mother's vulgarity, as is Elizabeth by her mother's, while Darcy at Rosings "looked a little ashamed of his aunt's ill breeding".⁽¹³⁾ Mrs. Belfield's closest affinity is with Mrs. Bennet, for her vulgar conversation is heavy with embarrassing references to matrimony. Henrietta's attachment to Cecilia perhaps suggests the friendship between Elizabeth and Georgiana, although Henrietta's inferiority is more clearly marked.

Mr. Meadows, the "Insensiblist" in *Cecilia* says of dancing:

What, dancing? Oh, dreadful! how it was ever adopted in a civilised country, I cannot find out; 'tis certain a Barbarian exercise, and of savage origin.⁽¹⁴⁾

Meadows is no model for a proper hero, so it is ironic that Darcy should remark, echoing him, that dancing is "in vogue amongst the less polished societies of the world. Every savage can dance!"⁽¹⁵⁾ But it is Bingley's brother-in-law Mr. Hurst who most clearly resembles Meadows. The latter "stretching his arms as if half asleep . . . sauntered into the next room, where he flung himself upon a sofa till the ball was over".⁽¹⁶⁾ Mr. Hurst's after-dinner occupations are cards or sleep; when there are no cards, "Mr. Hurst had therefore nothing to do, but to stretch himself on one of the sophas and go to sleep".⁽¹⁷⁾ The Militia officers at Meryton perhaps recall Mr. Aresby in *Cecilia*, who was:

a captain in the militia, a young man who, having frequently heard the words red-coat and gallantry, imagined the conjunction nor merely customary, but honourable.⁽¹⁸⁾

- a tart comment that suggests Fanny Burney had no higher view of such men than did Jane Austen; Mr. Aresby would be a happy recruit to Colonel Forster's ranks.

In *Cecilia*, the heroine finds that she keeps encountering Mortimer, especially when she does not want to meet him:

She began now almost to fancy there was some fatality attending her acquaintance with him; since she was always sure of meeting, when she had any reason to wish avoiding him. ⁽¹⁹⁾

Elizabeth re-plays this experience at Rosings:

More than once did Elizabeth in her rambles within the Park, unexpectedly meet Mr. Darcy, - she felt all the perverseness of the mischance . . . how it could occur a second time . . . was very odd! - yet it did, and even a third. It seemed like wilful ill-nature, or a voluntary penance. ⁽²⁰⁾

Jane Austen emphasises the comedy, and Elizabeth's blindness to the true reasons for these encounters. But Fanny Burney's strategy, of creating embarrassment and misunderstanding between her leading characters, is reproduced here.

The excursion to Hunsford, in *Pride and Prejudice*, where Elizabeth visits her old friend Charlotte in her married state, recalls Cecilia's stay with Mrs. Harrel, the playmate of her childhood and her former schoolfellow. Mrs. Harrel's feckless extravagance lowers her in Cecilia's eyes, while Charlotte's loveless calculation in marrying Mr. Collins reduces her stature in Elizabeth's judgement.

When Mr. Bennet is told of Darcy's desire to marry Elizabeth, his response to her is violent expostulation:

"Lizzie", said he, "what are you doing? Are you not out of your senses, to be accepting this man? Have you not always hated him?"⁽²¹⁾

This recalls Monckton's response when hearing of Cecilia's plan to marry Mortimer:

"Good God" cried he, "Miss Beverley, what is this you have done? bound yourself to marry a man who despises, who scorns, who refuses to own you?"⁽²²⁾

(In *Cecilia* the "prejudice", like the pride, is on the young man's side, so accounting for the different emphasis.)

The wording of Elizabeth's refusal of Mr. Collins is different from Cecilia's, when the latter rejects Sir Robert Floyer. But the disbelief of Mr. Collins in its truth and sincerity recalls Harrel's disbelief in Cecilia's real intention of rejecting Floyer. Her refusal was "very well for a beginning, though it would by no means serve beyond the first day of the declaration."⁽²³⁾ Mr. Collins was of the opinion that "it is usual with young ladies to reject the addresses of the man they secretly mean to accept, when he first applies for their favour."⁽²⁴⁾ Harrel "remonstrated with equal surprise and discontent",⁽²⁵⁾ while Mr. Collins is "angry" and "resentful".⁽²⁶⁾

The thoughtless Lydia has a number of literary forbears, being an amalgam of many foolish young women in Eighteenth century plays and novels; but in her imprudence and her continual conversation, she recalls the "rattle" Lady Honoria Pemberton or the "Volublist" Miss Larolles from the pages of *Cecilia*.

Mortimer and Cecilia, like Darcy and Elizabeth, part after there has been an initial declaration of love. In *Cecilia*, Mr. Bidulph - one of the heroine's many suitors, recalling the situation of Harriet Byron - offers to marry her and is rejected, because she still loves Mortimer. The latter is given hope by a letter from Bidulph, describing how Cecilia still manifests her love for Mortimer - "at the sound of your name, she blushes; at the mention of your illness she turns pale".⁽²⁷⁾ These are the classic, sentimental female responses that would be expected of a heroine by novel-readers; they emphasise Cecilia's basic weakness. Darcy, by contrast, is encouraged to try again by Elizabeth's forthright and robust response to Lady Catherine's bullying; Elizabeth is a very different character from Cecilia - while the latter succeeds by her deference, Elizabeth fascinates Darcy through her "impertinences". Although it may be true, as a recent critic has stated, that, "Cecilia starts out by asserting that she wants to 'think and live for herself'",⁽²⁸⁾ such intentions fall victim to her malleability; she can easily be manipulated by others, especially through emotional blackmail: that is how the Harrels manage to obtain so much money from her. She has not the strength to survive alone, and Fanny Burney would not really approve of her if she did.

Darcy and Elizabeth manifest the opposite problem - they both need to be softer and less inflexible in order to have a successful relationship. Both are proud of being tough-minded, hard and certain in their judgements, and in resisting what they see as manipulation they also resist the correcting of false attitudes. Although Jane Austen draws on *Cecilia* and its imitations, Darcy and Elizabeth in

their witty arguments recall Fanny Burney's hero and heroine less than they do Beatrice and Benedick in *Much Ado About Nothing*.

Both Darcy and Mortimer send letters to their beloveds. Darcy explains his conduct *vis-a-vis* Wickham and Jane; Mortimer describes his family's opposition to a marriage with Cecilia. Both letters change the views of their recipients. Cecilia has angrily dismissed Mortimer for suggesting a secret marriage; after his letter, explaining his reasons and renewing his plea, she yields. Elizabeth, at first unwillingly, alters her opinions of Darcy. After receiving the proposals, Cecilia's future, "is from that moment joined (as is Elizabeth Bennet's from a similar moment) to the hero's."⁽²⁹⁾

Although Cecilia initially rejects Mortimer's proposals, which is paralleled by Elizabeth's refusal of Darcy, the terms used by the latter, which annoy the heroine, are suggestive of Mr. Delvile rather than of Mortimer himself. When Elizabeth complains that "you chose to tell me that you liked me against your will, against your reason, and even against your character"⁽³⁰⁾ this sounds like the riposte many readers would like to hear the spiritless Cecilia make to Mr. Delvile, after he has declared that he became her guardian, "contrary not only to my general rule, but to my inclination".⁽³¹⁾ Elizabeth's encounter at Longbourn with Lady Catherine has often been compared with Cecilia's meeting with Mrs. Delvile, after the love affair has become known:

There are so many analogies between the scene in *Pride and Prejudice* and that in *Cecilia*, that as we read one, we think of the other.⁽³²⁾

Lady Catherine and Mrs. Delvile are both determined to prevent a match that would compromise family pride; neither is ultimately successful. But there are notable differences:

Mrs. Delvile is not a comic figure, and her insolence and impertinence are tempered by warmth and affection . . . Cecilia yields, as Elizabeth Bennet does not, because of her respect for the older lady and her past kindnesses.⁽³³⁾

The *moral* situation is exquisitely burlesqued and the incredibly unrealistic tone of *Cecilia* brought down with a jolt to the level of stage-comedy.⁽³⁴⁾

However, the scene in *Pride and Prejudice* represents not so much a direct parallel of this encounter in *Cecilia*, as a combination of elements drawn from it, from Emmeline's encounter with Lady Montreville in *Emmeline* (which is modelled on *Cecilia*), and Mr. Delvile's haughty visit to the Belfield house to enquire into Cecilia's relationship with Belfield. Cecilia's reaction is to conceal herself, while Elizabeth faces up to her interrogator. In "a little wilderness" in the Longbourn garden, Elizabeth and Lady Catherine, claws out, exchange abusive civilities. Jane Austen allowed her heroine to tread where Fanny Burney would not allow Cecilia to go; in this she follows the trend of *Cecilia* imitations, where the forces of hereditary authority are increasingly satirised.

Cecilia, being an orphan, cannot, like Elizabeth, be distressed by the vulgarity of her family (though Mr. Delvile makes some disparaging remarks about the presumption of her uncle, the late Dean) ; but she is embarrassed by the vulgarity of her associates, especially the Belfields and the City miser, Mr. Briggs. Jane Austen's sympathetic

portrayal of the Gardiners redresses the balance for City merchants, after their depiction in *Cecilia*.

Mortimer's family had "long planned a splendid connection"⁽³⁶⁾ for him, just as Darcy's mother and aunt had schemed to marry him to Miss de Bourgh. In this they resemble Mrs. Ferrars, who made similar plans for Edward, and Lady Montreville, as noted in the previous chapter. The thwarting of parental plans for their children's marriage is an ancient literary device; their destruction by an "inferior" or "upstart" is a frequent occurrence in the novels of the period, and *Cecilia* is the seminal study of snobbery defeated which inspired so many others, culminating in *Pride and Prejudice*.

The hero of Fanny Burney's first novel, *Evelina*, is Lord Orville, who:

in a rudimentary way . . . suggests Fitzwilliam Darcy more than any of the other heroes of Jane Austen's novels. The aura of noble superiority in appearance, manner, and movement with which Evelina almost perpetually surrounds the hero, forecasts the impression that Darcy makes during his first appearance at Netherfield.⁽³⁷⁾

Though Jane Austen immediately "deflates and humanises the . . . ideal that Darcy represents . . . [she] ultimately restores her hero . . . at the end of the novel".⁽³⁸⁾

While Orville seemed a villain to Evelina because of a letter making improper suggestions forged in his name by Sir Clement Willoughby, a letter from Darcy altered Elizabeth's perceptions of him positively, following a genuinely improperly phrased proposal. Evelina, far more than *Cecilia*, has embarrassing (family) connections in the vulgar

Branghtons and their neighbour Mr. Smith, the officious Madame Duval and the ridiculous trickster Captain Mirvan. These are more appalling than anyone with whom Elizabeth is connected. Despite this, Orville's love, like Darcy's, overcomes his fastidiousness (though Evelina, unlike Elizabeth, is always worshipful towards him). Both Darcy and Orville initially disparage the girl they come to love:

the scene where Darcy's disparaging remark about Elizabeth is heard at a ball, is adapted from that where Lord Orville speaks slightly of Evelina on her first introduction into London life.⁽³⁹⁾

When Mary Bennet speaks of a woman's reputation as "no less brittle than it is beautiful",⁽⁴⁰⁾ she is probably recalling an extract she has made from *Evelina*, as Mr. Villars refers to it in the same terms - "most beautiful" and "most brittle".⁽⁴¹⁾ The satire does not stop there; Liddell pointed out that Mr. Bennet's statement to Elizabeth - "your mother will never see you again if you do *not* marry Mr. Collins, and I will never see you again if you *do*"⁽⁴²⁾ - is a hit at the scenes of fatherly reconciliation in *Evelina*, where the heroine is asked, "wilt thou in obedience to her will, own for thy father the destroyer of thy mother".⁽⁴³⁾ The ruinous relationship between Evelina's parents is reduced to the bickering of the Bennets.

Fanny Burney's third novel, *Camilla*, was published in 1796, and Jane Austen's father subscribed to a copy in her name, as a present. So Jane Austen could have been reading *Camilla* when composing *First Impressions*. Possibly it may have influenced her depiction of Lydia, for she recalls Indiana Lynmere in *Camilla*. Indiana is attractive,

and stupid, with little moral sense; she is unwisely and injudiciously flattered by her governess Miss Margland rather as Lydia is flattered by her mother's favouritism. Indiana runs off with ensign Macdersey, as Lydia elopes with the militia officer Wickham. The name "Lydia" might be seen as an anagrammatic contraction of "*Indiana Lymere*".

4.3 Influence of Charlotte Smith

Cecilia was an extremely popular and successful work, so it is not surprising that it became a model for subsequent novelists. Charlotte Smith's first novel, *Emmeline*:

was a very successful work modelled on Burney's *Cecilia*: it competently followed the formula while bringing in just enough fresh observation to provide variety without upsetting convention.^{<44>}

The debt was recognised by reviewers at the time; "Mary Wollstonecraft claimed that the author [of *Emmeline*] certainly took *Cecilia* for her model",^{<45>} and this was doubtless noticed by Jane Austen as well. *Emmeline* was, with Bage's *Hermsprong*, probably the best, and almost certainly the most successful, imitation of *Cecilia* until the publication of *Pride and Prejudice*. The latter draws upon some of the "fresh observation" found in *Emmeline*; in some ways, *Pride and Prejudice* is closer to *Emmeline* than it is to *Cecilia*.

The "hero" of *Emmeline* seems to be Frederic Delamere, but is actually William Godolphin, who does not appear until halfway through the novel. Delamere's extreme and neurotic behaviour makes him unworthy of Emmeline's hand:

Delamere seems always to behave as phrenetically as Delvile does in the climactic scenes where he and his mother do battle for Cecilia . . . it is as if Mrs. Smith exaggerated Delvile's defects in Delamere so as to render him unfit to be the hero. Godolphin, who, we may be sure, will never dash his head against the wainscot or stamp out of the room in a frenzy, must trace his lineage instead to Sir Charles Grandison.^{<46>}

Charlotte Smith had translated *Manon Lescaut*, and Delamere's impetuosity may have been inspired by Des Grieux; although Delamere is an English place name, it has a French component (like his father's title, "Montreville") that might link him with Prévost's hero. According to Wright she "did not minimise the impetuosity of Des Grieux"^{<47>} in her translation, and he concluded that "the heroes in Mrs. Smith's novels bear likenesses to those of Prévost".^{<48>} (Emmeline, in her conscious rectitude, is a total contrast to Manon.)

Darcy's surname suggests his kinship with Delvile and Delamere; his Christian name, Fitzwilliam, apart from its aristocratic connections, is literally "son of William", which is fitting for a character modelled in part on William Godolphin. In contrast to Delamere, Darcy is noted for his reserve. But he is, like Delamere, the last male of a rich and important family, and an unsuitable marriage would offend against his heritage. Darcy however resembles Mortimer Delvile more than Delamere, in his consciousness of his duties to his family name; Darcy's pride, familial and personal, is the barrier to marriage with the heroine that Delamere's impetuosity is in *Emmeline*. These are the faults the respective heroines cannot ignore; but while Delamere cannot overcome his fault, Darcy can, thus showing himself capable of

moral growth. Jane Austen does not need to introduce a Godolphin, because Darcy will grow to resemble him. He begins as a flawed figure in the mould of Delamere, and ends up a Grandisonian hero.

Charlotte Smith's abandonment of her supposed hero was a striking novelty at the time. Though Jane Austen did not follow her to the same extent in *Pride and Prejudice* as she did in *Sense and Sensibility*, traces of this uncertainty, in imitation of Charlotte Smith, remain in the novel:

This delay or indirection in presenting the themes announced by the title is paralleled by other assaults on the reader's expectations. Bingley seems to be the hero until Chapter VI, when Darcy's interest in Elizabeth is discovered.^{<49>}

Even then, Wickham, a handsome soldier (like Godolphin) introduced after Darcy, remains a possible candidate for the position of hero. And at Rosings, the introduction of the sensible and eligible Colonel Fitzwilliam provides another character who might take the leading rôle; Jane Austen keeps her readers guessing, both those who know *Emmeline* and those who do not; it is only after Darcy's letter of explanation at Rosings that the reader can be confident that the other possible suitors represent, in detective story parlance, "red herrings".

Towards the end of *Cecilia* and *Emmeline*, their authors introduce fresh trials to keep their lovers apart, when it seems they might be coming together. Jane Austen's equivalent is to bring about the Lydia crisis while Darcy and Elizabeth are together in Derbyshire, a point in the novel when it seems possible that Darcy will soon propose again.

Elizabeth fears that Lydia's disgrace has killed all hope of it - "never had she so honestly felt that she could have loved him, as now, when all love must be in vain".⁽⁵⁰⁾

More similarities exist between Delamere and Darcy than their shared initials and their social status. It is said of Delamere that:

accustomed from his infancy to the most boundless indulgences, he never formed a wish, the gratification of which he expected to be denied.⁽⁵¹⁾

Darcy is able to admit that his upbringing, too, has been marked by over-indulgence:

I was spoilt by my parents, taught . . . to be selfish and overbearing, to care for none beyond my own family circle, to think meanly of all the rest of the world.⁽⁵²⁾

Darcy had better parents than Delamere; his problem, like that of the Bertram girls in *Mansfield Park*, is to have been instructed in principles but not in practice: "I was taught what was *right*, but I was not taught to correct my temper."⁽⁵³⁾ As a result of their faulty upbringing, both men make a bad impression. Delamere ignores common forms of politeness among the provincial middle-class, so provoking the comment: "I never saw a prouder, more disagreeable young man in my life",⁽⁵⁴⁾ while it is said of Darcy that "he is such a disagreeable man . . . it would be quite a misfortune to be liked by him".⁽⁵⁵⁾ Mrs. Bennet is hardly an oracular source, but the narrator has already commented that "Darcy was continually giving offence".⁽⁵⁶⁾ Unlike Delamere - but like Orville in *Evelina* - Darcy is slighting about the heroine when he first meets her. But when Elizabeth walks to Netherfield to visit Jane, he is struck with "admiration of the

brilliance which exercise had given to her complexion",⁽⁵⁷⁾ and he later says of her eyes, that "they were brightened by the exercise".⁽⁵⁸⁾ Miss Bingley, in a jealous mood, contrastingly speaks of "her hair, so untidy, so blowsy".⁽⁵⁹⁾ Darcy's and Miss Bingley's comments seem to be modelled on Delamere's first view of Emmeline:

the wind had blown her beautiful hair about her face, and the glow of her cheeks was heightened by exercise and apprehension.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Darcy's contrasting character with Delamere is shown by the way he falls in love more slowly, and how he fights against it for a while.

In *Emmeline*, Delamere has a friend and confidante in Colonel Fitz-Edward, who is also the seducer of Godolphin's sister, Adelina. In Colonel Fitzwilliam, Jane Austen creates his equivalent, in terms of his relationship to Darcy; but just as the wary, stately Darcy contrasts with the impassioned Delamere, so the amiable and agreeable Fitzwilliam contrasts with Fitz-Edward. But the latter's rôle has been divided in *Pride and Prejudice*, while Delamere's and Godolphin's have been united; for aspects of Fitz-Edward may be found in Wickham. The latter, a rejected associate of Darcy's, has attempted to seduce his sister, paralleling Fitz-Edward's successful seduction of Adelina. Emmeline's nursing of the sick Adelina leads to her meeting with Godolphin - virtue rewarded! Magee links this to Jane Austen's novel:

such feminine heroism is not far removed from the loyalties of *Pride and Prejudice*, in which Elizabeth attracts Darcy by her active sisterly love for Jane, and later her eager friendship for his nearly seduced sister Georgiana.⁽⁶¹⁾

Adelina and Fitz-Edward show genuine remorse for their lapses, and genuine love for one another; in contrast Wickham and Lydia are

impenitent, and he has no strong affection for her, whilst her love is far removed from Adelina's sentimental feelings.

Colonel Fitzwilliam's actual rôle in *Pride and Prejudice* is to show that "Elizabeth is attractive to a man of better sense than Mr. Collins or Wickham; he therefore provides a necessary step between Wickham and Darcy",⁽⁶²⁾ as well as confirming her suspicions about Darcy's encouragement of Bingley's separation from Jane. His attentions also serve to mask Darcy's interest in Elizabeth, both in her mind and that of the reader, and also, by his reaction, to prepare the ground for the revelation of Georgiana's near-seduction. Indeed, as the joint guardian of a girl involved with a seducer, Fitzwilliam recalls Colonel Brandon.

Mr. Collins, as an unsuitable suitor, is a composite figure, drawn from the unamiable characters who seek to marry Emmeline. These comprise the steward of Mowbray Castle, the belligerent rake the Chevalier de Bellozane, and the grotesque banker Rochely. Emmeline's rejection of the latter recalls Clarissa's refusal of Solmes, whom Rochely resembles; this rejection brings down on Emmeline the wrath of her guardians the Montrevilles, a wrath comically converted in Jane Austen's novel into the threats and complaints of Mrs. Bennet. Mr. Collins has no direct clerical equivalent in *Emmeline*, but unattractive and ironically treated clergymen feature in several of Charlotte Smith's novels - Dr. Hollyburn in *The Old Manor House*, for example. Bellozane and Rochely are as uncomplimentary as Mr. Collins is, when they are rejected.

In both *Cecilia* and *Emmeline* a duel is fought with far-reaching consequences - Mortimer has to flee abroad, Delamere is killed by Bellozane. In *Pride and Prejudice*, such an encounter is alluded to comically, for Mr. Bennet is an unlikely combatant, hard to imagine defending Lydia's honour with a pistol in his hand. Mrs. Bennet's fears - which mainly surround her being turned out of Longbourn by Mr. Collins as a consequence of her husband's death - are comic versions of Adelina's fears that Godolphin and Fitz-Edward, her brother and her lover, will fight.

The Gardiners, the only really happily married couple in *Pride and Prejudice*, may contrast with the Staffords in *Emmeline*, whose unhappy family life is a fictional rendering of Charlotte Smith's own marital agonies. The Gardiners redress the balance, as it were, for marriage, which is important in a novel in which there are so many unsuitable unions - the Bennets, the Wickhams, Mr. and Mrs. Collins, for example. They demonstrate that contentment in marriage is possible, and that Darcy and Elizabeth, Bingley and Jane, can have happy futures together. The Staffords (and the Smiths) and the Gardiners all have large families; both fictional families provide helpful and affectionate company for the heroine. But while the Staffords help Emmeline hide from and escape Delamere, the Gardiners lead Elizabeth to Darcy, being "the persons who, by bringing her into Derbyshire, had been the means of uniting them".⁽⁵³⁾ Delamere's family have planned great connections for him; Lady Catherine intends Darcy to marry her daughter. Delamere is an eligible man, and some prefiguring of Darcy's wariness about women, and his fatigue at flattery ("you were

sick of civility, of deference, of officious attention",⁽⁶⁴⁾ says Elizabeth) may be found in his exasperation at the Misses Devereux; they are mere "over-educated puppets" whom he despises for "the frivolous turn of their minds, the studied ornament of their persons, the affected refinement of their manners".⁽⁶⁵⁾ Emmeline increases Delamere's interest by both literally and metaphorically fleeing from him; she represents a change from conventional society women seeking to prey on him. Elizabeth "roused and interested" Darcy because she "was so unlike"⁽⁶⁶⁾ other women. Darcy's coolly ironic handling of Miss Bingley shows his wariness when in the company of those pursuing him. Elizabeth is hardly in the same situation as Emmeline who has largely had to teach herself, although each has had the run of a library, one at Mowbray, the other at Longbourn, but she certainly contrasts with the Bingley sisters, who had been at "one of the first private seminaries in town".⁽⁶⁷⁾ But she and Emmeline had both become educated through a desire to read, rather than through formal instructions.

Lydia's departure with Wickham comes about with her believing that they are going to Scotland. This recalls Delamere's abduction of Emmeline, with the intention of marrying her in Scotland; Emmeline, unlike Lydia, goes against her will. Here Wickham resembles Delamere more than Darcy does (Wickham had, of course, previously abortively eloped with Georgiana). Emmeline is snatched from Mrs. Ashwood's house at Clapham; she falls ill on the journey, and Delamere has to abandon his scheme and takes her to Hertford to recover. It may be more than coincidence that Wickham's trail from Brighton becomes cold

at Clapham; while Hertford is a candidate for the town of ----- near Longbourn. So Emmeline's abduction ends near where Jane Austen may have imagined the Bennets as living.

Both novels further their plots by a delay in letters reaching their addressees; Jane's letter to Elizabeth telling of the elopement initially goes astray because it is badly addressed or directed, presumably as a result of the writer's agitation, while in *Emmeline* an important letter sent from Mrs. Stafford to Lord Montreville is delayed by the carelessness of a servant of his.

Delamere has been described as a "neurotic suitor",⁽⁶²⁾ and he seems to have derived some of his neurotic and near-hysterical impetuosity from his mother, Lady Eleanore Delamere. Her husband takes his title from her family:

The illustrious family from which Lady Eleanore descended, became extinct in the male line by the premature death of her brothers; and her ladyship becoming sole heiress, her husband took the name of Delamere; and obtaining one of the titles of the lady's father, was, at his death, created Viscount Montreville.⁽⁶³⁾

In this way, Fanny Burney's theme of name-taking is reproduced in *Emmeline*; this might suggest that Rossdale's thesis is correct, for a parallel instance of name-taking would thus be found in two of *Pride and Prejudice*'s major sources.

Lady Montreville is like Mrs. Delvile denuded of good qualities, become like a stage villainess; her pride and stupidity are on a par with Mr. Delvile's - her "pride was, if possible, more than adequate

to her high blood . . . [and] her passions were strong as her person was feeble".^{<70>} Although Lady Catherine was "unreasonable" in her "application"^{<71>} to Elizabeth, she is not generally portrayed as stupid; but she undoubtedly manifests the kind of "pride and prejudice" found in full measure in Lady Montreville. The latter's "pride" is general, while she has a very specific "prejudice" against Emmeline. Her unwillingness to send a carriage to bring Emmeline to her ("let her borrow a coach of the people she lives with"^{<72>}) and maltreatment of her at her house may have suggested the incivilities of Lady Catherine (and of her earlier incarnation, Lady Greville in the *Juvenilia*). Her snobbery against city people ("I suppose all city people now keep coaches"^{<73>}) is as great as Lady Catherine's, but while Jane Austen portrays the Gardiners sympathetically, Lady Montreville's attitude is almost endorsed by Charlotte Smith's portrayals of Rochely (a miser like Briggs) and Mrs. Ashwood.

Lady Montreville's description of Emmeline to her face - "A little obscure creature . . . who was born nobody knows how",^{<74>} is recalled in Lady Catherine's outburst: "a young woman of inferior birth, of no importance in the world".^{<75>}

Emmeline behaves deferentially at first, like Cecilia; but Mrs. Delville treated the latter relatively kindly, and placed her under some obligation to her, while Emmeline has no obligations whatsoever towards Lady Montreville - any more than Elizabeth has to Lady Catherine. Towards the end of her climactic interview with Lady Montreville Emmeline shows some spirit - "that proper spirit and

presence of mind"⁽⁷⁶⁾ - so that this encounter moves towards resembling that in *Pride and Prejudice*, having initially more closely resembled *Cecilia*. It marks a middle stage in the evolution of one into the other.

In *Emmeline*, Lord Montreville is the finer of the two parents, in contrast to *Cecilia*, where that position is assigned to Mrs. Delville; he is shown as weak rather than wicked, and still possessing some natural kindness undestroyed by contact with the world. In *Pride and Prejudice* Jane Austen drops the equivalent character, Sir Lewis de Bourgh being dead before the novel opens. Lady Catherine would seem inappropriate portrayed as a wife, and another unsuccessful marriage (as it must almost inevitably be) might tip the scales, as it were, too far against matrimony in the novel. Both Lady Montreville and her unamiable daughter Fanny are far more passive than is Lady Catherine; they are never shown as having a rôle in the community; she, by contrast, "gave . . . a great deal of advice, as to the management of them all . . . nothing was beneath this great lady's attention".⁽⁷⁷⁾ Lady Catherine's energy contrasts with her daughter's sickliness, almost as if she drained all the vitality from her. In her robust health, Lady Catherine also contrasts with Lady Montreville and Mrs. Delville, both of whom are ill during the course of the novel.

Lady Montreville's other daughter, Augusta, befriends Emmeline; this may be recalled in Georgiana's eager friendship for Elizabeth. It is notable that nearly all the aspects of *Cecilia* that are important for *Pride and Prejudice* are also found in some form in *Emmeline*. Much in

both novels is ignored; Jane Austen, like Charlotte Smith, omits any depiction of the humours of "the ton" (though both draw satirical provincial portraits) found in *Cecilia*, and she does not follow Charlotte Smith's (conventionally) romantic revelations about Emmeline's actual legitimate birth and wealthy status. *Cecilia* contributes both directly to *Pride and Prejudice* and indirectly, transmitted through *Emmeline*, which also contributed some original material of its own. Charlotte Smith's novel places greater emphasis than does *Cecilia* on the problems arising from "boundless indulgence"^{<78>} towards children, and this theme (which reappears in *Mansfield Park*) is reiterated in *Pride and Prejudice*, with Darcy and Lydia illustrating it in different ways. While Delamere's impetuosity offends Emmeline, Darcy's offence is to be too certain, in a sense too unimpetuous - Bingley is the one who, possibly inconveniently, makes decisions on the spur of the moment. Amusingly, Mr. Bennet seems almost to expect Darcy to behave like Delamere, where he suggests he will "rant and storm about his love"^{<79>} for Elizabeth.

In 1795 Charlotte Smith published *Montalbert*, a novel which represented her own reworking of *Emmeline*. Montalbert is an impetuous hero, like Delamere; he almost loses Rosalie, his wife, through his misconduct, and through the machinations of his mother; but, like Darcy and unlike Delamere, he is capable of reform. (In giving Rosalie another admirer, but eventually restoring her to the original hero, Charlotte Smith may have recalled *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.) Rosalie is actually an illegitimate heroine; in her later novels Charlotte Smith abandoned the convention of turning penniless girls

into heiresses - Monimia in *The Old Manor House* is similarly humbly born. *Montalbert* remains a sensational novel; but it is less unlikely, more "realistic" in some points, than is *Emmeline*. It represents a reassessment by a novelist of a previous novel of her own, and thus provided Jane Austen with a model of how to approach both the rewriting of *Emmeline*, and her own work; and it is also a tribute to *Cecilia*, that its basic framework could generate two separate novels by a single successor novelist.

Referring to Charlotte Smith's second novel, Magee considers that:

There seems to be a touch of Ethelinde's father in Darcy, especially in Colonel Chesterville's austere conduct in society; "His manners, though perfectly those of a man of Fashion, had yet a too visible coldness towards persons for whom he felt no particular esteem."⁽⁸⁰⁾

Few other parallels exist between *Ethelinde* and *Pride and Prejudice*, probably unsurprisingly, as Charlotte Smith's novel was quarried so extensively for *Sense and Sensibility*.

4.4 Influence of Bage

Several commentators have drawn comparisons between Jane Austen and Robert Bage, noting especially a similarity in tone and stance:

Bage [is] "a detached and cultivated observer" who must have influenced "both Peacock and Jane Austen".⁽⁸¹⁾

Hermesprong is rich in that half-acid, half tolerant revelation of the permanent foibles of human nature in which Bage anticipated Jane Austen.⁽⁸²⁾

Hermesprong is a kind of Jacobin version of *Cecilia* or *Emmeline*, with the sexes reversed. *Hermesprong*, brought up among American Indians, is considered unfit as a suitor for Caroline, the daughter of Lord Grondale, because of his supposedly obscure birth and his liberal opinions - despite the fact that he saved her life. Just as *Emmeline* is revealed to be the heiress to much of the Montreville estate, so *Hermesprong*, it emerges, is really Sir Charles Campinet, the true heir to the property held by Lord Grondale; Caroline is his cousin, as Delamere was *Emmeline's*. Much social comedy is made of the theme of love across class lines, of Lord Grondale's pride and anger (here these have a political flavour) and of the actions of a boot-licking clergyman. Indicating its debt to *Cecilia*, *Hermesprong* contains a familiar phrase:

Then . . . it is the most complete triumph of pride and prejudice over poor common sense, that has ever fallen under my notice. ⁽²³⁾

Bage's women have been described as having:

hearts so courageous, heads so clever, and tongues so sharp that they could debate with the Great Cham himself [Dr. Johnson] and not come off second best either. ⁽²⁴⁾

This is certainly true of Maria Fluart in *Hermesprong*, in whose wit, intelligence and - when required - sincerity, there is more than a hint of Elizabeth Bennet. Maria's sharp tongue is demonstrated in her reply to Dr. Blick, a pompous clergyman:

"Have you no reverence, Madam, for the sacerdotal character?"
"Much, sir, for the character; little for the mere habit." ⁽²⁵⁾

Dr. Blick is Lord Grondale's bootlicking chaplain; Butler remarked that, "the haughty Lady Catherine de Bourgh and her clerical toady Mr.

Collins might almost have come out of . . . *Hermsprong*".⁽⁸⁶⁾ and they almost certainly did, for the crawling Dr. Blick is closer to the character of Mr. Collins than is any clergyman in *Cecilia* or *Emmeline*.

Mr. and Mrs. Sumelin in *Hermsprong* bicker with each other like the Bennets; Faulkner noted of Jane and Elizabeth that their "family situation resembles to a considerable extent the Sumelin family".⁽⁸⁷⁾ Harriet, the Sumelins' daughter, runs off with an unsuitable young man; Hermsprong encounters her in France and persuades her to return to her parents. Jane Austen recalls this in Lydia's elopement and Darcy's intervention; the heroes of both novels thus save a girl's honour. Hermsprong in some ways resembles Darcy; in other respects he is the threatening "upstart". Elizabeth resembles Maria, while her sister Jane perhaps recalls Maria's friend Caroline, Lord Grondale's daughter, who is "consistently sweet and virtuous".⁽⁸⁸⁾

The theme of name-taking occurs in *Hermsprong* as it did in its models; for Sir Philip Chestrum is willing to change his name to Raioule or Campinet. Arguing for Jane Austen's conservatism, Butler said, "in *Hermsprong* there was a wholesale and consistent assault upon the idea of inherited authority which Jane Austen showed no sign of repeating".⁽⁸⁹⁾ But criticism of the arrogance and abuse of inherited authority are found in *Cecilia* and in *Emmeline* (whose author had liberal sympathies) as well as in *Hermsprong*; it is one of the common themes of *Cecilia* and its imitations. Jane Austen attacks inheritance laws obliquely by depicting the injustice of the Longbourn entail; it is unfair, just as the behaviour of old Mr. Dashwood in *Sense and*

Sensibility, leaving his property to John's young son, is unfair. Nor is the most obvious form of inherited authority - that of parents - shown in a good light in the novel. Elizabeth cannot but be critical of her parents, and Darcy has to recognise that his parents were responsible for giving him a faulty upbringing. Jane Austen is not a political liberal or radical like Charlotte Smith or Bage, but she is a clear-eyed critic of aspects of the social system in which she lived.

Bage's novel *Man As He Is* was also modelled on *Cecilia*, although less obviously so than *Hermsprong*. Butler called it, "a most amusing democratic pastiche of . . . [*Cecilia's*] snobbish central situation".^{<90>} The Quaker Cornelia will not marry Sir George Paradyne until an alteration occurs in his character. The novel perhaps contains a hint of the Bennet household:

He was comparatively a happy man in marriage; for my mother's principal fault being a clamorous tongue, and he being a man of learning and of philosophy, he could generally avoid her exhibitions in the sanctuary of his study.^{<91>}

There are also characters drawing on the foolish attitudes of Mr. Delville and Lady Montreville - "Lord Auschamp and Lady Mary Paradyne are memorable comic creations, as solemn, self-important and absurd as . . . Lady Catherine".^{<92>}

4.5 Influence of Richardson

Discussing *Pride and Prejudice* and *Pamela*, Ten Harmsel wrote that:

[Jane Austen] is indeed building on essentially the same ground Richardson had selected for the novel fifty years earlier . . . in both plots, the question is "will the "low" heroine catch the aristocratic hero?"⁽⁹³⁾

This is true, although there is a considerable difference between a 'low' heroine who is a "gentleman's daughter" - and accepted as such even by her enemies - even if she has an uncle in Trade, and one who is a servant girl. A real gulf exists between Mr. B. and Pamela, while Darcy and Elizabeth are mainly separated by snobbery. It is possible to see Darcy as both "the rich handsome hero" and "the proud aristocratic villain"⁽⁹⁴⁾ who has separated the genuine lovers Jane and Bingley. He makes no improper advances to Elizabeth, as Mr. B. does to Pamela, but his manner and basic attitudes are improper.

The hero of *Pamela* began the honourable phase of his courtship by a letter in which Pamela "found the following agreeable contents. 'In vain, my Pamela, do I struggle against my affection for you . . .'"⁽⁹⁵⁾

This "unflattering turn of phrase"⁽⁹⁶⁾ seems to be deliberately echoed in Darcy's preface to his proposal - "In vain have I struggled. It will not do. My feelings will not be suppressed."⁽⁹⁷⁾ - a declaration that "will not do" itself.

Darcy, like Mr. B., having behaved improperly to begin with (though in a different sort of way) is awakened to a realisation of this by the heroine's response and, again like Mr. B., is capable of a

reformation. Delamere recalls the early Mr. B., trying to exploit his social status in his relationship with the poor Emmeline; Godolphin is a character like Grandison, who is in some ways foreshadowed by the later, reformed Mr. B. Darcy represents a reuniting of the split character:

Both authors bring in a clergyman - servile, obsequious and rather inane - who is suggested to the heroine as a possible husband. ⁽⁹⁸⁾

Mr. Williams in *Pamela* thus joins the ranks of fictional clergyman whose composite is found in Mr. Collins. In the disapproving Lady Davers it is possible to see an ancestress of Lady Catherine. Darcy's suspicions of marriage recall Delamere's, and both may ultimately derive from Mr. B.'s unwillingness to marry. Darcy is in many ways a typical scion of the Eighteenth century aristocracy/gentry, although - unlike Mr. B. but like Grandison - he is not a rake; but he certainly seems suspicious of matrimony.

Jane Austen's original title for *Pride and Prejudice* was *First Impressions*, and this seems to be an allusion to Richardson, who asked, "how a young lady ought to guard against and overcome the first favourite impressions?" ⁽⁹⁹⁾ This seems pertinent to Elizabeth, whose first impression of Darcy is dislike, while she approves of Wickham; the latter illustrates Richardson's advice that "it behoves a prudent woman to guard against first impressions of favour". ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ (This must be qualified - Jane and Bingley like each other from the start, and Jane's problem is that she does not obviously show her emotions.) Mr. Bennet's and Elizabeth's shared first impression, that Mr. Collins is

a fool, is fully vindicated. It is important that Elizabeth is usually correct in her judgements.

Elizabeth feels a kind of revulsion for Mr. Collins' mind, that may recall Clarissa's rejection of Solmes; but Jane Austen indicates that her version of *Clarissa* is, as it were, played for laughs, for Mrs. Bennet's threats and pressure are balanced by her husband's cynical, witty recognition that Elizabeth should not be required to marry Mr. Collins. Clarissa's first impressions of Solmes are seen by her family as being prejudiced, but not so their own first impressions of Lovelace. In *Clarissa*, "'first impressions' and 'prejudice' . . . [are] treated as synonymous"⁽¹⁰¹⁾ by Richardson.

Lovelace, the "villain-hero" of *Clarissa*, probably contributed, like Mr. B., to the characters of Delamere and Mortimer Delville. Drawn from an aristocratic family, he is the last of his line, has been brought up indulgently, and is violent and impetuous - all characteristics he shares with Delamere. When Clarissa's sister, Arabella, is addressed by Lovelace, she rejects him, out of dislike of "the manner"⁽¹⁰²⁾ of his proposal. This is recalled in Elizabeth's rejection of Darcy, both men being too certain that the girl will consent; as Elizabeth remarks, "I might have felt [concern] in refusing you, had you behaved in a more gentleman-like manner".⁽¹⁰³⁾ This over-confidence arises in both men from a faulty upbringing; Lovelace was, "unused . . . from childhood to check or control: a case too common in considerate families where there is an only son",⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ and this is echoed by Darcy in his own self-criticism. (It may be said that the case certainly is

"too common" in considerable fictional families in the Eighteenth century.)

Darcy's kinship, though, is not close to Mr. B or Lovelace; they are undoubtedly present in his literary pedigree, as it were, but in general their importance lies as initiators of the tradition that is combined in *Cecilia* and its imitations; they resemble Darcy (or Darcy them) because they have transmitted characteristics to him through other, later figures who were modelled in part upon them.

There are, "similarities between Mr. Collins and the Rev. Elias Brand . . . 'A pedantic young clergyman'",⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ in *Clarissa*, according to Southam. "Like Mr. Collins he is full of self-conceit, and a severe judge of other people's conduct". Both Brand and Mr. Collins use the idea of an "olive-branch" in their letters and Southam suggested that this, "may . . . have been Jane Austen's way of pointing an allusive reference",⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ but the point, when Mary remarks that the idea "perhaps is not ^{wholly} new",⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ is not that Brand had used it previously but that hundreds of people had (including Bage in *Hermsprong*). Brand's pedantry lies in his being "Fond of Latin scraps and clerical quotations",⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ whereas Mr. Collins never displays any such knowledge, despite his university education. His is rather the pedantry of detail - "every view was pointed with a minuteness which left beauty entirely behind".⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ So Brand has small claim to be regarded as a model of any particular importance in the creation of Mr. Collins.

The conflicts that exist among the family members at Harlowe Place are comically reproduced at Longbourn. Jane and Elizabeth, in their affection and co-operation, contrast with the rivalry between Arabella and Clarissa; but this rivalry has its parallel in the younger members of the family. Mary appears to have cultivated study and Kitty a form of invalidism, as a means of gaining attention, when competing with the assertive, limelight-hogging Lydia. Mr. Bennet, in his lack of authority, contrasts with and parodies the stern Mr. Harlowe.

Brownstein has written of Darcy:

. . . his prototype is Grandison. A young man of wealth and family, a devoted, protective, paternal brother, the scourge of rakes, salvager of reputations and maker of other people's marriages, Grandison is the acknowledged sun of his world . . . Like Grandison, Darcy has no personal ambition, no business but personal relationships, and no aim to use personal relationships for self-aggrandizement.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Darcy does have a "business", in his responsibilities as a landed proprietor, which he takes seriously; indeed he appears exemplary - "he was a liberal man, and did much good among the poor".⁽¹¹¹⁾ In other respects, though, Brownstein's comment is accurate. Darcy and Sir Charles Grandison both possess estates that emphasise the natural over the artificial, with trout-streams and fine views. Compared with Grandison-Hall, "the Pemberley grounds are kept up with a similar regard for nature and timber".⁽¹¹²⁾ At both houses, the heroine talks to a eulogising housekeeper, and they "are both conducted around noble picture galleries".⁽¹¹³⁾ Darcy's search for Lydia in London, briefly touched on, recalls the search of Mr. Reeves in *Grandison* for word of the abducted Harriet; upon finding Lydia, Darcy saves her honour by

engineering a marriage, paralleling Grandison who rescues the worthy Harriet and who is a maker of several marriages.

His sister Charlotte says of Sir Charles that he is "a father and a brother in one",⁽¹¹⁴⁾ and this is also a fitting description of Darcy, as he is Georgiana's guardian as well as being her brother. Jane Austen, however, reverses the characters in *Grandison*, so that Georgiana loves Darcy with the kind of awe that Harriet feels for Sir Charles, while Elizabeth, Darcy's bride, treats him more irreverently, like Charlotte Grandison's treatment of her brother. Jane Austen makes the sister the adorer, the lover the tease; in both novels sister and lover are friends - Elizabeth with Georgiana, Harriet with Charlotte.

Elizabeth, as she is judging by externals only, makes an error in trusting Wickham; this recalls how Harriet prides herself on "some sort of skill in physiognomy",⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and is thus taken in by the appearance of William Wilson, who is actually Sir Hargrave's agent and who leads her abductors.

Wickham, the militia officer, may recall the upstart Captain Anderson in *Grandison*; both unsuccessfully attempt to take control of the hero's sister. Darcy's rescue of Georgiana recalls how Sir Charles put an end to the ambitions of both Anderson and Sir Hargrave.

Although *Pride and Prejudice* primarily takes its title from Fanny Burney's work, "pride" is an attribute of both Harriet and Sir

Charles; Harriet is accused of being too proud by Sir Hargrave, after she has refused him, while Sir Charles has "tendencies to pride".⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Harriet refuses a string of suitors before she meets Sir Charles; Elizabeth falls in love with Darcy without any of the melodrama of Harriet's or Marianne Dashwood's rescues, after refusing Mr. Collins and Darcy himself - the latter behaving rather like Mr. B., Lovelace or their equivalent in *Grandison*, Sir Hargrave. As Darcy reveals his Grandisonian qualities, Elizabeth grows anxious for him to renew his offer, and fears that Lydia's elopement will prevent it, rather as Harriet fears that Clementina's escape from her family will prevent her marriage with Sir Charles.

Elizabeth's and Jane's different temperaments perhaps derive from, and certainly recall, the contrasting natures of Charlotte Grandison and her "sister" Harriet, or the liveliness of Anna Howe and the quietness of Clarissa.

Moler suggested that Mr. Collins and Mary recalled *Clarissa* with the "olive branch" metaphor that he used and she recognised;⁽¹¹⁷⁾ it may be noted that it is also found in *Grandison*.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ If Jane Austen did intend an allusion to Richardson, then it may have been a joke against herself, implying that the two characters who share her knowledge of his works in her novel are the Bore and the Fool.

Barker, in *Grandison's Heirs*, drew attention to the similarities between Darcy's and Sir Charles's roles as brothers, masters and landlords, and saw Jane Austen as thus alluding to Richardson; drew

attention to the similarities between the housekeepers Mrs. Reynolds and Mrs. Curzon; and noted the benevolence of both heroes - which is more severely tested in Darcy's case, in that he is required to financially reward, and take as a brother-in-law, the man who tried to seduce his sister. Barker also noted how Darcy contrasts with Sir Charles; unlike Grandison, he is not at ease in all social classes, while, also unlike Grandison, he has been spoiled by the early indulgence he received from his parents. Grandison, unlike Darcy, when proposing to Harriet, does not appear to assume that he will be accepted. Barker both understates and overstates his case; understates in that he considers *Grandison's* influence only on 'Jack and Alice', *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma*, and does not explore the novel's contribution to all of Jane Austen's adult works; and overstates, in that he does not sufficiently consider the interaction between and influences on Jane Austen's work of, such literary descendants of Grandison as Mortimer Delvile, Godolphin/Delamere, and Hermsprong. Jane Austen's hero in *Pride and Prejudice* draws on a series of models, of whom Sir Charles is only one, though the first, in chronological terms.

4.6 Influences of Egerton Brydges

Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges was a kinsman of Jane Austen's dearest friend, Mrs. Lefroy, and the evidence suggests that his work was well-known in the Austen household. Brydges was a great admirer of Charlotte Smith's novels, and he wrote his fiction, *Mary de Clifford*, first published in 1792, discernibly under her influence - indeed, he

refers explicitly to the novelist in his text, complimenting the qualities of *Emmeline*.

The bookish, sentimental, intensely aristocratic Mary de Clifford may be satirised in Mary Bennet, the unintelligent bluestocking. Mary Bennet might have been persuaded to marry Mr. Collins, whose snobbery was perhaps suggested by that of Brydges; the latter revised a *Peerage* that had been compiled by a (notably fawning) author named Collins. Mary de Clifford is in love with the moody, aristocratic Woodville, who in these terms resembled Darcy; Emily Barnard is her rival, trying to ensnare Woodville in a manner recalled by Caroline Bingley.

The villain, Sir Peter Lumm . . . proposes to Mary and is rejected in an exchange of words that recalls the famous scene in *Pride and Prejudice*, though it is Mary who is guilty of both pride and prejudice in Brydges's novel.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

Actually the exchange is considerably more highly wrought and melodramatic than any in Jane Austen's novel; it represents the kind of excesses she found absurd. Bradbrook commented:

The moral drawn from the interview by Brydges's aristocratic heroine is the opposite of that pointed by this encounter between Elizabeth and Darcy,⁽¹²⁰⁾

that new-minted pride and prejudice is greater than that of aristocratic families.

Brydges rewrote *Emmeline* from a "pretentious and debased"⁽¹²¹⁾ vantage point of aristocratic sympathy. Mary is several times pictured, like *Emmeline*, flushed from exertion; the scene obviously made an impact on Brydges, and Jane Austen also uses it. At one stage in the story Mary

gets her petticoats wet, which may well have been the source of Elizabeth's muddy petticoats about which Caroline Bingley comments disparagingly (it has no parallel elsewhere). These strictures indirectly satirise the snobbery of Brydges's heroine while partially endorsing his view, that newly risen families - like the Bingleys - are as capable of insolence as are aristocrats.

Mr. Fitzherbert, the friend of the heroine's brother, "may have suggested . . . Fitzwilliam"⁽¹²²⁾ according to Bradbrook, as both were "of ancient family"; but more likely, both merely have a common source in Fitz-Edward, Delamere's friend in *Emmeline*. Woodville, the hero, like Darcy attends a ball but will not dance, being "moody and dejected";⁽¹²³⁾ Mary's brother, de Clifford, is much older than her, perhaps suggesting the age gap between Darcy and Georgiana. The founder of the family (a point not noted by Bradbrook) was Sir Lewis de Clifford; Jane Austen may have borrowed his Christian name to bestow upon Lady Catherine's late husband.

4.7 Influence of Graves

There is no explicit reference to the work of Richard Graves in *Pride and Prejudice*, unlike *Sense and Sensibility*. However, Graves may have influenced the novel. His *Plexippus, or The Aspiring Plebeian* (1790), is a study in snobbery, written probably in imitation of *Cecilia*, though, as in *Hermesprong*, the "upstart" is male. The epitome of snobbery in the novel is Lord Casimere, one or two of whose utterances, notable for their pride and complacency, may be echoed in

comments of Darcy's. Casimere "was glad to meet with some civilised beings, for he was afraid he was yet among the savages of North America",⁽¹²⁴⁾ when attending an assembly; Darcy in a similar setting remarks "every savage can dance",⁽¹²⁵⁾ deflating the pretensions of Lucas Lodge to be regarded as part of "polished society". Casimere's comment:

They might be genteel, and people of consequence in their own circle, for what his lordship knew, but he had not the honour . . . of knowing any of them.⁽¹²⁶⁾

recalls Darcy's excuse for his behaviour at the first ball in Meryton:

I had not at that time the honour of knowing any lady in the assembly beyond my own party . . . I am ill qualified to recommend myself to strangers.

As Fitzwilliam notes, this "is because he will not give himself the trouble".⁽¹²⁷⁾

Physically, Casimere contrasts with Darcy, being "a slender person . . . [with] slender intellect".⁽¹²⁸⁾ In Casimere, a kind of aristocratic degeneracy has taken place, because his family have "not recruited their veins with any wholesome *plebeian* blood".⁽¹²⁹⁾ Darcy is an example of "aristocratic" blood at its best - "fine, tall person, handsome features, noble mien",⁽¹³⁰⁾ with an excellent intellect. But in the sickly and cross Miss de Bourgh there may be a suggestion of aristocratic degeneracy, as with Casimere. The healthy and robust Elizabeth contrasts with her and will prevent any such falling-off among Darcy's children.

In another scene, Casimere suggests that man of equally slender intellect, Mr. Collins. The latter switches his attention from one girl to another: "[He] had only to change from Jane to Elizabeth - and it was soon done - done while Mrs. Bennet was stirring the fire."⁽¹³¹⁾ After being refused by Elizabeth, he proposes to Charlotte Lucas only a few days later. Casimere, on one page, makes proposals to, and is rejected by, two girls, Camilla and her sister Maria (who, like Jane Bennet, is semi-engaged). Finally, he "began talking nonsense to Jenny",⁽¹³²⁾ the maid - this is not a Collins-like action, but it does show how Casimere, like Mr. Collins, can find a third object to attract him very quickly (in this, he also resembles Harriet Smith in *Emma*).

Jane Austen might also have recalled the comic clergyman Pottle in Graves's novel *The Spiritual Quixote* (1773). Pottle is asked:

"What do you mean by the cure of souls?"
- "By the cure of souls? Why, I mean, burying the dead - baptizing children, and marrying - and - and reading prayers, and preaching - and the like."⁽¹³³⁾

Thinking of the first letter from Mr. Collins, Elizabeth "was chiefly struck with his kind intention of christening, marrying, and burying his parishioners when ever? it were required".⁽¹³⁴⁾ (He had written that he was "ever ready to perform those rites and ceremonies which are instituted by the Church of England".⁽¹³⁵⁾)

4.8 Influence of Maria Edgeworth

The relatively poor girl who attracts first the rich man's contumely and then his heart is found in Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda*. Jane Austen had already written *First Impressions* when she read this novel, which is praised in *Northanger Abbey* and may have been her favourite among Maria Edgeworth's works. She might well have drawn on *Belinda* when revising and rewriting *Pride and Prejudice*, for parallels between the novels can be found. These are generally relatively minor, and do not derive from *Cecilia* or *Emmeline*; some similarities may be coincidental, but it is not unlikely that Jane Austen did deliberately recall *Belinda* when rewriting some of her material; in this respect, though she may have shortened her novel in general when revising it, the material drawn from *Belinda* represents an addition.

Mrs. Bennet's eagerness to marry off her daughter parallels the match-making of Belinda's aunt, Selina Stanhope. Both Elizabeth and Belinda find this embarrassing. The reputation of their connections causes the heroes - Darcy and Clarence Hervey - to treat them warily. Hervey, like Darcy, has ten thousand a year, and after annoying the heroine with a slighting remark begins to feel fascinated. When Hervey asked:

Is it not possible to say that a young lady has dignity of mind and simplicity of character without having or suggesting any thoughts of marriage?⁽¹³⁶⁾

he may well have provided a model for Darcy's comments, similar though more wittily expressed:

A lady's imagination is very rapid; it jumps from admiration to love, from love to matrimony in a moment. I knew you would be wishing me joy.⁽¹³⁷⁾

When Lydia recounts her joke, when she dressed up a soldier as a woman, this incident recalls, and may have been intended to recall, how Clarence Hervey in *Belinda* dressed up as a Frenchwoman to deceive a company of dowagers. There is no equivalent to this scene in *Emmeline* or *Cecilia*, and *Belinda* would appear to be the most likely source.

Jane Austen might have wished to recall *Belinda* to point to the similarities between her novel and Maria Edgeworth's. Both involve a young woman struggling to assert her individual integrity, in the face of the damaging reputation of her relatives. Elizabeth's refusal of Darcy's first offer has a parallel in *Belinda*, in the heroine's rejection of Sir Philip Baddeley (although her rejection is couched in terms similar to those used by Elizabeth when refusing Mr. Collins). Darcy has a match planned for him with Miss de Bourgh; Hervey has ill-advisedly planned to educate a wife for himself, in the child-of-nature Virginia. Neither is a suitable match, though for different reasons. *Belinda* and *Pride and Prejudice* both cover some quite similar ground; this was almost certainly coincidental, but Jane Austen may have adjusted her text to point to some deliberate similarities. At the same time, there is much in *Belinda* that she ignored; and Clarence Hervey's contribution to Darcy is relatively small, for Jane Austen's models for him, and for other characters in the novel were already determined.

4.9 Influence of Regina Roche

Regina Roche's novel, *The Children of the Abbey* was published in 1796, and Jane Austen may have read it just before or during the writing of *First Impressions*, which she began in October of that year. The novel features "a major character, one who could perhaps be called the second male lead, named Sir Charles Bingley".⁽¹³⁶⁾ Jane Austen appears to have taken this character's name and used it in her novel; her Bingley is also "the second male lead", and in several ways resembles his namesake:

Both [Bingleys] are amiable, generous, independently wealthy men who can choose their spouse without regard to financial or social considerations . . . Both men, too, are persuaded against their choice of mate by the arguments of a friend.⁽¹³⁷⁾

In *The Children of the Abbey* this friend is the villainous Colonel Belgrave. A reader noting the similarities between the Bingleys might consider Darcy's persuasion of his friend as allying him with an established rake and villain; actually Jane Austen has established an ironic contrast. Belgrave proceeds by character assassination, Darcy by honestly supposing Jane was not too attracted to Bingley, and thereafter following his own wishes. Sir Charles Bingley is an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of the heroine, Amanda, who marries Lord Mortimer. (The latter's name recalls that of Mortimer Delville, and Amanda; like Cecilia, is persuaded by the hero's family not to marry him; so *The Children of the Abbey* is another imitation of

Cecilia, adding to the appropriateness of alluding to it through Bingley's name.)

Atkinson noted that:

Mrs. Roche's more naturalistic brand of eroticism seems to look forward to Jane Austen's work, (from which, incidentally, violence, intrigue, seduction, illegitimacy and mystery are by no means absent!).⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

But Regina Roche's novels were at least as far removed from "real life" as those of Charlotte Smith. Atkinson suggested that Mr. Decourcy in *The Nocturnal Visit* may have helped to suggest Darcy, both similarly being characterised by pride, haughtiness and reserve - "reserve, which chilled all the warm, the glowing feelings, the real kindness of his actions were calculated to inspire".⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Darcy's reserve and pride offend at Meryton; at Lambton he is considered proud, but is known for good works. However, these resemblances are almost certainly coincidental; "pride" and "reserve" were traditionally glamorous characteristics in the novel (Sir Charles Grandison manifests them in a way, and so do gothic heroes - and often villains). *The Nocturnal Visit* was not publishedⁱⁿ 1800, by which time Jane Austen had written *First Impressions*; of course, more material could have been added later, but Darcy's character most probably would have been established from the first draft. Mr. Decourcy is older than Darcy, a married man, with a tremendous feeling about him of suppressed rage, a married man whose household has been ruined by jealousy and mystery. In this he is not particularly like Darcy. The names are similar, of course - as noted, "Darcy" seems like a contraction of "Decourcy" - but Jane Austen had already, separately,

used the name "De Courcy" in *Lady Susan*; this is almost certainly an example of coincidence, two authors drawing upon a common pool of names.

4.10 Influence of Henry Fielding

Doody considered that:

Wickham's story is a kind of reworking of *Tom Jones*, with the late Mr. Darcy playing the part of Alworthy, "one of the best men that ever breathed" . . . Wickham figures as Tom and Darcy as Blifil, "inmates of the same house, sharing the same amusements, objects of the same parental care" . . . Elizabeth (who must be a novel reader) is readily moved by the story.⁽¹⁴²⁾

Initially attracted by someone resembling Fielding's hero, someone who claims to have been cheated out of an inheritance and who has been "very imprudent",⁽¹⁴³⁾ Elizabeth must come to see the merits in Darcy, a Richardsonian hero, before she can be happy. The sordid reality of Wickham's true nature strips the Tom Jones character of his false glamour.

4.11 Influence of Richard Brinsley Sheridan

Lydia Bennet and Sheridan's Lydia Languish have enough in common to suggest that their common Christian name is more than a coincidence. Both Lydias are attracted by uniforms; both plan or are involved in an elopement; both are novel readers; both are very silly. They also both show disrespect for Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women* - Lydia Bennet gossips while Mr. Collins reads from that work. Jane Austen

only uses the name "Lydia" once in her adult fiction, and presumably uses it because, through Lydia Languish, it has "a suitable aura of youthful silliness".⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

4.12 Influence of Shakespeare

When Darcy says "I have been used to consider poetry as the *food* of love",⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ he misquotes *Twelfth Night's* opening line, "If music be the food of love, play on".⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Elizabeth's scepticism about love, that "if it be only a slight, thin sort of inclination, I am convinced that one good sonnet will starve it away",⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ is later echoed in Charlotte Heywood's epigram on Burns in *Sanditon* - "he felt, and he wrote, and he forgot",⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ while Anne Elliot is sceptical about the suitability of reading poetry when love-sick. In speaking of sonnets, Elizabeth may have had Shakespeare's own sonnets in mind, or possibly those of Elizabethan poets like Sidney, for their sonnets would be the ones known to her most concerned with love.

Bradbrook noted that Darcy refers indirectly to *Hamlet* when he says:

There is, I believe, in every disposition, a tendency to some particular evil, a natural defect which not even the best education can overcome.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

This is an echo of the "stamp of one defect"⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ mentioned by Hamlet; it is both a mark of complacency and an example of "unconscious irony".⁽¹⁵¹⁾

Tanner judged that Darcy "is not Benedick to Elizabeth's Beatrice",⁽¹⁵²⁾ thus challenging a comparison several critics have made; but his view is refuted by McMaster who has noted a number of links between the novel and the play. She has written of Darcy and Elizabeth:

as with Beatrice and Benedick, the state that exists between them is war: "They never meet but there's a skirmish of wit between them." [I.1]⁽¹⁵³⁾

For McMaster, the evidence suggests that Jane Austen followed *Much Ado About Nothing*, when writing her novel:

Beatrice, "born in a merry hour" [II.1] is surely kin to Elizabeth, who "dearly love[s] a laugh"⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ . . . One can note a similarity not only in the main plot, where hero and heroine come to accord only after pointedly singling each other out for abuse, but also in the sub-plots - the making and breaking of the Hero/Claudio and Jane/Bingley matches being a point of fierce issue between the main characters. Hero's description of Beatrice, who "turns . . . every man the wrong side out" [III.1] sounds like the unreformed Elizabeth . . . And when Beatrice comes to love Benedick, she might be Elizabeth soliloquising after talking to the housekeeper at Pemberley: "For others say thou dost deserve and I believe it better than reportingly" [III.1]. Darcy is obviously not so like Benedick. But he too is confident . . . Benedick's determination that "till all graces be in one woman, one woman shall not come in my graces" [II.iii] is echoed in Darcy's exacting notions of what constitutes accomplishment in a woman. . . . When it comes to the point, Benedick, like Darcy, finds it difficult to express himself warmly and captivately, "No, I was not born under a rhyming planet, nor I cannot woo in festival terms" [V.11].⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

This would seem to indicate that Jane Austen was indeed thinking of *Much Ado* when writing Darcy's and Elizabeth's scenes. Other parallels

with Shakespearean plays that have been drawn by critics seem less convincing - Hertz's equation of Darcy with Romeo and Meryton with Verona, for example. His identification of "Bingley with Mercutio the reveller and Darcy with Romeo the gloomy spectator",⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ seems as far-fetched as Bush's deliberately comic comparison of Bingley, with his retinue of dancers, with Dionysius,⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ is meant to be.

Trickett said of Mr. Bennet, "As a figure of wit, he is Jacques [sic] to [Elizabeth's] Rosalind, and with all Jacques' irresponsible detachment",⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ but did not elaborate; possibly she felt Mr. Bennet's pleasure in observing the faults and foibles of others recalled the view that "all the world's a stage".⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Perhaps, too, she meant to imply a relationship between Mr. Bennet's meeting with Mr. Collins and Jaques' encounter with a fool, who says precise and pedantic things, ("Tis but an hour ago since it was nine / And another one more 'twill be eleven"⁽¹⁶⁰⁾). This fool, like Mr. Collins, with his over-exactness and his rehearsed compliments, is a courtier:

O worthy fool! One that has been a courtier
 and in his brain
 he hath strange places cramm'd
With observation, the which he vents
In mangled forms.⁽¹⁶¹⁾

(These words also recall Sir William Lucas.) But good humour is far more dominant in Mr. Bennet's make-up than is melancholy, which is the attribute for which Jaques is most celebrated.

The love between Elizabeth and Jane recalls, in a very general way, the affectionate relationships between Shakespearean heroines, such as Beatrice and Hero, or Rosalind and Celia; but Jane Austen had a model

for the love between these sisters in her own relationship with Cassandra, so any Shakespearean flavour would be an implied literary reference for the reader, rather than a manifestation of a direct influence.

4.13 Politics and Nomenclature

When writing *Emmeline*, her version of a study in snobbery, Charlotte Smith added both a more conventional birth-mystery romance element, and her own liberal political views. *Emmeline* is a mild critique of the aristocracy, while *Hermesprong* is a much more radical revision of *Cecilia*, a kind of Jacobin romance. Jane Austen's conservatism leads her to tone down the element of class conflict and political debate found in Bage's novel, but there remains in *Pride and Prejudice* a political dimension, for Darcy and the Bennets appear to be Whig and Tory respectively.

Greene noted that Fitzwilliam Darcy's names recalled those of two prominent noblemen:

Robert D'Arcy, fourth and last Earl of Holderness (1718-1778) and William Fitzwilliam, fourth Earl Fitzwilliam (1748-1833) [whol were both great men in Whig political circles, holding high ministerial office from time to time.⁽¹⁶²⁾

He considered that Darcy's arrogance might have been "a satire on aspects of Whiggism not obnoxious to Pittite Tories",⁽¹⁶³⁾ but he did not note further linkages with the Whigs, in the name of Darcy's sister and the possible model for Pemberley.

Darcy's sister is named Georgiana, and by far the most famous bearer of that name in Jane Austen's time was Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire, who was herself a very important figure in Whig politics. The Devonshire family has a great house, Chatsworth, in Derbyshire, where Pemberley is also situated; Blount noted of Pemberley that it was "a large stone house built in the classical manner . . . the grounds were extremely extensive . . . it was within easy driving distance of Bakewell",⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ and as all these are true of Chatsworth as well, concluded that Pemberley was probably modelled upon it. (Though it is not a substitute, as Chatsworth is itself referred to.)

Georgiana Darcy, diffident, shy and embarrassed - being young, inexperienced, and still ashamed of her involvement with Wickham - provides an ironic contrast with her namesake, the brilliant and accomplished Duchess; this may be a sly joke on Jane Austen's part at the expense of the Whigs (her own family being staunchly Tory). The Duchess herself wrote one novel, *The Sylph* (1779), in which the name "Pemberton" appears. The name also occurs in *Cecilia* - Fanny Burney may have borrowed it from *The Sylph* - and Jane Austen's "Pemberley" may therefore make a double allusion. It would be fitting if Miss Darcy's home owed its name to her namesake's imagination. Fitzwilliam Darcy was so named to honour his mother's family, she being Lady Anne Fitzwilliam; Georgiana was probably so christened because her father (whose first name is nowhere given) was called "George" - a possibility that is increased when it is recalled that this was the name of his godson, Wickham.

4.14 Conclusion

As noted earlier, how and when Jane Austen revised *First Impressions* is uncertain, and several different theories have been advanced. Chapman considered that the book as we know it was substantially rewritten in 1812",⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ as the action seemed to follow the calendar for 1811-12. However, in 1812 Jane Austen was already at work on *Mansfield Park* (which she had begun in February 1811); furthermore, according to Andrews, the 1802 calendar fits better than than of 1812.

Austen-Leigh in the *Memoir* suggested that Jane Austen spent 1809-10 revising both *Sense and Sensibility* - published in 1811 - and *Pride and Prejudice*. Andrews suggested that the novel was possibly revised in part in 1799, and probably rewritten in 1802. This would make the reference to a "peace" at the end of the novel tie in with the Peace of Amiens , of 1802-3, though Andrews took the view that even if Jane Austen followed the 1802 calendar this was "a mere convenience . . . the action took place . . . back in the '90s",⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ at the time when the novel was first conceived. (It was in the mid-1790s that the Brighton militia camps were most notorious.) Although he does not mention it, Andrews is perhaps supported in his suggestion of 1802 by the publication of a novel entitled *First Impressions* the previous year; Jane Austen, realising that she had to change the title, may have decided to revise or rewrite the novel as well.

When *First Impressions* was offered for sale, it was compared by Jane Austen's father to *Evelina*, in terms of length. *Pride and Prejudice*

is actually significantly shorter than *Evelina*, suggesting that the original *First Impressions* may have been rather longer. Jane Austen speaks of having "lop't and crop'd"⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ it, which would support this. (Though the comparison may not have been exact; estimating how long a manuscript might be when published is not easy, perhaps, and Jane Austen herself thought *Pride and Prejudice* shorter than *Sense and Sensibility*, when they are actually about the same length.) Southam suggested that the reference to *Evelina* might imply that *First Impressions* was, like Fanny Burney's novel, written in epistolary form. In such a form it might have been longer than *Pride and Prejudice*; Southam considered that it was rewritten as a narrative in 1809-12.

Doubt has been expressed in the previous chapter as to whether *Elinor and Marianne* was written in letters, as the textual and structural evidence did not seem strong. But in that case, there was at least a testimony from a family member that it was so written, whereas there is no such evidence concerning *First Impressions* from Caroline Austen, Cassandra or anyone else. In order to support his case for an epistolary *First Impressions*, Southam wrote:

If . . . [Jane Austen] already had behind her the experience of writing one novel entirely in direct narrative, it is unlikely that so many traces of the original version of *Sense and Sensibility* [i.e. *Elinor and Marianne*] would have found their way through to the second draft. *Sense and Sensibility* . . . reads like a first venture in this form.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

However, these supposed "traces" of the earlier draft are not necessarily anything of the kind, as the previous chapter

demonstrated. Nor does the invocation of *Sense and Sensibility's* inferiority to *Pride and Prejudice* support the notion of an epistolary *First Impressions*; *Elinor and Marianne* was written before *First Impressions* and *Sense and Sensibility* before *Pride and Prejudice* (whenever that was written); so *Pride and Prejudice* was written with the benefit of more practice than was *Sense and Sensibility*. Almost certainly, the latter is a more adept work than was the original *First Impressions*. (Not that there is any obligation on an author's later work to be better than his or her earlier efforts; it is fallacious to see the creative mind working this way, a point Southam does not consider.)

It is fair to say that *Pride and Prejudice* could more easily have its story told in epistolary form than could *Sense and Sensibility*, but that is hardly sufficient to prove that it was. The major influences on *Pride and Prejudice* are, apart from *Grandison*, told in narrative; *Cecilia* is a narrative work, and so are its major imitations before *Pride and Prejudice*, *Emmeline* and *Hermsprong*; so the evidence provided by Jane Austen's sources does not support the idea of an epistolary *First Impressions*. It is possible, after considering the evidence, to conclude that Jane Austen's only serious attempt to write in the epistolary form came in *Lady Susan*. As for when *Pride and Prejudice* was rewritten from *First Impressions*, this could have occurred at any time between 1798 and 1812; but all the major influences on the novel had been written by the mid-1790s, and any allusions to later works (such as *Belinda*) could easily have been worked in through small-scale revisions up until 1812. In 1802, the date favoured by Andrews, Jane

Austen could still, by her own account, have been working on *Susan* (*Northanger Abbey*), which she states was completed in 1803. There is no reason why Jane Austen could not have used a calendar for 1802 when engaged in rewriting or revising this novel in 1809-10, the date favoured by Austen-Leigh. Many subsequent years of speculation do not appear to have improved on his suggestion.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR:
PRIDE AND PREJUDICE

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2. Cecil, *op. cit.*, 224.
3. Fanny Burney, *Cecilia*, I, 7.
4. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, 5 (hereafter referred to as *PP*).
5. *Cecilia*, I, 44.
6. R.W. Chapman, ed., *PP*, 405.
7. *ibid.*
8. P.S.A. Rossdale, 'What Caused the Quarrel Between Mr. Collins and Mr. Bennet?', 504.
9. R.W. Chapman, ed., *PP*, 409.
10. Bradbrook, *Jane Austen and her Predecessors*, 98.
11. *Cecilia*, I, 232.
12. *Cecilia*, I, 240.
13. *PP*, 173.
14. *Cecilia*, I, 325-26.
15. *PP*, 25.
16. *Cecilia*, I, 327.
17. *PP*, 54.
18. *Cecilia*, I, 7.
19. *Cecilia*, I, 222.
20. *PP*, 182.
21. *PP*, 376.
22. *Cecilia*, II, 121.
23. *Cecilia*, I, 156.
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25. *Cecilia*, II, 156.
26. *PP*, 115.
27. *Cecilia*, II, 99-100.
28. Judy Simons, 'Introduction', *Cecilia* by Fanny Burney, xi.
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30. *PP*, 190.
31. *Cecilia*, I, 94.
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43. *Evelina*, 385.
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46. *ibid.*
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48. Wright, *op. cit.*, 74.
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54. *Emmeline*, 99.
55. *PP*, 19.
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57. *PP*, 33.
58. *PP*, 36.
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60. *Emmeline*, 16.
61. Magee, 'The Happy Marriage', 123.
62. Wendy Craik, *Jane Austen: The Six Novels*, 74.
63. *PP*, 388.
64. *PP*, 380.
65. *Emmeline*, 40-41.
66. *PP*, 380.
67. *PP*, 15.
68. Magee, 'The Happy Marriage', 123.
69. *Emmeline*, 2.
70. *Emmeline*, 55.
71. *PP*, 357.
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73. *ibid.*
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76. *Emmeline*, 134.
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78. *Emmeline*, 35.
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80. Magee, 'The Happy Marriage', 127.
81. Peter Faulkner, *Robert Bage*, 154.
82. Dorothy Blakey, *The Minerva Press 1790-1820*, 64.
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88. *ibid.*
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95. E.E. Duncan-Jones, 'Proposals of Marriage in *Pride and Prejudice* and *Pamela*', 76.
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102. Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa*, 44.

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167. Jane Austen, *Letters*, 298.
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CHAPTER FIVE: *MANSFIELD PARK*

5.1 Introduction

Mansfield Park was begun in February 1811, and completed soon after June 1813. No evidence exists to suggest that it had been composed in any kind of preliminary version before 1811. It was Jane Austen's third published novel, and the first not to draw upon an earlier text.

5.2 Influence of Charlotte Smith

Magee saw parallels between *Ethelinde* and *Mansfield Park*:

Ethelinde . . . anticipates the physical weakness and violent emotions of Fanny Price in *Mansfield Park*. Ethelinde declines the love of the unhappily married Sir Edward Newenden, who longs for domestic happiness with her, and marries instead her ardent young hero Montgomery. It is as if the idolized flirt Henry Crawford echoes the even less discreet Sir Edward as a trial for a heroine who is anxiously determined to be faithful to a first love.¹²

But Sir Edward's desire for domestic happiness is genuine, whereas for Henry Crawford it is merely an attractive concept, an idea to flirt with. The parallel that might be drawn between the two novels is the opposite of Magee's; Edmund's unhappy affair with Mary leaves him, even more than before, a genuine devotee of domestic happiness, like Sir Edward (whose unhappy marriage parallels Edmund's affair) and like

Fanny; it is Henry who postures, like Willoughby in *Sense and Sensibility*, as the "ardent young hero", and like Willoughby is found wanting. If *Mansfield Park* rewrites *Ethelinde*, it follows the pattern of *Sense and Sensibility*, marrying the heroine to the equivalent character to Sir Edward. Magee is also rather unhappy in his choice of words; Fanny does not display "violent emotions", at least not in the way Marianne Dashwood does; *Mansfield Park* indicates that self-control is a virtue. And Henry may be "idolized" by his sister, and perhaps by Maria, but never by Fanny.

In Charlotte Smith's *Montalbert*, Magee saw a parallel between Fanny and the heroine, Rosalie, in their devotion to an absent brother; he commented:

In the years of lonely separation . . . Fanny's only comfort is her beloved brother William, who echoes the brotherly love of William Lessington for his supposed sister Rosalie in *Montalbert*. From the same novel, the self-indulgent father the Reverend Mr. Lessington is another clerical glutton like the Reverend Dr. Grant of *Mansfield Park*.⁽²⁾

William Price was actually most Fanny's "comfort" when they were together as children at Portsmouth; their love does not diminish, but during her "separation" Fanny's real comfort - and comforter - is Edmund.

In his listing of parallels, Magee also suggested that "like Althea Dacres in *Marchmont* . . . Fanny enters her father's house as an unwanted stranger and suffers acute misery there".⁽³⁾ But it is an over-statement to call Fanny "unwanted", and the cruelty that Althea

faces is unlike the inadvertent unhappiness which the Price *ménage* creates for Fanny.

Magee might also have noted that in Charlotte Smith's last novel, *The Young Philosopher*, there is a satirically drawn clergyman of epicurean habits, Dr. Winslow, who might be compared to Dr. Grant. In the same novel the rich Miss Goldthorpe wants to tempt George Delmont because "he is a vast deal too handsome for a parson";⁴ this is not unlike Mary's attitude to Edmund's ordination. In *The Banished Man*, Lady Ellesmere is as insensible to the French Revolution and its results, as is Lady Bertram to the perils of her husband's voyage, and the nature of the activities around her. These are at least as much, or as little, parallels as those Magee draws from *Montalbert* and *Marchmont*; they may have been in Jane Austen's mind, but hardly need to be.

Jane Austen does appear, though, to have intended readers to think of Charlotte Smith's novels *Emmeline* and *The Old Manor House*. When pondering about the wisdom of taking Fanny, Sir Thomas thinks "of cousins in love",⁵ while Mrs. Norris says:

suppose her a pretty girl, and seen by Tom or Edmund for the first time seven years hence, and I dare say there would be mischief.⁶

This is the scenario in *Emmeline*, where Delamere meets and falls in love with his cousin Emmeline when she is seventeen; it is almost as if Mrs. Norris was thinking of that novel. But, she is convinced, "brought up, as they would be, always together like brothers and sisters . . . it is morally impossible. I never knew an instance of

it".⁽⁷⁾ But Mrs. Norris had obviously never read *The Old Manor House*, or she might not have felt so complacent.

Magee saw that:

The abused and neglected Monimia [in *The Old Manor House*] closely anticipates some of Fanny Price's miseries as an unwanted niece at *Mansfield Park*.⁽⁸⁾

Monimia has, in Mrs. Lennard, a cruel aunt - like Fanny:

Fanny's particular misery at Mansfield is her bullying aunt Norris, who is the same sort of cruel "benefactor" as Mrs. Lennard in *The Old Manor House* . . . Mrs. Lennard denies Monimia candles for reading just as Mrs. Norris denies Fanny a fire in the East Room.⁽⁹⁾

Jane Austen in the early part of *Mansfield Park* thus calls *Emmeline* to mind; ;later, a reader might feel that Sir Thomas and Mrs. Norris are, in their authority and anger, rather like Lord and Lady Montreville, except that they are concerned to marry Fanny off, rather than to prevent her marrying (Fanny does not want to marry Henry, and Emmeline does not want to marry Delamere). Another echo of *Emmeline* is the name "Stornaway", which is also found in *Mansfield Park*. Jane Austen may have seen *The Old Manor House* as inverting the situation in *Emmeline*, in that love slowly develops between the young hero and heroine, Orlando and Monimia, a mutual process connected to his educating her; it is not the sudden infatuation, the love at first sight, of a Delamere. Henry torments Fanny as Delamere harasses Emmeline; the latter's true love, Captain William Godolphin, suggests both William Price and Edmund; like the former he is shown to be a loving brother, like the latter he is notable for his rectitude.

It is said of Orlando, in *The Old Manor House*, that, "his very name . . . added something to the romantic enthusiasm of his character",^{<10>} and old Mrs. Rayland can fancy that she sees in him a revival of the martial virtues of their mutual ancestor, Sir Orlando. For Fanny, the name of "Edmund" similarly has associations "of heroism and renown".^{<11>} Orlando and Fanny resemble each other in that they both have a "romantic enthusiasm" for Nature, and both have been brought up to feel "the effects of relative isolation and romantic reading".^{<12>} Orlando's father, like Fanny's mother, is considered by his family to have married beneath himself; Orlando, like Fanny, spends a lot of time away from home, as the favourite of his relatives (a rather precarious situation). Orlando's parents, like the Prices, live in relatively straitened circumstances.

Monimia lives in isolation at Rayland Hall, her lonely turret room having its parallel in Fanny's attic at Mansfield. Fanny is befriended and educated by Edmund, as Monimia is by Orlando; the heroes of both novels mould the tastes of the heroines.

When Orlando is on a clandestine visit to Monimia at Rayland Hall, the two are involved in a frightening experience in the Chapel there, being startled by the activities of smugglers. This scene may be recalled in Fanny's expectations at Sotherton Chapel; she comments:

There is nothing awful here . . . here are no aisles, no arches, no inscriptions, no banners. No banners, cousin, to be "blown by the night wind of heaven".^{<13>}

Fanny is quoting Scott, but her expectations seem to have been of a Gothic chapel, of the kind described in *The Old Manor House*, where:

The old banners which hung over her head, waving and rustling with currents of air . . . seemed to repeat the whispers of some terrific and invisible being, foretelling woe and destruction.⁽¹⁴⁾

The liaisons developed at Sotherton lead to the "woe and destruction" of Maria's marriage and reputation, although, ironically, there are no banners or other symbols to presage this. Sotherton - "a dismal old prison [that] wants improvement"⁽¹⁵⁾ - may recall Rayland, where Monimia is almost literally kept as a prisoner, locked in her turret room.

Both Orlando and Edmund are younger sons, whose less worthy elder brothers, Philip and Tom, fall into bad company. Charlotte Smith kills Philip off, to allow Orlando a clear path to his inheritance; the reader aware of the parallels between the works may expect, as Mary hopes, that Tom will die and Edmund take his place. But Jane Austen prefers to reform Tom, through the chastening experience of his illness, in which his "friends" abandon him.

The Admiral who brought Henry up, and also retained his vices into old age, parallels the old military rake General Tracy in *The Old Manor House*. The General's protégé, Warwick, is a rakish but charming young man, who elopes with Orlando's sister Isabella; this elopement may be recalled in Julia's with Yates in *Mansfield Park*, though in his character as an attractive wit Warwick is closer to Henry Crawford than to Yates. The coquettish and somewhat mercenary Isabella is cut from much the same cloth as the Bertram sisters.

5.3 Influence of Clara Reeve

The names Orlando and Edmund are linked by heroic associations; Fanny says that "Edmund" is the name "of kings, princes and knights; and seems to breathe the spirit of chivalry and warm affections".⁽¹⁶⁾ This reference to knights and chivalry suggests that Fanny (and Jane Austen) were recalling Edmund, the hero of Clara Reeve's medieval Gothic tale, *The Old English Baron*. This Edmund is a kind of male version of Fanny; apparently lowly-born, he is raised in the household of a noble family, occupying a rather equivocal position; he falls in love with Lady Emma, the daughter of the house, and suffers the vicious resentment of her proud relatives. But if his situation recalls Fanny's, his name and chivalrous conduct link him with Edmund Bertram. Clara Reeve's Edmund marries his Emma, achieving happiness and noble status (he turns out not to be low-born), as Fanny eventually marries her Edmund. Jane Austen might well have noted that Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline* was indebted in certain ways to Clara Reeve's novel; Edmund and Emmeline are both neglected when young but emerge to be nobly-born; Charlotte Smith may have deliberately pointed to her source by sub-titling her novel *The Orphan of the Castle*, which was also the title of the stage version of *The Old English Baron*.

Clara Reeve may have known of and named her hero after the historical martyr King Edmund; however, she may also have intended a compliment to Edmund Spenser; Baker observed:

Clara Reeve's *Progress of Romance*, crediting the genre for teaching manners and virtue, quotes

Spenser in praise of "chivalric" on the title page.⁽¹⁷⁾

which may indicate her esteem for the poet. Jane Austen may also have intended an allusion to Spenser in the naming of her Edmund.

5.4 Influence of Edmund Spenser

Harris, relating *Mansfield Park* to *Grandison*, observed:

In a bravura display, Jane Austen's quick combining mind expands hints from Richardson to link her wilderness, her false paradise, with the great *topoi* of Renaissance epics, and grants importance to her modern theme of improvement by suggesting that the Christian history of humanity is re-enacted in her characters.⁽¹⁸⁾

When Mary and Edmund finally separate:

Mary is left standing in the doorway calling seductively to Edmund, for all the world like Spenser's singing, laughing, wanton Phaedria to his temperate Guyon.⁽¹⁹⁾

Harris referred to Mary's:

worldliness, her artful attractions, and her abrupt revelation of evil to her sometime suitor Edmund . . . The dangerous ambivalence of Spenser's Bower of Bliss, where:

And that, which all faire workes doth most
aggrace
The art, which all that wrought, appeared in
no place [II.xii.58]
reappears in Sotherton. With its little wood,
winding walks and false enchantments, it too
proves a haven of pride and deception, a place to
be shunned.⁽²⁰⁾

As Sotherton has not yet been "improved" by Repton, its gardens remain the product of the designers of previous times; possibly their layout dates originally from a time contemporary with Spenser, for "it was

built in Elizabeth's time".⁽²¹⁾ So there is artifice present in the layout of the gardens, as well as in the behaviour of some of the characters in them. The scene at Sotherton is compared by McMaster to a different episode in *The Faerie Queene*:

It was Mary who led the way into the wood, with its "serpentining" pathways, and Edmund enters it much as the Redcrosse Knight, accompanied by his Una, enters the Wandering Wood, in which he encounters the female monster, Error.⁽²²⁾

Edmund, as a clergyman, might fittingly be paralleled to Redcrosse, the Knight of Holiness; Fanny would be appropriate as Una, representing truth and constancy. Duessa, the deceiver, who allegorically represents Mary Queen of Scots, might be compared to Mary Crawford, who shares the Queen's Christian name and has a Scottish surname.

"The enchanted wood"⁽²³⁾ at Sotherton has its contrast at Mansfield, which, after the expulsion of Maria and Mrs. Norris, and Edmund's break with Mary, "gains . . . the aura of paradise".⁽²⁴⁾ Edmund finds a cure for his wounded heart:

After wandering about and sitting under the trees with Fanny all the summer evenings, he had so well talked his mind into submission, as to be very tolerably cheerful again.⁽²⁵⁾

It is safe to "wander" in this Eden, as it was safe to wander in the Eden Redcrosse rescued from the dragon, at the end of Book I of *The Faerie Queene*. Edmund's victory is over his own regrets, as well as over an external source of disruption.

5.5 Influence of Richardson

For Harris, *Grandison* is the major literary influence in *Mansfield Park*:

Mansfield Park is not *Grandison* . . . But it is something to watch Jane Austen, involved in *Grandison* to the extent of knowing it as a living reality, select, adapt, and re-arrange elements from Richardson's long, diffuse novel, weaving a tighter mesh that forms the substance of her own. (26)

Both Fanny and Harriet "are 'adopted' into a Northamptonshire family . . . they spend most of their books helplessly observing their men becoming bound to other women". (27) Both become a "third sister", while Mary Crawford, whose age is closer to Harriet's than is Fanny's, seems for a while to have this position, but, ultimately, proves unassimilable by the Mansfield family. As well as larger jealousies, Fanny and Harriet are both capable of them on a petty scale - Fanny towards the Misses Owens, Harriet towards the Canterbury ladies.

Fanny and Clementina both receive unwelcome proposals from a suitor approved by their family (Henry, the Count of Belvedere). But Fanny's patient endurance, in the face of her family's insensibility, contrasts with Clementina's escape to England, after the harsh treatment she receives from her jealous cousin Laurina, when (like Fanny) she has been, as it were, temporarily exiled from her home in order to make her change her mind.

Edmund combines the qualities of Dr. Bartlett and Sir Charles but he also, like the latter, behaves selfishly and insensitively towards the

virtuous woman who loves him; his request to Fanny to "think of me"⁽²⁸⁾ is an example of this. Jane Austen could be clear-sighted about the more vulnerable aspects of Sir Charles's character.

Henry Crawford is, like Sir Charles and Sir Hargrave, a man who would break many hearts by marrying. Potentially, Henry could be a Grandisonian figure, potentially a good landlord, patron and husband; but his nature and early upbringing incline him to vice. Being more intelligent than Pollexfen, he recalls Lovelace more closely. Beattie wrote in 1783:

When a character like Richardson's Lovelace is adorned with youth, beauty, elegance, wit, and every other intellectual and bodily accomplishment, it is to be feared that thoughtless young men may be tempted to imitate, even while they disapprove, them.⁽²⁹⁾

Sir Edward Denham in *Sanditon* is a foolish young man who approves of Lovelace-type heroes; no doubt he would approve of Henry Crawford, and it would seem likely that Jane Austen saw Henry as a kind of Lovelace. When she writes of Henry Austen admiring the character "properly",⁽³⁰⁾ it seems to indicate an awareness of Crawford's capacity to attract "improper" kinds of admiration. (As a Lovelace-figure, Henry Crawford ironically promotes the heroine's brother, rather than wounds him; William admires Henry, while James Harlowe hates Lovelace.) If Henry and Mary Crawford do not seem attractive or capable of inspiring admiration, they would represent no threat. Like Milton's Satan (one of the probable models for Lovelace) when tempting Eve, they must appear plausible, or they would not seem credible. Harris noted that

Henry's energy, and ability to play any role, linked him to "the Satanic Protean Lovelace".⁽³¹⁾

Mary Crawford has the outspokenness of a Charlotte Grandison, especially in her irreverence towards aspects of the male world. Like Charlotte also, she is a devoted sister, her affection for Henry and Mrs. Grant being one of her most attractive characteristics. Fanny has to watch Edmund, her Grandison, become involved with Mary, who resembles partly Clementina (with the religious differences re-rendered as a kind of Town-Country, Worldly-Spiritual conflict) and partly the darker temptress Olivia. Charlotte Grandison sees women as:

"Milk-white heifers led to sacrifice." Mary is reminded by Maria of "some of the old heathen heroes, who offered sacrifices to the gods on their safe return."⁽³²⁾

- this combines an allusion to Richardson with a recollection, in slightly altered form, of Iphigenia and Agamemnon.

There is a minor character in *Grandison* named Sir Thomas Mansfield, who is helped by Sir Charles, but essentially Sir Thomas Bertram is a kind of flawed and imperfect version of the Grandison hero. Like Sir Charles, he is an enthusiast for matrimony:

I am an advocate for early marriages, where there are means in proportion, and would have every young man, with a sufficient income, settle as soon after four and twenty as he can.⁽³³⁾

His failure of judgement and ability to stifle misgivings is perhaps an ironic commentary on Sir Charles's match-making, again indicating that Jane Austen regarded *Grandison* with less than total reverence.

Sir Thomas's materialism is not endorsed, but his support for matrimony places him in ideological opposition to the marriage-hating Admiral (whose parallel in Richardson's novel is perhaps Sir Thomas Grandison).

Sir Thomas Bertram may be, like Sir Thomas Mansfield (who lives at "Mansfield House"), "a very good man and much respected in the neighbourhood",⁽³⁴⁾ but his "speech to Fanny recalls Mr. Harlow's ordering Clarissa to marry the detestable Mr. Solmes".⁽³⁵⁾ Nevertheless, there is still kindness on his part in ordering that a fire should be lit in Fanny's room. Wiesenfarth considered that in Fanny's ordeal Jane Austen was following Richardson's example so as "to dramatise the relation of education to the resilience of this Christian heroine".⁽³⁶⁾ It is an irony that Sir Thomas should use, as it were, the "Harlowe-voice" in trying to persuade Fanny to marry a character resembling Mr. Harlowe's hated Lovelace. While Fanny has no-one to confide in, Henry Crawford has Mary as his Belford. Fanny, being timid, is not able to expose Maria, or condemn openly Henry's morals; in this, she contrasts with Harriet Byron, who says to Sir Hargrave's face that "I had not the opinion of his morals that I must have of the man to whom I give my hand",⁽³⁷⁾ although this is what Fanny herself feels.

Susan Price is perhaps *Mansfield Park's* equivalent to Emily Jervois; equivalent in that she represents the presence of a girl in her mid-teens in the Mansfield household, taking over Fanny's role. Emily was Sir Charles's ward, and "Ward" is the maiden name of Mrs. Price and

her sisters. Susan's patroness is Fanny, and there is a sense in which Fanny represents a Grandison boldly transformed into a figure both female and passive, but nevertheless the moral centre of the novel's world. Fanny succeeds by enduring, rather than initiating, as a Grandison of her own sex; while Sir Charles's activity and officiousness might be seen as unkindly transformed into Mrs. Norris, a character truly original in Jane Austen's novel, with no equivalent in *Grandison* (though with models elsewhere).

Sotherton combines elements drawn from Spenser and from Richardson, and if the date of the house indicates the first, then its furnishings do the second - it is furnished "in the taste of fifty years back",⁽³⁸⁾ which is to say, roughly contemporary with *Grandison's* publication. Harris, comparing the gardens at Sotherton to those at Grandison-Hall, wrote that "Jane Austen's garden must surely be as symbolic as Richardson's. The vital difference is that his is prelapsarian, hers is not".⁽³⁹⁾ But if Sotherton is a "false paradise", Mansfield is a "true one"⁽⁴⁰⁾ - "Mansfield Park is the true Paradise born naturally of time and tradition, the Happy Valley to which the wise return".⁽⁴¹⁾ Other, fleeting allusions may also be detected. The apostrophe to memory that Fanny utters suggests that a retentive memory is a sign of virtue; lessons are learnt, obligations remembered, sufferings recalled - Maria forgets her marriage, Mr. Price forgets Fanny, illustrating the opposite. Fanny's words may recall Harriet's comment - "What a *rememberer* . . . is . . . the heart".⁽⁴²⁾ Mrs. Eleanor Grandison, Harris suggested, is briefly

reincarnated, as it were, "in the 'Mrs. Eleanors' imagined in the Chapel".⁽⁴³⁾

Lady Bertram, in a letter to Fanny at Portsmouth, writes in the "language of real feeling and alarm",⁽⁴⁴⁾ and Burgan commented on this:

her letter to Fanny is a series of short, forceful clauses . . . [while] . . . Mary Crawford's confused letter telling Fanny Price of Henry's elopement with Maria Rushworth . . . [attempts] . . . to give the effect of emotion through broken sentences and unexplained references . . . these letters look back to Richardson's ideal of "instantaneous descriptions".⁽⁴⁵⁾

5.6 Influence of Fanny Burney

Fanny Price shares her Christian name with Fanny Burney; both also had sisters named Susan. Jane Austen had drawn on Fanny Burney's works when writing the first drafts of her earlier novels in the 1790s, and she returned to her work when writing her new fiction, *Mansfield Park*. But with this difference - *Camilla*, Fanny Burney's third novel, published in the 1790s, had little impact on Jane Austen's work dating from that decade; but *Mansfield Park* appears to represent an attempt by Jane Austen to draw upon and redeploy the material of *Camilla*, as she had previously done with *Evelina* and *Cecilia*. A decade and a half having elapsed, in which to evaluate *Camilla*, Jane Austen was ready to register her assents and protests.

In *Camilla* "there is unusual attention given to the depiction of childhood, with the effect of environment upon the mind in early youth".⁽⁴⁶⁾ The hero and heroine, Edgar and Camilla, know each other from childhood, as do Edmund and Fanny, and Charlotte Smith's Orlando and Monimia. The early chapters of both *Mansfield Park* and *Camilla* are a kind of prelude or preface to the action that follows, and "present a close focus upon the development and relationship[s] between . . . major characters in childhood".⁽⁴⁷⁾

There are a number of correspondences between characters in the two novels; the epicureanism and ill-temper of Clermont Lynmere may be discerned in Dr. Grant, while "the conduct of Miss Margland towards Sir Hugh Tyrrold and his adopted children may have suggested some traits in Mrs. Norris".⁽⁴⁸⁾ Miss Margland, bitter and snobbish, fills Indiana Lynmere's head with flattery and bad advice, spoiling her charge as Mrs. Norris spoils Maria, and, to a lesser extent, Julia. Indiana's lack of principle leads her to elope with ensign Macdersey, which may be paralleled by Julia's elopement with Yates. Macdersey and Yates both turn out to be better connections than was at first anticipated. Macdersey's ranting impetuosity may be comically parodied in Yates's love of "ranting" in the rôle of Wildenhaim.

In Fanny Burney's novel, Edgar Mandlebert loves Camilla, but her equivocal and inexplicable conduct prevents him from making his declaration (as in her previous novels, Fanny Burney keeps her lovers apart for hundreds of pages largely through their inability to explain everything frankly to each other). Dr. Marchmont, Edgar's tutor and

mentor, continually urges caution in his dealings with Camilla, this springing from a deep misogyny. In *Mansfield Park*, Edmund loves Mary, but cannot always be sure of her, while Fanny feels - and occasionally, unheeded, expresses - reservations. Mary is not the innocent, ingenuous teenager that is Camilla. The name "*Bertram*" may deliberately echo "*Mandlebert*". It would be a not untypical joke of Jane Austen's to give the role of mentor, in *Camilla* the preserve of a misogynist, to a young woman, her "dear Fanny", in *Mansfield Park*; thus Jane Austen would work off an animus against Marchmont. In *Mansfield Park*, the suitor's fears are not misplaced - Mary is unfit to be Edmund's wife. This is a redaction of Jane Austen's technique in *Lady Susan*, where the normally unjust suspicions involving heroines are shown to be correct.

Although Edmund, like Orlando and, to a degree, like Edgar, is the "tutor" or "mentor" figure in Fanny's childhood, in their adult relationship the positions are reversed; Fanny is a kind of mentor to Edmund, a guardian of his conscience - this is Marchmont's role in *Camilla*. Lascelles noted:

Mansfield Park . . . is an implied criticism, or reconsideration, as it were, of a situation, a grouping of characters, which had become familiar, almost commonplace, in the novels of sentiment . . . Sir Charles Grandison, the first hero of a novel who could well regard himself as both mentor and reward of the heroine, had set a fashion which was followed in *A Simple Story*, in *Evelina* and *Camilla*, and several lesser novels. Jane Austen seems to accept this relationship between hero and heroine; but she develops it afresh. (49)

In *Mansfield Park*, this fresh development takes the form of reversing the familiar situation, in a sense, in the later part of the novel, making Fanny the "mentor and reward" of Edmund. A teenage girl thus occupies the rôle played in *Camilla* by a stern critic of teenage girls.

Fanny also resembles Eugenia in *Camilla*; both are figures who have become somewhat marginalised, Eugenia through illness, Fanny through social inferiority, and they both suffer passively - essentially, they endure. As Edgar turns to Marchmont for advice, so Camilla, increasingly isolated amidst "the ton", turns to Eugenia. This is reflected in the way that Edmund, Mary and Susan all in their different ways turn to Fanny for advice. Eugenia, out of a sense of duty, marries the worthless but plausible Bellamy; Fanny is told that it is her duty to marry Henry Crawford, but her own conviction of her true, different duty saves her from this.

To point further the link between the novels, the place-name "Everingham" - Henry's estate in Norfolk - seems deliberately to echo "Everington" in *Camilla*. Johnson saw a similarity between Edmund and his fellow cleric (and protector of the disregarded) Mr. Villars in *Evelina*. Mr. Villars says:

"My dearest child, I cannot bear to see thy tears; for my sake even; such a sight is too much for me: think of that, Evelina, and take comfort, I charge thee."

With similar masculine futility the self-centred Edmund Bertram attempts to soften the grief of his dear cousin:

"No wonder - you must feel it - you must suffer .
. . . But yours - your regard was new compared with
- Fanny, think of *me*."⁽⁵⁰⁾

In Bradbrook's opinion:

The surly, vulgar and disagreeable sailor, Captain Mirvan, resembles the father of Fanny Price who embarrasses the heroine when she is staying in his sordid house in Portsmouth.⁽⁵¹⁾

Perhaps Jane Austen had such a resemblance in mind, but it is not a very exact one; Lieutenant Price, unlike Mirvan, is not given to violent practical jokes, and he shows another side of his nature when Henry Crawford pays his visit. (Fanny's feelings are here rather like Elizabeth Bennet's at the Netherfield Ball.) Fanny's experiences at Portsmouth, back amongst her vulgar family, feeling devalued and denied privacy, perhaps recall Evelina's encounters with the Branghtons, at whose house the food is as badly cooked and badly served as it is at Portsmouth, where Fanny has to send out for buns.

When Maria Bertram refers disparagingly to Sotherton as a "prison", several allusions are being made, but one of these may recall another, more ancient pile, Delvile Castle in *Cecilia*, which Lady Honoria Pemberton suggests should be handed over "to the mayor and corporation for use as a goal".⁽⁵²⁾ Brimley Johnson felt that "The . . . conversation between Mr. Gosport and Miss Larolles [in *Cecilia*] recalls . . . Tom Bertram's affected belief that Miss Crawford 'was quizzing him and Miss Anderson'",⁽⁵³⁾ although "is recalled in" would be a more correct way of phrasing this.

5.7 Influence of Maria Edgeworth

The eponymous heroine of Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* loves Clarence Hervey, but it seems hopeless, for he is committed to another, his child-of-nature Virginia, who has been brought up to be his wife. Fanny resembles both Belinda, in her integrity (although lacking her wit and self-assurance), and Virginia, in her relationship with her "tutor-husband". But while Virginia and Hervey do not marry, Fanny and Edmund do. Belinda is put under pressure to marry the wealthy West Indian Vincent, but resists him, as Fanny does Crawford, because she does not believe he is morally fit; Vincent proves this to be the case when he is revealed to be a gamester (a vice of Tom's in *Mansfield Park*). Like Fanny - and like Anne Elliot - Belinda, despite having no real prospects, it seems, remains loyal to her first love. Maria Edgeworth herself disparaged her heroine, speaking of "the cold tameness of that Stick or Stone Belinda",⁽⁵⁴⁾ a phrase some readers might well wish to apply to Fanny.

Belinda's aunt, the marital schemer Selina Stanhope, has a cold-hearted worldliness not dissimilar to that of Mrs. Norris; both sponsor marriages that lead to unhappiness. A trivial detail from *Belinda* is recalled in *Mansfield Park*, as if to point to this affinity; in Maria Edgeworth's novel, Selina Stanhope writes in a letter that "I have covered my old carpet with a handsome green baize",⁽⁵⁵⁾ while in *Mansfield Park* Mrs. Norris, scavenging amongst the theatrical *material*, ensures that "the curtain . . . went off with

her to her cottage, where she happened to be particularly in want of green baize".⁽⁵⁶⁾

The narrator of *Mansfield Park* "purposely abstained from dates"⁽⁵⁷⁾ regarding the progress of Edmund's love for Fanny, and in so doing, perhaps drew upon *Belinda*, whose heroine remarks:

that there is nothing in which novelists are so apt to err as hurrying things towards the conclusion: in not allowing *time* enough for that change of feeling, which change of situation cannot instantly produce.⁽⁵⁸⁾

The name "Baddeley" occurs in both *Belinda* and *Mansfield Park*; however Jane Austen did not probably intend a reference to Maria Edgeworth's novel, but more likely chose the name because there was a celebrated actress called Baddeley; this would be in keeping with the theatrical atmosphere of the novel.

Talmadge noted possible resemblances between *Mansfield Park* and Maria Edgeworth's *Vivian* (1812):

The elopement of Vivian and Mrs. Wharton . . . resembles that of Henry Crawford and Mrs. Rushworth . . . the proposed presentation of *The Fair Penitent* by young amateurs at Glastonbury Castle . . . meets with like opposition, and for the same reasons, as *Lovers' Vows* at Mansfield.⁽⁵⁹⁾

However, Jane Austen had already begun *Mansfield Park* by the time *Vivian* was published, and it is unlikely that she had not already planned incidents so integral to the plot as the theatricals and the elopement. So these "resemblances" are probably the product of two authors drawing on similar contemporary social material. Maria

Edgeworth's *Patronage* also has its "resemblances" to *Mansfield Park*, but as it was not published until 1814 these, again, must be regarded as coincidental.

Less coincidental may be the resemblances between the novel and 'Mademoiselle Panache' (Part Two) in Maria Edgeworth's *Moral Tales* (1806). Edmund may recall Montague, infatuated with the worldly and unworthy Augusta, and loved by (and eventually loving) Helen Temple. Augusta's mother, Lady S---, is as idle a cypher as Lady Bertram; and her education, like that of the Bertram sisters and Indiana Lynmere, has been left in bad hands - to a French governess. Montague is finally disillusioned with Augusta when she, like Mary Crawford, calls immorality "folly".^{<60>} Like Maria, Augusta eventually elopes with a blackguard, from the frivolous desire to cause a lot of bustle and for "the pleasure of duping her governess",^{<61>} incongruous reasons that recall Maria's motivation for marrying Rushworth.

Possibly Julia's name may recall that of the runaway bride in 'Letters of Julia and Caroline' (in *Letters for Literary Ladies*); at least, it seems to follow a convention, as Butler noted:

The name Julia, usually ominous in conservative novels after 1790, derives from Rousseau (and perhaps Mackenzie [in *Julia de Roubigné*]). Both Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen use it for over-indulged characters.^{<62>}

When Henry returns to his estate in Norfolk, Everingham, to aid virtuous families and put an end to mismanagement, he recalls fleetingly Lord Colambre in *The Absentee*, who likewise sets about reforming his long-neglected family acres.

5.8 Influence of Elizabeth Inchbald

The major influence Elizabeth Inchbald had upon *Mansfield Park* was, naturally, as the author of the translation of Kotzebue, entitled *Lovers' Vows*, that is used by the actors. However, her novel *A Simple Story* (1791) may also have exerted an influence. It has been proposed that "Lady Bertram's . . . insensibility to Sir Thomas's dangers . . . [is] a deliberate burlesque of Mrs. Inchbald's Lady Elmwood (in *A Simple Story*)",⁽⁶³⁾ who turns to dissipation to relieve the tedium resulting from her husband's absence, like that of Sir Thomas, in the West Indies. Lord and Lady Elmwood in the first part of the novel are Dorriforth and Miss Milner; Dorriforth in his austerity of character in some ways recalls Sir Thomas; as a (Catholic) priest, in love with his ward, the flighty and coquettish Miss Milner, he has some of the problems of Edmund Bertram. Miss Milner is a woman of talent, but something of a torment to Dorriforth, paralleling Mary Crawford in some ways. Dorriforth threw off his sister when she married in the face of his disapproval; this may be recalled in how the Ward sisters threw off Mrs. Price. Lady Elmwood breaks her marriage vows and elopes with her pre-marital admirer Lord Frederick Lawnly, which may be recalled in Maria Rushworth's affair with Henry Crawford. (The name "Rushworth" recalls that of "Rushbrook", the hero of the second part of *A Simple Story*.) The dull and conventional Miss Fenton, conflated with Lord Elmwood's daughter Lady Matilda, may have contributed to the character of Fanny Price. *Mansfield Park* reads like a re-patterning of the material of *A Simple Story*; both novels have an atmosphere of the theatre about them - Miss Milner often sees

herself as playing a part, in this resembling Henry Crawford. *A Simple Story* ends with the marriage of the cousins, Harry Rushbrook and Lady Matilda, as *Mansfield Park* ends with the marriage of the cousins Fanny and Edmund.

Determining the exact influence of *A Simple Story* on *Mansfield Park* is made complex because it seems likely that Dorriforth, his tutor Sandford, and Miss Milner, were drawn upon by Fanny Burney in *Camilla*, when creating Edgar, Dr. Marchmont and Camilla. So it is hard to tell whether Jane Austen drew directly on *A Simple Story* or indirectly, as it was transmitted through *Camilla*; in truth she probably drew on both works, or at any rate saw her novel as continuing the tradition that they occupy (as implied by Lascelles, in the passage quoted above [p.211]).

5.9 Influence of Mary Wollstonecraft

The extent of, or indeed existence of, Jane Austen's "feminism" is an issue beyond the scope of this study. Jane Austen need not have subscribed to Mary Wollstonecraft's views, however, to have been influenced by or to have drawn upon her unfinished novel *The Wrongs of Woman*. The heroine of this work is named Maria, her lover Henry Darnford, a name perhaps deliberately recalled by "Henry Crawford"; Mary Wollstonecraft's characters may be named to recall Mary Queen of Scots and her lover Lord Darnley. Maria in *The Wrongs of Woman* is imprisoned by her husband, and this may be alluded to in Maria Bertram's description of Sotherton, her future residence, as a

"prison". The presence of a "Mary" at Mansfield, less culpable but still ultimately unworthy, may allude to Mary Wollstonecraft herself; or her name may be intended to recall the heroine of *Mary: A Fiction*, an earlier work of Mary Wollstonecraft's that prefigured some of the problems investigated in *The Wrongs of Woman*.

In *Mary*, the heroine's mother has affinities with Lady Bertram. Mary's mother, Eliza, was:

a gentle, fashionable girl, with a kind of indolence in her temper, which might be termed negative good-nature . . . her opinions . . . were such as the generality approved of.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Lady Bertram is notably indolent; but she also thought properly, if not deeply. Eliza "had . . . another resource, two most beautiful dogs, who shared her bed, and reclined on cushions near her all the day".⁽⁶⁵⁾ These may be recalled in Lady Bertram's pug. Close identification of the two characters must be tempered with knowledge that Eliza was, in Kelly's words, of "the type [that] appeared in much of the moral literature"⁽⁶⁶⁾ of the time. Mary Wollstonecraft used a convention for her own unconventional propagandistic purposes. In the story, Eliza's daughter Mary is forced into an unwelcome marriage, and incurs the sympathy of a character named Henry. By showing Maria marrying with her eyes open, and demonstrating her culpability and that of Henry Crawford, Jane Austen asserts a traditional morality, in contrast to Mary Wollstonecraft's.

5.10 Influence of Fielding

Tom Bertram's Christian name may link him with Fielding's Tom Jones, both of whom are essentially good young men with lax tempers and less than rigorous morals who fall into bad company but who reform after suffering; Hogarth's Tom Rakewell might also be recalled by the name. Fanny Price may have taken her entire name from a poem by Crabbe, but her Christian name recalls, and may be intended to recall, the virtuous Fanny who is the heroine of *Joseph Andrews*.

5.11 Influence of Ann Radcliffe

Bradbrook is probably correct in thinking that "Fanny Price's transparency representing 'a cave in Italy' may have been inspired by the novels of Ann Radcliffe".⁽⁶⁷⁾ The transparency hangs in Fanny's room which, in its eastwardness, and its adornments of plants and books, recalls Emily's room at La Vallée in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* - though Bradbrook regarded this similarity as having an "element of burlesque"⁽⁶⁸⁾ about it. Fanny and Emily are both devotees of the natural world, Fanny perhaps more self-consciously so. Both eventually return to a beloved home after a period in exile. Fanny, returning from Sotherton, and Emily, travelling through Italy, both recall, on a beautiful moonlight night, the same speech from *The Merchant of Venice* (V.v.1-6); as Bradbrook remarked, here at least "in *Mansfield Park*, Jane Austen appears to have absorbed Shakespeare through the medium of Ann Radcliffe".⁽⁶⁹⁾ M. Quesnel annoys the

sentimental St. Aubert by wishing "to cut down . . . a noble chestnut",⁽⁷⁰⁾ while Fanny dislikes Mr. Rushworth's intention to cut down trees at Sotherton, and quotes Cowper. The "Chapel scene" at Sotherton showed Jane Austen combining Charlotte Smith and Scott; here, to illustrate again her "quick combining mind" she links Ann Radcliffe with Cowper. Julia, one of two sisters in *A Sicilian Romance*, elopes, like her namesake in *Mansfield Park*.

5.12 Influences of Elizabeth Hamilton

Fanny's experiences at Portsmouth involve not just embarrassing relatives, recalling the Branghtons in *Evelina* or the Bennet family in *Pride and Prejudice*, but a sordid, dirty house in Portsmouth, filled with "noise rising upon noise, and bustle upon bustle".⁽⁷¹⁾ At the Price house there are:

cups and saucers wiped in streaks, the milk a mixture of motes floating in thin blue, and the bread and butter growing ever more greasy.⁽⁷²⁾

This kind of squalid detail is rarely found in descriptions of the indigence or distress that have overcome heroines of novels; however, a not dissimilar episode is found in Elizabeth Hamilton's *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808), an immensely popular didactic work. Elizabeth Hamilton's "heroine" is not a young woman like Fanny, but a middle-aged former governess, Mrs. Mason, who goes to stay with her relatives, the MacClarty family, in their cottage in Scotland. Mrs. MacClarty, rather like Mrs. Price, was "slovenly" but still "handsome".⁽⁷³⁾ Her children are disobedient and argumentative, like those in the Price household. Like Fanny, Mrs. Mason was "unwilling

to give trouble, and anxious not to disgust . . . by the appearance of fastidiousness".^{<74>} At Glenburnie, as at Portsmouth, crockery is cleaned inadequately, the milk is often polluted by hairs, and the butter by dirt; it is noteworthy that Jane Austen specifies the same food. Like Fanny, Mrs. Mason spends a lot of time in her room; and like Fanny, she also does her best to help ameliorate the idleness of the servants and the squalor of the cottage. In this she is to some extent more successful than Fanny, being more assertive. Jane Austen might well have recollected this episode in writing *Mansfield Park*; it is closer to her scenes than is anything else in the works she is known to have or been likely to have read. Elizabeth Hamilton almost might be said to have prompted such a description of a Portsmouth house, when referring to how Mrs. Mason:

could not help wondering at the perverted ingenuity, which could contrive to give to the sleeping-rooms of a country house, all the disadvantages which afford the airless abodes of poverty in the crowded homes of great and populous cities.^{<75>}

The Prices live above the poverty level, but crowded and airless, as well as generally cheerless, their house certainly is.

5.13 Influence of Lady Morgan

Jane Austen is known to have read *The Wild Irish Girl* by Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan), and to have been unimpressed with it. *Mansfield Park* may have incorporated a satirical hit at Lady Morgan's heroine; Brophy remarked:

I believe it was thanks to the accomplishment shared by the wild Irish Glorvina and her author that the instrument on which Mary Crawford

displays her seductive and socially destructive charm is the harp. ⁽⁷⁶⁾

(There may also be a hint of similar satire in Jane Austen's mention of harp music at Sanditon.)

5.14 Influence of Frances Sheridan

In the *Continuation of the Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph*, the orphaned Orlando Faulkland is brought up with Sidney's own daughters; Sidney's remark that "I believe it seldom happens that persons brought up together from childhood, conceive a passion for each other", ⁽⁷⁷⁾ which is echoed by Mrs. Norris, proves to be as incorrect as it is in *The Old Manor House*, *Camilla*, and *Mansfield Park* itself. Orlando's liaisons with both the Arnold girls ~~are~~ recalled in Crawford's trifling with both Julia and Maria; while Doody is right to suggest that, with their scheming, "the charming and worldly Sir Edward Audley and his sister . . . are possible models for the Crawfords". ⁽⁷⁸⁾ Sophia Audley writes to her brother that "next to your happiness I really wish that of Miss Arnold", ⁽⁷⁹⁾ which may be recalled in a similar sentiment of Mary's *vis-a-vis* Henry and Fanny; the Audleys are described as "an intriguing brother and sister", practising "a surprizing deal of art". ⁽⁸⁰⁾ In the earlier part of the novel, there is a virtuous girl named Price, who has resisted the advances of a seducer; the name has obvious symbolic significances, but it may also be that Crabbe and Jane Austen recalled this character when naming their Fanny Prices (see below).

The two Faulklands, father and son, both named Orlando, with their impetuosity, may have influenced Charlotte Smith in depicting the characters of several of her heroes, especially Delamere in *Emmeline*; Orlando Somerive, though of a different temperament, may owe his Christian name to this source (though the name's chivalric implications obviously reach back to Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* - itself a work known to Jane Austen).

5.15 Influence of Choderlos de Laclos

Bradbrook suggested that *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* might have influenced *Mansfield Park*, perhaps directly, or perhaps transmitted through *Lady Susan*:

Lady Susan and Mary Crawford have the same polish, cynicism and ruthlessness as la Marquise de Merteuil in Laclos' novel, while Henry Crawford possesses a similar combination of intelligence and heartlessness as Valmont.⁽²¹⁾

The victims of the conspiracy between Valmont and the Marquise are, primarily, a married woman and an inexperienced young girl; Maria Rushworth and Fanny Price roughly correspond. However, the seducer and the innocent, or the married woman who falls, are hardly unfamiliar figures in the English novel, so while a link with and possible recollection of Laclos' work cannot be ruled out, it is by no means necessary to invoke it. All Jane Austen's "heartless" characters, Henry Crawford included, are tame enough beside Valmont, though both he and Crawford may trace back to Lovelace. Inevitably, libertines have a certain sameness about them. Henry and Mary Crawford do

"conspire" together against Fanny, but even then Henry's intentions are honourable - which is not the situation in Laclos' novel.

5.16 Influence of Sophie Cottin

Pepper suggested that in *Mansfield Park* Jane Austen recalled Sophie Cottin's novel, *Amélie Mansfield*, published in 1802 and translated into English three times by 1809.

Amélie, like . . . Fanny Price, goes to live with a rich uncle, though reluctantly, because it means separation from a beloved brother . . . Like Fanny Price, at her uncle's mansion Amélie meets and falls in love with a cousin . . . Like Fanny Price, Amélie has a malevolent aunt who persecutes her. ^(e2)

In *Lovers' Vows*, there is a character named Amelia Wildenhaim, who is played by Mary Crawford - "in a sense, then, there is a prominent 'Amelia' at 'Mansfield'". ^(e4) Both *Amélie Mansfield* and *Lovers' Vows* are concerned with the (not uncommon) theme of seduction and its consequences. Jane Austen may well have known *Amélie Mansfield*; but whether it had any influence on her novel cannot be known. Pepper's speculation is ingenious, but perhaps also somewhat far-fetched; Jane Austen could be capable of such ingenuity, or it could even be that her subconscious was at work; but essentially, there is not sufficient evidence in terms of really close parallels to make Pepper's proposition likely, although it cannot, either, be totally disregarded. It illustrates the problem, of whether a literary historian's "ingenuity" is the same as Jane Austen's "ingenuity".

5.17 Influence of George Crabbe

That the name "Fanny Price" occurs in Crabbe's *The Parish Register* as well as in *Mansfield Park* was noted by Meyerstein in 1927.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Crabbe's heroine resembles Jane Austen's, "for *Fanny Price* was lovely, and chaste".⁽⁸⁵⁾ Footerman considered Jane Austen to have taken part of the plot of *Mansfield Park* from Crabbe's work, identifying Henry Crawford with Sir Edward Archer, the suitor of Crabbe's Fanny, who is his bailiff's daughter; thus in both the poem and the novel Fanny is the social inferior of her suitor, and to an extent obliged to him. Footerman commented of the two works:

The basic situation in each is a timid, fearful heroine being approached by her socially superior suitor, who in each case has adopted a false mask of gentleness as the best means of breaking down her defences.⁽⁸⁶⁾

Crabbe's Fanny remains faithful to the poor man she loves, despite Sir Edward's blandishments; Fanny Price in *Mansfield Park* resists Henry Crawford, because of her prior, if seemingly hopeless, attachment to Edmund. Jane Austen may have intended the link between the two Fanny Prices to be noticed by her readers; as Footerman noted:

It is probably no coincidence, and very possibly an Austen joke, that Edmund Bertram, browsing among Fanny Price's books discovers . . . Crabbe's *Tales*.⁽⁸⁷⁾

5.18 Influence of John Milton and the Bible

Meyers, discussing the scene at the gate at Sotherton, saw Jane Austen's sources as:

the Bible, in which the gate is symbolic of passage into Heaven, and John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in which Satan, as the ultimate actor, destroys Eve by tempting her into taking a fatal step beyond the bounds of morality.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Henry Crawford has already parodied Milton by referring to a wife as "heaven's last best gift";⁽⁸⁹⁾ like Satan at home in different guises, he brings about a Fall: "Eve is tricked into relinquishing her home in Eden; Maria is, likewise, tricked into relinquishing Sotherton",⁽⁹⁰⁾ although this does not take account of Maria's own moral turpitude. At the gate itself, Maria cites Sterne and "thus creates a multivalent literary reference that includes Sterne, the Bible, and Milton"⁽⁹¹⁾ - perhaps it might be said to be typical of Maria's triviality, that she will quote from Sterne when at the centre of a symbolic setting drawing on such awesome originals. Meyers does not appear to have been aware of Harris's work on the influence of Spenser.

Gay saw Fanny as the "Biblical 'Pearl of Great Price'",⁽⁹²⁾ who is "the heroine of a Christian fable".⁽⁹³⁾ For her, Fanny comes close to be a type of Christ, as when she notes that "there may be a deliberate echo of Satan's tempting Jesus (Matthew 4, 1-11) in [Fanny's] 'I could not act anything *if you were to give me the world*'".⁽⁹⁴⁾ Henry Crawford, in his restlessness, as in his acting, may recall "the condition of the Biblical Satan 'going to and fro in the earth' (Job I, 7)".⁽⁹⁵⁾ A kind of symbolism and a form of action are found in the novel that are not unlike medieval morality plays such as *Everyman* (although in no way derived from them); indeed, for Gay, the name "Mansfield" suggests "a field of battle for Everyman's soul, just as

Hartfield is for Emma's heart";⁽⁹⁶⁾ Jane Austen might have recalled Bunyan's city of Mansoul in *The Holy War* (a point Gay overlooked).

5.19 Influence of August von Kotzebue

The most overt literary allusion in *Mansfield Park* is to *Lovers' Vows*, a translation by Elizabeth Inchbald of a Kotzebue play. Q.D. Leavis remarked that:

She used it as a reference that the readers could be expected to follow, just as she elsewhere uses *Evelina*, *Cecilia*, *The Romance of the Forest* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.⁽⁹⁷⁾

The most extensive analysis of *Lovers' Vows* and its resemblances to *Mansfield Park* was written by E.M. Butler in 1933. Butler noted that:

an analysis of the plots and sub-plots of both productions lays bare such resemblance in structure and situations as cannot be attributed to coincidence.⁽⁹⁸⁾

Maria and Julia are potentially erring Agathas, victims of seducers, their emotions outstripping their morals. Maria is the partner of "Henry Crawford . . . the most desirable man in the play. She is to meet Agatha's fate at his hands in the future".⁽⁹⁹⁾ Henry plays Frederick, Agatha's son. Maria, originally respectable like Agatha, will, like her, be seduced and abandoned; at the end of *Lovers' Vows* Agatha's sufferings, after twenty years, come to an end; at the conclusion of *Mansfield Park*, Maria's have only just begun. Mr. Rushworth plays Count Cassel, resembling him in that he too is a poor suitor, "a negligible fool";⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ while Cassel's rake-like qualities, allied to those of Baron Wildenhaim, are found in Henry. The fatherly aspect of Wildenhaim is found in Sir Thomas; both fathers offer their

daughters a chance to avoid a foolish suitor - one that Amelia takes, but that Maria does not. Although in this instance a parallel exists between Maria and Amelia, the latter more generally resembles the woman who plays her part, Mary Crawford - who "was created to reap where the indelicate Amelia had sown".⁽¹⁰¹⁾ She was also "made to slander and express in ^{Anhalt} Kotzebue's patronizing views on the social standing of the clergy!"⁽¹⁰²⁾ Fanny loves her "tutor", the clerical Edmund, as Amelia loves her more formal tutor, the clergyman Anhalt; but Fanny, unlike Amelia "guards her secret ^{intact} - a living antithesis and reproach to her prototype in the play",⁽¹⁰³⁾ as Fanny is an antithesis and reproach to Mary, the real "Amelia".

In offering to release Maria from her engagement, Sir Thomas acts like Baron Wildenhaim, a point made by his encountering Yates, rehearsing the Baron's part, on the Mansfield stage:

although he in no way resembles Sir Thomas, the two men meet on the stage; and Yates, having his last rant at the Baron, resigns his rôle to the Baronet, who proceeds to enact it with Maria and Mr. Rushworth.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

The Baron, ignorant of Cassel's real character, sends Anhalt to Amelia, to try to persuade her to marry the Count; this is paralleled by Sir Thomas sending Edmund to Fanny to speak in Henry's favour, not knowing his true moral character. In the end, in both works, though so different in basic outlook, love triumphs; Fanny's inferior social station can be overlooked, as can Anhalt's. Fanny of course was also used, like Anhalt, as a go-between, even though she was secretly in love with one of the parties.

Fanny objects to taking a part in *Lovers' Vows*, even that of the Cottager's Wife; to do so would not only be to condone the choice of play, and the whole idea of its staging, but would also require her to speak slightly of a young clergyman (which would obviously pain her, given her love for Edmund), to admit to liking brandy, and to gossip uncharitably. With her dislike of the play, it is ironic then that in certain respects she resembles Amelia, being indifferent to her approved, immoral suitor, and in love with her "tutor" and mentor Edmund. When the latter needs help in rehearsing his scenes with Mary, he turns to Fanny - thus both in a way play Amelia to his Anhalt. When Amelia says of Anhalt, "he who forms my mind I shall always consider as my greatest benefactor",⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ she is articulating Fanny's view of Edmund. The difference lies not in their feelings, but in the behaviour and expressions that these feelings give rise to. When Amelia says, "as you have for a long time instructed me, why should not I now begin to teach you?"⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ This parallels the development in *Mansfield Park* where Fanny becomes Edmund's mentor. Fanny's love for Edmund, illicit at first, finally becomes acceptable, like that of Amelia for Anhalt, or Monimia for Orlando, or Camilla for Edgar.

Mansfield Park takes the cast and themes of *Lovers' Vows* and redeploys them; morally it becomes a corrected and sanitised version of the play. The latter was not necessarily immoral, though, or at any rate not as immoral as some considered it; Zelicovici noted that the libertines Cassel and the Baron are both punished, one by losing his bride, the other through his remorse; that the Baron makes

restitution; and that sentimental speeches do not take precedence over morality:

neither feelings nor intentions are more important than or equivalent to right actions . . . the general standard of conduct ruling Kotzebue's play is . . . essentially the one ruling *Mansfield Park*'.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

The players should not be acting at all, in the circumstances; and their particular grouping fits ill with the plot-scheme of *Lovers' Vows*; it is a play that is both "the most improper and yet, paradoxically, the most fitting work they could have chosen".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ In both works, birth and fortune must be joined to sense and virtue to create happiness. Though Amelia's forwardness may have offended the play's readers, her honest openness saves her from the grief of a Maria. Sir Thomas is not as open as the Baron, and thus is not able to gain his children's trust. Amelia can, ultimately, overcome any dislike she may have for the clerical situation of the man she loves; Mary finds this impossible. She does not benefit from the moral lessons of the part that she rehearses.

Cassel is a sportsman, in which perhaps he resembles Tom, the brother Mary wishes out of the way for Edmund's sake. Essentially, though, Cassel parallels Crawford - in both works "the undesired suitor is discredited by his own proven sexual immorality"⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ - although in his foolishness he is not far removed from the man due to play him, Mr. Rushworth. For Zelicovici, Kotzebue's play illustrates that reformation is possible, centring on Wildenhaim; Jane Austen partly concedes this, in reforming Tom, but is sceptical about the ability to reform of people with greater vices.

Thomas Dibdin's play *The Birthday* was adapted from a Kotzebue original; this work, in Kirkham's opinion, may have influenced *Emma* (see the following chapter). However, *The Birthday* also has some resemblances to *Mansfield Park*. The character named Emma in the play has a father named Bertram, which is also the surname of the family at Mansfield Park; Emma, like Fanny, falls in love with a cousin. Her father and his brother (her cousin's father) have feuded, as have Mrs. Price and her sisters. Miss Moral, the ironically-named dishonest housekeeper who tries to prevent a reconciliation, may be recalled in the character of Mrs. Norris.

5.20 Influence of Shakespeare

Henry VIII is the only play of Shakespeare's specifically mentioned in *Mansfield Park*, and both Bradbrook and Kirkham, among others, have suggested parallels between the two works.

Henry Crawford is something of an actor in actual life. He, like Wolsey [in *Henry VIII*] is shortly to put forth "the tender leaves of hope" and bear his blushing honours thick upon him only to fall immediately to ruin, "never to hope again".⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Actually, Henry Crawford's plight is not so extreme as that; the inequality of punishment means that he will live better than Maria, to whom the idea of never hoping again is perhaps more applicable. Henry Crawford's Christian name draws an immediate parallel with the king who was, literally as well as metaphorically, a "ladykiller". ("What was Henry VIII but, supremely, a man incapable of a sustained relationship with a woman?"⁽¹¹¹⁾ - thus resembling Crawford.)

Kirkham remarked:

Criticism has paid a good deal of attention to Henry Crawford's reading from this play, but not enough to Fanny's choice of it . . . When this chapter opens Fanny has already had her "trial scene" in the East Room.⁽¹¹²⁾

which can be seen as paralleling the Queen's trial in the play; now, she puts the play aside on the approach of Henry and Edmund, when at her needlework with her aunt. In *Henry VIII*, there is a scene (III.i):

where Queen Katherine is also at her needlework with her ladies when Cardinals Wolsey and Campeius come to bring her counsel which she believes to be unjust.⁽¹¹³⁾

Unlike the Queen, Fanny remains almost silent while tormented by Henry, until she is revived by "the solemn procession, headed by Baddeley, of tea-board, urn, and cake-bearers".⁽¹¹⁴⁾ This may be seen as a parody of the spectacular procession, almost pageant-like, with which *Henry VIII* ends. Thus, briefly, Jane Austen suggests a parallel between Henry and Fanny and the Shakespearean (and historical) King and Queen. Fanny is an "outsider" at Mansfield, rather like the Aragonese Queen in England, but the latter's insistence on speaking English shows how, like Fanny, she has attempted to be assimilated into her environment; Fanny, like Katherine, "is being forced to submit to male authority against her wishes and conscience".⁽¹¹⁵⁾

As noted above, Fanny, like Emily St. Aubert, seems to be recalling a speech from *The Merchant of Venice* when returning from Sotherton on a moonlight night. This speech is Lorenzo's:

The moon shines bright. In such a night as this,
When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,
And they did make no noise - in such a night,
Troilus methinks mounted by the Trojan walls,
And sigh'd his soul towards the Grecian tents,
Where Cressid lay that night. (116)

If this is meant to be recalled, then it can be seen as a comment on Fanny's feelings, and on the transactions at Sotherton. Fanny feels like Troilus, fearing that she has lost Edmund, while the conduct of Maria with Henry can be seen as akin to Cressid's faithlessness.

Although nowhere mentioned specifically in the novel, *King Lear* does appear to have influenced *Mansfield Park*. In some respects Sir Thomas Bertram combines the rôles of Lear and Gloucester, being the father of two sons, of unequal merit, and of three "daughters" (seeing Fanny as a kind of "adopted" child). Fanny, like Cordelia, is the youngest, and is loyal and loving, even when misunderstood, while Maria and Julia betray their father's values. Like Lear, Sir Thomas comes to "know himself" better through suffering. In *Lear*, Gloucester's eldest son, Edgar, is virtuous; he assumes the name and disguise of "Poor Tom"; the villainous younger son, is named Edmund. Jane Austen names the elder of the Bertram brothers Tom, but places him at fault; she retains the name "Edmund" for the younger brother, but makes him the virtuous hero. In *Mansfield Park*:

as in *King Lear*, those with the most energy, those who initiate action, ultimately destroy themselves. "He that endures to the end shall be saved." (117)

whereas Cordelia has to invade from France, Fanny is:

recalled from exile by the master of the house to become the wife of the true heir of Mansfield[!]
One is reminded of the line in *King Lear* with

which France greets Cordelia: "Fairest Cordelia,
tho' art most rich, being poor" [I.i.250] (118)

In Tate's version of *Lear*, Cordelia survives to make a happy marriage. However, "Fanny does not, as some critics have said, inherit Mansfield Park, for she marries the younger son, the heir being pointedly restored to health". (119) At the end of the novel Tom is alive and well, a reformed character, and there is nothing to suggest that he is likely to die soon, or remain unmarried. His reform comes as the result of an illness, during which he is abandoned by his "friends". This illness was precipitated by bad habits. He is intelligent and takes the lesson to heart; Maria's and Julia's misconduct reinforces his reform.

Fanny actually has nothing to do with saving the real "true heir". Julia and Maria would have behaved as they did if Fanny had never come to Mansfield. Fanny may, in some ways, represent Mansfield ideologically, but the circumstances that save its heir, and precipitate the vices of others, have nothing to do with her. Tom, reformed and a responsible land-owner, and Edmund, the clergyman, may co-operate like Colonel Brandon and Edward Ferrars, but Edmund is no more Mansfield's heir than Henry Tilney is Northanger's. He is and remains a younger son, and only critics who are of Mary Crawford's party may imagine it otherwise.

A pattern in *Mansfield Park* may have been modelled on, or intended to recall, *Twelfth Night*. Like Viola, Fanny is used as a kind of go-between by the man she loves (Edmund, Orsino) and the woman he

believes he loves (Mary, Olivia). Only after the incompatibility has been established does the hero come to love the heroine; until then Fanny must never tell her love, but rather be patient and endure. Fanny is also deeply attached to a sailor brother, as Viola is to Sebastian. The play was perhaps in Jane Austen's mind when she was designing *Mansfield Park*; no direct allusions exist, but these similarities may be inferred.

5.21 Nomenclature

Mansfield Park, in its nomenclature, seems to reverse a trend in the Eighteenth century Novel:

On a moderate estimate, eighty per cent of the heroes are called Henry. William, on the other hand, is a name of dubious, often villainous complexion. ⁽¹²⁰⁾

What was apparent to Tompkins is also likely to have been noted by that voracious novel reader, Jane Austen. In *Mansfield Park* she inverts this convention; though a Henry is the hero in *Northanger Abbey*, and a William the villain in *Persuasion*, thus demonstrating that she was also willing to follow it.

Some of the names in the novel seem to be drawn from outside fiction. Fanny shares her surname, and some of her attitudes, with Uvedale Price, author of *Essays on the Picturesque*, which includes criticism of Repton, who is specifically named in the novel. The name "Price" also serves as a pun, on "price", "prize" and perhaps "pride".

The allusions to literature made by Edmund's Christian name have been mentioned above; Kelly made another suggestion:

Edmund Bertram's defense of the church . . . [echoes] that other Edmund, one of the greatest public speakers of the age, Edmund Burke . . . the best known breather of "the spirit of chivalry and warm affections" in Austen's day was, of course, Edmund Burke. ⁽¹²¹⁾

Edmund Bertram's recognition of the importance of the clerical office, if not the office-holder (like Miss Fluart in *Hermsprong*) and his placing of the clergyman between state and fashion and the mob, is Burkean. The defence of the Queen of France in the *Reflections* enlists Burke in the ranks of chivalry. Jane Austen may well have subscribed to Burkean notions, especially since these are an articulation of conservative opinions that she and her family probably shared, but whether she would wish to celebrate Burke himself, by an allusion in Edmund's name, might well be doubtful. After all, the Austen family were highly supportive of, and had many links with, Warren Hastings, whilst Burke was one of his strongest critics; whether the rather clannish Austens could forgive that is impossible to determine, but it may well be thought to be unlikely.

Mansfield Park has been seen as a commentary on the slave trade; Kirkham made this suggestion seriously, Brogan facetiously. The latter wrote that the title "instantly suggests Lord Mansfield"; Sir Thomas's "wife is a *Ward*, in a state of slave-like childishness . . . Norris was the name of one of Wilberforce's most vociferous opponents . . . [Fanny] is to be the *Price* of the emancipation of Edmund, his father and Mansfield Park from spiritual servitude". ⁽¹²²⁾ Brogan's

tone is sarcastic; presumably he had not seen Kirkham's book, where it is proposed that Jane Austen is alluding to the Mansfield Judgement of 1772, where the Lord Chief Justice gave his verdict that any slaves brought to England must be freed.⁽¹²³⁾ Fanny is seen by Kirkham not so much as a liberator but rather as a kind of slave in England, paralleling those in Antigua, about whom she is so keen to hear. Lord Mansfield was himself a Scottish peer; though Mansfield Park is in Northamptonshire, this may help explain the use of, and add a touch of irony to, the Scottish names in the novel (Stornaway, Crawford). Jane Austen's imagination seems to have linked together and synthesised many disparate elements in creating *Mansfield Park*.

Jane Austen's family had links with the Nibbs family, settlers in the West Indies; Jane Austen's father was a trustee of the Nibbs estate. Gibbon has drawn a parallel between Tom Bertram and the real-life James Langford Nibbs; the latter got into debt and was taken penitentially to Antigua, which is also what happens to Tom. The latter eventually reforms, unlike his real-life counterpart, who died disinherited in the West Indies. His brother George Nibbs was, like Edmund Bertram, a pious clergyman.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Jane Austen could have drawn upon the contrasting natures and experiences of these two Nibbs brothers; they were not so directly connected to the family as to make that potentially offensive; but they would of course only represent a "starting point". If not otherwise aware of it, Jane Austen could have found the name "Norris" - that of "an obnoxious character"⁽¹²⁵⁾ - in Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade* (1808). (This book also discusses the frequency of mulattos in the

West Indies, which Jane Austen might have recalled in creating Miss Lambe in *Sanditon*.)

5.22 Influence of Jane Austen's Previous Work

Mansfield Park recalls Jane Austen's juvenile piece 'The Three Sisters'. Maria is the oldest of three "sisters" - if Fanny is counted as such - and she and the heroine of the youthful skit share a feeling of contempt for the men they are to marry. In each case there is a dispute about the kind of carriage to be kept after the wedding. Maria is cold-hearted and mercenary in her approach to matrimony - she makes Charlotte Lucas almost seem an enthusiast for her husband; at the same time, she is at heart a spoilt child, Jane Austen's Indiana Lynmere.

Pride and Prejudice featured in Miss de Bourgh an unsympathetic portrayal of female weakness; the depiction of Fanny redresses this balance, and it is the energetic characters such as Mary who are suspect. Mrs. Norris is a kind of more realistic version of the meddling Lady Catherine, with real power to inflict misery on the heroine. Lady Bertram's indolence recalls that of Mr. Hurst, though they each have separate literary antecedents. Henry Crawford is the most attractive and insidious of rakes, a more polished performer even than Willoughby or Wickham. Both the Bertram girls and the Bingley sisters have too much pride; despite their accomplishments, they lack a moral dimension. Fanny's devotion to William, and her horror at the behaviour of the younger children in the chaotic Price household,

where she is afraid of being embarrassed in front of Henry, recalls Elizabeth's love for Jane and exasperation with the rest of the Bennets. In both novels, an elopement precipitates a recall "home" and a crisis.

General Tilney in *Northanger Abbey* has points in common with Sir Thomas Bertram. Both have two sons, the eldest of whom proves unsatisfactory in some way. Both Henry Tilney and Edmund Bertram are second sons, and are clergymen residing at a family living for at least part of the time. The General and Sir Thomas are both somewhat autocratic and bigoted; but Sir Thomas is capable of rising above these limitations. Eleanor in her long-suffering patience and affection for her brother resembles Fanny. Henry Tilney and Edmund Bertram are both in their ways "tutor-husbands", a familiar category in the novels of the Eighteenth century.

5.23 Conclusion

Mansfield Park was the first novel Jane Austen wrote as a published novelist, without drawing upon an original composed in the 1790s. Like *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*, the novel draws upon the works of other authors, who are, in the main, the same authors that Jane Austen used in her earlier works - Richardson, Fanny Burney, Charlotte Smith. So neither Jane Austen's method of composition, nor the authors most influential upon her, altered between her two major creative periods. The works of authors writing in the 1780s and 1790s still dominate her imagination, although now

Camilla is more prominent, perhaps because Jane Austen had become very familiar with it by the time *Mansfield Park* came to be written; while Charlotte Smith's *The Old Manor House* had also come to prominence in her creative imagination. No new novelists seem to have emerged in the first decade of the Nineteenth century to exert any notable influence on Jane Austen; the novelists she drew upon were now, largely, no longer active. Maria Edgeworth is a minor exception to the first statement, and Fanny Burney to the second, but it is generally correct.

What did alter between the first creative phase in the 1790s and the second was an ability and willingness to trawl more widely with the net of allusion; in *Mansfield Park* there are more allusions to literary works that are non-novelistic, and also to things extra-literary. Epic poetry, drama, scripture and politics are imaginatively intertwined, enriching the text and the texture of *Mansfield Park*. It is a sign of increased confidence, skill and maturity in the artist; nevertheless Jane Austen's traditional novelistic sources remained of prime importance. Kirkham was thus wrong to claim that, "in *Mansfield Park* allusions to plays and the theatre take the place of allusion to fiction",⁽¹²⁶⁾ but was correct in her more general judgement that, "Allusion in this novel is particularly wide-ranging and various".⁽¹²⁷⁾

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MANSFIELD PARK

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49. Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art*, 66-67.

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CHAPTER SIX:

EMMA

6.1 Introduction

Like *Mansfield Park*, *Emma* was solely a product of Jane Austen's mature years, there being no evidence that any earlier version of the novel ever existed, although some claims have been entertained for *The Watsons* as a kind of preliminary sketch. (These have been discussed earlier.) *Emma* was begun in January 1814 and completed in March of the following year.

6.2 Influence of Regina Roche

Harriet Smith criticises Robert Martin because he has not read Regina Roche's *The Children of the Abbey* or Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest*. Regina Roche's novel, first published in 1796 (Chapman gives the date as 1798, but this is wrong), was extremely popular, and had achieved its ^{teenth} edition by ¹⁸²⁵. Despite what its title might suggest, it is not strictly a Gothic tale, but rather a sentimental novel in the *Cecilia* tradition, although lacking the satire and observation of manners found in Fanny Burney's novel; it does contain a Gothic interlude, though, something often found interpolated into sentimental novels of the middle and late 1790s, while some other scenes also show a debt to the Gothic Novel.

Harriet must have read the novel either at Mrs. Goddard's or, more likely, in Emma's company; certainly Emma must have known and approved of the book, or Harriet would not have used it as a yardstick in conversation with her. Robert's ignorance of the novel is a contributory factor in the rejection of this honest farmer's suit; another is Harriet's belief, originated by Emma, that Mr. Elton, the local clergyman, is in love with her. Actually, any attentions that Mr. Elton may have paid to Harriet have only been in an attempt to get closer to and please Emma, who is the real object of his ambitions.

The reference to *The Children of the Abbey* assumes an ironic significance when it is realised that this scenario reproduces an element of Regina Roche's plot. Ellen who, like Harriet, is in a subordinate position to the heroine, Amanda FitzAlan - she is her maid - has a rustic lover named Tim Chip, with whom she is perfectly satisfied until she comes to believe that the local parson, Mr. Howell, is in love with her. Actually, it is Amanda who is the focus of Howell's affections, and his attentions to Ellen are merely designed to enable him to "pump" her about her mistress. Acting under her delusion, Ellen treats Tim disdainfully, and throws him over. Ellen is a less developed character than Harriet, and both she and Tim occupy a lower social position than their equivalents in *Emma*; the humour lies in a more straightforward comedy of errors than in Jane Austen's novel, and does not involve Amanda as it does *Emma*; but undoubtedly the triangle in Regina Roche's novel is the "rude forefather" of the one in *Emma*, involving Mr. Elton, Harriet and Robert. As *The Children of the Abbey* was an enormously popular novel,

the parallel must have been apparent to many readers of the time. Novels supposedly induce delusions about reality in the minds of their readers - the idea, for instance, that those of unknown parentage must always be nobly born - and Emma and Harriet have imbibed these delusions; yet, ironically, if they had paid more attention to the plot of Regina Roche's novel, they might have realised the truth about their own situations. (Moler, in a brief discussion of Regina Roche's novel, saw Elton as a kind of "Mortimer to Harriet's Amanda",⁽¹⁾ missing the intended parallel in favour of a far-fetched one.)

Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax also have their counterparts in *The Children of the Abbey*; Marlowe is, like Frank, dependent upon a rich and capricious uncle and aunt, and has to keep secret his interest in the impoverished daughter of a country curate. Frank has to keep secret his engagement with Jane, whose mother has clerical connections. When the girl Marlowe loves is placed in a friend's house after her parents have died, she finds herself being encouraged to go into service. Jane, an orphan, is brought up by the Campbells, knowing that her likely future rôle is to be a governess; at Highbury, she has to suffer all Mrs. Elton's attempts to find her a "situation". When Marlowe belatedly rescues his love from her oppressive relatives, he remarks, "had I known her situation . . . no dictate of prudence would have prevented flying to her aid".⁽²⁾ Frank similarly abandons the promptings of prudent behaviour when Jane's intention to take up her place with Mrs. Smallridge bursts upon him.

The Christian name of Augusta Hawkins, who becomes Mrs. Elton, suggests the pretensions of the merchant's daughter who is destined - in her own eyes - to play the Lady Patroness or Lady Bountiful at Highbury, in her own version of the Augustan Age, but it also provides a link with *The Children of the Abbey*, where it is the name of Amanda's mother's half-sister - that is, her step-aunt. While Amanda's mother Malvina is all rustic simplicity, Augusta is all affectation. So both Augustas are affected, and also unamiable and unworthy.

Emma cannot be further from the truth when she says, "There does seem to be something, in the air of Hartfield, which gives love exactly the right direction",⁽³⁾ when her relationship with Mr. Knightley lies at jealous cross-purposes, each thinking the other is in love with someone else. This is not an uncommon scenario in sentimental fiction, and it is certainly found in *The Children of the Abbey*. When Amanda and the hero, Lord Mortimer, have no other obstacles to their union, there remains their mistaken belief that they each have a preferred rival - Amanda is thought to love Sir Charles Bingley, and Mortimer believed to love Lady Euphrasia. Similarly, Emma imagines that Mr. Knightley loves Harriet, and he believes that she loves Frank.

Amanda's central problem was that she could not marry Mortimer, as it would lead to the disgrace of his father; for the latter faces huge gambling debts, and relies on his son marrying an heiress, as the only way to pay them off. Told of this, the impoverished Amanda chooses

not to marry Mortimer, to his chagrin, as he is ignorant of the debts, in order that his father's reputation be spared; as a result, the lovers are kept apart for hundreds of pages. This is comically transformed by Jane Austen in *Emma*, as Emma's father, Mr. Woodhouse, does not like the idea of anyone marrying, let alone his daughter; by a comedy of reduction in scale, of the kind underlying the basic joke of the play 'Sir Charles Grandison', the hundreds of pages of Regina Roche's novel are reduced to a paragraph or so about chicken thieves; Mr. Woodhouse's fears are overborne by new ones, and the marriage goes ahead, the obstacle "ruthlessly"⁴ swept aside.

When Jane Austen described Donwell, she created a setting that could be seen as the English counterpart to the scenery of Wales, in which Amanda and her father live. In the environs of their home there can be found:

[a] cottage . . . [a] shady avenue . . . [a] deep valley; winding amongst hills clad in the liveliest verdure . . . [a] clear stream, running through it, turned a mill in its course, and afforded a salutary coolness to the herds which ruminated on its banks; the other side commanded a view of rich pastures, terminated by a thick grove, where natural vistas gave a view of cultivated farms, a small irregular village, the spire of its church, and a fine old abbey, whose stately turrets rose above the trees surrounding them.⁵

A number of the components of this description seem to have been deliberately placed in the Donwell landscape. Donwell Abbey itself might correspond to the "fine old abbey"; coolness is noted at Donwell:

they insensibly followed one another to the delicious shade of a broad short avenue of limes . . . the shade was most refreshing.⁶⁶

The verdure-clad hills may have their parallel too:

The considerable slope, at nearly the foot of which the Abbey stood, gradually acquired a steeper form beyond its grounds; and at half a mile distant was a bank of considerable abruptness and grandeur, well clothed with wood.⁶⁷

The clear stream, turning a mill, and the cultivated farms have their parallel:

at the bottom of this bank, favourably placed and sheltered, rose the Abbey-Mill Farm; with meadows in front, and the river making a close and handsome curve around it.⁶⁸

There are "rich pastures" at the Abbey-Mill Farm, where "spreading flocks" are the equivalent of the ruminating herds.

Jane Austen insists on the Englishness of the scene - "English verdure, English culture, English comfort".⁶⁹ Hellstrom, discussing what he saw as Jane Austen's "Francophobia", remarked about this scene that, "It is sweet to the eye because it is beautiful; it is sweet to the mind because it is English",⁷⁰ and contrasted this scene with Frank's complaint that, "I am sick of England - and would leave it tomorrow, if I could".⁷¹ Frank thus seems unpatriotic; though he speaks of "Swisserland", Hellstrom's view is that he represents a kind of Frenchified Englishman, as well as a kind of Jacobin disruptive influence. He is contrasted disapprovingly with the Tory land owner, Mr. Knightley, with his yeoman Robert Martin, his lawyer brother, and

this estate he has helped shape. Without denying the validity of this interpretation, it can also be said that the landscape at Donwell sings the praises of England as having a countryside as worthy of celebration as anywhere, an ordered peaceful place just as attractive as "Swisserland" or the Welsh, Irish and Scottish scenes found in *The Children of the Abbey*, and popular in many other works as well. Several areas of England have the title "the garden of England", says Emma, implying that the benefits of Donwell have their equivalents elsewhere in the land. Jane Austen "remembers" *The Children of the Abbey* by transforming its landed landscape to a fixed setting, in southern England. In the phrase "English verdure, English culture, English comfort" each coupling echoes its predecessor, creating a sense of their linkage, of the inevitable intersection of landscape with life and property with pleasure.

One of the questions *Emma* poses is: who are the children of Donwell Abbey? For much of the novel, Emma believes them to be John Knightley's children, and is indignant on behalf of the claims of her nephew, "little Henry", when the prospect seems to arise of Jane marrying Mr. Knightley. Eventually, though, Emma, who like the subject of her father's dimly-remembered scrap of Garrick's verse is "a fair but frozen maid",⁽¹²⁾ thaws and realises that she loves Mr. Knightley, and will herself be the mother of the children of Donwell Abbey - as Harriet and Robert will provide the children of the Abbey-Mill Farm. Thus the reference to Regina Roche's novel not only draws attention to a model from which *Emma* derives, but the title itself is,

in condensed form, indicative of an important aspect of Jane Austen's novel; the title has a kind of symbolic significance.

Amanda and her brother in Regina Roche's novel are described as "children of sorrow"; by contrast, Emma describes Frank as a "child of good-fortune". Jane Fairfax, like the FitzAlans, could, as a result of her orphan status and future fate as a governess, justly be called a "child of sorrow". It may also be noted that the name "Woodhouse" occurs in, among other novels, *The Children of the Abbey*.

Doody suggested that Jane and Emma are deliberate counterparts of Amanda and Lady Euphrasia; "Roche's dark-haired heroine, Amanda FitzAlan, romantically penniless, is treated unfeelingly by vain ladies in company. But she quells them with her playing and singing".⁽¹³⁾ Much the same can be said of the dark-haired Jane, whose accomplishments outstrip those of the wealthy Emma. Lady Euphrasia considers these talents fit only for a governess, which is of course supposed to be Jane's fate. Doody noticed that "*Emma* reverses its originals";⁽¹⁴⁾ curiously, the other links between the two novels, described above, seem to have escaped her attention.

6.3 Influence of Barrett

Eaton Stannard Barrett's burlesque novel *The Heroine* was published in 1813; Jane Austen mentions that she is reading it in a letter of March 1814. Both Moler and Kirkham have seen it as an influence on *Emma*, and certain similarities are apparent. If Jane Austen was influenced

by Barrett's novel, then this must mean that she either modified an existing plan for *Emma* to take account of this new material, or that by March the new work was still not finally planned.

Jane Austen called *The Heroine* "a delightful burlesque, particularly of the Radcliffe style",⁽¹⁵⁾ but although there are references to *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and *The Italian*, the work most often mentioned is Regina Roche's *The Children of the Abbey*. This novel is of course mentioned in *Emma*, and the close links between it and *Emma* have been discussed above. If Jane Austen was influenced by Barrett, did this influence include suggesting *The Children of the Abbey* as a model? On the face of it, this would appear persuasive; but two factors argue against it. The fact is that the similarity between *Emma* and *The Children of the Abbey* is centred around Harriet's rejection of Robert Martin, which would have had to be one of *Emma*'s initial plot premises. So either the plot was not fully developed by March, or, possibly, Barrett's work reminded Jane Austen of the similar situation in Regina Roche's novel; Jane Austen could then have written the Donwell scenes with an eye to the descriptions found in *The Children of the Abbey*. However, Jane Austen could also have decided to model her work on Regina Roche's novel independently of Barrett, making the shared references coincidental. *The Children of the Abbey* was, after all, an established bestseller; it was not an obscure work. This leads to the second point; that Jane Austen was already acquainted with Regina Roche's novel, as she had taken the name "Charles Bingley" from it, and bestowed it on a character in the already-published *Pride and Prejudice*. It is impossible to reach a firm conclusion, but the

probability is that the common references are coincidental. But *The Heroine* may have other links with *Emma*.

Barrett's heroine Cherry Wilkinson is a farmer's daughter, who, deluded by romance-reading, believes herself to be nobly born, and renames herself Cherubina. At the beginning of the novel she has just lost her governess, who has decamped with the butler. This can be seen as having its parallel at the beginning of *Emma*, where Miss Taylor has just married and left Hartfield. Unlike Miss Taylor, Cherry's governess, who has encouraged her novel-reading, "is an ignorant fool and not to be thought of as a lady".⁽¹⁶⁾ Whereas Cherubina's fantasies are about her own status, Emma delights in fantasising about others. She believes that Harriet is of noble parentage. Her belief that Harriet is a heroine leads her to exaggerate her height in the portrait she draws, recalling Barrett's definition that:

A heroine is a young lady, rather taller than usual, and often an orphan; at all events, possessed of the finest eyes in the world.⁽¹⁷⁾

Cherubina, like Emma, is motherless; like Emma, she loves her father, but her disordered imagination leads her to rejection of him, believing him not to be her real father. Kirkham considered that in contrast to Emma, Cherubina lacked compassion for the poor:

her romantic dream of "asylum in some poor cottage" being quickly dissolved by her first acquaintance with the reality of poverty.⁽¹⁸⁾

This is true of her first encounter with the poor, but later she offers them assistance, justifying Moler's comment that "she is

compassionate - and even practical - in her treatment of the poor",⁽¹³⁾ thus resembling Emma.

Ellen's rejection of Tim in *The Children of the Abbey* is recalled in two incidents in *The Heroine*, which might themselves have influenced or been recalled in *Emma*. Believing herself noble, Cherry rejects her faithful lover, Robert Stuart. His Christian name is shared with Robert Martin, possibly not accidentally, though Stuart is from a higher social class. More culpably, Cherubina interferes in the love affair of two rustics, Mary and William. She manipulates Mary into writing William a letter of rejection; Emma does much the same for Harriet. In both novels, the lovers are eventually restored to each other. Jane Austen may well have based Harriet's rejection on *The Children of the Abbey*, but, noting that *The Heroine* drew on that novel too, may have decided to create a double allusion, through Robert Martin's name. Cherry can be seen as resembling Emma in some ways, Harriet in others; Harriet gains her delusions from Emma, and from the books that she reads under her influence.

A further link which may be far-fetched but is not impossible, lies in the Donwell strawberry party, and the blossoming of the cherry trees there at the wrong time of year. The cherries may recall the name of Barrett's heroine, while the strawberries and the confusion of seasons (a possible symbolic explanation of which is suggested below) recall how one of Cherry's suitors, the supposed aristocrat "Montmorenci" dined on strawberries one day and yet faced snow on the ground on the next, in his life-story which he tells her.

Cherry is cured of her delusions partly by a reading of *Don Quixote*, and she is probably modelled on Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote*. As that novel also almost certainly influenced *Emma*, it can be seen as the source of some of the similarities between Cherry and Emma - they share their motherlessness, and retired lives with their fathers, with Charlotte Lennox's heroine Arabella. So it is possible, by reference to common sources, to reduce the influence of *The Heroine* to relatively minor points. Thus it can be postulated that when Jane Austen began writing *Emma* in January 1814, as there is no reason to doubt that she did, it was with the novel's plot and characters already fairly clearly mapped out.

6.4 Influence of Charlotte Lennox

Emma regards herself as an "imaginist", and she creates fictions about other people which she comes to believe are facts. In White's opinion, "the illusions that Emma defends so ardently stem largely from the world of books".⁽²⁰⁾ Thus Emma may be seen as standing in the tradition of those who are deluded about reality through their reading; the tradition of *Don Quixote* and its numerous successors, one of which is *The Female Quixote* of Charlotte Lennox. It is known that Jane Austen had read this novel.

Bradbrook noted that:

There is a pretty milk-maid in *The Female Quixote* called Dolly Acorn, who resembles Harriet Smith. Though she says she is daughter to a farmer, Arabella [The "Quixote" of the title] suggests that "in all probability she was of a much higher

extraction, if the picture you have drawn of her is true".⁽²¹⁾

This is the delusion Emma harbours about Harriet. Ironically, as Mr. Knightley notices, Emma does not draw a true picture of Harriet when taking her portrait.

Emma resembles Arabella in that both are left motherless at an early age, and live in relative retirement with an elderly father. Both, delusions aside, are articulate, intelligent, and good-natured. But Arabella's illusions are more extreme (though not necessarily more dangerous) than Emma's. Bradbrook observed:

Arabella writes a note to her lover, which Lucy, her maid, rewrites, thus comically reversing the normal relationship. Emma has to correct the letter that Harriet writes, but its illiteracy does not disillusion her about the nobility of Harriet's character.⁽²²⁾

But Harriet is important to Emma because she is inferior, semi-illiterate and in no way a noble character; Emma can perceive these things, and yet maintain her delusions. She is thus not so totally obsessed with her misinterpretation of the world as is Arabella, but is perhaps more perverse in her attachment to her misconceptions.

In *The Female Quixote*, as in works that it influenced like *The Heroine*, and in its own main source, *Don Quixote*, the deluded character is brought to his or her senses by a shock to the system, often consisting of a bout of dangerous illness (this happens to Marianne in *Sense and Sensibility*). It is as if the mind is purged of danger along with the body. In *Emma*, no such physical "violence" is

necessary; the shock is to Emma's mental system, as the subordinate Harriet suddenly turns out to be the threat. This is both a subtle use of the "Quixote" motif and an anticipation of the Frankenstein idea.

6.5 Influence of Ann Radcliffe

The other novel mentioned by Harriet, along with *The Children of the Abbey*, is Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest*. It may be presumed that Emma is well acquainted with this novel. Jane Austen may have chosen it because the heroine is of mysterious origin, and no known parentage (which is, perhaps surprisingly, not the case with Amanda in *The Children of the Abbey*). This type of novel supports, and possibly creates, Emma's delusion about Harriet:

Emma's whole error comes down to the conviction that, since Harriet is of unknown origin, she must be a nobleman's foundling daughter.⁽²³⁾

Robert Martin has never read *The Romance of the Forest*, and has no such notions.

If Emma considers Harriet to be like Adelina, the heroine of *The Romance of the Forest*, then there is an irony in this, for Harriet is Emma's inferior, and yet Emma becomes jealous of her, fearing that she is in possession of Mr. Knightley's heart; in Ann Radcliffe's novel, Madame La Motte grows jealous of Adelina, her apparent inferior, believing that she is having an affair with her husband. Just as a close reading of *The Children of the Abbey* might have warned Emma and Harriet of the real object of Mr. Elton's ambitions in love, so a

similar reading of *The Romance of the Forest* might have shown Emma how "romantically" born inferiors can be a threat to others' peace of mind. In both novels, the jealousy is, for different reasons, unjustified. Paralleling Emma's emotion, there is the much longer-lived jealousy Mr. Knightley feels of Frank; in both his case and Emma's this jealousy makes each conscious of their love for the other. Though Jane Austen rarely uses similes, she does when Emma comes to realise "with the speed of an arrow"⁽²⁴⁾ that Mr. Knightley must marry her, because she loves him; and this may deliberately echo and recall Ann Radcliffe's use of the phrase in *The Romance of the Forest*:

with the swiftness of an arrow she [Adelina] fled
along the cloisters.⁽²⁵⁾

Adelina's trials centre around an old Abbey in Fontanville Forest, suitably rambling, gloomy and equipped with Gothic trappings, and a contrast to the contented, semi-paradisal Donwell Abbey. But, in different ways, there are, in and around Donwell, mysteries and cross-currents enough.

6.6 Influence of Charlotte Smith

Charlotte Smith, so important an influence on Jane Austen's earlier novels, also left her mark on *Emma*. Bradbrook and Magee both noted parallels between *Emma* and *The Old Manor House*. Magee noted that:

Emma's patronising friendship for Harriet Smith which disturbs Knightley so much, sounds rather like Monimia's befriending of the servant Betsey Richards against Orlando's advice.⁽²⁶⁾

This parallel seems a little strained; there is a difference in the social status of Emma and Monimia, the latter being herself too much

of an inferior to "patronise" anyone, while Orlando has genuine reasons for being disturbed as he fears that this friendship may lead to his liaison with Monimia being discovered. The erroneous notion that Orlando admires Betsey, which the butler at Rayland has, may be paralleled by Emma's jealousy of Harriet.

Bradbrook noted that in *The Old Manor House* Isabella calls the General, "'her old beau', the very same phrase used by the vulgar Mrs. Elton to describe Mr. Woodhouse".⁽²⁷⁾ He further suggested that Isabella Somerive resembles Emma (he does not note that she shares her name with Emma's sister) and that Orlando resembles Frank. The latter comparison must relate to each having a secret relationship with a young woman of relatively inferior status. But Frank's general gaiety is unlike Orlando's basic solemnity. Emma, too, is far from being a coquette, which is the best description of Isabella Somerive; her nature, indeed, is rather "frozen", for she is a rather cold figure, seemingly disinclined to passion; certainly she would not consider eloping, like Isabella. The other two Somerive children, Philip and Selina, share their names with the Rev. Philip Elton and his "sister" (sister-in-law) Selina Suckling, née Hawkins. These similar clusters of names suggest that Jane Austen was recalling *The Old Manor House* when writing *Emma* - which would not be too surprising, as she would have had it in mind, after drawing upon it in *Mansfield Park*.

Mrs. Elton, a "gifted debaser of art"⁽²⁸⁾ in Blythe's phrase, recalls from Charlotte Smith's fiction:

the burlesques of those who quote poetry, display
their supposed cultural superiority and who

modestly designate themselves as "humble retainers
of the tuneful nine".⁽²⁹⁾

It is possible that the Sucklings may contain elements drawn from the Ludfords in *Ethelinde*; both are Bristol merchant families, both are associated with rather panicky references to the slave trade; Mr. Ludford, who considers himself quite the country gentleman, may be rewritten in Mr. Suckling, whose family has recently joined the ranks of landed proprietors. Robert Ludford - precisely the kind of "puppy" not tolerated, supposedly, at the Sucklings' house, Maple Grove - resembles Philip Elton, both as a writer of charades and in his self-regarding nature.

Emma, in her dislike of Jane, builds up a fantasy about her indulgence in an illicit relationship; reasons for her dislike of Jane include her "rescue", and her genuine musical talents. Emma wants her to share her secrets, and cannot forgive her for not being like Harriet, and making a confidante of her. This is not unlike the resentment and jealousy felt for Ethelinde by her cousin Clarinthia Ludford, who wants to be a confidante; Ethelinde and Jane are talented but impoverished, Clarinthia and Emma are in easy circumstances. Jane Fairfax, with her troubles and her secret engagement, resembles one of Charlotte Smith's heroines; while Jane Austen's real heroine, Emma, resembles the rather less pleasant Clarinthia. Jane Fairfax is the conventional, Emma the unconventional, heroine; in a way *Emma* is almost *Ethelinde* rewritten from Clarinthia's point of view. Mrs. Elton also resembles Clarinthia, and is able to exercise her tyranny

over Jane Fairfax; Emma and Mrs. Elton bear an uncomfortably close resemblance to one another at times.

An even closer "source" for Mrs. Elton can be found in *Emmeline*. Her conversation clearly resembles that of the effeminate fop, Mr. Elkerton - of whose name "Elton" may be an echo, and is a contraction - as can be seen in this speech:

"Oh! my dear Mrs. A! - here I am! - returned from Spa only last night; and already at your feet. So here you are? and not yet entwined by that villainous fellow Hymen? . . . What are you the lady's Cicisbeo? as we say in Italy."⁽³⁰⁾

This may have suggested Mrs. Elton, with her references to "Mr. E", her scraps of Italian - notably "caro sposo" - and her own invocation (drawing on Milton) of Hymen. Jane Austen may have taken Elkerton's effeminacy to its logical conclusion and given his pretentious speech patterns and snobbery to a female character.

Emma might well consider Harriet to resemble Emmeline, a supposedly illegitimate heroine. Emma's education of the simple-minded and ignorant Harriet perhaps burlesques Emmeline's own self-education, which has produced a highly accomplished girl incapable of making solecisms. Emma's wish to regard Harriet as a kind of "heroine" of a romance orchestrated by herself, is shown by making Harriet "too tall"⁽³¹⁾ in her portrait of her; this not only illustrates Emma's distorted view, it refers to the tendency of literary heroines to be tall.

In *Emma*, characters resembling the heroines of *Emmeline* and *Ethelinde* are relegated to subordinate roles. Jane Fairfax's story is pertinent to *Emmeline*. Frank, the adored "son" of Mr. and Mrs. Churchill, may correspond with the indulged Delamere; his formidable aunt, with her frequent illnesses, recalls the tyrannical and often unwell Lady Montreville. Mr. Churchill on his own no more opposes the Frank-Jane match than would Lord Montreville, at the last, oppose Delamere's union with Emmeline, without his fierce wife behind him. Emma might be seen as corresponding to one of those characters who harass Emmeline, with impertinent questions and officious attentions, such as Mrs. Ashwood.

Emma may also be compared to characters like Darcy, or like Mrs. Delvile, being fully aware of her family's status and ancestry - she comes from "a younger branch of a very ancient family", beside which "the Eltons were nothing".⁽³²⁾ But Mr. Elton is not a virtuous plebeian, a privileged "intruder" like Elizabeth Bennet. In *Emma*, Jane Austen writes a version of the Cinderella story, in the romance of Jane and Frank, but the central relationship between Emma and Mr. Knightley, is one between social and economic equals. Elton's rejection brings a short, bitter, piqued note from him - in contrast to the magnanimous letter Elizabeth receives from Darcy after she has refused him.

In Charlotte Smith's *Marchmont* there is an idyllic description of Switzerland; in the Munster valley the distressed hero:

forgot the rigors [sic] of winter, even all I had
suffered, and all I had dreaded, and was lost in

admiring the wildness and singularity of the scene.⁽³³⁾

This may have been one of the descriptions in Frank's mind, when, flustered and out-of-sorts, he speaks of wishing to travel to "Swisserland".

Jane Austen might have taken the name "Hartfield" from Charlotte Smith's *Desmond*.

6.7 Influence of Fanny Burney

Comparing *Evelina* with *Emma*, Brimley Johnson noted that:

the singularly unselfish affection of Mr. and Mrs. Mirvan for Evelina, never clouded by envy of her superior attractions, finds its echo in the experience of Jane Fairfax⁽³⁴⁾

who is loved by the Campbells despite her having greater beauty and talents than has Miss Campbell herself. Evelina, like Jane Fairfax, is essentially for most of the novel an impoverished orphan; Brimley Johnson's parallel may, though, seem rather strained.

Sir Clement Willoughby made unwelcome approaches to Evelina, when travelling in a carriage, an experience repeated in *Emma*, where Mr. Elton (ironically behaving like one his social superior, so satirising his pretensions) makes violent love to Emma travelling back from Mr. Weston's. In *Evelina*, a forged letter creates a misunderstanding between hero and heroine, while a displaced letter, an ironic and disturbing discovery in an epistolary novel, precipitates the crisis that leads to Evelina's acceptance by her father. In *Emma*, Frank

forgets to send a letter to Jane and this precipitates her decision to accept a position as a governess, and break off the engagement. Jane spurns Emma's letter of friendship, recalling how Evelina spurned Orville's (supposed) improper letter. Mrs. Elton claims, falsely, to be keen on music; this may recall another vulgarian with pretensions, Madame Duval in *Evelina*. Jane, harassed by Mrs. Elton as an insensitive patron, and with somewhat embarrassing (if well-meaning) relations, may recall Evelina, suffering from her association with Madame Duval and the Branghtons; while Evelina's legitimate status is another example of the kind of literary connection Emma expects real life to follow, in the case of Harriet. None of these "similarities", though, such as they are, can be regarded as persuasive enough to prove that Jane Austen had *Evelina* in mind as a model or "source". There are clearer and more persuasive links, though, between *Emma* and *Cecilia*.

Brimley Johnson pointed out, and was echoed in this by Thomson, that "Cecilia's friendship for Henrietta Belfield resembles Emma's for Harriet Smith".⁽³⁵⁾ Henrietta is more intelligent and accomplished than Harriet, but there is something of the situation Emma will find herself in, when Cecilia finds that Henrietta loves Mortimer Delvile:

[Cecilia] was suddenly in a conjuncture of all others the most delicate, that of accidentally discovering a rival in a favourite friend.⁽³⁶⁾

For Emma, the sting is that she has, both deliberately and inadvertently, encouraged Harriet to fall in love above her station. In addition to the parallel that "for a time both girls are in love with the hero",⁽³⁷⁾ Mortimer's anxieties about Cecilia's possible

attachment to Floyer or Belfield may be reproduced in Mr. Knightley's jealousy of Frank. Henrietta is like Harriet in her cherishing of something associated with the man she loves - in her case, the cover of a letter sent to Mortimer to her brother, in Harriet's the pencil and plaister Mr. Elton had handled. Henrietta says "Whatever has but once been touched . . . I should like to lock up and keep forever!"⁽³⁸⁾ Although there are parallels both in Jane Austen's own experience - as illustrated in the venerated shaving-rag, mentioned in her letters⁽³⁹⁾ - and in other novels - for example, Emily's reverence for St. Aubert's hat in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* - this episode in *Cecilia* may be the main model for that in *Emma*. Like Harriet, Henrietta exerts a basically negative influence over the heroine, although, unlike Jane Austen (and Mr. Knightley), Fanny Burney "does not perceive any danger to her young heroine in Henrietta's flattering subservience".⁽⁴⁰⁾

Lady Honoria Pemberton is a "rattle" in the terminology of "the ton", and her use of the phrase "caro sposo" is recalled in Mrs. Elton's use of the same scrap of Italian - hinting, perhaps, that she is trying to ape the affectations of her betters. Lady Honoria's situation may have suggested Emma's, for the latter's life with Mr. Woodhouse and Miss Taylor seems very similar to that of Fanny Burney's character:

She lost her mother early; and the Duke [her father] who idolizes her, and who, marrying very late, is already an old man, she rules entirely; with him and a supple governess, who has neither courage to oppose her, nor heart to wish well but to her own interest, she has lived almost wholly.⁽⁴¹⁾

Apart from giving Emma's governess a more amiable character, this is how Jane Austen places her heroine. Her mother, who alone could have controlled her, died young, while her father, who married late, was old in years and still older in spirit. While Lady Honoria is a minor character, and not particularly admirable, Emma occupies the centre stage.

Both Lady Honoria speaking of Cecilia and Mortimer, and Emma, speaking of Jane and Frank, invoke *Romeo and Juliet*. Frank, like Mortimer, loves a girl judged to be socially inferior, and has to conceal his relationship with her. Emma's criticism of Frank and Jane is a criticism of sentimental novels in which distressed heroes and heroines contract secret engagements and marriages (the kind of novel she herself, ironically, seems to have enjoyed). Whereas this is the central interest of *Cecilia*, in *Emma* such a liaison is a problem for minor characters; the basic situation found reproduced in Jane Austen's three previous novels is here made more marginal.

Though Mrs. Elton's name may be derived from "Elkerton" in *Emmeline*, there is a Mrs. Elton in *Cecilia* ("O yes; tomorrow we go to Mrs. Elton's"⁽⁴²⁾), and she is a part of the grand social whirl of "the ton" - something that would doubtless have gladdened the heart of the former Miss Hawkins. The common name helps link Mrs. Elton of Highbury with a whole series of shallow, annoying and pretentious people who comprise society in *Cecilia*.

Mr. Knightley has been compared to Edgar Mandlebert in *Camilla*. Bradbrook drew attention to how Edgar snatches Camilla's hand, thinks about kissing it, and reads Sir Sedley's letters, and compared it to Mr. Knightley's behaviour, remarking that the latter:

is jealous of Frank Churchill . . . just as Edgar Mandlebert is [of Sir Sedley] in *Camilla*. and his actions are almost the same, the result of a similar mingling of hope and fear.⁽⁴³⁾

Edgar is obsessed, it is not too extreme to say, with the fear that Camilla is in some way unworthy of him, and requires her continually to demonstrate that she is not. Although Mr. Knightley chides Emma, and with a great deal more reason than ever Edgar would have to chide Camilla, he does not require moral development on her part; Emma, by the end of the novel, may be wiser than at the start, but from the first there was no real obstacle to their love - except that they did not realise that they loved each other. When their love is mutually awakened, no equivocations intervene. Mr. Knightley and Emma had long been unconsciously in love - the love, at least partly, of tutor and tutee - or would-be tutor and reluctant tutee - and all that was required was a catalyst, like Frank or Harriet, to make them realise this. Edgar would have used the Box Hill incident as proof of unworthiness, whereas while Mr. Knightley is pained by it, his love for Emma - which inspires this pain - is not altered by it. While Emma comes to know herself better, this is tangential, not central, to the lovers' relationship - which makes *Emma* different from *Pride and Prejudice*, for example.

Mr. Weston's fondness for his son Frank resembles the enthusiasm of Mr. Westwyn in *Camilla* for his son; both parents are eager for their son to contract an alliance with the heroine. The similarity of names and situations suggest Jane Austen intended this parallel to be drawn. Frank Churchill probably owes something to the younger Westwyn and something, also, to the fop Sir Sedley Clarendel, in his wit and his vanity. Sir Sedley, like Frank, is seen by the hero as a rival for the heroine's affections. It has been suggested that Fanny Burney "probably drew his name from that of Sir Charles Sedley (1639?-1701), the Restoration dramatist and song writer".⁴⁴ This may have been recognised by Jane Austen and suggested to her the name "Suckling" - the surname of Mrs. Elton's brother-in-law which is also that of a Seventeenth century poet and dramatist, Sir John Suckling.

Frank has to keep his engagement to Jane secret, because he fears Mrs. Churchill would disapprove, seeing Jane as an unsuitable match, because of her poverty. Thus, to a rich family, Jane seems to be a threatening upstart, a girl drawn from *Cecilia* or *Emmeline*. But Frank himself is a disruptive element in the life of Highbury and, in Hellstrom's view, is seen as tainted by Jacobin notions; thus in a sense, Frank is the upstart threat, contrasting with Jane, whose parents were drawn from the services and the Church. Mr. Weston by his first marriage had been seen as an interloper; and such a figure is comically re-rendered in Mr. Elton, with his pretensions to Emma ("the Eltons were nothing"), and in Harriet, the supposed threat to Mr. Knightley.

6.8 Influence of Richardson

According to Fergus:

Austen's mature response to *Grandison* is contained in *Emma*. In both novels a perfect [?] hero marries a lively, witty, vain and faulty heroine instead of a more serious and reserved foil (Jane Fairfax, Clementina) who suffers in mind and body from an enforced concealment of love. The parallelism is imperfect.^{<45>}

It is. Whereas there is a genuine rivalry between Harriet and Clementina, there is never any prospect (outside the imagination of other people) of Mr. Knightley falling in love with Jane Fairfax. Clementina's sufferings arise not from the concealment of her love, but from her own attempts, and those of cruel relatives, to overcome these feelings. Harriet Byron is far less "vain and faulty" than Emma (though Emma's own vanity is intellectual, not physical, as Mr. Knightley acknowledges). As Mr. Knightley is himself capable of both jealousy and irritability, it is wrong to describe him as perfect - a point noted by Spencer, who wrote "he is like Grandison or Orville humanized".^{<46>} In *Grandison*, the loves of the principals are freely discussed amongst their circle, whereas between Mr. Knightley and Emma love is an individual, private, non-collective matter.

A closer parallel would be to regard Harriet Smith as being equivalent to Emily Jervois. Both have, in different ways, been rejected by their parents; both are inexperienced in the ways of the world; both are in love with the hero. Emily marries a kind of "junior Grandison" in Edward Beauchamp, Harriet marries Mr. Knightley's protégé Robert Martin.

Harriet Smith's "rescue" from the gypsies may ironically parallel and parody Grandison's rescue of another Harriet, Miss Byron, from Sir Hargrave Pollexfen. In Richardson's novel, there is a long delay before all the details of Harriet's adventure and rescue are described; not so in *Emma*, where Jane Austen obliquely and ironically comments on this when writing:

A young lady who faints, must be recovered; questions must be answered, and surprises be explained. Such events are very interesting, but the suspense of them cannot last long. (47)

(This may also be a comment on Ann Radcliffe's policy of deferring explanations until the reader has forgotten, or lost interest, or, at any rate, until the suspense has evaporated - as with why Emily fainted after lifting the black veil.) As a rescuer of a Harriet, Frank is, for a moment, cast in Grandison's role. Emma, with the expectation of a reader of Richardson - indeed, a reader of novels in general - believes that Harriet has followed her namesake's example and fallen in love with her deliverer. But Mr. Knightley's rescue of Harriet at the dance has meant far more to her. In the momentary placing of Frank in the Grandison role, Jane Austen creates a fleeting fantasy of belittlement; instead of agonizing over his choices, like Sir Charles, Frank merely trifles with one woman (Emma) to disguise his real interest in another (Jane).

Mr. Weston's enthusiasm for Frank, and his plan for marrying him to Emma, recalls not only Mr. Westwyn in *Camilla*, but also Sir Rowland Meredith in *Grandison*. The kindly and good-natured baronet wants his

nephew to marry Harriet Byron, and his praise of his nephew is similar to Mr. Weston's feelings about his son.

6.9 Influence of Mary Brunton

Spender has proposed that Mary Brunton's second novel, *Discipline*, influenced *Emma* - "the similarities in the work of Mary Brunton and Jane Austen are striking".⁽⁴⁸⁾ Spender compared Miss Mortimer in *Discipline* to Miss Taylor in *Emma*, but actually any similarity that exists suggests she is a female version of Mr. Knightley - "a mentor whom, she [Ellen] initially mocks and whose true worth is only later perceived".⁽⁴⁹⁾ Mr. Knightley's equivalent is supposed to be Mr. Maitland, "older and wiser . . . who has waited for her to "see the light" and appreciate his worth".⁽⁵⁰⁾

A great deal is made, too, of the fact that both Mary Brunton's heroine Ellen and Emma lose their mothers when still very young, and are left in the hands of weak fathers. But Ellen's father, Mr. Percival, lives much in the world, and is reduced eventually to poverty and suicide - which is not much like Mr. Woodhouse. Of course, this could be an inversion of Jane Austen's - but, more likely, *Discipline* was not an influence. To support her case, Spender makes much of publication dates - *Discipline* 1814, *Emma* 1816. However, *Emma* (which actually appeared in December 1815) was begun in January 1814, before Jane Austen could ever have read the yet unpublished *Discipline* (she could hardly have read it in manuscript!). Of course, as *Emma* was not completed until March 1815, Jane Austen

could have read *Discipline* during the process of composition; but the areas of resemblance between the two novels lie in the heroine's family situation; and the situations, relationships and characters of Emma, Mr. Knightley and Mr. Woodhouse are so central to the conception of the work, so important and integral, that they must have been foreseen from the start, and planned before a word was written. So it is impossible that they were improvised in the course of composition to refer to *Discipline*. (A parallel has already been noted between Emma and Lady Honoria in *Cecilia* from which the Woodhouse family situation could be derived.)

6.10 Influence of Jane West

There are verbal echoes from Jane West's work found in *Emma*. The opening sentence:

Emma Woodhouse, handsome, clever, and rich, with a comfortable home and a happy disposition, seemed to unite some of the best blessings of existence; and had lived nearly twenty-one years in the world with very little to distress or vex her⁽⁵¹⁾

perhaps deliberately echoed the description of Marianne Dudley, who, at nineteen, inherits £50,000, in *A Gossip's Story*:

Thus blessed with youth, health, beauty and affluence, what was wanting to render her felicity complete.⁽⁵²⁾

Mr. Perry, who has plans to set up his carriage, and the prosperous Coles, are (generally sympathetic) portraits of the middle-class inhabitants of Highbury; the Coles are a pleasanter version of the Inkles in *The Infidel Father*:

We foreboded that next year they, too would certainly commence gentlefolks, retire upon their fortunes, set up their buggy, and leave the shop to Jack Dapper, their apprentice. (53)

The snobbery in the narrator's tone is matched in *Emma* by that of the heroine, but not of her creator.

Neither Jane West nor Jane Austen was a great admirer of young ladies' schools. In *The Infidel Father*, Miss Muggleton's education at the academy of the Misses MacFrisky can stand comparison with Harriet's at Mrs. Goddard's:

Miss Muggleton spent seven years in this seminary, in which she worked on a map of England, embroidered a firescreen . . . almost construed one of *Fantane's* fables, learned to sing half an Italian song, painted one side of a tiffany petticoat, and nearly finished a filigree tea-caddy. (54)

The map of England must have been omitted from Harriet's curriculum, to judge from her ignorance of geography. (Mrs. Goddard's name may be a sly allusion to the name of Dr. Goddard, who was headmaster of Winchester between 1796 and 1809, during which time a couple of Jane Austen's nephews attended the College.)

Although Jane West used the phrase "caro sposo", its appearance in *Emma* is most probably meant to recall Lady Honoria in *Cecilia*.

6.11 Influence of Clara Reeve

Jane Austen appears to have been influenced by Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* in naming the hero of *Mansfield Park* Edmund. The

heroine of Clara Reeve's novel is named Emma, and this may have suggested to Jane Austen the name of the heroine of her next novel. Mr. Elton's Christian name is Philip, and he may derive this from the villainous knight, Sir Philip Harclay in *The Old English Baron*, although Philip Somerive in Charlotte Smith's *The Old Manor House* might also have suggested it. Mr. Knightley's surname recalls Clara Reeve's celebration of chivalry, with her knights as Eighteenth century gentlemen.

6.12 Influence of Elizabeth Inchbald

Emma uses the phrase "a simple story",^{<55>} which obviously invites a well-read reader to compare Jane Austen's novel with Elizabeth Inchbald's work of that name. Emma can be regarded as a kind of variant on Miss Milner in *A Simple Story*, whose levity disturbs her guardian and future husband, Dorriforth; Mr. Knightley can be seen as paralleling the latter. Eventually, in both works, the conflicts and disapproval of the two characters are laid aside. (In the second part of *A Simple Story*, the marriage breaks down; but Jane Austen concludes *Emma* with an assurance of the perfect happiness of the union.) Emma and Mr. Knightley recall, in some ways, Mary and Edmund in *Mansfield Park*, who themselves may have been influenced by Miss Milner and Dorriforth. At one point in *A Simple Story*, Dorriforth is set to marry the unresponsive Miss Fenton; Emma briefly fears that Jane will marry Mr. Knightley. Both Jane and Miss Fenton share a kind of forbidding reserve, which offends the livelier heroine; Miss Milner felt that:

there was something in the reserve of Miss Fenton that did not accord with her own frank and ingenuous disposition so as to engage her esteem. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

6.13 Influence of Henry Mackenzie

In issue no. 101 of Henry Mackenzie's periodical *The Mirror* (which Jane Austen mentions in *Northanger Abbey*), there is a story which, Hardman has proposed, suggested a model for *Emma*. The heroine Emilia is a well-educated orphan, but over-influenced by romantic sentiment; "she was not always logical, but she was always eloquent". ⁽⁵⁷⁾ Her close friend is Harriet S--, inferior to her in intellect, but "soft and winning" ⁽⁵⁸⁾ in personality. Emilia's guardian Leontius disapproves of this relationship. Hardman thought this a "possible inspiration for the friendship between Emma and Harriet Smith", ⁽⁵⁹⁾ and certainly the similarity of names suggests this; but this would still only represent a remote starting-point. Hardman refers to "the orphan Emma" ⁽⁶⁰⁾ but of course she is not; her father exerts a powerful, albeit negative influence. Harriet S-- is Emilia's social equal, and older than her, unlike Harriet Smith in *Emma*. Nor is Emma's relationship to Harriet one of "extreme romantic sensibility"; ⁽⁶¹⁾ Harriet is there to flatter her vanity, and to be manipulated according to her whims. Mr. Knightley's worries about Emma spring, unconsciously, from his love for her, whereas Leontius is Emilia's uncle. Any similarity between the stories does not extend beyond the initial situation; for Harriet S-- marries, unwisely, a profligate named Marlow; Emilia lives with them, and, when Harriet

dies, is tempted to marry Marlow herself. This bleakly lachrymose development contrasts with the comic atmosphere of *Emma*.

Jane Austen may have recollected this piece when planning *Emma*; but the disapproving mentor is not an uncommon figure in the eighteenth century novel, nor is his foil, the rather thoughtless young woman. Harriet Smith's name might have been inspired by that of Harriet S--; but equally the Christian name could be seen as an ironic hit at the expense of Richardson's heroine, Harriet Byron, while "Smith" is, like the surname "Jones" in *Tom Jones*, a suitably common one for a foundling.

6.14 Influence of Madame de Genlis

One of the few explicit allusions to literature that Emma herself makes is to Madame de Genlis's novel *Adèle et Théodore* (published in translation as *Adelaide and Theodore* in 1783). Emma compares Mrs. Weston to the Baroness who has while still young brought up Madame d'Ostalis before having her own children. In their education, she learns from her experiences with Madame d'Ostalis, just as Mrs. Weston, Emma suggests, will learn from teaching her, in bringing up her daughter. The Baroness was seventeen when she began educating the ten-year-old future Madame d'Ostalis (who was a much less dominant character than Emma). This recalls the closeness, relatively, of age that exists between Emma and her former governess; by comparing Mrs. Weston to a Baroness Emma is also complimenting her. Nevertheless, the reasons for the mention of this work seem somewhat obscure; though

Emma illustrates that happiness is possible even after a somewhat faulty and indulged upbringing, and so is a kind of comment on *Adèle et Théodore*, which is an education manual as much as a novel. Emma's lists of books she intends to read but never does may also be a wry comment on the "course of reading" appended to *Adele and Theodore*. Frank Churchill, with his enthusiasm for the Continent and his supposed Frenchness, may parallel M. de Valey in Madame de Genlis' novel; he is a "coxcomb" who "has the *Anglo-manie* to a great degree".⁽⁶²⁾

If there is "Francophobia" manifested in *Emma*, through suspicion of Frank Churchill, then just as Frank's marriage to Jane reconciles him to his critics, so Jane Austen may have intended the approving mention of a French author's work to mark a kind of reconciliation with the land across the Channel. It could be seen as an act of reconciliation to imply that Emma and Mrs. Weston have their equivalents in France.

6.15 Influence of Mary Wollstonecraft

Sulloway proposed that *Emma* might have drawn upon a sentence from Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* as a basis for one of its key scenes. She noted:

Wollstonecraft . . . offers a paradigm of Emma's insolent behaviour to Miss Bates during the Box Hill scene . . . "I have seen [a rich, idle woman] insult a worthy old gentlewoman, whom unexpected misfortunes had made dependent on her ostentatious bounty, and who in better days had claims on her gratitude" . . . Wollstonecraft prepares for this ugly incident, just as Austen does, by describing

the "disorderly kind of education" women
receive.⁽⁶³⁾

There had been a time when Miss Bates was a relatively important figure in Highbury, whose attentions were an honour. Undoubtedly a parallel exists here, but whether Jane Austen drew on *A Vindication* is another matter; a simple parallel can be seen as partly coincidental, and for Emma to grow exasperated with her boredom and lash out verbally, rather unthinkingly, is a circumstance not requiring the prompting of a literary model. Only a tentative response is thus possible to Sulloway's proposal.

6.16 Influence of Spenser

As shown above, Jane Austen drew on Spenser's *Faerie Queene* when writing *Mansfield Park*, and this appears to have remained in her mind when writing *Emma*. Mrs. Elton's sister Selina married the son of a *nouveau riche* father; the country house of this family, the Sucklings, is called Maple Grove, and it *seems* to be the exemplar of an ideal country seat, and is certainly so regarded by Mrs. Elton (though this is enough to make anything suspect). But the Sucklings, having made their money in trade, are parvenus, and definitely "not quite the thing",⁽⁶⁴⁾ in Mr. Woodhouse's phrase. Attractive as it is from outside accounts, Maple Grove is not, as it were, sound within. The very name "Maple Grove" may be intended to suggest this; for Spenser wrote of "The Maple, seeldom inward sound"⁽⁶⁵⁾ in a catalogue of trees which follows the description of the wood into which Redcrosse

ventures, and which Jane Austen drew upon in *Mansfield Park*. In Renaissance iconography, the Maple represents unsoundness; Hamilton glossed Spenser's line with the note:

Lyly (*Euphues Works* i 242) asks "is not . . . dunge [taken] out of the maple tree by the scorpion?" Sinon asserted that the Trojan horse was made of maple (*Aeneid* ii 112). Fair without but unsound within, it stands as a fitting climax to the delightful wood which has the monster at its centre. (66)

The maple is also a tree associated with the North American continent (although it is found in Europe); it may have been given its name by Mr. Suckling or his father, to indicate that the basis of the family wealth came from trade with America (the extent to which this involved slaves, if at all, cannot be determined, though Mrs. Elton finds it a sensitive topic, and there are indications that some of her money came from this source).

Jane Austen's description of Donwell may also recall Spenser. It has been thought to have been an error of hers - one noted by her brother James - that at the Abbey-Mill Farm the "orchard [is] in blossom" (67) at Midsummer, the wrong time of year. Perhaps Jane Austen, an experienced countrywoman, might like Homer nod in such an instance; but another explanation can be found. Possibly here Jane Austen relaxes her usual rules about realism, and resorts to symbolism; Donwell and its environment are being described ideally rather than naturally, as a place, like Spenser's Garden of Adonis, where all the seasons are mixed together in a kind of constant fruitfulness. Donwell is thus seen as a kind of paradise, the property of a man

whose Christian name, was that of the Patron Saint of England, as well as that of Jane Austen's father and the reigning King of England at the time *Emma* was written, while his surname, "Knightley", suggests links with chivalry. The name "Edmund" evoked knighthood to Fanny in *Mansfield Park*. while Spenser's Redcrosse, who slays a dragon, can be identified with St. George. This may help explain the emphasis on "Englishness" found in the Donwell description.

6.17 Influence of Kotzebue

Kirkham has proposed that Thomas Dibdin's *The Birthday*, an English version of Kotzebue's *Die Versöhnung*, was an influence on *Emma*. Jane Austen, who saw the play in 1799, had of course drawn on Kotzebue in writing *Mansfield Park*.

The heroine of *The Birthday* is named Emma; she is motherless, and lives with her invalid father, believing that she cannot marry because of the duty she owes him. In the end, she marries her cousin, whose presence in the house is acceptable to her father. There are obvious parallels here with Emma's situation in Jane Austen's novel. In *The Birthday* there is a faithful servant called William, and Kirkham compared him with William Larkins in *Emma*. In the play, William says "I do love the very sight of her",⁽⁶⁸⁾ while in *Emma* Mr. Knightley concedes "I love to look at her".⁽⁶⁹⁾ Another verbal echo is found when Jane Austen writes of Mr. Woodhouse that, "could he have seen the heart, he would have cared very little for the lungs",⁽⁷⁰⁾ of Mr. Knightley, which seems to recall the line from the play, "if the heart

is sound, never mind the lungs".^{<71>} These similarities may be accepted as indicating some influence, but Kirkham is on less secure ground when claiming that the friendliness of George and John Knightley is a contrast to the feuding relationship between Emma's father and his brother in the play. It is fair to note that Emma in the play announces "I never intend to marry"^{<72>} while Emma Woodhouse decides that "marriage in fact would not do for her".^{<73>} Emma's father in *The Birthday* is, like Mr. Watson, genuinely ill, whereas Emma's father in the novel is a hypochondriac. For Kirkham, this is significant, because with Mr. Woodhouse's claims to consideration and respect reduced, "Jane Austen satirises the sentimental ideal of the dutiful daughter".^{<74>} Emma in the play is such a character, while Emma Woodhouse is both genuinely devoted and capable of striking a self-idealising pose from that devotion.

That *The Birthday* had some influence seems likely, because of the verbal echoes; but a motherless daughter living in relative retirement can be found in other influences on the novel, such as *Cecilia*, *The Children of the Abbey* and *The Female Quixote*. The basic situation may have recalled the play to Jane Austen's mind, and caused her to make the allusions she does in phrasing, but *The Birthday* is probably not a major influence or "source".

6.18 Influence of Shakespeare

Kubal noted that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was:

a play that the author apparently had in mind when writing the novel . . . like Hermia in

Shakespeare's play, Emma must undergo a nightmare, the night-rule of the woods, in order to get health and freedom. <75>

Certainly Jane Austen links the two works by having Emma quote from the play that, "the course of true love never did run smooth". <76>

But Emma remarks that:

There does seem to be a something in the air of Hartfield which gives love exactly the right direction, and sends it into the very channel where it ought to flow. <77>

Her "long note" glossing Shakespeare's line would be to refute it; to claim that at Hartfield love is a smooth and easily-predictable thing. This self-assurance will be punctured by subsequent events. It is possible to see parallels between the play and the novel; like Oberon and Titania, Emma and Mr. Knightley will have a quarrel over an inferior (Harriet). Emma feels discomfort and humiliation after being made violent love to by Mr. Elton in the carriage, her version of Titania's experience with Bottom. Kubal saw Emma as akin to Oberon:

Attempting like Oberon to play matchmaker, Emma asserts that Harriet, a "love" child whose birthday is June 23, Midsummer's Eve, and Mr. Elton belong together. <78>

In fact, throughout *Emma* characters are being mismatched in the minds of others - Emma to Mr. Elton and Frank, Harriet to both of them and Mr. Knightley, the latter to Jane - recalling the mismatchings of the play; Emma and Frank flirt like Hermia and Lysander, paining their real lovers by so doing.

Emma also recalls *Romeo and Juliet*, when she remarks that "the world is not theirs, nor the world's law". <79> Chapman pointed out that this is a slight misquotation of Johnson's adaptation of the line,

"The world is not thy friend, nor the world's law"^(e0) in *Romeo and Juliet*; Johnson wrote, of the plight of friendless women, "The world is not their friend, nor is the world's law".^(e1) The context of Johnson's line makes the application to Jane Fairfax particularly apposite. It would probably be unsafe to try and elaborate on possible links between *Emma* and *Romeo and Juliet*.

6.19 Influence of Jane Austen's Previous Work

Aspects of *Emma* represent the culmination of hints and sketches found in the *Juvenilia*. Charlotte Lutterell in 'Lesley Castle' has "the gush of a chatterbox"^(e2) and represents Jane Austen's first attempt at drawing a literary type that achieves its climax with Miss Bates. Mrs. Elton's determination to neglect her music and her snobbish and patronising attitude to Highbury society recalls Lady Susan Lesley. In 'Love and Freindship' Janetta is separated from Graham on the grounds that, though sensible and agreeable, he has never read *Werter*, and so must lack sensibility; one of Harriet's reasons for rejecting Robert is that he is not versed in the sentimental novel.

Similarities exist between *Emma* and *Mansfield Park*; both draw upon *A Simple Story* and *Camilla*, but they recombine these sources in different patterns. *Emma*, lively and somewhat frivolous, recalls Mary Crawford (and behind her, Miss Milner); the staid member Mr. Knightley, unlike Edmund, but like their predecessors Edgar Mandlebert and Dorriforth, is united with the lively character. Whereas the central consciousness of *Mansfield Park* is Fanny's, her equivalent in

Emma is the lesser heroine Jane. The latter's involvement with Frank, ending in marriage, seems like a reworking, with a different conclusion, of the Henry-Fanny relationship in the previous novel. *Emma* and *Mansfield Park* represent alternative versions of a central seminal story in Eighteenth century fiction, as well as variants upon one another - so that readers who find it uncomfortable to have to prefer Fanny to Mary, can relax and rejoice in preferring Emma to Jane.

6.20 Conclusion

The Watsons and parts of the *Juvenilia* may have contributed in minor ways to *Emma*; those aside, the novel is, like *Mansfield Park*, a complete product of Jane Austen's second creative phase. But as with *Mansfield Park*, the novels that most influence *Emma* were products of the last two decades of the Eighteenth century, works Jane Austen would have encountered in her teens and early twenties, and still of central importance are most of those authors who influenced the novels she drafted in the 1790s. *Emma* also draws upon works of literature other than novels; and it is notable that several of these non-novelistic sources are shared with *Mansfield Park* - Spenser's poetry and Kotzebue's dramas, for example. Among novels, Charlotte Smith's *The Old Manor House* and Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* were influences on *Mansfield Park* which also seem to be recollected in *Emma*. Certain novelists seem to have influenced Jane Austen throughout her career, so her works have a general similarity in their sources; nevertheless it is noteworthy that *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*,

in many ways such very different novels, should share such a number of specific sources and influences, both novelistic and non-novelistic. Authors of relatively minor importance, or works relatively neglected as influences elsewhere in the canon figure importantly in the textual archaeology of both *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*; these two works almost seem to be dark and light twins, novels constructed from similar materials but viewed from different aspects. The critical tendency has been to link *Emma* with *Pride and Prejudice* and *Northanger Abbey* as fairly light, bright and sparkling works, while placing *Mansfield Park* with *Persuasion* and *Sense and Sensibility*, all three being darker, more sombre, "problem" novels. (This division, slightly differently expressed, is made by Morgan - for example.⁽²³⁾) Whatever interpretative justifications may exist for this, it is clear that a study of influences and allusions shows Jane Austen to be rewriting much of the same material, though in different ways, in *Emma* and *Mansfield Park*; thus these two middle novels had a clearer affinity with one another, than with any other works in the canon.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX:

EMMA

1. Moler, *Jane Austen's Art of Allusion*, 175.
2. Regina Maria Roche, *The Children of the Abbey* I, 257.
3. Jane Austen, *Emma*, 75 (hereafter referred to as *E*).
4. Ronald Blythe, ed., *Emma* by Jane Austen, 15.
5. *The Children of the Abbey*, I, 5-6.
6. *E*, 360-61.
7. *E*, 361.
8. *ibid.*
9. *ibid.*
10. Ward Hellstrom, 'Francophobia in *Emma*', 616.
11. *E*, 365.
12. *E*, 70.
13. Doody, 'Jane Austen's Reading', 359.
14. Doody, *op. cit.*, 360.
15. Jane Austen, *Letters*, 377.
16. Kirkham, *Jane Austen: Feminism and Fiction*, 131.
17. Eaton Stannard Barrett, *The Heroine*, 39.
18. Kirkham, *op. cit.*, 137.
19. Moler, *Jane Austen's Art of Allusion*, 165.
20. Edward M. White, '*Emma* and the Parodic Point of View', 56.
21. Bradbrook, *Jane Austen and her Predecessors*, 92.
22. *ibid.*
23. Baker, 'The Idea of Romance in the Eighteenth Century Novel', 520.
24. *E*, 408.

25. Ann Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest*, I, 142.
26. Magee, 'The Happy Marriage', 127.
27. Bradbrook, *Jane Austen and her Predecessors*, 104.
28. Ronald Blythe, ed., *Emma*, 467.
29. Wright, *Sensibility in English Prose Fiction: A Reinterpretation*, 72.
30. Charlotte Smith, *Emmeline*, 82.
31. *E*, 48.
32. *E*, 136.
33. Charlotte Smith, *Marchmont*, IV, 43.
34. Johnson, *The Woman Novelists*, 123.
35. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 121.
36. Frances Burney, *Cecilia* I, 341.
37. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 121.
38. *Cecilia* II, 313.
39. Jane Austen, *Letters*, 412.
40. E.E. Duncan-Jones, 'Notes on Jane Austen', 15.
41. *Cecilia*, II, 41.
42. *Cecilia*, I, 28.
43. Bradbrook, *Jane Austen and her Predecessors*, 101.
44. Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom, *Camilla* by Frances Burney, 834.
45. Fergus, *Jane Austen and the Didactic Novel*, 77.
46. Jane Spencer, *The Rise of the Woman Novelist*, 175.
47. *E*, 33.
48. Spender, *Mothers of the Novel*, 335.
49. *ibid.*
50. Spender, *op. cit.*, 336.

51. *E*, 5.
52. Jane West, *A Gossip's Story and A Legendary Tale*, I, 19.
53. Jane West, *The Infidel Father*, I, 20.
54. *The Infidel Father*, 25.
55. *E*, 471.
56. Elizabeth Inchbald, *A Simple Story*, 38.
57. Henry Mackenzie, ed., *The Mirror*, II, 234.
58. *ibid.*
59. Hardman, 'Jane Austen and the Periodical Works of Henry Mackenzie', 326.
60. Hardman, *op. cit.*, 327.
61. *ibid.*
62. Comtesse de Genlis, *Adelaide and Theodore*, I, 219.
63. Alison G. Sulloway, 'Emma Woodhouse and *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*', 320.
64. *E*, 249.
65. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I.i.9.
66. A.C. Hamilton, ed., *The Faerie Queene* by Edmund Spenser, 32n.
67. *E*, 360.
68. quoted in Kirkham, *Jane Austen: Feminism and Fiction*, 123.
69. *E*, 39.
70. *E*, 434.
71. August von Kotzebue, *The Birthday*, 2.
72. *The Birthday*, 2.
73. *E*, 416.
74. Kirkham, *Jane Austen: Feminism and Fiction*, 125.
75. David Kubal, *The Consoling Intelligence*, 33-34.
76. *E*, 75.

77. *ibid.*
78. Kubal, *op. cit.*, 38.
79. *E*, 400.
80. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, V.i.72.
81. quoted in R.W. Chapman, ed., *E*, 493.
82. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 32.
83. see Susan Morgan, *In The Meantime*, *passim*.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

PERSUASION

7.1 Introduction

Jane Austen began *Persuasion* in August 1815, and finished the novel in August 1816. *Persuasion* was published with *Northanger Abbey* in 1818, after Jane Austen's death. It was her last completed novel, and short in comparison with its predecessors; but although completed, it has not always seemed totally finished, as Leroy Smith noted:

Persuasion has troubled critics because of an unfinished text and apparent shifts in approach, tone, and thematic emphasis.⁽¹⁾

Although *Persuasion* was perfectly acceptable for publication, as a completed text, it may well have been that Jane Austen's illness, already beginning to make itself felt, prevented her from enriching the novel further - so that it is "unfinished" in that it lacks a final varnish, as it were, rather than because it lacks an ending. Critics who have discussed the novel's sources and influences have tended to look to poetry - "[The] blended tone of *Persuasion* brings us close to the elegiac lyrics of Shelley and Keats"⁽²⁾ - and to drama. However, much of the speculation of the influences of or affinities to Romanticism seems ill-conceived; and parallels and imaginative starting-points for *Persuasion* can be found among the works of those novelists most known to Jane Austen, who had influenced her previous works.

7.2 Influence of Charlotte Smith

A "starting-point" for the characters of Sir Walter Elliot and his daughters may be found in the Ellesmere family portrayed in Charlotte Smith's *The Banished Man*. Sir Maynard Ellesmere, like the similarly-named Sir Walter Elliot, is a baronet fallen on hard times, bigoted and living in the past. He "held in utter abhorrence, all who did not implicitly believe in the infallibility of powers and princes",⁽³⁾ which suggests Sir Walter's autocratic attitudes; but Sir Maynard is more amiable, for he is at least "hospitable" and "a good neighbour". In creating Sir Walter, Jane Austen may have darkened the traits of Sir Maynard. Both have been forced to retrench, but whereas Sir Maynard has moved from town to country, Sir Walter does the opposite in the course of *Persuasion*.

Sir Maynard's bigotry is especially directed against dissenters and revolutionary foreigners, which, in the political climate of the 1790s, when *The Banished Man* was written, is more excusable than is Sir Walter's empty pride; the essential sterility of Sir Walter's outlook, its self-absorption and ^{vanity}, is subtly and imaginatively rendered in *Persuasion* in a manner beyond Charlotte Smith; as Tanner noted:

Jane Austen opens her book with the description of a man looking at a book in which he reads the same words as her book opens with - "Elliot, of Kellynch-Hall". This opening situation poses someone fixed in an ultimate solipsism gazing with inexhaustible pleasure into the textual mirror which simply gives him back his name.⁽⁴⁾

Sir Maynard has three daughters, two of whom are named Mary and Elizabeth. These are also the names of two of Sir Walter's three daughters, and it is obvious that they are traditional family names ("with all the Marys and Elizabeths they had married"⁶⁵). Anne's name seems alien to the family, as if to illustrate her separateness from Sir Walter's dead traditions; also, as Rackin noted:

even the way Anne's one-syllable name stands out among the polysyllables of the rest - helps to underscore her special relationship to her moral environment.⁶⁶

Possibly "Anne" was Lady Elliot's name. Anne, appropriately, has no direct equivalent in the Ellesmere family; but Elizabeth Ellesmere, the eldest daughter, partly resembles her namesake in *Persuasion*, in a tendency to haughtiness, and also partly resembles Anne; like her:

Miss Ellesmere was in her twenty-seventh year . . . there was an air of melancholy about her, which was imputed to a disappointment she had met with a few years before, when a marriage between her and a young clergyman had been broken off.⁶⁷

Elizabeth Elliot has been disappointed of marriage in general, and by William Elliot in particular; while Anne's engagement to Wentworth was "broken off" by the negative responses of Lady Russell and Sir Walter, and has left her somewhat pensive. Anne loved, not a clergyman, but a clergyman's brother, though for a moment in *Persuasion* the reader may think it is the clerical Wentworth for whom Anne is sighing, and so perhaps recall Miss Ellesmere's plight. The middle Ellesmere sister, who is named Mary, is eager to be married and, like the former Mary Elliot in *Persuasion*, shares all her father's and eldest sister's prejudices. Both Marys are the first to get married in their

respective families, which causes some mortification in other quarters. From the similarity of names and situations it would appear that the Ellesmeres were the imaginative starting-point for the Elliots; but there are differences. Jane Austen drops the youngest Ellesmere sister, Theodora, preferring to increase the age of the eldest sister and introduce Anne. Unlike Sir Walter, Sir Maynard also has sons; his eldest is a rather unpleasant and unscrupulous character who may be recalled in Sir Walter's heir, Mr. Elliot. Jane Austen, to point the sterility of Sir Walter's life, leaves him unable to perpetuate his name as a father, something which contrasts ironically with his devotion to dynasties. Lady Ellesmere in *The Banished Man* is goodnatured but unintelligent, while Lady Elliot is dead before the story opens. Jane Austen pares down the family and darkens their characteristics and their financial situation in developing the Elliots.

Magee suggested a link between two other characters - "the kind Captain Harville is almost too hospitable for the size of his house, like Captain Caverly in *The Banished Man*"⁽⁸⁾ - which is a fair point, but made no comment on the similarity between Ellesmeres and Elliots. Rather he compared *Persuasion* with *Celestina* - "The opening paragraph of *Persuasion* . . . recalls *Celestina*, for the idle Sir Walter Elliot is steeped in genealogy like Lord Castlenorth".⁽⁹⁾ Certainly Castlenorth, like Sir Walter Elliot, and like Egerton Brydges, Collins the *Peerage*-compiler and Charlotte Smith's Lady Montreville in *Emmeline*, is a fund of dynastic information. Despite his self-

absorption, Sir Walter does display knowledge of other families than just his own:

Mr. Wentworth was nobody . . . nothing to do with the Strafford family. One wonders how the names of many of our nobility become so common.⁽¹⁰⁾

But a parallel can be found in *The Banished Man*, as well as in *Celestina*, as illustrated by the following exchange:

"Denzil! Denzil!" said Sir Maynard, "the name is a respectable one." "Yes, papa;" interrupted Miss Mary with quickness, "but I assure you these misses are nobody of any consequence; and they have not the least fortune. Somehow or other they are related very, very distantly, quite a hundred and twentieth cousinship to the late Lady Aberdore."⁽¹¹⁾

This may also be paralleled in Mary Musgrove's snobbish outbursts against the Hayters. It is worth noting that "these misses" would attend parties and share Elizabeth Elliot's experiences, for they:

usually returned satisfied with everything but the chance these meetings gave them of changing their names - year after year they had passed in the same dull succession.⁽¹²⁾

Both *The Banished Man* and *Persuasion* are written against a background of war with France; Charlotte Smith's hero is the banished aristocrat d'Alonville, Jane Austen's the naval captain, Wentworth. Both are regarded with suspicion by reactionary families like the Ellesmeres and the Elliots.

Ehrenpreis has commented:

I suspect there may be another glance at Charlotte Smith in *Persuasion* . . . where Anne Elliot seeks to recall "some tender sonnet, fraught with the apt analogy of the declining year, with declining happiness, and the images of youth and hope, and spring, all gone together." The pervasive influence of Mrs. Smith's sonnets - "assuredly the most popular in the language" (*Critical Review*

April 1802, p.393) - was such that for years her name was identified with the form.⁽¹³⁾

so Jane Austen may not necessarily, or at any rate exclusively, be responding to the works of Romantic poets; she may well have been looking back at Charlotte Smith's poetry, written the previous century (and Ann Radcliffe's - see below); this is especially likely given Charlotte Smith's "characteristic tone of nostalgic melancholy"⁽¹⁴⁾ which fits so well into the atmosphere of *Persuasion*. "Spring" is a prominent and recurrent motif throughout the novel. Indeed, the phrase a "second spring"⁽¹⁵⁾ is a direct quote from Charlotte Smith's sonnet 'Written at the Close of Spring':

Another May new buds and flow'rs shall bring;
Ah! Why has Happiness - no second spring?⁽¹⁶⁾

Word-play surrounds "spring" in the novel. Anne's knowledge of Mr. Elliot's true character is seen as "a reward justly springing"⁽¹⁷⁾ from her refusal to neglect her friend Mrs. Smith, while in the final paragraph of *Persuasion* there is a promise of "a spring of felicity"⁽¹⁸⁾ for Mrs. Smith herself. Anne's melancholy on the Winthrop walk referred to by Ehrenpreis is counterpointed by evidence of how the former, in November, is "determined to have spring again".⁽¹⁹⁾

Possibly Anne's friend Mrs. Smith was so named in order to recall Charlotte Smith. The novelist was dead when *Persuasion* was written, and the circumstances of her life were probably known to Jane Austen. Significantly, both Mrs. Smiths are women of ability damaged by the ill-judgement of their husbands; also, at the time she wrote *The Banished Man* Charlotte Smith was herself, like Jane Austen's

character, living at Bath, in poor health. (Charlotte Smith drew characters based on herself in several novels; in *The Banished Man* she is represented by the poor, sick Mrs. Charlotte Denzil.) No second spring of happiness or felicity ever came to the real-life Mrs. Smith; Jane Austen's character may mark her sympathy with a favourite fellow-novelist, and represent an attempt in fiction to redress life's injustice. (The very ordinariness and commonplace nature of the name "Smith" - commented on by Sir Walter - may also be meant to imply that such sufferings are not an uncommon lot for a woman.) It is notable that both Mrs. Smiths lived in poverty, when they had claims on a greater income - Jane Austen's character from property in the West Indies, Charlotte Smith from a family trust that precipitated a seemingly interminable Jarndyce-style lawsuit. The main difference between the two Mrs. Smiths is that Jane Austen's character is childless, whereas Charlotte Smith had a large family. In Mrs. Smith's circumspect account of her troubles, there is possibly an implicit criticism of Charlotte Smith's public parade of her husband's inadequacies. Essentially, however, it is possible to speculate that, in what turned out to be her final completed novel, Jane Austen paid tribute to one of the major influences on her own work, and put the fiction-writer into a fiction (as Charlotte Smith did herself) - where happier endings are available than is generally (perhaps invariably) the case in life itself.

William Elliot is the kind of villain Charlotte Smith might portray; a neglectful and cruel husband, a false friend, a hypocrite and a man who manipulates the financial and legal worlds to his own end.

Charlotte Smith railed against the "wolves" and "hyaenas" of the legal profession, and the glib, heartless Mr. Elliot is not out of place in their company. Charlotte Smith drew her enemies from life as well; hence it is appropriate that such a character should be responsible for the miseries of the fictional Mrs. Smith.

7.3 Influence of Ann Radcliffe

Though the view that Jane Austen was most strongly referring to Charlotte Smith, when writing about Anne's melancholy thoughts of sonnets on the walk to Winthrop, is probably correct, it should not be ignored that Jane Austen actually wrote that Anne was, "repeating to herself some few of the thousand poetical descriptions extant of autumn"⁽²⁰⁾ rather than of spring. Thus she is concerned as much or more with autumn than with spring, and this may draw a parallel between Anne and Emily in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. The latter, deeply unhappy at the loss of her lover Valancourt, as Anne is over Wentworth:

fancies the following address:

To Autumn

"Sweet Autumn! how thy melancholy grace
Steals on my heart, as through these shades I
wind"⁽²¹⁾

Emily and Valancourt are, like Anne and Wentworth, lovers who seem to be separated irrevocably; the first pair as a result of misrepresentations by others, the second as a result of Anne's over-persuasion. Both couples are, though, eventually united. Both heroines part from their ancestral homes, and are unhappy at so doing;

but whereas Anne's separation from Kellynch is final, Emily does return to her home at La Vallée. The goodnatured Crofts who rent Kellynch are far superior to the vulgar Quesnels who take over the St. Aubert estate in Ann Radcliffe's novel.

7.4 Influence of Fanny Burney

At the opera, Anne compares "herself with Miss Larolles, the inimitable Miss Larolles",⁽²²⁾ a character in *Cecilia*, because they both try to sit on the outside of a bench so as to converse with other people. This parallel is deliberately incongruous, for the clever, silent Anne is a complete contrast to the vapid, giddy chatterer, Miss Larolles. The resonances of this comparison, however, may be designed to suggest that Bath society in *Persuasion* is as false and pretentious as "the ton" in *Cecilia*. The comparison also points to *Persuasion's* place in the tradition of *Cecilia*. Sir Walter has immense family pride, but little money, which makes him not unlike Mr. Delvile, whose snobbery has not prevented his estate falling into disrepair. Lady Russell, as a middle-aged friend of the heroine, recognizing what she sees as the claims of family status, who advised Anne against marriage to Wentworth, represents a benevolent reworking of Mrs. Delvile, who similarly advises the heroine against matrimony; Cecilia, like Anne, feels indebted to and deferential towards the older woman. Lady Russell is probably the most sympathetic adaptation of Mrs. Delvile found in Jane Austen's fiction, and she stands at the other end of the scale from Lady Catherine de Bourgh. Lady Russell's fear of indiscreet, brilliant, impetuous young men also recalls the fear of

young women of another fallible mentor in Fanny Burney's fiction, Dr. Marchmont in *Camilla*.

Fanny Burney's final novel, *The Wanderer* (1814) seems to have made little impact on Jane Austen's creative imagination; however, one incident in that novel may, as Talmadge suggested, have influenced a scene in *Persuasion*. When Anne is nursing Mary's sick son, the other boy climbs onto her back and makes a nuisance of himself until removed by Wentworth. In *The Wanderer*:

Juliet, in charge of a spoilt child at a garden party, wished to withdraw but had no power, for "the boy, with romping violence, forcibly detained her".⁽²³⁾

until Lady Barbara Frankland arrived and removed the little assailant. The stoutness and sturdiness of both boys is stressed by both authors; but Jane Austen makes use of the incident to show the nature of Anne's feelings for Wentworth - she invests it with a more significant and more revealing charge than does Fanny Burney in its probable model.

7.5 Influence of Richardson

Anne resembles Harriet Byron in *Grandison* in several ways; like Harriet, she pines away through the absence of the man she loves, and at the thought that he will marry another.

Harriet's heart being a "wedded heart", she refuses another suitor; Anne too refuses Charles Musgrove out of faithfulness to Wentworth.⁽²⁴⁾

Lady Russell's feelings that Anne, so beautiful and unknown, should not be prematurely married to the unsuitable Wentworth, and her

subsequent fear that Anne will never marry, seem to recall this passage in *Grandison*:

And must Harriet Byron, blessed with beauty so unequalled; health so blooming; a temper so even; passions so governable . . . must she be offered up, as a victim, on the altar of hopeless love! ⁽²⁵⁾

When Wentworth tells Anne that to his eyes she had not altered at all, this may parallel how "Grandison, proposing to Harriet, compliments her on her 'restored complexion (I did indeed feel my face glow)'" ⁽²⁶⁾ Anne and Harriet both provide music for a ball, though they both feel lonely and isolated; what is said of Harriet - "she plays, she sings, at the very first word . . . [but] solitude and retirement are her choice", ⁽²⁷⁾ could be said of Anne, preferring the Cottage at Uppercross to the Hall. While Harriet has a circle of sympathisers within which she can discuss her problems, Anne by contrast is isolated, unable to unburden her heart fully to her one confidante, Lady Russell. Like another character drawn from the model of Harriet Byron, Elinor Dashwood, she must suffer in silence.

Anne, in her dislike of Mr. Elliot's Sunday travelling, may seem to be anticipating Victorian piety on this subject, but Sir Charles himself had a rule:

Never to *begin* a journey on a Sunday; nor except when in pursuit of work of mercy or necessity, to travel in time of Divine Service. ⁽²⁸⁾

It is noteworthy that Harriet claims she was "over-persuaded", in consenting to attend the masquerade from which Sir Hargrave abducted her; yielding to "over-persuasion" is the fault Wentworth sees in Anne.

Despite the Sunday travelling, William Elliot superficially and ironically resembles Sir Charles Grandison, in that he seems to be polished, easy, agreeable and liberal, a believer in matrimony and attached to his family. (He seems as concerned with the honour and welfare of Sir Walter as Sir Charles was for his father.) As Harris commented, "no wonder that everyone should be fooled when he corresponds so closely to Richardson's perfect hero".⁽²⁹⁾ But his real affinity is with Grandison's foil, Pollexfen. William Elliot knew of Anne before he ever met her, having heard about her from Mrs. Smith; Pollexfen had heard Harriet's praises sung at the Northampton races. Both Anne and Harriet are warned about their undesirable suitors. "Jane Austen conflates two of Richardson's characters, his hero and his villain, into one",⁽³⁰⁾ giving William Elliot Grandison's exterior and Pollexfen's moral life.

Both Sir Hargrave and William Elliot are described as "designing" - Sir John Allestree says of Pollexfen that he is "malicious, ill-natured and designing",⁽³¹⁾ while Mrs. Smith calls Mr. Elliot "a designing, wary, cold-blooded being",⁽³²⁾ though he lacks Sir Hargrave's overt violence and hotheadedness. Both are sincere in their desire to marry the heroine.

Moon noted that "Neither Anne nor Harriet can stand cant or hypocrisy. Their comments about lack of open-ness being a fault are fairly similar".⁽³³⁾ Both William Elliot and Pollexfen can be criticised for

this - although so, too, can Sir Charles, for not revealing the full truth about Clementina.

Both Anne and Harriet, like many a conventional heroine, are motherless; Anne has a surrogate in Lady Russell (and, while at school, briefly found another in the future Mrs. Smith), and this recalls Harriet's surrogate-mothers: Mrs. Selby, Mrs. Shirley, and the Countess of D. Both the latter and Lady Russell "would like their charges to marry, making it clear that a woman's potential remained generally unfulfilled if she did not".⁽³⁴⁾ Dr. Shirley, whose living Charles Hayter is seeking in *Persuasion*, may have derived his name from *Grandison*.

Moon pointed out a thematic link between *Persuasion* and *Grandison*:

The debate is very lively in *Sir Charles Grandison* as to whether or not constancy in hopeless cases is a selfish and unwise indulgence; as to whether or not romantic views of love stand up against the practical tests of what makes a happy marriage . . . Much of what is said, on both sides, bears on Anne's situation . . . in *Persuasion*.⁽³⁵⁾

Anne's conversation with Harville about the difference in strength and constancy of men and women recalls similar debates in *Grandison*;⁽³⁶⁾ in that novel, as in *Persuasion*, it is the heroine who loves longest and seemingly most hopelessly, rather than the hero - Wentworth and Grandison both have general duties, patriotically perceived, into which they can escape.

Sir Walter Elliot recalls Sir Thomas Grandison, whose picture-gallery at Grandison-Hall was remarkable for the number of portraits it

contained of himself. Sir Thomas "was fond of, *his* person . . . he appears to be . . . a fine figure of a man",⁽³⁷⁾ while Sir Walter expresses his vanity and self-satisfaction in the plethora of mirrors at Kellynch - as Admiral Croft remarks:

I should think he must be rather a dressy man for his time of life. - Such a number of looking-glasses! Oh Lord! there was no getting away from oneself.⁽³⁸⁾

In this respect Sir Walter also resembles Pollexfen, who "forgets not to pay his respects to himself at every glass".⁽³⁹⁾ Vanity in a landed proprietor is a bad sign in both Richardson's novels and Jane Austen's. Kirkham commented of *Persuasion* and *Sanditon*:

Both works are anti-Grandisonian in that they portray baronets incapable of securing for their womenfolk a proper place in society . . . in both women are shown as real or imaginary invalids; in both the role of women as nurses, or ministers to sickness, is considered.⁽⁴⁰⁾

In this they also recall *Grandison*; Jane Austen had referred in 'Evelyn' to "that favourite character of Sir Charles Grandison's, a nurse";⁽⁴¹⁾ the sharply commercial-minded Nurse Rooke is a satirical contrast to the selfless Grandison idea. But Anne ministers to Louisa, her rival for Wentworth, and is quite willing to remain with her at Lyme; this selflessness contrasts with Clementina's sufferings at the hands of the cousin who is supposed to be nursing her, and who loves Clementina's suitor, the Count of Belvedere.

Anne is excluded from settling in at Bath because her father and Mary prefer to have Mrs. Clay with them; she is Sir Walter's would-be mistress and wife. Sir Charles was kept from his family home by his father's taking a mistress; however, at least Sir Thomas Grandison was

motivated in part by shame, whereas neither Sir Walter nor Elizabeth feel anything of the sort. Sir Walter, like Sir Thomas, lives beyond his income, but nevertheless feels he can sneer at the naval officers who protect him.

Sir Charles fell in love with Harriet, but felt that he had to honour his previous engagement to Clementina, if she wished him to. Wentworth finds himself in a similar situation; having fallen in love again with Anne, he feels bound to a commitment to Louisa; he too is "greatly embarrassed . . . between his honour to one lady, and his tenderness for the other".⁽⁴²⁾ When Clementina is sick with her love for Grandison, Sir Charles suggests he should "decline my visits by degrees, in order to leave her as disengaged as possible in her own mind".⁽⁴³⁾ Wentworth leaves Louisa to visit his brother, hoping his absence will loosen her affection for him. Both he and Sir Charles are finally free to marry the woman they love, for Louisa marries Benwick, and there is a strong possibility that Clementina marries the Count. At the (perhaps significantly, *Italian*) opera, Grandison's scheme is momentarily inverted, with Anne taking Sir Charles's rôle, as the admired object of two rivals - here, William Elliot and Captain Wentworth.

Grandison's moral worth is demonstrated by the nature of and his administration of his estate; Wentworth has no estate, but Jane Austen uses the ships he has commanded as its equivalent. Like Grandison, Wentworth is concerned with the education, moral and intellectual, of those dependent upon him - such as Dick Musgrove. Like Grandison,

Wentworth acts with benevolence towards those around him, helping naval friends, Mrs. Smith, and Anne with the troublesome child. Wentworth is a new kind of Grandison for a new age.

Copeland suggested that for woman writers of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth centuries, to read Richardson was to rediscover "the Golden Age of female domestic felicity, the blissful image of an unsullied, untroubled past",⁽⁴⁴⁾ now lost in a "society in crisis . . . between the fall of the Bastille and the Battle of Waterloo".⁽⁴⁵⁾ In *Persuasion*, as in all her novels, Jane Austen moves towards a conclusion based on Grandisonian ideals - but with a difference. Before, heroes were clergymen or landowners, the types most venerated in *Grandison*, where they include Sir Charles himself, Beauchamp and Dr. Bartlett. *Persuasion's* hero, though with Sir Charles recognisably in his pedigree, is one (like William Price) who is directly involved in the crisis in society; while the baronet-class, Sir Charles's own, has let down the heroine and the nation, and Kellynch, the very imperfect Grandison-Hall of the novel, will fall in the next generation to a literary descendant of Pollexfen. In *Persuasion*, the spaciousness of Grandison-Hall, the comfort of the cedar parlour, has been replaced by small rooms at Bath, in inns, at Harville's - the world has narrowed, contrasting with thoughts of the open sea. But Sophia Croft's experiences, which may be shared by Anne, place a different gloss upon this - for, as Copeland noted, "an updated version of the cedar parlour" may be found in her "cozy cabin on her husband's man-of-war", where "she will do her duty as a British matron, following . . . the tradition of Sir Charles himself out

settling the troubles of unruly foreigners".⁽⁴⁶⁾ Sir Charles Grandison could not fight duels, despite his prowess, because of his obligations as a Christian; fighting for his nation, though, is an acceptable way of displaying his prowess, in the case of Wentworth, *Persuasion's* new Grandison. So *Persuasion* reinterprets the settings and stage properties, as it were, of *Grandison*, in a new way; Grandison-Hall is rediscovered in the cabin and the house of a sailor's wife, while the dream of a landed estate, like Kellynch, is rejected, as a dream of the past. Kellynch is not an exemplar of a kind of Paradise or Happy Valley, like Grandison-Hall or Paradise Hall, or Donwell, or Pemberley, but rather can be associated with the Gothic dungeons and towers of a heroine's imprisonment, the gloomy settings of fictions of an age in crisis; Anne must escape such a place, must reject the dream of succeeding her mother, and enter into a new world (a point made by Harris, cited below, when she compares Kellynch with Netherby Hall in Scott's poem, 'Marmion').

7.6 Influence of Maria Edgeworth

The basic situation found in *Persuasion* - a family leaving their mismanaged ancestral estate to live in false and flashy urban society - is an inversion of that found in Maria Edgeworth's *The Absentee*, in which the Irish Clonbrony family leave the high life of the English social round and return to their own neglected acres in Ireland. Both Elliots and Clonbronies are the butt of satire, but in *Persuasion* it is directly authorial, in *The Absentee* it comes from other characters. Both families contain an individual of superior integrity to the rest

- Maria Edgeworth's Lord Colambre, Jane Austen's Anne Elliot. The implication of *Persuasion* may be that it is just as possible for resident landowners to mismanage their estates and fail in their responsibilities as it is for absentees; mere presence is no guarantee of successful management.

To point the comparison with Irish absenteeism and its problems, the Elliots have Irish connections; the socially awkward Lady Dalrymple and Miss Carteret are absentees disporting themselves, like the Clonbrony family, on the English social scene. But while Lady Clonbrony in *The Absentee* is mocked behind her back - and sometimes to her face - for her pretensions, despite her title, in *Persuasion* Lady Dalrymple and Miss Carteret are lionised on account of their status, disregarding their lack of personal accomplishments. Jane Austen's Bath is a more snobbish and toadying microcosm of England than is Maria Edgeworth's London.

The name "Kellynch" is a peculiar one for Somerset; it recalls Irish names (Kelly, Lynch), with the possible intention of suggesting its affinity with mismanaged Irish estates. In *The Absentee* the Clonbrony estate suffers the depredations of a rascally steward; in *Persuasion*, Mr. Shepherd's name could imply that he has been dishonestly 'fleecing' his employer (an expression Jane Austen would have known - it occurs, for example, in Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*). Unlike Lord Colambre, Anne cannot "save" her family estate, except possibly by marriage to Mr. Elliot. Anne's farewells to the Kellynch villagers implicitly contrasts with Lord Colambre's discoveries of the results

of his father's neglect of his tenants. While Colambre's destiny is to return to his ancestral home, Anne's lies with a new family and a new, rising class of men.

7.7 Influence of Bage.

Lord Grondale in *Hermesprong* (who may be derived in part from Sir Thomas Grandison), may have contributed to Jane Austen's portrayal of Sir Walter Elliot. Grondale is as fond of mirrors as Sir Walter, filling his pavilion with them. Both men are West Country landowners; Grondale takes a mistress into his house, supplanting his daughter Caroline; Mrs. Clay, who would like to be Sir Walter's mistress or wife, supplants Anne when the Elliots move to Bath. The name of Grondale's mistress, Mrs. Stone, has an obvious similarity to "Clay". (Mrs. Clay is "common as clay and as malleable as it", while her father, Mr. Shepherd, is also well named, as he is shown "shepherding his client wherever he likes".⁽⁴⁷⁾ Tanner, after saying that Mrs. Clay's "name is suggestive . . . of a weak vessel" proposed, perhaps over-speculatively, that her "'freckles' may suggest the remnants of traces of syphilis".⁽⁴⁸⁾ Gowland's lotion, which she uses, apparently had links with the treatment of venereal disease, as well as being good for freckles. If - and it can only be speculative - Mrs. Clay was syphilitic, this would not bode well for the future family line, were she to become Lady Elliot.)

Anne's discussion of male and female constancy with Harville recalls *Hermesprong's* discussion of women's abilities with Sumelin. The

latter, like Harville, refers to the physical weakness of women - "weaker bodies, you will allow, Nature has given them, if not weaker minds?"⁽⁴⁹⁾ - while Hermsprong speaks of a woman's need for "a firm mind in a firm body".⁽⁵⁰⁾ Although he is defending women, this comment may have been taken from its context by Jane Austen and given to Wentworth, who is in favour of firm minds in women without qualification. . . , until Louisa's accident, provoked by her obstinacy, instructs him that they require limitations. Miss Fluart in *Hermsprong* wonders if "inconstancy . . . is one of the virtues of Man?"⁽⁵¹⁾ and Harville wonders briefly about this, thinking of Benwick. (Though as Fanny is dead, constancy to her can have no virtue; and Louisa forgets Wentworth, who is very much alive, far more quickly.) Anne insists that women do not forget as quickly as men, but can only speak for herself - in the novel, Louisa, Henrietta for a time, and Mrs. Clay are all inconstant in their affections.

As noted before, *Hermsprong* follows the *Cecilia* tradition, but with a male intruder-figure, threatening a long-established family. In *Persuasion* Jane Austen's hero, rather than her heroine, corresponds to the intrusive "upstart" (to use Lady Catherine's word) who threatens the snobbish Elliots. Grondale's reactionary hatred of Hermsprong becomes Sir Walter's pride, which leads him to regard Wentworth and his brother as nobodies. In *Hermsprong*, the hero turns out to be the rightful heir to the Grondale estates; in *Persuasion*, Wentworth's sister and her husband, Admiral Croft, replace the Elliots at Kellynch. Wentworth's contempt for the Elliot snobbery, and his desire for Anne to think for herself, resisting family pressures,

recalls Hermsprong's attitude to Lord Grondale and his opinion that Caroline should not submit so readily to her father. In Bage's novel, the provocations Caroline suffers are fairly extreme, whereas in *Persuasion* the question of submission to the judgement and authority of others is approached with greater ambiguity.

In both *Hermsprong* and *Persuasion* there are scenes set at Lyme, but Jane Austen's description of that resort, and the actions that take place there in her novel, bear no trace of any influences from *Hermsprong*.

7.8 Influence of Brydges

Another "starting-point" for the character of Sir Walter, or at any rate an example of the literary "type" he represents, can be found in Arthur Fitz-Albini, the hero of an eponymous novel by (and an idealised autobiographical figure of) Egerton Brydges. Fitz-Albini is obsessed with matters of genealogy:

In the long hours of his leisure [he] descended gradually from general to particular history, till he began to feel his heart interested, and his imagination inflamed, even by the dull Baronages in which he found so many of his ancestors recorded'.⁽⁵²⁾

Mary Musgrove's contempt for "new creations" is shared by Fitz-Albini (and his creator), for in Brydges' novel new-made baronets include:

a scotch man-midwife, two East Indians, the pennyless [sic] dependants of a pompous nobleman . . . three placemen of the lowest origin, and no fortune; and a speculating hop-factor, of doubtful credit.⁽⁵³⁾

along with a miller's son and a clergyman who married for money. All the Elliot snobbery is here.

Brydges greatly admired Charlotte Smith's work, and *Fitz-Albini* seems to draw on her novel *Marchmont*, but given Charlotte Smith's satirical treatment of genealogical snobs, like the Raylands, the Montrevilles and the Castlenorth's, it is unlikely that the admiration would have been reciprocated. Brydges himself scorned other genealogists, and Sir Walter's obsession is both ironic and futilely pathetic in the light of the opinion that (other people's) "Peerages and Baronetages . . . are mere panegyric books, on which no person of judgement thinks of relying".⁽⁵⁴⁾ Jane Austen had read *Fitz-Albini* shortly after its publication, and considered it to be totally characteristic of its author. There is much handwringing and denunciation when it seems *Fitz-Albini* will lose his ancestral estate; the notion that "Kellynch-Hall had passed into better hands than its owner's"⁽⁵⁵⁾ with the coming of the Crofts, would have been unacceptable to Brydges.

7.9 Influence of Jane West

Mrs. Clay may recall Miss Morton in Jane West's *A Gossip's Story*, whose relationship with Sir William Milton is similar to that of Mrs. Clay with William Elliot. It is said of Miss Morton that "she affirms she may be Lady Milton when she pleases, and bets in this particular are two to one against Sir William".⁽⁵⁶⁾ Mrs. Clay's William, Mr. Elliot, might possibly be "wheedled and caressed at last into making

her the wife of Sir William";⁽⁵⁷⁾ who will win, their private contest is "a doubtful point".⁽⁵⁸⁾

Sir William Milton tempted Marianne Dudley away from her first love, Pelham; but William Elliot, although attracted to Anne, cannot come between her and Wentworth. Marianne is sentimental, her sister Louisa more sensible; in *Persuasion*, it is Anne who is calm and level-headed, and her sister-in-law, Louisa Musgrove, who is impetuous and sentimental.

7.10 Influence of Walter Scott

Anne and Benwick discuss Scott, among other contemporary poets, as they stroll on Lyme beach. Harris pointed out that in one of Benwick's favourite poems, 'Marmion':

the dashing young gallant Lochinvar, "so faithful
in love and so dauntless in war", who plucks fair
Ellen from the heart of her family at Netherby
Hall (Canto V) contains more than a hint of
Captain Wentworth⁽⁵⁹⁾

(Lochinvar might also be a self-image for Benwick.) McMaster compared Wentworth to a Byronic figure, calling him, "Jane Austen's restrained version of Childe Harold, a gloomy wanderer o'er the wave".⁽⁶⁰⁾

7.11 Influence of Samuel Taylor Coleridge

Alethea Hayter commented that:

Jane Austen's description of Lyme Regis in
Persuasion is unlike any other landscape of hers
. . . In it, Jane Austen came nearer to the

Romantic poets than in anything else that she wrote. ⁽⁶¹⁾

and certainly there seem: to be echoes of one particular Romantic poem, Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' in words and phrases like "Huge fragments . . . rocks . . . deep romantic charm . . . down the green hill . . . forests ancient as the hills". ⁽⁶²⁾

Hayter speculated that there was a direct influence; although the poem was not published until June 1816, and the novel was finished in August of that year, Jane Austen could have added the description at the last stages of composition; alternatively, she could have read the poem in manuscript, for it was widely circulated in that form, and she did have a number of contacts with the literary world. According to Hayter, in the vicinity of Lyme when Jane Austen visited it "there was a stream called Jordan and a green meadow behind it called Paradise" ⁽⁶³⁾ which may have been recalled by, and in the description integrated with "the sinuous rills and sunny spots of greenery in Kubla's paradise garden". ⁽⁶⁴⁾

The case is perhaps more tenuous when Hayter writes that Jane Austen may have linked the ammonites found at Lyme to the:

feeling of great back-ward stretches of time ("many a generation . . . to the flow of the tide . . . unwearied contemplation") which is such an uncharacteristic element in her description of Lyme, and Coleridge's measureless caverns of ancestral voices would blend with and reinforce this consciousness of the remote past. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

And Hayter moves beyond what is likely when she suggests that the poem's idea of a lost lover may have "subconsciously coalesced in

[Jane Austen's] imagination with the situation of the novel's heroine, and with memories of her own".⁽⁶⁶⁾ Anne is far removed from a "woman wailing for her demon-lover",⁽⁶⁷⁾ and Wentworth is far from being a demon; "memories of her own" presumably refers to the story of Jane Austen's supposed lost lover, met on a visit to Devonshire in 1801-2, a story based on such shadowy information that critics would be well-advised not to try and deduce anything from it. (This story has been the basis of much unsafe and sentimental biographical criticism.)

Nevertheless, Hayter makes out a sufficient case for some influence to have been exerted by Coleridge's poem on *Persuasion*; however, Jane Austen's language in the description of Lyme suggests that her awareness of Coleridge's work has led her to parody it. Both *Persuasion* and *Sanditon* depict heroines who are ambiguous, at least, about the value of Romantic poetry. In the description of Lyme Jane Austen may actually be mocking Coleridge's Romantic rhetoric (as she mocked 'The Giaour', wondering how it was pronounced). His exuberant (drug-influenced?) visions are related to a familiar English landscape; that it is the Isle of Wight, so familiar to Jane Austen (as to Fanny Price) that is described as "far-famed",⁽⁶⁸⁾ is, with all due respect to its celebrated picturesque qualities, evocative only of bathos. The language is almost that of a travelogue, as if Jane Austen is suggesting that Coleridge's rhetoric might be best suited to a holiday promotion scheme for Lyme (or for Xanadu). In *Sanditon*, Jane Austen satirises the inflated rhetoric of the enthusiastic seaside entrepreneur, Mr. Parker; the romantic (and Romantic),

overblown language in which she describes Lyme is the same kind of stuff Mr. Parker will spout in praise of Sanditon.

7.12 Influence of Shakespeare

Critics have regularly compared *Persuasion* with works by Shakespeare, more so than any other of Jane Austen's novels. Simpson, in Victorian times, drew a comparison with *Twelfth Night*:

Anne Elliot . . . like Viola . . . never tells her love, or rather never talks of it after its extinguishing, but sits like patience on a monument smiling at grief . . . like Viola, too, she meekly ministers to the woman who is unknowingly her rival.⁽⁶⁹⁾

But a parallel and contrast for the Anne-Louisa-Wentworth triangle can be found in *Grandison*, without needing to recall *Twelfth Night*. For Simpson, Anne's conversation with Harville "on the different characteristics of men's and women's love" also recalls the play:

There is no woman's sides
Can bide the beating of so strong a passion
As love doth give my heart; no woman's heart
So big to hold so much; they lack retention

So says the Duke; and Viola, disguised as Cesario, replies, "In faith they are as true in heart as we", and gives the example of her supposed sister pining in thought. "Was not this love indeed?", she asks.

We men may say more, swear more; but indeed
Our shows are more than will.

Similarly, Captain Harville believes that as men's bodies are the strongest, so are their feelings "capable of bearing most rough usage, and riding out the heaviest weather".⁽⁷⁰⁾

Anne's response is to say:

Your feelings may be the strongest . . . but the same spirit of analogy will authorise me to assert that ours are more tender. Man is more robust than woman, but he is not longer-lived . . . All the privilege I claim for my own sex . . . is that of loving longest, when existence or when hope is gone. (71)

Harris proposed another parallel between the play and the discussion in the novel:

Anne maintains that it is man's very nature that made Captain Benwick inconstant. Her "authority" could be the Duke in *Twelfth Night*, admitting to Viola

For, boy, however we do praise ourselves,
Our fancies are more giddy and infirm,
More longing, wavering, sooner lost and won,
Than women's are.

Even more likely is the song in *Much Ado*, that men were deceivers ever, one foot on sea and one on shore, to one thing constant never. (72)

The friendship of Wentworth and Harville may parallel the maritime comradeship of Antonio and Sebastian, with Harville's geniality recalling Antonio's. On the darker side, in a rather strained comparison, Harris noted that:

Like the loving friend Antonio . . . who complains that the apparent Sebastian denies him his own purse freely lent, Mr. Smith treated Mr. Elliot like a brother, (73)

only to experience ingratitude and rejection.

When informed that he must retrench, Sir Walter's response is "a swift and accurate parody of that other proud old man, King Lear": (74)

What! Every comfort of life knocked off!
Journeys, London, servants, horses, table -
contractions and restrictions everywhere! To live
no longer even with the decencies of a private
gentleman! No, he would sooner quit Kellynch-hall

at once, than remain in it on such disgraceful terms.⁽⁷⁵⁾

But whereas Lear, denied his knights, goes into a wilderness and seeks shelter in a hovel, Sir Walter enjoys the comforts of Bath.

Lear and Sir Walter are both flawed fathers of three daughters, each of whom least appreciates the child with most merit:

Anne . . . like Cordelia . . . is the true defender of her father's honors [sic] when William Elliot plans, Edmund-like, to gain the very ranks and titles he despises in their present owner.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Harris thus conflates Lear and Gloucester in Sir Walter; whether Jane Austen did is another matter. William Elliot is, unlike Edmund, the lawful heir to the title and estates; his "plotting" consists of attempting to gain an influence over Sir Walter to prevent him marrying again and perhaps producing a son, or, at any rate, to prevent Mrs. Clay from marrying Sir Walter. Anne sees a real incriminating letter of Mr. Elliot's, recalling how Gloucester is deceived with a false one. Sir Walter "recognises [Anne] at the end, and is indeed a very fond and 'foolish' old man"⁽⁷⁷⁾ - but "foolish" is the narrator's word; Sir Walter never attains such self-knowledge as Lear. "Anne-Cordelia's true worth is recognised in the midst of her self-seeking family by Wentworth-France".⁽⁷⁸⁾ But even Captain Wentworth takes a long time to realise this worth; he had not fully appreciated Anne even before losing her years previously. There are as many crucial differences as similarities between *Lear* and *Persuasion*, and some of the parallels seem rather forced; possibly Jane Austen combined the basic pattern of *Lear* with features of Charlotte Smith's Ellesmere family.

Mrs. Denzil, in *The Banished Man*, likens herself to "a female Prospero, set forth for some desert isle".⁽⁷⁹⁾ As noted, Mrs. Denzil is a fictional version of Charlotte Smith herself, and may thus correspond to Mrs. Smith in *Persuasion*. The latter can be seen as enduring a Prospero-like exile, long denied what is rightfully hers, though even this may be considered a slightly strained parallel. Auerbach saw affinities between *Persuasion* and *The Tempest*, but none of these amount to evidence of any borrowings or influence. Auerbach commented:

Like *The Tempest*, *Persuasion* is brooded over by the threat of loss and death . . . like *The Tempest*, *Persuasion* transforms tragedy into the profoundest comedy, and also like *The Tempest* it closes with a glimpse of a sea-voyage.⁽⁸⁰⁾

But the first two points are very general, and apply to many other works as well, while the third - the "glimpse of a sea-voyage" - simply seems wrong; Jane Austen merely refers to the possibility of future naval action, which is not really similar to the ending of *The Tempest* at all. Facile comparisons between *Persuasion* and *The Tempest* on the grounds that they represent their respective authors' last completed work do not enhance Auerbach's credibility.

Kirkham suggested that Jane Austen drew on *The Merchant of Venice*:

Anne . . . experiences something of the elation felt by Portia on seeing Bassanio reject "thou gaudy gold / Hard food for Midas" in favour of the leaden casket⁽⁸¹⁾

when she senses Wentworth is about to declare his love; this comparison may or may not be valid - there seems no particular reason to focus on Portia as opposed to many other heroines about to have

their wishes fulfilled - but to claim that, anywhere in the novel, "Jane Austen's language . . . suggests at least a half-consciousness of the casket scene" appears without foundation.

Two other faint recollections of Shakespeare plays may be conjectured. Perhaps *Othello* is fleetingly recalled when Captain Wentworth captivates his female admirers with his tales of adventure in distant parts; he has the glamour of a man who has done his state some service. In the long period of separation that Anne and Wentworth endure there may be a recollection of the long period of loss and estrangement found in *The Winter's Tale*; a play which, like *Persuasion*, pays attention to the cycle of the seasons. (Jane Austen would have known Elizabeth Inchbald's *A Simple Story*, which is modelled, in its two-part structure, on *The Winter's Tale*.)

7.13 Influence of Chaucer

Harris suggested that *Persuasion* drew on Chaucer's 'Wife of Bath's Tale'. Certainly the work would have been available to Jane Austen - Tyrwhitt had produced editions of Chaucer in 1775-8 and 1798, and that particular tale was among those translated by Dryden. It has been demonstrated that Jane Austen appears to have drawn on Milton, Spenser and Shakespeare as well as on Eighteenth century writing in various forms. However, the parallels that Harris makes seem rather strained. For example, "The wife tells of a knight who marries in exchange for her help a repellent old woman" who becomes a beauty on her wedding night; "Anne Elliot likewise changes from a loathly

lady to a lovely young woman in the course of *Persuasion*".⁽⁸⁴⁾ "Likewise" here is not very like; Anne is seen as looking "haggard", but that is through Sir Walter's consciousness; Wentworth finds her "altered" or unchanged in accordance with his feelings; Anne is never "loathly" or "repellent", and in Wentworth's eyes she has regained her bloom before he proposes. "The Wife's Tale shows [in Dryden's words] 'the silly pride of Ancestry, and titles without inherent Vertue, which is the true Nobility'".⁽⁸⁵⁾ But this is such a commonplace idea in literature (and moral thinking) that affinities cannot be deduced from it; Charlotte Smith's novels would provide such a moral, as would Fanny Burney's *Cecilia*; there is no need to invoke Chaucer. Another moral commonplace, illustrated by Mrs. Smith, but capable of being related to many other works, is that "Poverty, sings the loathly lady, is not to be despised".⁽⁸⁶⁾ Jankyn, who believes all women to be faithless, fights with the Wife:

He smites her on the head so that "in the floor I lay as I were dead." Suddenly the story looks very like that of the determined Louisa Musgrove jumping down from the Cobb at Lyme . . . [Wentworth] like Jankyn . . . blames himself but her too.⁽⁸⁷⁾

But it does not "look very like" *Persuasion*; Louisa's injury is self-inflicted, the product of her obstinacy, rather than one received in a fight. Furthermore, it is Harville, rather than Wentworth, who muses on woman's inconstancy, when talking with Anne. Both are aware of the existence of a literary tradition dealing with female faithlessness; the Wife's Tale may be one small element in this - though *Troilus and Criseyde* would be the major Chaucerian example - but there is no reason to single it out. Harris noted that Mrs. Croft physically

resembled the Wife, but this is an irrelevance; Mrs. Croft's marital experiences are the opposite of the Wife's, and many women "of a certain age", as the phrase is, may be expected to have some physical similarities. Everything considered, Harris puts a case that is over-ingenious, and which fails to recognise that there are many other more likely influences which embody fairly similar viewpoints.

7.14 Other Influences

Harris commented:

The seafaring people are noble by reason of their generosity. Hospitality as a mark of generosity one finds . . . in Pope; it pervades his *Odyssey* as well as his poems about his own hospitable house at Twickenham. ^(ee)

This link with Pope is rather tenuous; "hospitality" would generally be regarded as a good thing, and most authors would tend to be in favour of it. In a sense, though, the *Odyssey* is paralleled in *Persuasion*, for Anne waits patiently and yet hopelessly for Wentworth, absent at sea for so many years, as Penelope waits for her husband, rejecting other suitors. Wentworth dallies with Louisa, as Odysseus dallied on occasions, but eventually the true lovers are reunited. As sea-voyages imply separation, it is not necessary to suppose Jane Austen had the *Odyssey* consciously or unconsciously in mind; but Mrs. Clay's Christian name, Penelope, may indicate that she did, for it is surely intended as a joke. Whereas Penelope in the *Odyssey* remains loyal to one man, Mrs. Clay, while seemingly devoted to Sir Walter, is intriguing secretly with Mr. Elliot.

Tompkins, surveying the later Eighteenth century novel, stated that:

The benevolent guardians in domestic novels are sometimes retired sea-officers, carrying over some of Smollett's idiosyncrasies into a politer age than his; while a further and more natural development during the French wars at the end of the century, idealised ship, officers and crew. (89)

Tompkins's erudition is unchallengeable, but it can be said that there are few naval characters of any kind in those works that appear to have most influenced Jane Austen; certainly Admiral Croft is idiosyncratic, but then so is Mr. Bennet, and the Admiral seems to owe nothing to the Commodore Trunnions or Captain Mirvans. Perhaps in this instance, biographical criticism might be allowed a place, for Jane Austen's family situation gave her a fine naval fervour; she had no need of literary influences, either negative or positive, to portray naval officers in an idealised way.

Kirkham suggested that Jane Austen:

created in Sir Walter Elliot a *pater familias* whose character closely resembles that of the smart society woman of uncertain age, much despised in eighteenth and nineteenth century literature (90)

by focussing on his vanity. The type referred to here is similar to Levine's "Merry Widow", suggested as part of *Lady Susan's* background, and dating back to the Restoration stage. Kirkham's point may have some validity; but vanity in males is hardly unique to *Persuasion*, and Sir Walter's brand has its parallels in Sir Thomas Grandison, in Lord Grondale in *Hermesprong* and Mr. Delville in *Cecilia*. These influences seem sufficient to account for Sir Walter without speculation on the "Merry Widow" theme.

7.15 Nomenclature

"Russell" is a Whig family name, that of the Dukes of Bedford. In *Pride and Prejudice*, Darcy's Whig names suggest his pride and superiority; Jane Austen may have similarly bestowed a Whig name on Lady Russell to mark her somewhat snobbish attitude to Wentworth (this is the family name of the Earls of Strafford, but he is not connected with them). The affinity between Lady *Russell* and the *Elliot* family is suggested by the shared syllable. In a novel in which the Navy plays such a prominent role, it is perhaps significant that there was a celebrated admiral named Russell (Edward Russell, Earl of Orford [1653-1727], a member of the Bedford family), whose exploits Jane Austen could have read about in Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*; the appearance of that historian's surname in *Persuasion* may well be more than coincidental. Admiral Russell was associated with another admiral whose surname is found in *Persuasion*, Sir George Rooke (1650-1709), who may have given his name to Nurse Rooke (though her name also carries a suggestion of her "rooking" her clients - a slang phrase known in Jane Austen's time). In *Mansfield Park*, it has been noted, there are, suitably, several theatrically celebrated surnames in use; it would be in accordance with Jane Austen's previous practice, therefore, if some names in *Persuasion* had a deliberately naval flavour.

"Dalrymple" is the family name of the Scottish Earls of Stair; it was also borne by an Admiralty hydrographer, Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808); the name Carteret is suitable for an Irish family, as it was

the family name of Earl Granville, who was an Eighteenth century Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; there was also an Admiral named Philip Carteret (d.1796). With two brothers in the Navy, and a "fine naval fervour", Jane Austen could easily have known these names.

7.16 Influences of Jane Austen's Previous Work

Persuasion shares with *Northanger Abbey* a number of scenes set in Bath. Anne's experiences are very different from those of Catherine Morland, dazzled by the excitement and the social mix of the town. For Catherine, Bath is a liberating environment; for Anne, it represents confinement and imprisonment (at Camden-place, "Anne entered . . . with a sinking heart, anticipating an imprisonment of many months"⁽⁹¹⁾). Her imprisonment is in a sense literal, and even more so it is spiritual; for her friend Mrs. Smith, Bath represents a physical imprisonment. Other differences between the Bath of *Northanger Abbey* (still, of course, in Jane Austen's mind when writing *Persuasion*) and of *Persuasion* derive from changes in the social composition of the town, and the manners of the gentry, which came about between 1800 and 1815. Different levels of society appear to have mixed less, while a new kind of inhabitant, partially at least represented by such as Mrs. Smith, was emerging to challenge the denizens of this Vanity Fair:

Side by side with the equivocal or lightminded society of that city we shall henceforth see a company of austere, clean-living and clean-thinking men and women who react unconsciously but

surely on the rest, and increase at its expense. ⁽⁹²⁾

Anne, too, is one of that number.

Sir Walter Elliot and General Tilney both reside for a period at Bath, and are landowners in neighbouring counties. Both are excessively proud of their families and are literary descendants of Mr. Delville in *Cecilia* and Lord Grondale in *Hermesprong*. but in contrast to the efficient and modern General, Sir Walter is neglectful of his estate, resistant to new ideas and a spendthrift.

For Auerbach:

Persuasion is an inverted *Sense and Sensibility*. Anne Elliot is a mellowed and fully accepted variant of Marianne Dashwood with the world restored. ⁽⁹³⁾

Anne believes in the permanency of first attachments, and in that she is like Marianne; but it is a belief drawn from her own experience and her own nature, not one derived from books and, somewhat quixotically, applied to life. Anne is qualified to speak and feel as she does so through experience and maturity, something which does not apply to Marianne. Even so, Anne does not entirely escape satire.

Mr. Elliot, the villain of *Persuasion*, is a darker version of the cold-hearted John Dashwood of *Sense and Sensibility*; he is the antithesis of that novel's "villain", Willoughby, whose sins lie in his rashness rather than in caution and calculation. Anne, whose love for Wentworth survives a long separation and is resurrected into happiness, is a kind of female Brandon, who sees in Marianne someone

similar to his lost love, Eliza, and whose devotion to both stayed firm during absence and despair. The events surrounding Louisa's accident at Lyme stress Anne's commonsense, which links her with Elinor Dashwood rather than her sister; like Elinor also, many of her most ardent feelings have had to go unspoken. Elinor's response to Edward's freedom shows that she, like Anne, has a deep capacity for loving.

E.M. Butler saw *Persuasion* as a kind of rewriting of *Mansfield Park*:

Louisa-Henrietta-Captain Wentworth and Anne balance Maria-Julia-Henry Crawford and Fanny. [Both novels feature] two sisters . . . violently attracted by a captivating man . . . The rightful hero, Frederick Wentworth, will cause no suffering to anyone, for Henry Crawford has been divided into two: the gallant naval captain, and the dissolute Mr. Elliot.⁽³⁴⁾

Wentworth seems more likely to have derived from William Price than from Henry Crawford; he *is* the naval hero that William dreams of becoming. In his rectitude, coupled with a little indiscretion, he recalls Edmund Bertram, who attracted the attentions of both Mary and Fanny. Wentworth, like Edmund, is noted for his schoolmaster's role, albeit towards the unpromising Dick Musgrove. Fanny's day-dream of living by the sea with William is freed of its incestuous *frisson* and rendered as Anne's married situation with Wentworth.

Mary Musgrove, in her inferiority of talent and looks, but with her slightly better temper, when compared to Elizabeth, recalls the position of Julia Bertram *vis-a-vis* Maria. Anne, though a true daughter of the House, seems, like Fanny, to be a stranger and

intruder; like Fanny, she is the character who embodies and upholds its best values. Visiting her father and sister in Bath is as uncomfortable and dispiriting, in many ways, as Fanny's stay at Portsmouth; Anne is as ashamed of her family before Wentworth as Fanny was of hers when Henry Crawford visited them.

7.17 Conclusion

Although Jane Austen refers to Romantic poetry in *Persuasion*, it is not itself particularly affected by Romantic literature. The references emphasise the topical contemporary setting of the story; Anne's conversation with Benwick suggests detached amusement towards Romantic works, and though such a work may be recalled in the description of Lyme, it is treated bathetically. Jane Austen is certainly not concerned to rewrite Scott's or Byron's scenarios in *Persuasion*, although some superficial resemblances, possibly deliberate, possibly accidental, can be found (as when Harris and Auerbach invoke Lochinvar and Childe Harold). Essentially, such supposedly Romantic elements as the description of the walk to Winthrop can be placed in a pre-Romantic tradition of Charlotte Smith and Ann Radcliffe - both of whom were consistently influential on Jane Austen's work. The novelists of the 1780s and 1790s again exert a major influence on *Persuasion*, and perhaps most influential of all is *Grandison*. So Jane Austen's imagination still drew primarily on the works with which she had been familiar since her early twenties; *Persuasion* may seem in some ways to prefigure a "brave new world", or to stand, like the Musgroves, at some transition point; but though

Anne Elliot may break with the past, her creator is still as strongly drawn as ever to the material and the patterns of the Eighteenth century novel.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN:
PERSUASION

1. Leroy Smith, *Jane Austen and the Drama of Women*, 156.
2. Nina Auerbach, 'O Brave New World: Evolution and Revolution in *Persuasion*', 128.
3. Charlotte Smith, *The Banished Man*, I, 190.
4. Tony Tanner, 'In Between - Anne Elliot Marries a Sailor and Charlotte Heywood Goes to the Seaside', 181-82.
5. Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, 4 (hereafter referred to as *Pers*).
6. Donald Rackin, 'Jane Austen's Anatomy of *Persuasion*', 55.
7. *The Banished Man*, I, 191.
8. Magee, 'The Happy Marriage', 127.
9. *ibid.*
10. *Pers*, 23.
11. *The Banished Man*, II, 3.
12. *The Banished Man*, II, 178.
13. Ehrenpreis, ed., *Emmeline* by Charlotte Smith, xiii.
14. *ibid.*
15. *Pers*, 124.
16. quoted in Ehrenpreis, ed., *Emmeline*, xiii.
17. *Pers*, 212.
18. *Pers*, 252.
19. *Pers*, 85.
20. *Pers*, 84.
21. Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, 592.
22. *Pers*, 189.
23. Talmadge, 'Letter', *TLS* (4 Jan 1934), 12.

24. Jocelyn Harris, 'Anne Elliot, the Wife of Bath, and Other Friends', 275.
25. Richardson, *Grandison*, II, 542.
26. Harris, 'Anne Elliot, the Wife of Bath, and Other Friends', 276.
27. *Grandison*, II, 517.
28. *Grandison*, II, 379.
29. Harris, 'Anne Elliot, the Wife of Bath, and Other Friends', 283.
30. Harris, 'Anne Elliot, the Wife of Bath, and Other Friends', 284.
31. *Grandison*, I, 63.
32. *Pers*, 199.
33. Elaine B. Moon, 'A Model of Female Excellence', 28.
34. *ibid.*
35. Moon, *op. cit.*, 32.
36. *Grandison*, II, 247-49.
37. quoted in Duncan-Jones, 'Notes on Jane Austen', 16.
38. *Pers*, 128.
39. *Grandison*, I, 45.
40. Kirkham, *Jane Austen: Feminism and Fiction*, 144-45.
41. *MW*, 186.
42. *Grandison*, II, 518.
43. *Grandison*, II, 485.
44. Edward Copeland, 'The Burden of *Grandison*', 98.
45. Copeland, *op. cit.*, 99.
46. Copeland, *op. cit.*, 104.
47. Harris, 'Anne Elliot, the Wife of Bath, and Other Friends', 275.
48. Tony Tanner, *Jane Austen*, 237.
49. Bage, *Hermsprong*, 137.
50. *ibid.*

51. *ibid.*
52. Egerton Brydges, *Arthur Fitz-Albini*, I, 7.
53. *Arthur Fitz-Albini*, I, 52-53.
54. *Arthur Fitz-Albini*, I, 294.
55. *Pers*, 125.
56. Jane West, *A Gossip's Story* and *A Legendary Tale*, II, 222.
57. *Pers*, 250.
58. *ibid.*
59. Harris, 'Anne Elliot, the Wife of Bath, and Other Friends', 293n.
60. Juliet McMaster, *Jane Austen on Love*, 40.
61. Alethea Hayter, 'Xanadu at Lyme Regis', 61.
62. *Pers*, 95.
63. Hayter, *op. cit.*, 64.
64. *ibid.*
65. Hayter, *op. cit.*, 63.
66. Hayter, *op. cit.*, 62.
67. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Kubla Khan', 1.16.
68. *Pers*, 96.
69. Simpson, 'Jane Austen', 144.
70. *ibid.*
71. *Pers*, 233-35.
72. Harris, 'Anne Elliot, the Wife of Bath, and Other Friends', 290.
73. Harris, *op. cit.*, 282.
74. Harris, *op. cit.*, 279.
75. *Pers*, 15.
76. Harris, *op. cit.*, 279.
77. *ibid.*

78. *ibid.*
79. *The Banished Man*, I, 258.
80. Auerbach, 'O Brave New World: Evolution and Revolution in *Persuasion*', 112-13.
81. Kirkham, *Jane Austen: Feminism and Fiction*, 146.
82. Kirkham, *op. cit.*, 147.
83. Harris, 'Anne Elliot, the Wife of Bath, and Other Friends', 275.
84. *ibid.*
85. Harris, *op. cit.*, 277.
86. Harris, *op. cit.*, 281.
87. Harris, *op. cit.*, 286.
88. Harris, *op. cit.*, 270.
89. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800*, 46.
90. Kirkham, *Jane Austen: Feminism and Fiction*, 149.
91. *Pers*, 137.
92. Laura M. Ragg, *Jane Austen in Bath*, 34.
93. Auerbach, 'O Brave New World: Evaluation and Revolution in *Persuasion*', 115.
94. E.M. Butler, '*Mansfield Park* and Kotzebue's *Lovers' Vows*', 337.

CHAPTER EIGHT: NORTHANGER ABBEY

8.1 Introduction

A version of *Northanger Abbey*, under the title *Susan*, was written during Jane Austen's mid-twenties, and sold to a publisher, as the 'Advertisement' to the novel states:

This little work was finished in the year 1803, and intended for immediate publication. It was disposed of to a bookseller, it was even advertised, and why the business proceeded no further, the author has never been able to learn.⁽¹⁾

The exact date on which Jane Austen began writing the novel is unclear; according to Cassandra it was being worked on in 1798-9, so that it was certainly, even in its earliest form, the product of several years' work.

The non-publication of the novel may have hit Jane Austen hard, but its psychological consequences, if any, or the publisher's motives, are not of concern here. Jane Austen is known to have kept a copy of the manuscript, as she offered this to the publisher in case the original had been lost; thus she could have revised the novel even after its first sale. A novel entitled *Susan* appeared in 1809, and this seems to have prompted Jane Austen to alter the title of the novel, and the name of her heroine, the work becoming *Miss Catherine*. Evidence has been presented that she engaged in fairly extensive

revision around 1810; the name "Henry Tilney", Chard pointed out, was that of a schoolmaster who died in 1809, and whose obituaries appeared in magazines in 1810 and 1811. Certainly, there is a touch of the pedagogue in Jane Austen's Henry. The names of a Jonathan Thorpe, a Thomas Allen from Wiltshire, and an Elizabeth Morland are all found in obituaries from around the same time.⁽²⁾ However, these do not constitute any kind of conclusive proof, in the light of the comments made on evidence drawn from nomenclature in the Introduction above. But it may be that Jane Austen did engage in revision around 1810, and also in the years after, although the novel could not be published until the original, and its copyright, had been bought back, something that did not occur until 1816. Some revision may also have occurred after this date, perhaps when Jane Austen prepared the 'Advertisement', although in March 1817, the year of her death, she wrote that "Miss Catherine is put upon the shelve for the present, and I do not know that she will ever come out".⁽³⁾ This may suggest that Jane Austen had been revising the work in some form before starting to write *Sanditon*, which has certain affinities with *Northanger Abbey* (discussed in the chapter on *Sanditon*, below). When she died, she may still have been dissatisfied with the novel; nevertheless it was published the following year, along with *Persuasion*, having been seen through the press by her literary executor, her brother Henry, who may well have given the work its title. Possibly the changes in "places, manners, books and opinions"⁽⁴⁾ on which she commented may have made Jane Austen wonder if, after such a period had passed since the novel was initially conceived, it could properly be published. Whether, if she had lived longer, the novel would ever have been placed in the

press, at any rate in the form known to literary history, may be a matter for debate.

8.2 Influence of Charlotte Smith

Lascelles proposed that Catherine Morland should be, or could be, seen as a kind of inverted Emmeline;⁶⁵ that her education and capacities represent a satire on those of Charlotte Smith's first heroine. Emmeline has an "uncommon understanding" combined with a capacity for "unwearied application", rounded off with "a kind of intuitive knowledge".⁶⁶ In contrast, Catherine:

never could learn or understand anything before she was taught; and sometimes not even then, for she was often inattentive, and occasionally stupid.⁶⁷

Emmeline's performances are all the more remarkable - or incredible - since she is brought up alone, servants her only mentors, and reads books from the castle's library on her own initiative. Catherine is raised in the midst of a family, one of many children, with both her parents alive, and educating her. Both girls read Pope and Shakespeare, and Emmeline reads the *Spectator*; one reason, perhaps, among several, for Jane Austen's strictures on that publication. Indeed, it is comic to consider Emmeline learning correct behaviour from a publication which would:

disgust a young person of taste . . . [its] language, too, frequently so coarse as to give no very favourable idea of the age that could endure it.⁶⁸

However, similarities between the two novels, *Emmeline* and *Northanger Abbey*, extend beyond their first chapters. Early in *Emmeline*, but

late in *Northanger Abbey*, come parallel scenes: Emmeline, leaving Mowbray Castle early in the morning, banished from the castle by Lord Montreville, without his son's knowledge, because she is an unsuitable attachment for Delamere, and Catherine, departing very early from Northanger, unknown to Henry, expelled by the General because she is too poor to be an appropriate match for his son.

While Jane Austen's satirical comments surrounding her "brief account of the [Thorpel family" - that it is:

intended to supersede the necessity of a long and minute detail . . . in which the worthlessness of lords and attorneys might be set forth, and conversations, which had past twenty years before, be minutely repeated.⁽⁹⁾

- might be taken as a general attack on the methods and materials of the sentimental novel, it may refer more specifically to the works of Charlotte Smith, who has a great deal to say in dispraise of lawyers. In *Emmeline* Lord Montreville and his attorney, Crofts, prove their worthlessness by their attempts to harass and dispossess the heroine. The recollections of Le Limoisin, the servant of Emmeline's father, are effectively those of conversations spoken twenty years past, "minutely reported".

Catherine Morland is never mentioned as reading one of Charlotte Smith's novels; but she does read sonnets and it is likely, given their immense popularity, that these were Charlotte Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets*. However, unlike Emmeline, and unlike Ann Radcliffe's heroines, Catherine never attempts to write a sonnet.

From Charlotte Smith's second novel, *Ethelinde*, Jane Austen may also have drawn material for *Northanger Abbey*. Davenant may well have served as a model for John Thorpe, in terms of speech, dress, and delicacy of love-making. Like Thorpe, he is obsessed with horseflesh, his speech is "interlarded with many oaths", while he would "get every night so extremely intoxicated that the small share of understanding he possessed he had never perfectly at his command", and he would "dress . . . like a dirty groom".⁽¹⁰⁾ John Thorpe is ignorant and boasts about his drinking. Jane Austen's comments on the inadvisability of a woman displaying any intellectual accomplishments recall Davenant's opinions:

The intellectual perfections of Ethelinde . . . were so far from encreasing her charms in his opinion, that he could have liked her better, if, with as lovely a person she had possessed an understanding even inferior to the generality of women.⁽¹¹⁾

Another character in *Ethelinde* may have inspired Jane Austen's attack on:

the nine-hundredth abridger of the History of England, or . . . the man who collects and publishes in a volume some dozen lines of Milton, Pope, and Prior, with a paper from the Spectator, and a chapter from Sterne.⁽¹²⁾

This character is Mr. Popgun, a:

gentleman . . . [who] by picking obsolete reportage out of old magazines, forgotten plays, and jest books, which is dressed in a motley and quaint language of his own, [passed] for a man of wit.⁽¹³⁾

Jane Austen's view of the *Spectator*, an "old magazine", was that it contained "topics of conversation, which no longer concern anyone

living"⁽¹⁴⁾ which sounds rather like a paraphrase of the lines from *Ethelinde*. ("The abridger of the History of England" may well also be a hit at Goldsmith, with whose efforts in that field Jane Austen was acquainted in childhood.)

Wendy Craik has commented:

That [Isabella Thorpe] considers *herself* the stuff of heroines and Catherine merely her confidante is a delightful instance of Jane Austen's ironic economy with her material.⁽¹⁵⁾

Isabella's attitude may have derived from the relationship between the vulgar romance-reader Clarintha Ludford and Ethelinde in Charlotte Smith's novel; Isabella, like Clarintha a would-be romantic heroine, with an eye to the main chance, reminds Catherine of "genuine" romantic heroines, through her hyperbolic statements. The conversation between Catherine and Camilla Stanley in 'Catharine: or the Bower' may have been a kind of interim version of this relationship. Jane Austen may also have recalled the following exchange in *Ethelinde*:

She ventured to ask
"Whether her ladyship had read the last new novel?"
"No really, Ma'am," replied Lady Newenden, with her usual cold languor, "I seldom read those things."⁽¹⁶⁾

and used it as the basis for the imaginary comments of ungracious heroines - "I am no novel reader - I seldom look into novels".⁽¹⁷⁾

Ehrenpreis noted of the *Ethelinde* - *Northanger Abbey* relationship:

Miss Ludford is not only an empty-headed chatterbox but a flirt. She transfers her

affections effortlessly from one lover to another in a higher station; but the vivacious Lord Danesforte is even more of a hardened libertine than Isabella's Captain Tilney. Like Camilla [Stanley in 'Catharine'] and Isabella, Clarinthia has a vain and silly brother who is briefly infatuated with the heroine . . . Clarinthia taunts her cousin with having made a conquest of her brother's heart . . . an aversion which amazes Ethelinde as much the same charge surprises Catherine Morland. ⁽¹⁸⁾

This is fair comment, except that Edward Stanley in 'Catharine' resembles the witty and occasionally puzzling Henry Tilney more than he does the boorish John Thorpe. Nor does the latter resemble Robert Ludford as much as he does Davenant.

Jane Austen satirises Charlotte Smith for allowing characters to, implicitly or explicitly, mock novels; perhaps as Charlotte Smith fell from public favour she became one of the "injured body" ⁽¹⁹⁾ of novelists. Charlotte Smith considered her novels and poems superior to those extolled by Clarinthia, as Jane Austen may have considered her own work superior to that of the authors parodied in *Northanger Abbey*.

It is not only literature that is discussed in Charlotte Smith's novels and in *Northanger Abbey*; history is also a topic. In *Desmond*, a character remarks:

I might, indeed, read history; but whenever I attempt to do so, I am to tell you the truth, driven from it by disgust - what is it, but a miserable, mortifying detail of crime and follies? - of the guilt of a few, and the sufferings of many, while almost every page offers an argument in favour of what I never will believe - that heaven created the human race only to destroy itself. ⁽²⁰⁾

This may be recalled in *Northanger Abbey*, where the "guilt of the few" can become, in Catherine's words, "the quarrels of popes and kings"; the "sufferings of the many" becomes "war and pestilences".⁽²¹⁾ In her story 'Corisande', in *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, Charlotte Smith considered the horrors of war:

the women, children, and very old people, who were the only inheritors, for every man under sixty was in arms, were at the mercy of the visitors for the time being - sometimes enduring all the horrors of a famine within their half-ruined habitations, and sometimes driven into the fields, where unmarked and un-noticed they perished by cold and hunger.⁽²²⁾

Although Catherine is thinking of actual history books when she complains of her dislike of history, there may also be an allusion to Charlotte Smith, in her comments on the horrors revealed by reading it. Hilbish has noted that Charlotte Smith is the author of "the first 'atrocious' story of record" in the English novel, and that her technique included "incorporating in her novels historical facts"⁽²³⁾ (as the historians incorporated "fictions" in their works, such as imaginary conversations). In *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, Charlotte Smith introduced "the new device in fiction of a town surprised and carried by storm"⁽²⁴⁾ - which is the context of the quotation above - and this links with "wars and pestilence".

In both *Desmond* and *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, Charlotte Smith defends the Novel, and also denies that it can corrupt the mind. In *Desmond*, she remarks:

I own I cannot imagine that novel reading can . . . corrupt the imagination, or enervate the heart . . . at least those that represent human life nearly as it is; for as to others, those wild and absurd writings that describe in inflated

language, beings, that never were, nor ever can be, they can . . . no more contribute to form the character of her mind, than the grotesque figures of shepherdesses, on French fans and Bergonet boxes, can form her taste in dress. (25)

Jane Austen's novels attempt to depict "human life nearly as it is", and are more successful at doing so than was Charlotte Smith; indeed, the latter's works are placed, by implication, among "wild and absurd writings", in terms of the mockery Jane Austen employs towards them. Despite her defence of the Novel, Jane Austen in *Northanger Abbey* shows that "wild and absurd" works *can* distort the judgement, with Catherine drawing false inferences from Ann Radcliffe's novels. But a distortion of judgement can be temporary, it is not like the corruption of the mind, which seems to suggest irreversibility; Catherine's essential character remains unchanged, it is only inexperience that enables her judgement to play her false, and inexperience can be and will be remedied. Isabella, like Catherine, is at one time considered *vis-à-vis* literary heroines, but her faults are hardly brought about by the corrupting effects of novels; rather she follows her basic nature. She may consider herself as a heroine, but as Charlotte Smith tartly observes, in the 'Preface' to the *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*:

a young woman, who is so weak as to become in imagination the heroine of a Novel, would have been a foolish, frivolous and affected character, though she never heard of a circulating library. (26)

That the *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer* may have influenced Jane Austen in *Northanger Abbey*, but not in any other work, can be explained ^{by} the date of publication, 1799. As Charlotte Smith's most recent work of fiction, it would have had a topical immediacy for Jane

Austen, writing *Northanger Abbey* in the years just after its publication. But none of the stories in the book were particularly useful for Jane Austen's purposes in her later revisions and original novels.

Magee noted parallels between *Northanger Abbey* and some of Charlotte Smith's other works:

when the boorish braggart John Thorpe . . . boasts about his clumsy skill with horses, he sounds like the Rev. Mr. Hughson in *Montalbert*, who is as absurd in his confidences in buying horses. John's hypocritical sister Isabella is the same sort of foolish coquette as Miss Goldthorpe in *The Young Philosopher*, who being "very deeply read in romances and novels", makes certain that men pursue her. (27)

Magee does not note that Miss Goldthorpe, like Clarinthia, is rich, which Isabella certainly is not (she is Miss Thorpe without the "gold", as it were - a possible joke of Jane Austen's?).

MacCarthy saw John Thorpe as evolving through Charlotte Smith's work from an earlier source: "Mr. Martin, the sporting lout" in Susannah Gunning's *The Histories of Lady Frances S-- and Lady Caroline S--* (1763) develops "through Lord Newminster (in . . . *Desmond*) . . . into John Thorpe". (28) In fact, there are many sporting louts in the Eighteenth century novel, representing, like John Thorpe, variations on a perennial type; Davenant though is his clearest parallel in Charlotte Smith's work.

8.3 Influence of Fanny Burney

Both Evelina and Catherine Morland are ingenuous young women entering "the world" for the first time. Lord Orville says of Evelina that "she must be a country parson's daughter"⁽²⁹⁾ (which is almost accurate, as she is the adopted daughter of the Rev. Mr. Villars) and this description fits Catherine exactly. Like Fanny Burney, Jane Austen gives verisimilitude to her heroine's experiences by bringing real people - such as the Master of Ceremonies, Mr. King - into her narrative. But while Fanny Burney shows Mr. Villars as having a sentimental delicacy towards the despondent Evelina on her return to Berry Hill - a feeling found in various places in the novel - Mrs. Morland is, in contrast, insensitive, and misinterprets Catherine's sadness - illustrating Jane Austen's less sentimental approach.

Strauch proposed that "The crowd of rejected suitors in *Evelina* is represented in *Northanger Abbey* by just one, John Thorpe".⁽³⁰⁾ The latter behaves like Sir Clement Willoughby when tricking the heroine into entering his carriage. Another suitor is also recalled:

John Thorpe's claim that Catherine is engaged to him for the dance she is having with Henry Tilney recalls Evelina's dilemma when she refuses Mr. Lovell and then stands up with Lord Orville . . . The similarity reveals that Catherine and Henry, for both behave sensibly and rationally, and show neither Evelina's tortures of sensibility nor Lord Orville's huffiness.⁽³¹⁾

John Thorpe "stands for" all Evelina's unsuccessful suitors not just for economy's sake, but also to point to Catherine's ordinariness; she has no reason to expect or deserve hordes of supplicants.

Other links between the novels may be noted: "Isabella Thorpe is a burlesqued version of typical confidantes such as Fanny Burney's Miss Mirvan".⁽³²⁾ When Henry leaves the theatre-box and visits Catherine, *Evelina* is recalled, as Zimmerman remarked:

Catherine's feelings are . . . described in the extravagant terms appropriate to a heroine like *Evelina*, who, when deserted in the theater [sic] by Lord Orville, is left to face the contempt of her relatives and the schemes of her would-be seducer.⁽³³⁾

Catherine is actually unwittingly counter-acting John Thorpe's "schemes" to estrange Henry and herself; while the language describing her happiness is, deliberately, both satirical and acute in its recognition of young love's pangs - "setting aside the misery of his quitting their box, she was, upon the whole, left one of the happiest creatures in the world".⁽³⁴⁾ The clichéd phrase may be satirical, but the emotion is genuine.

When Henry remarks of Bath that:

compared to London, it has little variety, and so every body finds out every year. "For six weeks, I allow Bath is pleasant enough; but beyond that, it is the most tiresome place in the world"⁽³⁵⁾

he may well be satirizing the comments of Lord Orville - "'The Bath amusements', said Lord Orville, 'have a sameness in form, which, after a short time, renders them rather insipid.'"⁽³⁶⁾ The same quotation from *Twelfth Night* occurs in both novels: "like Patience on a monument / Smiling at Grief."⁽³⁷⁾

Catherine and Henry can be seen as Jane Austen's versions of *Evelina* and Orville; in that part of *Northanger Abbey* that is an anti-novel,

they satirise them; in the novel proper, they correct them by their greater realism. Unlike Evelina and other Fanny Burney heroines, Catherine offers almost comically swift apologies and vindications; there are none of the proud silences that wreak havoc with the emotions in Fanny Burney's novels. She never knowingly offends against Propriety, only against Good Sense, indicating perhaps the differing emphases of the authors.

Northanger Abbey follows the theme of *Cecilia*, that of the proud family threatened by a lower-born interloper. General Tilney's pride and disdain recalls that of Mr. Delvile; but whereas Mortimer has some struggles with his own feelings of family pride, Henry suffers from no such pressures. Catherine, like Cecilia, and like Elizabeth Bennet and Elinor Dashwood, is no indigent adventuress, but a wholly suitable marital partner; her contrast and foil is Isabella, pursuing Captain Tilney, who is *Northanger Abbey's* equivalent of Lucy Steele.

When Henry Tilney first met Catherine, he formed "his features into a set smile, and affectedly softening his voice, he added with a simpering air, 'Have you been long in Bath, Madam?'"⁽³⁹⁾ It is as if he is recalling the affected tribes of "the ton" in *Cecilia*, perhaps because his question to Catherine is virtually the same as the one asked by Mr. Meadows, the Insensiblist, of Cecilia:

"Have you been long in town, Ma'am?"

"No, sir."

"This is not your first winter?"

"Of being in town, it is."⁽³⁹⁾

Henry may be self-consciously striking a literary pose, his awareness of how he parallels the butterflies of "the ton" manifesting itself in his remark, "Now I must give one smirk, and then we may be rational again".⁽⁴⁰⁾ When Catherine remarks innocently, "I cannot speak well enough to be unintelligible",⁽⁴¹⁾ she unwittingly satirises the Jargonists of *Cecilia*, whose argot is almost beyond comprehension; this may account for Henry's delighted response; both characters are responding to *Cecilia*, but only one of them knows it.

Jane Austen's comment about her heroine, "And lucky may she think herself, if she gets another good night's rest in the course of the next three months",⁽⁴²⁾ while recalling a general tendency towards disturbed slumbers in novels of the period, may have been written in mockery of the following, from *Cecilia*:

Happily and in good time had Cecilia been somewhat recruited by one night of refreshing slumbers and flattering dreams, for the shock she now received promised her not soon another,⁽⁴³⁾

Catherine's departure from Northanger resembles Emmeline's from Mowbray Castle, but as is often the case in Jane Austen's work, there may well be other parallels - for example, Cecilia leaves from her estate at seven in the morning; but whereas Catherine leaves in disgrace, with tears in her eyes, and probably in Eleanor's, but nobody else's, Cecilia has to depart:

through a row of weeping domestics, not one of whom with dry eyes could see the house bereft of such a mistress . . . [the poor] followed her carriage with supplications that she would return to them.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Jane Austen's animus against the *Spectator* has been noted above; a further reason for it may lie in the praise which Mr. Delvile heaps on it - which would be enough to damn most things. He says that:

The *Spectator*, *Tatler* and *Guardian*, would make a library sufficient for any female in the kingdom, nor do I think it like a gentlewoman to have more. ⁽⁴⁵⁾

As a woman writer, Fanny Burney could hardly agree with this comment, and Jane Austen follows her in this matter; her comments on novels and periodicals might be seen as a riposte to Mr. Delvile's viewpoint. In the passage praising novels, Jane Austen specifically lauds *Cecilia* as a "work in which the greatest powers of the mind are displayed", ⁽⁴⁶⁾ defending the author of *Cecilia* against the implicit condemnation of her creation.

Just as Catherine comes to have second thoughts about Isabella, Cecilia reviews her friendship with Mrs. Harrel. She had been her best friend, when inexperienced in the world, but on realising Priscilla Harrel's faults, Cecilia says, "I have . . . felt ashamed of my own want of discernment, in having formerly selected her for my friend". ⁽⁴⁷⁾ Monckton's explanation of how their friendship came about, intended to console Cecilia - "she was lively and pleasing; you were generous and affectionate" ⁽⁴⁸⁾ - could stand for Isabella and Catherine. Both Isabella and Priscilla are parties to the schemes of others - Isabella's brother, Priscilla's husband - to get their hands on the heroine's money.

John Thorpe may represent unwanted suitors in *Evelina*, but he also parallels the unwanted - indeed, unrecognised - suitor Monckton in *Cecilia*, a point made by Moler: "John Thorpe, in the manner of Fanny Burney's Mr. Monckton and other villains, 'ruins the character' of the heroine".^{<49>} Both men try to separate the heroine from the hero; Thorpe like Monckton is a slanderer who comes in the guise of a friend, hoping to marry Catherine and gain the wealth he believes she possesses (Cecilia, of course, is genuinely rich). Perhaps his liking for Lewis's *The Monk* punningly indicates Thorpe's affinity with Monckton, as well as showing his interest in immoderate conduct.

When Henry proposes to Catherine, he does not mention until she has accepted him, that his father opposes the match, so that:

Catherine could not but rejoice in that kind caution with which Henry had saved her from the necessity for a conscientious rejection, by engaging her faith before mentioning the subject.^{<50>}

This may comment upon Cecilia's reaction when she learns that her suitor's family oppose the match:

She considered herself now condemned to refuse Delvile himself. Her displeasure at the proposal [of a secret marriage] had been wholly unaffected, and she regarded it as an injury to her character ever to have received it.^{<51>}

Jane Austen satirises the highminded heroine with Catherine's somewhat Jesuitical justification.

As characters, Catherine and Henry resemble *Evelina* and Orville more closely than they do Cecilia and Mortimer, especially in terms of the tutor-pupil relationship; but the plot that they are involved in

derives from *Cecilia*. Indeed, *Northanger Abbey* is a closer imitation of *Cecilia* than is *Pride and Prejudice*, in some ways, for John Thorpe plays Monckton's role in *Northanger Abbey*, and follows the pattern of *Cecilia* more closely than does Wickham, who is Monckton's only possible equivalent in *Pride and Prejudice*. Both Mr. Delvile and General Tilney want to gain the heroine's actual or supposed fortune for their own greedy purposes; in *Pride and Prejudice*, nobody is under any illusion about Elizabeth's lack of a fortune. Aspects of *Cecilia* that Jane Austen had ignored or excluded in *First Impressions/Pride and Prejudice* are brought into focus in *Northanger Abbey*. The underlying *Cecilia*-plot is unsurprising, for it follows the pattern of all the substantial fictions Jane Austen began in the 1790s.

Although Jane Austen praises *Camilla* in *Northanger Abbey*, there are fewer parallels with this novel than with Fanny Burney's two earlier works. Generally speaking, *Camilla* seems to have made less of an impact on Jane Austen's imagination, perhaps because she felt it to be of lesser quality than Fanny Burney's earlier novels, or perhaps because those novels most influential on her imagination and her mature works were those she read in her teens.

However, *Camilla* and *Northanger Abbey* do have some resemblances - both Catherine and Camilla are, for a while, mistaken in some quarters for heiresses. The hypercritical Mrs. Tyrrold is perhaps recalled slightly in Mrs. Morland, who does not endear herself to readers of *Northanger Abbey*. Indeed, the Morlands make the same mistake as the Tyrrolds:

Camilla's parents think that Camilla has been spoiled by high life, when really she is pining for the loss of her lover, Edgar Mondalbert.⁽⁵²⁾

Both Catherine and Camilla enter society as inexperienced teenagers; Camilla falls into financial difficulties, an aspect satirised by Jane Austen, who has Mrs. Morland bestow an account-book on Catherine. The latter, unlike Camilla, will not cause her father to be imprisoned for her extravagance. The only time Catherine is actually in want of money - when leaving Northanger - she is instantly relieved by Eleanor.

Jane Austen wrote that "the advantages of natural folly in a beautiful girl" had been described by a "sister author";⁽⁵³⁾ Ehrenpreis explained this as a reference to Indiana Lynmere in *Camilla*.⁽⁵⁴⁾ However, while Ehrenpreis is most probably correct in her identification of the author and the novel, it is more likely that Jane Austen is referring to Camilla, rather than to Indiana. The latter's folly is not natural but affected; and indeed, "folly" is not really a suitable word to apply to Indiana, a beautiful, stupid automaton. Camilla's distresses do stem though from natural folly, from a lack of experience of and knowledge of the world. It is far more likely that in making a comparison with Catherine Jane Austen would have had Camilla in mind than Indiana.

8.4 Influence of Richardson

Sir Charles Grandison is mentioned explicitly in *Northanger Abbey*, and the influence of *Clarissa* may also be found in the novel. The last paragraph of *Northanger Abbey*, Wiesenfarth suggested, returns the reader:

to the world of Fiction by way of a parody of Richardson's moralizing. A clandestine correspondence between Catherine and Henry begins the last chapter, Mr. and Mrs. Morland wink at it. The terror and trepidation of the *Clarissa-Lovelace* correspondence is mocked. ⁽⁵⁵⁾

General Tilney is thus equated as a "parental tyrant" with Mr. Harlowe, but whereas such tyranny, and "filial disobedience", lead to tragedy in Richardson's novel, in Jane Austen's it is used only for comic purposes. *Northanger Abbey's* "ending seems to be a parody of the Preface of *Clarissa*". ⁽⁵⁶⁾

Catherine comments on her mother's liking for *Sir Charles Grandison*; yet it has not given Mrs. Morland, apparently, any ideas about wicked baronets attempting to abduct her daughter; despite the novel she:

knew so little of lords and baronets, that she entertained no notion of their general mischievousness, and was wholly unsuspecting of danger to her daughter from their machinations. ⁽⁵⁷⁾

Measham commented, "Seemingly the memory of Sir Hargrave Pollexfen has been repressed". ⁽⁵⁸⁾ At this point Mrs. Morland does not seem to link life with literature at all; later, though, her reading of *The Mirror* leads her to misdiagnose Catherine's sorrow, showing that she is not

immune to drawing false inferences from books.) Possibly Jane Austen felt that Richardson did not distort a reader's viewpoint the way that Gothic novelists might do. Nevertheless, amongst a lower rank of people Catherine faces some of Harriet's perils; John Thorpe's abduction of Catherine parallels Pollexfen's of Harriet. Henry, unlike Sir Charles, cannot rescue her, but can only stand and watch. Thorpe represents in one figure all Harriet's unwelcome suitors in *Grandison*, as he does for all Cecilia's in Fanny Burney's novel.

Sir Charles Grandison preaches that "esteem, heightened by gratitude . . . will soon ripen into love",⁽⁵⁹⁾ and this is how Henry comes to love Catherine - "his affection originated in nothing better than gratitude".⁽⁶⁰⁾ By contrasting "romance" to "common life", Jane Austen may be distinguishing between the "realism" of Richardson's novel and the kinds of love, notable as the products of "a wild imagination", found in the works of "romance" writers - other, Gothic and sentimental, novelists. The narrator of *Northanger Abbey* claims to be worried that gratitude as a basis for love is uncommon in literature - but this is gentle mockery, given it is found in such a classic as *Grandison*. In both novels, the hero knows that the heroine loves him before he has expressed his love for her; something that Richardson seemed to believe in *The Rambler* to be "very improper" for a woman. Jane Austen implicitly points to the inconsistency between his letter in *The Rambler* and his own literary practice (again, a periodical has been contrasted unfavourably to novels).

Catherine can see in General Tilney "the . . . attitude of a Montoni"⁽⁶¹⁾ - that is to say, he appears to be a villain; yet he actually seems to be "an embarrassing likeness of Grandison himself".⁽⁶²⁾ Jane Austen undercuts and satirises Sir Charles by bestowing upon General Tilney a number of his foibles; for example, the General's extreme concern for punctuality is reflected in his administration of the Northanger estate, which is "run . . . with a clock-like efficiency that is comparable to Grandison's - like the General himself, his house is dominated by clocks".⁽⁶³⁾ Jane Austen disapproves of this clockwork-type world (she makes reference to "all the clocks in the house"⁽⁶⁴⁾ at Northanger, suggesting their numerousness - General Tilney collects them like Sir Walter Elliot does mirrors). Unlike Montoni, whose entourage at Udolpho is brawling and ill-disciplined:

General Tilney is . . . realistic, punctual and efficient . . . he maintains a household whose efficiency might bear comparison with that of Grandison Hall . . . like Grandison [he] thought it right to encourage the manufacture of his country.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Southam suggested a possible affinity between the General and the inventor and innovator, Rumford, who is explicitly mentioned in the novel, and this, if it does exist, would jokily equate the perfect Grandison with the eccentric Rumford. Given the General's similarities to Sir Charles, it is comic and curious that neither Catherine, nor her mother, despite their knowledge of *Grandison*, can understand him. General Tilney is a Grandison gone wrong, as well as a literary descendant of Mr. Delville or Lord Grondale. It may be noted here that Southam's comparison of the General with Rumford,

while interesting, is not totally convincing; the General's pamphlets are more likely to be concerned with military matters, and concerns of national security, rather than be an inventor's manifestoes - though this is not to deny the General's interest in new inventions, offices and manufacturing.

Grandison is also recalled in Jane Austen's comments upon the benefits of education for a woman; this is a stock theme in the Eighteenth century novel, and it is the subject of a debate in Richardson's work. Mr. Greville is a proponent of the view that considers "all intellectual attainments as either useless or impertinent in women".⁽⁶⁶⁾ Mr. Walden speaks for all the tutor-husbands of subsequent novels when he expresses the opinion that "I should rather choose to marry a woman whom I could teach something, than one who would think herself qualified to teach me".⁽⁶⁷⁾ In so saying, he probably articulates Henry Tilney's view.

8.5 Influence of Fielding

Fielding's influence on Jane Austen's work as a whole does not seem to have been great; in *Northanger Abbey*, that influence is at its strongest. This is not surprising; both Jane Austen's novel and *Joseph Andrews* are simultaneously novels and satirical anti-novels; Fielding is writing at the expense of *Pamela*, Jane Austen at the expense of a host of novelists. There is, then, a fundamental affinity between the two works that Jane Austen may well have recognised; if she did, it would account for the presence of allusions

to *Joseph Andrews* in *Northanger Abbey*. Perhaps there is an allusion to Joseph's sister Pamela Andrews in the name of "Miss Andrews", who is Isabella's friend (though this might equally be an echo from Richardson). John Thorpe's initials are those of his admired Tom Jones, in reverse.

In the inset story, 'The History of Leonora' in *Joseph Andrews*, Leonora breaks her agreement with her fiancé Horatio not to dance, and takes Bellarmine as her partner, for whom she later jilts Horatio. This is paralleled in *Northanger Abbey* by the action involving Isabella, James and Captain Tilney (and also, as a kind of parody, by Catherine, John Thorpe and Henry). Isabella ultimately jilts James for Captain Tilney. Eleanor, the heroine's faithful friend in *Northanger Abbey*, is the reverse of the faithless Isabella, Leonora's counterpart. Jane Austen may have reversed Leonora's name and attributes in creating Eleanor. Isabella's name perhaps echoes Bellarmine. John Thorpe, who is an admirer of Fielding's work, in Wiesenfarth's opinion:

in his continual use of "damn" suggests his relation to Bellarmine and is another instance of Jane Austen's possible debt to Fielding. (66)

although taken in isolation this is fairly flimsy evidence. Thus, the names, rôles and characteristics of Leonora and Bellarmine are redistributed among the cast of *Northanger Abbey*.

Wiesenfarth proposed a more general similarity between Fielding's work and *Northanger Abbey*:

Fielding's notion that the ridiculous springs from affectation, which is itself rooted in vanity and

hypocrisy, seems certain to have been used by Jane Austen in *Northanger Abbey*. Also the corrupting influences of money on right conduct makes its presence painfully felt in both novels. ⁽⁶⁹⁾

Kearful, comparing Jane Austen to Fielding, suggests that, in the way they manage the endings of their novels, they both "imply that even a 'novel' which dissolves delusion is, after all, only itself an illusion". ⁽⁷⁰⁾ Whereas Richardson posed as the "editor" of *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, disclaiming their fictional natures, Fielding openly acted as author and orchestrator of material - as, in Kearful's opinion, did Jane Austen:

in the last chapter . . . the narrator or first-person author ever more and more openly asserts not only her presence in but her absolute control of the action. ⁽⁷¹⁾

At Squire Allworthy's Paradise Hall in *Tom Jones*, the house was "sheltered from the North-east by a grove of old oaks". ⁽⁷²⁾ This may be recalled at Northanger, which was "sheltered from the north and east by rising woods of oak", ⁽⁷³⁾ and which was approached through "a grove of ancient oaks". ⁽⁷⁴⁾ Fleetinglly, Jane Austen may be linking Northanger to Paradise Hall, and General Tilney to Allworthy, Fielding's Grandison - a link that is an ironic comment on Catherine's distinctly non-paradisal experiences at the Abbey and on the General's real nature. Both Catherine and Tom experience being expelled in disgrace, from houses in neighbouring counties.

8.6 Influence of Ann Radcliffe

Catherine reads *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, and discusses it with Isabella, who also alludes to *The Italian*. John Thorpe expresses a desire to read Ann Radcliffe's novels, and Henry is well-versed in them, and in other, Gothic works. The narrator of *Northanger Abbey* remarks on the discrepancy between life in the Midland counties of England and how it is portrayed in past times and foreign climes by Ann Radcliffe and her imitators. This emphasises the vulnerabilities of Ann Radcliffe's work, suggesting that the satire is at her expense; but on other occasions, Jane Austen can be seen to be imitating Ann Radcliffe, as if with the same objectives. That is to say, part of *Northanger Abbey* satirises the Gothic genre; another part aligns with it, at least in its Radcliffean form. Such ambiguities are a part of Jane Austen's technique in this novel. Weiss commented that *Northanger Abbey*:

is a social satire first, and secondly a literary satire. The satire is directed less against the Gothic novel *per se* than against the now archetypal Gothic reader.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Catherine stands, for most of the novel, as this reader, although so does the actual reader of the novel.

Ann Radcliffe's own life may be seen as providing a link between the Bath section of *Northanger Abbey* and the chapters at the Abbey. Ann Radcliffe was educated at Bath, at the school run by Harriet and Sophia Lee, novelists themselves; Catherine receives both a literary "education" and her first, not-fully-comprehended lessons about life

at Bath. Ann Radcliffe, in her novels, and Catherine in her imagination, fuelled by the novels, both proceeded after Bath to spin Gothic fancies. At Bath, Catherine is reminded of the French countryside, described in *Udolpho*, by Beechen Cliff. This may be incongruous - Catherine has never been to France. But neither had Ann Radcliffe when she wrote *Udolpho* - indeed, she never saw the South of France at all. In a sense, this comparison is bathetic - rather like the echoes of the description of Xanadu in the passage describing Lyme in *Persuasion*. It may also be a piece of literary criticism, on the part of the author and (unconsciously) of Catherine - Jane Austen may be suggesting that Beechen Cliff actually inspired Ann Radcliffe's French landscapes. Ann Radcliffe helps to bridge the discontinuity between the Bath and the Northanger sections of the novel, as Catherine, in a way, parallels her career.

Kent suggests another possible link; after noting that General Tilney's "breakfast set . . . is almost certainly Wedgwood",⁽⁷⁶⁾ he remarked that:

The Wedgwood showrooms on Milsom Street in Bath were of course a place of fashionable resort. They were in fact managed by a Mr. William Ward, the father of Ann Radcliffe . . . General Tilney, Jane Austen's parody of Montoni, the villain of *Udolpho*, would have bought his Wedgwood from the father of the original Montoni's creator - a neat juxtaposition of fact and fiction.⁽⁷⁷⁾

This may be so, although General Tilney refers to seeing new sets when "last in town",⁽⁷⁸⁾ a phrase perhaps more likely to mean London than Bath.

Weiss saw close parallels between *Northanger Abbey* and *Udolpho*. The Abbey itself could be a parallel for *Udolpho*; General Tilney for Montoni - both of which occur to Catherine; she could be paralleled by Emily, although she never appears consciously to see herself as a heroine. The vulgar, materialistic Thorpe family may recall the unfeeling Quesnells, while Mrs. Allen is as inappropriate a chaperone for the heroine as is Madame Cheron, although for different reasons. Weiss wrote that:

The outlines of the two plots resemble each other closely enough to justify suspicion that, parody notwithstanding, Austen restructured her novel with this parallelism in mind.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Weiss also noted that:

two-thirds of *Udolpho* deals with Emily's love-problems, and only one-third with Gothic elements . . . the same proportion holds for *Northanger Abbey*.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Although often regarded as the paradigm of the Gothic novel, *Udolpho* is essentially a sentimental love-story, a novel of (Eighteenth century) manners set several centuries earlier, and a kind of travelogue, rather than a tale of terror. Gothic trappings are found at *Udolpho*, and even more at *Chateau-le-Blanc*, but they account for less than half of the novel as a whole. Jane Austen both follows and satirises Ann Radcliffe's novel's context and procedure, but both writers unite, Weiss thought, in their moral aims - "Both authors employ didactic irony to admonish their readers against the pratfalls [sic] of overwrought sensibility".⁽⁸¹⁾ Weiss is correct up to a point, for both Jane Austen and Ann Radcliffe argue in favour of the

rational against the irrational (at least, overtly they do - it is possible to consider that each somewhat subverts her case); however, while Emily's misapprehensions stem from her emotions, Catherine is not a victim of "overwrought sensibility". She is no Marianne Dashwood; her problem at Northanger stems not from her emotions but from a disordering of her reasoning faculties; her opinions about the General are irrational, or at least aberrant in their interpretations. Ann Radcliffe provides rational explanations for supposedly supernatural phenomena, but these are directed against the reader's expectations more than at the characters.

Jane Austen draws on *Udolpho* both in Henry's "Tale" which he makes up on the journey to Northanger and in Catherine's experiences at the Abbey. The "Tale" acts as a kind of disorientating rite of passage for Catherine, creating Gothic expectations in her mind before she arrives at Northanger. When there, she will recall Henry's "Tale", and behave at least in some ways as he suggested. It is also predictive, for Henry cannot sustain the "Tale", and nor can Catherine sustain her delusions - for which, in Wilt's opinion, Henry, with his "Gothic tease" is "the real culprit".⁽⁸²⁾

The "Tale" is both an example of and a parody of the kind of inset story frequently found in novels of the period, both gothic and otherwise; the most obvious example would be the 'Provençal Tale' read by Ludovico at Chateau-le-Blanc, in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. (Another example can be found in Scott's *The Antiquary*, and 'Wandering Willie's Tale' in *Redgauntlet* would also be a story of this type.) Henry's

"Tale" prefigures later events, and helps to create the atmosphere they occur in; he draws his material from *Udolpho*, *The Romance of the Forest* and other Gothic writings; as Baker remarked, "[it] is pieced together from the commonplaces of romances".^{<e3>} Henry's procedure of selection and synthesis is similar to that of his creator in the novel as a whole.

Henry's "young lady" - his heroine - is lodged, like Emily at *Udolpho*, in a distant part of the house. Emily at *Udolpho* examines "her room and her furniture";^{<e4>} Henry predicts "how fearfully will you examine the furniture of your apartments"^{<e5>} and Catherine certainly does so closely, if not "fearfully". The housekeeper named Dorothy recalls Dorothee, the old housekeeper at Chateau-le-Blanc. There was an old chest in Emily's room; Henry refers to "a ponderous chest which no efforts can open",^{<e6>} and Catherine finds a "curious chest" in her apartment at Northanger. In these instances a triptych of correspondences is created between *Udolpho*, Henry's "Tale" and Catherine's experiences. There are also correspondences between *Udolpho* and the "Tale", which have no place in Catherine's experiences; "the chapel of St. Anthony, scarcely two miles off"^{<e7>} may be an exaggerated recollection of *Udolpho*, where "there is an old chapel adjoining the west side of the castle".^{<e8>}

Henry's "Tale" has several parallels with events in *The Romance of the Forest*. The idea of the agitated tapestry, with a "division . . . so artfully constructed as to defy the minutest inspection" which leads by a "secret subterraneous communication"^{<e9>} to St. Anthony's chapel,

conflates two circumstances in *The Romance of the Forest*: at Fontanville is found a "trapdoor [that] corresponds so exactly . . . with the boards of the floor",⁽⁹⁰⁾ which opens into a "passage . . . of considerable length".⁽⁹¹⁾ La Motte, exploring, discovers "a large cleft" containing "the remains of a skeleton".⁽⁹²⁾ Later, Adeline discovers a small door behind a tapestry, which moves in the wind. Like Henry's heroine, Adeline discovers a dagger, and then "a small roll of paper, tied with a string and covered with dust".⁽⁹³⁾ This has its parallel both in Henry's roll of paper containing Matilda's memoirs, and the laundry-list that Catherine finds - both, in their different ways, parodies of Ann Radcliffe's material.

In telling his "Tale", Henry picks up Catherine's own references to a house "uninhabited and left deserted for years",⁽⁹⁴⁾ and this recalls Fontanville Abbey, left without occupants for years until La Motte and his party take refuge there (Chateau-le-Blanc in *Udolpho* is another example).

The Romance of the Forest features a prisoner who has been held in secret in part of Fontanville Abbey; this was Adeline's father, who was subsequently murdered. This may be related to the idea Catherine has that General Tilney had secretly murdered his wife, though Montoni in *Udolpho* threatens the life of Madame Cheron, who has foolishly married him. The Marquis of Mazzini in *A Sicilian Romance* did imprison his wife for years in the dungeons of his palace, and this is the closest parallel in the Radcliffe canon to Catherine's belief that Mrs. Tilney might somewhere be alive and captive.

The Shakespeare quotation in the first chapter of *Northanger Abbey*: "Trifles light as air . . . proofs of Holy Writ",⁽⁹⁵⁾ is also found in *The Romance of the Forest*. When Catherine leaves Northanger, the furniture in her room, once so sinister, has become so important through its associations with Henry that it is described in terms of "every well-known cherished object";⁽⁹⁶⁾ this echoes *The Romance of the Forest*, in which "each well-known object"⁽⁹⁷⁾ at Lelencourt reminds Adeline of her love for Theodore.

Catherine's experiences at Northanger recall episodes from Ann Radcliffe's works. Both Catherine, at Northanger, and Emily, at the Chateau, hear of the death of a lady - Mrs. Tilney, the Marchioness. The black veil is recalled when Catherine, disappointed at what she finds in Mrs. Tilney's room, wonders "would the veil in which Mrs. Tilney had last walked . . . remain to tell what . . . she was allowed to whisper?"⁽⁹⁸⁾ Her terror at seeing Henry, coming up the back staircase, parallels and parodies the terror felt by those searching for the abducted Ludovico at the Chateau when they see a human face - not a ghost's, but a smuggler's.

In contrast to *Udolpho*, Catherine has no garrulous maid like Annette or elderly housekeeper like Dorothee. (The latter's comment to Emily on "how like you would look my dear mistress in that veil"⁽⁹⁹⁾ is recalled in Henry's "Tale" - "Dorothy . . . gazes on you in great agitation and drops a few unintelligible hints".⁽¹⁰⁰⁾) Eleanor though may recall Blanche, the second heroine of *Udolpho*, and Emily's friend.

Catherine's inability to stay awake at Northanger, even to witness a "guilty scene" - "The clock struck twelve - and Catherine had been half an hour asleep"⁽¹⁰¹⁾ - may parody Emily's inability to sleep at Udolpho - "The castle clock struck one before she closed her eyes to sleep".⁽¹⁰²⁾ However, on the night of the storm:

the wearied Catherine had heard three proclaimed
by all the clocks in the house, before the tempest
subsided, or she unknowingly fell fast
asleep.⁽¹⁰³⁾

This parallels Emily's experience, and shows how Jane Austen does not always subject her material to parody when she imitates Ann Radcliffe. Henry had suggested in his "Tale" that on the second or third night there would be a violent storm; in fact, the storm ^{goes} beyond both Henry's "Tale" and *Udolpho*, in its occurrence on the first night.

When Catherine speculates on "A portrait - very like - of a departed wife, not valued by her husband! - He must have been dreadfully cruel to her!"⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ because General Tilney will not hang his wife's picture in the drawing-room, and so lets Eleanor hang it in her bedchamber, there is an echo of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*; for it is said of the picture of the Lady Laurentini, that "the Signor would do well to hang it in a better place, than this old chamber".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Jane Austen pokes fun at the convention of daughters exactly resembling mothers, and makes Catherine realise that this is not found often in life.

In more general terms, though, Catherine misinterprets and misreads literature and, through it, life. The unreliability of literature is a theme of *Northanger Abbey*, but so is the unreliability of those who

read it and remember it, something indicated by a number of misquotations and inaccuracies. *The Mysteries of Udolpho* is not exempted from this treatment. Catherine, even when reading the novel, cannot accurately recall a character's name, and refers to "Laurentina", rather than "Laurentini". Furthermore, when she makes this slip, she is at that point in the novel where Emily finds a black veil draping some object; and at that point in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* the name "Laurentini" has not yet occurred. So Catherine can only have heard the name from Isabella, who, though, makes a great point of not pre-empting the novel. So a reader who accurately recalls *Udolpho* may notice a deliberate discrepancy here. Catherine also misnames St. Aubert "St. Aubin". Catherine guesses that behind the black veil there is a skeleton - actually it is a worm-eaten wax dummy of a corpse. The reader of *Udolpho* does not learn this for hundreds of pages, and Emily never learns its purpose - a priest-imposed penance - at all. Howells commented that "this conjecture of Catharine's [sic] is so much more effective"⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ than the explanation given by Ann Radcliffe, that he preferred it. Possibly Jane Austen felt Ann Radcliffe's explanation was a poor one, and rewrote it, offering a better, if more gruesome discovery. (Though given *Udolpho's* plot, it could not be Lady Laurentini's skeleton, as she was still alive at that stage.) This also illustrates how Catherine's response to literature is to exaggerate its horrors.

Catherine believes that the "roll of paper" she finds in her room will correspond in some way to those memoirs mentioned by Henry, and those found in *The Romance of the Forest* (a novel which she is never

mentioned as reading at Bath - Isabella intended to follow *Udolpho* with *The Italian* - and which she had certainly not read at Fullerton); actually, anti-climactically, all that she finds is a bill and a laundry-list. Jane Austen provides a mocking explanation for this, in the final chapter, which appears to parody Ann Radcliffe's device of long-delayed, rational, anti-climactic explanations; but the genuine anti-climax of Catherine's realisation of what it is she has discovered, and of the other instances where life fails to match up to her expectations, is an imitative, non-parodic use of this device. Perhaps Catherine never actually finished *Udolpho*, and so never came upon the disillusioning, anti-climactic explanations given for the mysteries. She herself says that "I should like to spend my whole life reading it",⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ which would, if it were possible, perpetuate the immature and unfinished view that she has of the world.

Birkhead noted that Ann Radcliffe "deliberately excites trembling apprehensions in order that she may show how absurd they are",⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ (which is what Jane Austen does in dealing with Catherine's experiences at Northanger) and this is, essentially, a satire directed against the responses of the reader. In this sense, Jane Austen is satirising Catherine not so much as a Heroine, but as a representative Reader, bearing out the point made by Weiss. And although Catherine has, in the first chapter, been presented, albeit ironically, as a Heroine (as well as being a parody of a heroine), in much of the novel the awareness of the reader is that she is a fellow-reader. She is certainly no writer, and does not attempt to follow Emily as a composer of sonnets; indeed, it is not unfair to conclude with Thomson

that "every one of Emily's accomplishments, in fact, gives the cue to a corresponding deficiency in Miss Austen's heroine".⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Catherine does, however, share Emily's blindspot; just as the latter is so concerned about her aunt, and her fears that she has been murdered, that she fails to notice the plot afoot to kidnap her, so Catherine is so concerned with Mrs. Tilney's fate that it never occurs to her to speculate about the General's possible treatment of her, despite the evidence she has amassed about his character, both real and imaginary. When she learns the reasons for her expulsion from Henry, she awakens to a reality that is more affecting than is Gothic sensibility.

Morrow commented of Catherine's expulsion from Northanger:

Austen has purposefully set up a situation, much like several in *Udolpho*, where the "villain" acts mysteriously, and a journey alone follows in unexplained circumstances attended to with weeping.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

General Tilney is, of course, the "villain", whom Catherine compares to Montoni. It is notable that though Montoni does, briefly, imprison his wife, the former Madame Cheron, and kills her with unkindness, it is not for these activities that he is chiefly memorable; it is for his mysterious behaviour as a whole. Catherine speculates on how John Thorpe and General Tilney know each other; on why he has cultivated her; why it is his presence casts such an oppressive pall over proceedings; why he stays up late. But these are the common "mysteries" of human motivation; to try to build a Gothic fantasy out of them is to attempt to make bricks from straw.

The General resembles Montoni in that like him he "kidnaps" an "heiress", or supposed heiress, taking her to his ancestral home there to dispose of her in marriage to his best advantage. It is a parallel that does not strike Catherine because she does not see herself as a victim, but rather as a detective of sorts, unravelling mysteries; also she is in love with Henry, whereas Emily does not love Morano, her intended husband. Henry and the General quarrel, as do Morano and Montoni. Wilt said of the name "Tilney" "how the English 'ey' tames the villainous Italian 'i!', <111> but it tames less than it echoes and parallels.

The General controls his household with greater discipline than Montoni; the latter's followers are a brawling rabble, whereas the Northanger buildings and estate are filled with industrious servants. The undisciplined quarrelling soldiers at Udolpho may be paralleled by the rioters of whom Henry speaks in his "fiction" at Bath. Regarding these, Paulson noted:

General Tilney (or Montoni or Schedoni) and the rioters are, of course, polarities; one is concerned with the preservation and the other with the destruction of property but both with its appropriation. Tilney is the malign individual, the Radcliffe villain. <112>

He is, and he is not; or, he is that figure rendered in recognisable social terms:

General Tilney is indeed the reality beneath Manfred, Montoni and the other Gothic villains, a man who tries unscrupulously to preserve his family and fortune against the incursions of a penniless outsider, who does in fact disrupt it. <113>

- Montoni therefore combined with Fanny Burney's Mr. Delville.

The Mysteries of Udolpho is almost as notable for its qualities of landscape-drawing, as a kind of travelogue, as it is for its plot; descriptions of scenery and the attempt to render it sublime in prose take up much of the novel. In *Northanger Abbey* there is not much description of scenery, and the Abbey itself, when described, recalls more the buildings found in Charlotte Smith's works than in Ann Radcliffe's, although Emily first sees Udolpho at sunset, and Catherine imagines Northanger as a massive building, among rocks, seen at sunset, obviously paralleling this.

When a storm strikes Bath, "lightning and hail are not sublime events", as they would be in Ann Radcliffe's work, "but a 'disaster', forcing Catherine to endure a boring day indoors".⁽¹¹⁴⁾ This may mark Jane Austen parodying Radcliffean material, but the scenes at Bath generally recall the works of novelists of manners. The storm at Northanger is described in a non-parodic way, and it is used to enhance what is genuine in Catherine's feelings, regardless of the irrationality of the ideas that may have prompted them:

The wind, creaking floors, and moving locks are conventions taking on a significance from the human emotions they touch. The reader is trained by Jane Austen's rhetoric to penetrate to what is important in gothic and sentimental patterns - the human nature that is represented in them.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

Catherine, feeling vulnerable in a strange house on a stormy night, touches not the heroic, but the human.

The Romance of the Forest and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* are both considerable contributions to *Northanger Abbey*. Of Ann Radcliffe's

other novels there is little to say - there is, probably unsurprisingly, no mention of *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*; *The Italian* is mentioned by Isabella, but seems to have contributed little to Jane Austen's novel. *A Sicilian Romance* features a captive wife freed from her husband's tyranny after many years, and in that respect is closer to Catherine's fantasy than any of Ann Radcliffe's other novels. But that parallel aside, there are few others between the two works, though Chapman noted that the phrase, a "sullen sound"⁽¹¹⁶⁾ in *Northanger Abbey* is a quote from *A Sicilian Romance*.

8.7 Influence of Maria Edgeworth

Jane Austen praises *Belinda* in *Northanger Abbey*, and it has been shown that it was the most congenial and most suitable of Maria Edgeworth's novels for Jane Austen's purposes. However, Maria Edgeworth herself in *Belinda* commits the offence Jane Austen deplores, of disparaging novels; Virginia's mother was "a sentimental girl, who had been spoiled by early novel-reading".⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Virginia herself is barred from reading novels, but is obsessed with romances, and with *Paul et Virginie*. When Belinda behaves rationally and intelligently, as she nearly always does, Lady Delacour's remarks satirise sentimental novels and their heroines:

a romance called the Mysterious Boudoir, of nine volumes at least might be written on the subject, if you would only condescend to act like almost all other heroines, that is to say, without common sense.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Pollock noted that Mr. Percival outlines a kind of novel-romance about the fate of lovers out riding, and also refers to "'some footpad, bandit, fierce, or mountaineer' who might carry off the girl",⁽¹¹⁸⁾ which is paralleled by the narrator's joking comments in *Northanger Abbey* about villains in greatcoats abducting the heroine. Pollock himself was sceptical of such links:

There is certainly no reason for imagining that these passages, or others like them which could probably be hunted up in other books of the time, had any real connection with *Northanger Abbey*.⁽¹²⁰⁾

- but this is to ignore the allusive nature of Jane Austen's art; the mention of *Belinda* in the context of the discussion of novels, and in the wider context of the novel as a whole, is designed to call to mind these passages - at least, in the minds of the ingenious and the widely-read.

Henry's comment about living in a neighbourhood of voluntary spies has an added point when *Belinda* is called to mind (and its explicit mention means that it probably should be). In Maria Edgeworth's novel, characters frequently spy upon one another, seeking out scandal and opportunities for slander; Mrs. Freke is caught in a spring-trap when spying on Lady Delacour, hoping to find her with a lover ("spies and cowards are upon equal footing"⁽¹²¹⁾); Lady Delacour's maid spied on her for Mrs. Luttridge; Chapfort the servant spread slanders. *Belinda* illustrates the social and literary validity of Henry's observation.

Southam opined that the references to *Belinda* must have been added in revision between 1803 and 1817.⁽¹²²⁾ Yet there is no reason why they should not have been found in the original - *Belinda* was published in 1801, the other two novels cited in the "defence" were published in 1782 (*Cecilia*) and 1796 (*Camilla*), and *Northanger Abbey's* original text was completed, by Jane Austen's own account, in 1803.

8.8 Influence of Charlotte Lennox

Northanger Abbey, as a literary satire, stands as part of a tradition, inaugurated by *Don Quixote*, of comically depicting characters who confuse the world they read about with the one in which they live. Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* was one of the most celebrated examples of this kind of novel written before *Northanger Abbey*; its targets being not so much novels (a form still largely in its infancy) as the voluminous French romances of Scudéry *et al.*

Arabella, the heroine of *The Female Quixote*, has imbibed a false view of the world from reading romances; her delusions are exacerbated because, an only child, she has lived out of the world, with a retired father. Arabella's delusions are far more of a total system than Catherine's; she applies the formulae of the romances to all situations. Catherine's mistakes, deriving from literature, occur only at *Northanger*. Catherine is open to new ideas and experiences, when she arrives in Bath, and her errors derive from this susceptibility; Arabella by contrast has fixed views already established when she enters the world. Arabella both resembles and

contrasts with Catherine; indeed, for Bradbrook, Arabella's affinity is greater with another character; she "has ideas similar to those Isabella Thorpe, who leads the heroine astray . . . pretends to have".⁽¹²³⁾ Isabella does not lead Catherine astray in that she is not responsible for her errors of judgement regarding General Tilney; she rather deceives Catherine by pretending to be a heroine - that is, devoted, faithful, uninterested in money. Although she superficially voices Arabella's sentiments, Isabella's real counterpart in *The Female Quixote* may be, according to MacCarthy, Miss Glanville, "the vapid, sophisticated and calculating flirt".⁽¹²⁴⁾ While Arabella expects all men to be her admirers (not to mention princes in disguise), Catherine is too young and inexperienced to imagine anything of the sort; she does not expect to have lovers, like novel heroines; Isabella, who wished to be admired, both for vain and mercenary reasons, thus resembles more closely both Arabella and Miss Glanville. Both *Northanger Abbey* and *The Female Quixote* are concerned with young women "coming-of-age", as it were, in their initial contacts with society, but this theme is incidental in Charlotte Lennox's novel, where satire has the priority, while for Jane Austen - influenced by and parodying Fanny Burney in this - it is central.

Arabella like a conventional Scudéry heroine is very beautiful; Catherine is "a pretty girl",⁽¹²⁵⁾ but nothing special. Arabella's mother died three days after her birth; Mrs. Morland "instead of dying in bringing [Catherine] into the world, as any body might expect, . . . still lived on - lived to have six children more".⁽¹²⁶⁾ The phrase "as any body might expect", suggests that Jane Austen is here

winking at her readers, assuming that they are not the sort of people who could expect that, but that there are other less perceptive "readers" who might - ironically, Catherine being one of them.

Arabella's delusions are centred on a misapprehension of her relationship to the world; she sees herself as the heroine of a romance. Catherine has a false view of General Tilney, and of what is likely and possible at Northanger, but no real false opinion of herself - she does not regard herself as a heroine. (At Northanger she is bolder than she thought she would be, when listening to Henry's "Tale"; in her detective work she almost anticipates an investigator in the yet undreamed of genre of the country-house crime novel - except that there is nothing to investigate.) Kauvar noted this difference between Arabella and Catherine:

Both characters base their evaluations of people on what they have read, but when Catherine suspects General Tilney of being evil, Jane Austen carefully points out that Catherine's initial suspicions are founded upon her instinctive response to him and are somewhat accurate. However, Arabella's mistaken notions of people are based solely on what she has learned to expect from the romances. (127)

(Catherine's instincts for people are generally good - she dislikes John Thorpe from the start - though she is deceived by Isabella.) Kauvar noted that Henry partially resembles both Arabella's lover Glanville and the Doctor of Divinity who finally cures her delusions. But while the latter is necessary for Arabella's recovery, Henry is also most superfluous; even without his lecture, Catherine has largely deduced the falseness of her ideas, when faced with the discrepancy between her fancies and the reality of Mrs. Tilney's bedchamber.

"She could not be mistaken as to the room; but how greatly mistaken in every thing else!"⁽¹²⁸⁾

Both novels feature episodes set in Bath; and Mrs. Allen may be seen as representative of those:

ladies at Bath who do not have even mistaken notions because the triviality of their minds cannot have even foolish ideas.⁽¹²⁹⁾

However, Catherine never meddles in the affairs of a subordinate, as does Arabella with Dolly Acorn (and as do Barrett's Cherubina and Jane Austen's Emma); Isabella is the parodied match-making heroine, trying to win Catherine for her brother.

8.9 Influence of George Moore

George Moore's *Grasville Abbey*, though first published as a novel in three volumes, in 1791, had run in instalments from 1793 to ¹⁷⁹⁹ in the *Lady's Magazine*, thus making it probably the most-read Gothic work of the decade in which *Northanger Abbey* appears to be set. So in a novel as highly allusive as *Northanger Abbey*, there would be a good reason for making some kind of reference to a popular Gothic tale in which an Abbey featured prominently. A reference to *Grasville Abbey* would also link the Gothic with the milieu of magazines and periodicals which figure in *Northanger Abbey*, with the mentions of the *Spectator*, *The Rambler* and *The Mirror*.

Grasville Abbey is an imitation of Ann Radcliffe's works, especially *The Romance of the Forest* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. Its heroine

is named Matilda, a name already notable in Gothic fiction. Henry Tilney refers in his "Tale" to the discovery of a manuscript in a cabinet of ebony and gold, and Catherine finds a laundry-list, which she thinks is a manuscript, written on a roll of paper, in a cabinet in her room. At Grasville Abbey, Matilda found, in a cabinet in her room, "a small roll of parchment, which was filled with writing".⁽¹³⁰⁾ Henry also made reference to finding "a considerable hoard of diamonds"⁽¹³¹⁾ in one of the cabinet drawers, and this may recall Matilda's discovery, prior to uncovering the manuscript, of "coins of gold and silver to a great amount . . . jewels . . . carefully preserved in gold caskets".⁽¹³²⁾

There is here a closer parallel between Henry's "Tale", and Moore's novel, than there is between the former and any of Ann Radcliffe's works. The other drawers in the cabinet in Catherine's room are "entirely empty. Not one was left unsearched, and in not one was anything found".⁽¹³³⁾ As with Matilda, Catherine finds her roll of paper in the last drawer in which she searches.

Mayo, noting the parallels between Henry's "Tale" and *Grasville Abbey*, commented:

The many drawers, the hoard of jewels . . . glance at Matilda's discoveries in Chapter XXXII of *Grasville Abbey*. The roll of manuscript is derived from both Mrs. Radcliffe and George Moore, but as if further to associate Catherine with the heroine of *Grasville Abbey*, Jane Austen attached the name of Matilda to these pseudo-memoirs. Thus, *Grasville Abbey* becomes the "Memoirs of the wretched Matilda". In the resulting vortex of ironies Catherine momentarily becomes Matilda, and

thus the novelist anticipates her heroine's future
"wretchedness" at Northanger. ⁽¹³⁴⁾

These ironies only become noticeable when Catherine is at Northanger, and the reader can compare her experiences with Henry's "Tale" and *Grasville Abbey*. Mayo concluded that Moore's novel is "an important member of the Northanger canon, though never mentioned by name", ⁽¹³⁵⁾

Matilda's aunt is named Eleanor, a name also found in both *The Recess* and *Northanger Abbey*. In Henry's "Tale", at Northanger, and at Grasville, the heroine experiences a violent storm. Henry's phrase "a subterraneous communication" ⁽¹³⁶⁾ seems to echo the phrase (and idea) of "a subterraneous passage" ⁽¹³⁷⁾ linking a cave with a building in *Grasville Abbey*. In Moore's novel, there is "a door artfully concealed . . . which cannot possibly be discovered, on account of the tapestry that covers it" ⁽¹³⁸⁾ and this is paralleled in Henry's "Tale" by "a division in the tapestry so artfully constructed as to defy the minutest inspection, and on opening it a door will immediately appear". ⁽¹³⁹⁾ There is also in *Grasville Abbey* a prominent character named Henry.

Given that both Jane Austen and Moore were, in somewhat different ways, drawing on Radcliffean material, some of the similarities may be considered to be inevitable; also, both almost certainly look back to *The Recess* as well. But the nature of the parallels, their number and closeness, suggests that Mayo's conclusion is just.

8.10 Influence of Horace Walpole

Nomenclature in *Northanger Abbey* may deliberately recall the work generally seen as initiating the Gothic tradition, Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*. The heroines of that novel are named Isabella and Matilda, and these are recalled in Isabella Thorpe and "the wretched Matilda"⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ in Henry's "Tale". In Walpole's novel, Isabella's candle is blown out by the wind, and she is left in darkness. This incident appealed to subsequent novelists, for the same thing occurs in Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* and in Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline*. Catherine's ineptitude as a heroine is shown when, at *Northanger*, she snuffs out her own candle, so plunging herself into darkness; the same effect as in the other novels, but with a different, comical cause.

8.11 Influence of Sophia Lee

Sophia Lee, with her sister Harriet, ran the school at Bath attended by the young Ann Ward, later Ann Radcliffe. Sophia Lee was not only her mentor academically, she was also a major literary influence, through her novel, *The Recess*. In this work, the Recess itself is hidden underground, near the Abbey of St. Vincent, linked by subterranean passages to a mansion half a mile away. Jane Austen may have recalled this when writing Henry's "Tale", where he speaks of a subterraneous link with the Chapel of St. Anthony. The secret and cruel imprisonment of a wife, found in *A Sicilian Romance*, may derive from *The Recess*, where it is an important element in the plot.

Catherine's fantasy about the General recalls this. The two heroines of *The Recess* - daughters of Mary Queen of Scots unknown to history - are named Ellinor and Matilda. Henry Tilney bestows the name "Matilda" on his archetypal female victim, while his sister has Ellinor's name, spelt in a different form; much of *The Recess* actually comprises the "memoirs of the wretched Matilda".

The Recess is a proto-Gothic fiction; it is also one of the most influential English "historical" novels of the period, a kind of Anglicised and feminised version of a Prévost-type novel. The historical accuracy is not considerable, but its sympathetic portrayal of Mary and the House of Stuart may have pleased the youthful Jane Austen. When Catherine complains about how the history she reads contains "hardly any women at all",⁽¹⁴¹⁾ she is really complaining about how women are marginalised in male-written history, even a woman born to power like Mary. *The Recess* shows women taking part in great historical novels; Spencer noted that in Gothic fiction "women are acknowledged . . . as they are not in the history books".⁽¹⁴²⁾ However, they are acknowledged still largely as victims, sometimes of other women - or as inspirers of doomed love; still metaphorically "underground".

8.12 Influence of Matthew Lewis

Lewis's novel *The Monk* contains less of the sentimental and more of the unrestrained overly-supernatural Gothic than any other native English Gothic novel of the 1790s; the book when published created a

furore and was regarded in some quarters as semi-pornographic. John Thorpe obviously enjoyed the novel, and while his taste is hardly regarded as exemplary by his creator, the work cannot be disregarded; as Jane Austen explicitly mentions it, there are grounds for examining any possible parallels. *The Monk* contains another Matilda, another candidate to be the inspiration of Henry's wretched memoir-writer. Prisoners are held underground, in the vaults below a convent; this is an archetypal motif, and cannot be said to be necessarily an influence on Catherine's explorations for places of imprisonment at Northanger. Perhaps it is with thoughts of *The Monk* in mind that Thorpe compares his mother to a "witch". Henry, as a respectable clergyman, could hardly contrast more dramatically with the evil priest Ambrosio. Henry's comment about living in a neighbourhood of voluntary spies may recall Ambrosio's paranoia, for the latter "saw a spy in every shadow".⁽¹⁴³⁾ Henry's short fiction in Bath, where he describes a riot in London, has its parallel in the riot that climaxes *The Monk*. If there are undercurrents of paranoia, hysteria and violence in *Northanger Abbey*, then mention of *The Monk* may help to set the tone of this unrest.

8.13 Influence of William Godwin

Jane Austen is unlikely to have had any sympathy with the political views of William Godwin, but he may still have influenced *Northanger Abbey*, as a novelist. In *Caleb Williams*, Godwin allied Gothic machinery to a radical political critique, transforming what was generally a conservative medium into a subversive manifesto. Caleb

opens a mysterious chest belonging to his employer, Falkland, believing it to hold incriminating evidence that Falkland had committed a murder; he is caught opening this chest, and, although its contents are never revealed, this leads to his persecution by his master. This incident may be recalled in *Northanger Abbey*; Catherine is fascinated by a chest she finds in her room; eventually she tries to open it. Comically, she is interrupted twice, once by Eleanor's maid, then, at the climactic moment (and anti-climactic too, these being simultaneous, for all she finds is a white cotton counterpane), Eleanor herself enters. Instead of the terrible encounter between Falkland and Caleb, Catherine merely faces Eleanor's kind politeness. Perhaps Falkland's chest contained bloodstained clothing, or a murder weapon; if that was Jane Austen's view, then she parodies it in the clean white sheets found in the chest, without mark or meaning.

Caleb may be seen as a male version of the traditional Gothic heroine; as a consequence of his act, his reputation is ruined and he is "turned out of doors", forced to live among criminals. Catherine is turned out of *Northanger*, and wonders if it is because the General has learned that she had imagined him to be a murderer.

Although Catherine is a victim of faulty reading and reasoning, she might also be seen as a misguided seeker after Truth, a detective or investigator; she has a curiosity and a thirst for knowledge about General Tilney and supposed hidden parts of *Northanger*. In this she resembles Caleb who is "a Faustus figure, who described his 'crime' or 'offence' as 'a mistaken thirst for knowledge'".⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Ultimately

Caleb's fate merges with those of standard Gothic and sentimental heroines, and, ironically, with Catherine's, with damaged reputations and expulsions. Ironically, of course, because it had seemed that the tendency of *Northanger Abbey* was to deny the likelihood of such occurrences.

The reader never learns the contents of Caleb's chest, and in *Northanger Abbey* the provenance of the mysterious chest is never revealed; its contents may be innocuous but it remains to the end unexplained - were its handles "broken perhaps permanently by some strange violence?";^{<145>} and "by what strange events could it have fallen into the Tilney family?"^{<146>} Eleanor herself cannot explain it. By omitting an explanation, Jane Austen may be implicitly satirising the need for all the explanations of the minutiae of the plot, found in many Gothic novels (those of Ann Radcliffe especially); but she may also be implying that there are mysteries in the world, that everything is not totally tidy, rational and accounted for. Ann Radcliffe's technique was to thrill the reader with the unexplained, then later reassure with explanations. Jane Austen allowed that the world can perplex, by her introduction of unexplained items and other discrepancies.

8.14 Influence of Agnes Maria Bennett

Blakey thought that Catherine Morland's description at the beginning of *Northanger Abbey* might have been suggested by that of Rosa, the heroine of Agnes Maria Bennett's *The Beggar Girl and her Benefactors*:

The first sketch of the beggar girl anticipates Jane Austen's method in *Northanger Abbey*. Rosa is as little like a heroine as Catherine Morland herself. She was not calculated, says Miss Bennett, "to make that first sight impression on strangers which has been time out of mind the exclusive privilege of novel heroines."⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

Jane Austen's novel opens with the words "No one who had ever seen Catherine Morland in her infancy, would have supposed her born to be a heroine".⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ This sentence recalls Agnes Bennett's, but not so closely that there need be any link. Both Catherine and Rosa grow more attractive as they get older, and both travel to Bath, but these are commonplaces; most probably, Jane Austen and Agnes Bennett were both simply reacting in a similar way to the stock conventions surrounding heroines. There is little similarity otherwise between *The Beggar Girl* (which ran to seven volumes in the Minerva Press edition, probably a record) and Jane Austen's "little work".

Agnes Bennett's *Anna: or Memoirs of a Welch Heiress* may have influenced *Emmeline*; Anna, like Charlotte Smith's heroine and Catherine, has to leave her residence early in the morning, and under a cloud (she has been falsely accused of theft). A mysterious chest contains the clues to her real origin (like the caskets in *Emmeline*); possibly Catherine's departure, and the comedy surrounding the chest in her room, recall these scenes in *Anna*.

8.15 Influence of Bage

As *Northanger Abbey* is partly modelled on *Cecilia*, it inevitably has points of resemblance with *Hermesprong*. These may be just derivations

from a common source, though Jane Austen might well have had *Hermsprong* in mind when writing (and revising) *Northanger Abbey*, for Bage's novel appears to have influenced both *Pride and Prejudice* and *Persuasion*.

The Grondale estate is not unlike Northanger, there are "lofty elms", the ruins of a convent and "a stately structure of the gothic kind, half modernised",⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ which are perhaps deliberately recalled in *Northanger Abbey*. General Tilney and Lord Grondale are both tyrannical fathers, proud, avaricious and snobbish. Catherine is seen, like Hermsprong, as an upstart threatening the family. Lord Grondale's daughter Caroline, as dutiful and long-suffering as Eleanor, has an outspoken friend Miss Fluart, who encourages her to rebel against her father. Despite this, until he is very considerably provoked, Grondale will not expel her from his house, because it would be "so violent a breach of politeness",⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ so the enormity of the General's act can be appreciated. When Maria Fluart is expelled, she substitutes Caroline for herself, supposedly disguised by sorrow - something that may be recalled in Catherine's unhappiness on leaving Northanger.

Butler noted of *Hermsprong* that Caroline's "scene with Sir Philip Chestrum . . . anticipates the proposal scene of John Thorpe", while adding that "foolish young men who propose and are unexpectedly refused are a favourite stock-in-trade of comedy in the period".⁽¹⁵¹⁾

Bage discusses on several occasions how learning in a woman is not approved by men; in this, he retails a commonplace, which Jane Austen herself then takes up. A female character remarks in *The Fair Syrian*: "My aunt [was] . . . enriching me with advice, the burden of which was not to show my learning",⁽¹⁵²⁾ while it is said of a (male) character in *Man As He Is*:

In favour of these [her monies] he overlooked her learning, which husbands I suppose do not court in a wife, and bowed down and worshipped her.⁽¹⁵³⁾

The same quotations from *Twelfth Night* and *Othello* are found in both *Hermesprong* and *Northanger Abbey*, suggesting that Jane Austen has chosen these sayings carefully, for their hackneyed quality.

8.15 The "Northanger Novels"

The novels on Isabella's reading-list may fairly be discussed together, for, while hardly celebrated examples of the Gothic genre, and not arranged in chronological order of publication, the list has a consistency and purpose to it, as recognised by Varma:

Jane Austen's choice was deliberate, not random; they were picked for the quality of the tales rather than for their titles alone. She thus achieved a very representative choice . . . the list perhaps reflects the full spectrum of the gothic romance - a definite chronicle of the origin, efflorescence and disintegration of the gothic movement, revealing not only the various types of gothic fiction, but also the consequential phases of its development from one shade to another.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

The first accepted Gothic novel was Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*; Isabella's first citing is entitled *Castle of Wolfenbach*. *Horrid Mysteries*, which ends the list, is more than just a suitable

culminating title gathering together all the fearful undercurrents suggested by the previous titles; it also represents the type of German Terror-Novels which spearheaded the Gothic at the time in which *Northanger Abbey* is set. Catherine imagines that she is investigating "Horrid Mysteries" at Northanger, and they are also what she misleadingly suggests will soon come out of London. Given also the conspiracy theme of *Horrid Mysteries*, and the political climate of the 1790s, there seems to be added point in making that novel the transition from Isabella's list to her own conversation. There are only seven "Northanger novels", even though Isabella speaks of "a list of ten or twelve"⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ - indicative perhaps of her general carelessness.

Eliza Parsons' *Castle of Wolfenbach* is in some respects an imitation of *The Romance of the Forest*. Both in these respects and in others, it can be linked to the action of *Northanger Abbey*. The novel features a nobleman reputed to have locked up his wife (recalling *A Sicilian Romance*); there is a storm scene, and a heroine, with all the inquisitiveness of Catherine, named Matilda (thus adding yet another resonance to Henry's use of the name for his memoir-writer). Matilda's daring escape at four in the morning from her lustful uncle is ironically rewritten in Catherine's early-morning banishment (though this has other parallels too). For Matilda, though, this is, even with liberal payment, merely the prelude to greater adventures, whereas the point of Jane Austen's satire is that nothing happens to Catherine after she has left the Abbey. The novel features that

popular item, the mysterious chest, while Eliza Parsons' own enthusiastic Protestantism and patriotism caused her to include an encomium on England's happy state that may be recalled in Henry's (perhaps complacent) remarks. *Castle of Wolfenbach* broke no new ground, but was a perfectly respectable representative of its genre, and its author, who is the only person doubly represented on Isabella's list, was, in addition to being a Gothic novelist, a satirist and writer of social comedy, elements also found in *Northanger Abbey*.

In her other novel on the list, *The Mysterious Warning* (wrongly called *Mysterious Warnings* by Isabella), Eliza Parsons explored questions of filial disobedience and parental tyranny, prompting Moler to remark that, though these were common themes:

it is possible . . . that Jane Austen may have had particularly in mind the lengthy moral summary at the conclusion of *The Mysterious Warning*.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

In a sub-plot, there is Baron S--, a psychotic obsessive who, in his Solitary Castle, has kept his wife and her lover imprisoned and in chains for years, living on a supply of coarse food; as fearful a fate as any imagined for Mrs. Tilney by Catherine! Baron S-- is a recluse, a man driven mad by his jealousy and cruelty. In contrast to General Tilney, who shows his concern for his estate with his modernity and efficiency, Baron S-- has neglected his castle; the narrator comments on:

the dreadful ruinous state the rooms were in, the glass broken, the floors had been entirely exposed to the weather, and bore every mark of decay and desolation.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

A man as cruel as the Baron cannot be a part of normal society, his solitariness, obsessiveness and the state of his property all find their contrast in General Tilney and Northanger. At the Solitary Castle there are found "trunks full of clothes and linen",⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ and these may be recalled in Catherine's similar discovery at the Abbey.

Eleanor Sleath's *The Orphan of the Rhine* is notable for its landscape descriptions, its author's probable Catholicism, and its imitation of Ann Radcliffe's work. The title may have attracted Jane Austen's attention by its combination of a pathos-inducing idea (the orphan) and foreign geography. In contrast to Catherine, the heroine loses her over-sensitive parents at an early age. The novel represents, along with Regina Roche's *Clermont*, the main school of Ann Radcliffe's imitators - a group of authors specifically mentioned by Jane Austen.

While Henry Tilney disappears mysteriously only once, when fetching Eleanor and escorting her to Bath, the hero of *Clermont*, de Seignie, seems positively addicted to such vanishing tricks. He is also, unlike Henry, of mysterious status. Jane Austen's literary relationship with Regina Roche's *The Children of the Abbey* has already been discussed; *Clermont*'s presence on Isabella's list further marks Jane Austen's interest in her works. *Clermont* can also represent all novels named from a principal character or locale. Mary Lascelles explicitly contrasted *Northanger Abbey* with *Clermont*, and stated that Catherine's fancies about the General:

are as moderate as they are logical - judged by
the canon of that world in which Madeline Clermont

learns of her father's guilt by observing him look pointedly at a picture of Cain killing Abel. (159)

Catherine feels that the absence of Mrs. Tilney's portrait from a public place gives a sinister insight into the General's character.

Francis Lathom's *The Midnight Bell* was borrowed from a circulating library by Jane Austen's father. Possibly this influenced its being placed on the list; Jane Austen was willing, in *Northanger Abbey*, to indulge in a family joke (her comment about Mr. Morland's Christian name being "Richard"), and the inclusion of *The Midnight Bell* may have been a compliment to her father. The novel also represents those "horrid" novels by publishers other than Minerva Press, who were responsible for all the other works on Isabella's list.

Lathom incorporated numerous Gothic materials into his novel, making it almost a compendium of typical scenes, and hence very suitable for listing as a representative work. The characters include a wife-killer, which is what Catherine for a while imagines General Tilney to be. Henry's speech about British liberty implicitly contrasts with the depiction of French tyranny, including scenes set in the Bastille, found in Lathom's novel. Both *Northanger Abbey* and *The Midnight Bell* feature an "undutiful" son - Henry refuses to think no more of Catherine, while Alphonsus breaks his promise never to return home. The very title of *The Midnight Bell* may be recalled in the chiming of the clocks at Northanger.

Isabella speaks, in her haste and carelessness, of *The Necromancer of the Black Forest*; the actual novel she is referring to is entitled *The Necromancer*; its sub-title, which she conflates with that, is 'A Tale of the Black Forest'. The title suggests sinister and magical events occurring in geographically distant regions. It represents the German Terror-Novels then in vogue. The book is an exposé of the supposed magical tricks of a charlatan, and a disquisition on the life of a robber chief. Possibly an ironical link could be made between this necromantic charlatan and the social imposture and pretensions of the Thorpe family. As an example of the German school of robber tales, Varma opined, "Jane Austen could hardly have selected a more typical specimen of its kind".⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

Horrid Mysteries, the final work on the list, is another example of the German Terror-Novel, and the central theme is of a vast, Europe-wide conspiracy. A secret society dogs the life of an initiate, separating lovers, planning assassinations, exerting considerable clandestine influences, sometimes benevolent, sometimes baleful. Certainly this society is responsible for creating a sinister "neighbourhood of spies"; *Horrid Mysteries* may be cited to mark an advance comment on Henry's complacency, and also to comment on his father's possible anti-Jacobin activities (Henry's complacency may be seen as a response to an overly paranoid father). In the mind of General Tilney, the reader or writer of pamphlets, the secret society depicted in *Horrid Mysteries* might represent merely a fictional version of an England-threatening reality - or at any rate, of a threat to the propertied classes. (Such "needy adventuresses" as

Catherine could be included among the threats.), *Horrid Mysteries* was condemned when published for indecency, absurdity and plagiarism; for all that, in Varma's view, "no other Gothic romance can match it for description of 'enraptured fleshiness'".⁽¹⁶¹⁾

Jane Austen could, doubtless, have found more lurid titles for inclusion on the list, but those that are given are widely representative and more subtly effective in their suggestiveness than if chosen merely for shocking-sounding titles. Such a list would have been too obviously compiled for the purposes of over-stated satire. Doubtless, too, other works might have been found and listed which would have had closer links with aspects of *Northanger Abbey* (*Grasville Abbey* being a case in point). Nevertheless, in terms of the resonances of the titles, the points of contact between the novels themselves and *Northanger Abbey* and the different schools of Gothic represented, Isabella's list represented an effective cross-section and illustration of the genre.

8.17 Influence of Shakespeare

Catherine, as she grew up, "From Shakespeare . . . gained a great store of information".⁽¹⁶²⁾ This "information" does not appear to be particularly useful, at first glance; it rather suggests that Jane Austen was making a comic point about the value of reading Shakespeare. The quotation from *Othello*, and the quotation from *Twelfth Night* (especially) were literary clichés; the quotation from *Measure for Measure* does not appear particularly helpful for a

heroine. Two of the three quotations are, in fact, misquoted; "Confirmation" in the *Othello* quote should be "Confirmations", and "feels" in the *Measure* quote should be "finds". As Gray and Thompson are also misquoted on the same page, it is probable that these inaccuracies were deliberate. Jane Austen may have intended from the start of the novel to suggest how literature is misread and misremembered; *Northanger Abbey's* themes include the unreliability of the reader's memory, and his/her inability to read and understand properly. Actually, the quotation from *Othello* is not inappropriate, and Catherine should have remembered it, for she draws on "trifles light as air" in building up her suspicions that General Tilney may have murdered or imprisoned his wife, just as Othello wrongly considers Desdemona to be unfaithful. (Othello, as a wife-killer, foreshadows Catherine's view of the General.)

8.18 Relation to Jane Austen's Other Works

The affinities between 'Catharine' and *Northanger Abbey*, and *Lady Susan* and that novel, have been discussed earlier. *Northanger Abbey*, as noted, draws upon the *Cecilia*-tradition that influenced all Jane Austen's novels, so giving it an inevitable affinity with them. Catherine is a kind of Quixote, in her misinterpretation of literature; a number of other such characters are found in Jane Austen's fiction, Sir Edward Denham and Captain Benwick among the men, Marianne Dashwood and Emma Woodhouse among the women. Marianne sees herself as a heroine; she might not express such an opinion, but she has the tastes and expectations of a heroine. Emma sees herself not

so much as a heroine but as a creator of events, an "imaginist", a kind of author. Catherine does not think of herself as a heroine (though Isabella reminds her of one, as Clara Brereton does of Charlotte Heywood) - rather she is a satirised reader. So in *Sense and Sensibility* Jane Austen has satirised a heroine; in *Emma*, an author; in *Northanger Abbey*, primarily a reader. Thus she has discussed different relationships towards a book - that of a character in it, its creator, and its audience. Jane Austen is capable of playing tricks on the readers of *Northanger Abbey*, because, expecting an anti-novel from the narrator's tone, they suddenly find a novel - as with General Tilney's shocking expulsion of Catherine. Generally, though, Jane Austen and the reader have a "knowing" kind of relationship, with Catherine representing a less knowledgeable, experienced type of reader. The real reader is given a chance to patronise a fictional reader who is also a character in the fiction.

Sense and Sensibility provides a basic pattern of characters which *Northanger Abbey* follows; Henry and Edward are clergyman-heroes, Catherine and Marianne young and in some ways deluded heroines, Eleanor and Elinor are the faithful friends, Isabella and Lucy the false friends and foils. The bigotry and resentment of General Tilney and Mrs. Ferrars can be traced back to Mr. Delvile in *Cecilia*. The latter also served as a model for Lady Catherine in *Pride and Prejudice*; Greene remarked on a common link between her and General Tilney:

wrath . . . appears in the shape of Lady Catherine de Bourgh's ridiculous tirade against Elizabeth, and General Tilney's 7 a.m. expulsion of Catherine

from the sacred precincts of Northanger Abbey (is the name "north *anger*" only a coincidence?).¹⁶³

But General Tilney's view of Catherine as a threat to his family and property has a political undertone; *Northanger Abbey* is set at a time of paranoia and fear of insurrection, and the General's reading of political pamphlets leads him to misinterpret the innocent Catherine as an adventuress, linked to the wider Jacobin threat; his world-view is distorted through his reading, and he inflicts injustice on Catherine as a result; thus, ironically, he misreads her as she misreads him. He has relied on secondhand sources of information and as a result behaves offensively.

8.19 Political Background

The political content of Jane Austen's work has been much discussed, and is still debated. *Northanger Abbey* is set in the 1790s, a period when Britain was at war with France, and there was fear in government circles of sedition and revolution. Henry falls silent about politics at Bath, when speaking to Catherine and Eleanor, not because he is ignorant but because it is not considered a proper subject for women to have opinions about. Henry shows an historical and political awareness with his brief story of riots in London, involving his brother; the details have been shown by Roberts to recall various disturbances of the 1780s and 1790s. His later encomium on English freedoms is ironic, possibly deliberately so, given it is spoken in a decade when many were under threat from repressive government measures. Alternatively, far from being ironic, it may be that Jane

Austen considered these freedoms still to exist in spite of these encroachments on liberty.

General Tilney is engaged with his pamphlets until late at night; whether he is writing or reading them is uncertain; perhaps both. As a military man, and a family tyrant, it is easy to conceive that these pamphlets may have a political or military dimension; he may be checking pamphlets for sedition,⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ or he may be writing them, suggesting new forms of government action to ensure the safety of the realm and of property. He bases his designs on Catherine from what he learns from John Thorpe; in this, there may be a satire on the use by the government of spies and agent provocateurs. Thorpe's testimony is as unsafe as that of many government spies; so is his later slander against Catherine. If the General favours the use of spies to defeat sedition, he has received his come-uppance. That Jane Austen is satirising the authoritarian paranoia at that time, despite her general support for the Establishment, is the political interpretation assumed in this study.

8.20 Conclusion

Ehrenpreis stated a common view when she wrote:

Most critics agree that the Gothic burlesque . . . is not well blended with the rest of the story. The structural relationship between the Bath episodes and the Northanger experience is not comfortable . . . This may be because in the course of revising Jane Austen added the Gothic passages to a plot which was originally concerned with a young lady's entrance into the world.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

Emden, a proponent of the view expressed in the last sentence, remarked on "the unsatisfactoriness of the Gothic episodes in relation to the rest of the story".⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ He suggested that the Bath scenes dated back in some form to 1794, being composed just after the *Juvenilia* - noting that there is an affinity between the novel and 'Catharine' for example - while the Gothic episodes were not written until four or five years later, when the popularity of *Udolpho* was evident. It may well be correct that Jane Austen did so compose *Northanger Abbey*, but it is not necessarily a kind of hybrid work, and so flawed as a result. For it is important to realise that the Gothic scenes are a form of interpolation not uncommon in sentimental novels and novels of manners; such interpolations increased with the popularity of the Gothic novel. The latter itself was closely allied to the sentimental, and often Gothic experiences are only a part of the work - in *Udolpho*, the emphasis is more on Emily's love-life and family affairs than on mysteries and terrors. Even *The Monk*, supposedly almost the last word in supernatural pornography, contains episodes that would not be out of place in a non-Gothic novel of manners - the opening scene in the cathedral, for example. The dividing line between the sentimental novel of manners and the Gothic novel is indistinct, so much did each cross-fertilise the other.

Charlotte Smith, for example, is a pre-Gothic writer, in that her best work was written before *Udolpho*; but her sentimental novels anticipate the genre in some episodes, which Ellis has called "interpolated Gothicisms".⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ Charlotte Smith was basically, in her own eyes, a writer committed to *le vrai semblage* as she put it; but sensational

scenes helped to sell novels, and Ellis noted "interpolated Gothicisms" occurring in *Desmond* and *Celestina*, to which might be added Emmeline's flight down the corridors of Mowbray Castle in the dark (recalling *Otranto*), the chapel scene at Rayland (in *The Old Manor House*) and the Eastwoodleigh scenes in *Marchmont*, where the hero is mistaken for a ghost. Ellis remarked that these interpretations:

provide a particular kind of space in which can be acted out certain "subversive impulses" which, in a realistic setting, would have violated the strict rules of decorum . . . that the novel . . . had increasingly embraced. (166)

The Northanger episode represents a kind of interpolated Gothicism in a work which, before and after, when considered as a novel and not an anti-novel, is mainly concerned with social behaviour and the comedy of manners. In this episode Catherine, though influenced by the conservative-minded Ann Radcliffe, ironically challenges established authority in her suspicions of General Tilney. Though wrong in details, her suspicions about his authority-figure's lack of benevolence are fundamentally not incorrect.

In the 1790s, the decade in which *Northanger Abbey* was begun, many sentimental novelists who were followers of Fanny Burney and Charlotte Smith, along with those writers themselves, found that a Gothic interpolation or interpolations, sometimes brief, sometimes comprising many chapters, increased the popularity of their works. Fanny Burney herself in *Camilla* - essentially a love-story and a novel of manners like her previous novels - introduced a Gothic note, with the scene surrounding Bellamy's death. (This is essentially Radcliffean, unlike the almost Jacobean flavour of Harrel's suicide in *Cecilia*.) Regina

Roche, a follower of the two novelists mentioned above, and of Richardson, wrote novels like *The Children of the Abbey* and *The Nocturnal Visit*, where there are Gothic interpolations in the form of set-piece scenes, within a basically sentimental work. Varma notes of *The Children of the Abbey* that it "remains an example of the union of 'gothic' and 'sentimental' strains."⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

In *The Nocturnal Visit*, the Gothic scenes are set abroad; although they solve the mystery of the heroine's birth, they could have been removed from the novel without damaging its basic impetus. This indicates that "Gothic interpolations" did not always sit easily with the tone and structure of the novel concerned as a whole; the inconsistencies and incongruities brought about by this hybridisation are not dissimilar to those noted by critics between the Bath and Northanger episodes in *Northanger Abbey*. Jane Austen may have been dissatisfied with the structure of her novel, and this may have contributed to doubts about publishing it; but it is also possible that the structure was planned to follow the tradition of the hybrid novel; the incongruities in *Northanger Abbey* parallel and illustrate those in its models. The Northanger chapters are actually quite a long interpolation; they are, as Weiss pointed out, as referred to earlier, roughly proportional to the amount of space given over to gothic material in *Udolpho*. By the very structure of her novel, through its very discontinuity, Jane Austen alludes to *Udolpho*, to "Mrs. Radcliffe [and] . . . her imitators".⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ To point this, the transition from Bath to Northanger is undertaken by Catherine and the reader in the company of Henry and his heavily Radcliffean "Tale".

So the structure of *Northanger Abbey* quite possibly alludes to the hybrid novels of the 1790s. In the actual separate sections, at Fullerton and Bath, and at Northanger, Jane Austen targets the major exponents of the social/sentimental novel (Charlotte Smith, Fanny Burney, Richardson) and the Gothic novel (Ann Radcliffe). This Bath section draws heavily on the pre-Gothic novel of manners, mainly because none of the hybrid novel-writers were in the same class as the authors mentioned above.

The blurred distinctions between these types of novel have been noted before; Moler remarked that there was no great "sensibility to distinctions between gothic and other kinds of fiction",⁽¹⁷¹⁾ among Jane Austen's contemporaries, while earlier Montague Summers described these hybrids as "sentimental gothic"⁽¹⁷²⁾ novels. But the full implications of this uncertainty and lack of definition for the structure of *Northanger Abbey* have not previously been noted. If Catherine behaves inconsistently, then this is because heroines do so in the hybrid novels; they are required to be alternately, as convenient, weak and strong, in both mind and body, to meet the differing requirements of the various components. Individual scenes and items can be traced to specific works, but *Northanger Abbey* is done a critical disservice if it is not recognised that both the genres it pokes fun at exist, intermingled, in many of the most important works of the last decade and a half of the Eighteenth century, as well as in many of the minor works. Although Fanny Burney, Charlotte Smith and Ann Radcliffe began writing in that order,

all three came to influence one another, though the study of their full inter-relationship has yet to be produced.

Many of the Gothic interpolations are set in foreign countries - as Jane Austen notes, such places as "the Alps and the Pyrenees, with their pine-forests and their vices".⁽¹⁷³⁾ This was probably pioneered by Charlotte Smith who, in *Celestina*, as Fry noted, "sets the precedent of shaping the highly romantic [i.e. Gothic] adventures outside England".⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ In Isabella's "horrid novels", in *Grasville Abbey*, *The Monk* and Ann Radcliffe's novels, the Gothic adventures occur abroad. When Gothic interpolations are found in any substance in sentimental novels set in Britain, then they tend to be set on the Celtic fringes - Ireland, Scotland, Wales (all three are used in *The Children of the Abbey*, for instance), Cornwall - that is to say, "the northern and western extremities",⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ something recognised by Jane Austen.

Northanger Abbey functions as novel and anti-novel within a hybrid structure; it brings together - and in this its greatest originality lies - the tradition of the account of the young lady's entrance into the world, the *Bildungsroman*, where the heroine learns about the truths and falseness of the world, with a modified form of the "quixote novel", where the heroine learns to discriminate about literature. Bath provides the setting for the discovery of life's pains and joys; Northanger the setting in which Catherine will test out the "reality" presented in popular fiction and find it wanting.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT:
NORTHANGER ABBEY

1. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* 12 (hereafter referred to as *NA*).
2. see Leslie F. Chard, 'Jane Austen and the Obituaries', *passim*.
3. Jane Austen, *Letters*, 484.
4. *NA*, 12.
5. Lascelles, *Jane Austen and her Art*, 60.
6. Charlotte Smith, *Emmeline*, 2.
7. *NA*, 14.
8. *NA*, 38.
9. *NA*, 34.
10. Charlotte Smith, *Ethelinde*, I, 292.
11. *Ethelinde*, I, 139.
12. *NA*, 37.
13. *Ethelinde*, I, 247.
14. *NA*, 38.
15. Craik, *Jane Austen: The Six Novels*, 12.
16. *Ethelinde*, I, 256.
17. *NA*, 37-38.
18. Anne Henry Ehrenpreis, '*Northanger Abbey*: Jane Austen and Charlotte Smith', 346.
19. *NA*, 37.
20. Charlotte Smith, *Desmond*, II, 147-48.
21. *NA*, 108.
22. Charlotte Smith, *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, II, 159.
23. Florence M. Hilbish, *Charlotte Smith, Poet and Novelist 1749-1806*, 548.
24. Hilbish, *op. cit.*, 547.

25. *Desmond*, II, 166-67.
26. *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, I, vi.
27. Magee, 'The Happy Marriage', 24.
28. MacCarthy, *The Later Women Novelists 1744-1818*, 59.
29. Frances Burney, *Evelina*, 35.
30. Strauch, 'Jane Austen's Response to Fanny Burney', 229.
31. Craik, *Jane Austen: The Six Novels*, 17.
32. Moler, *Jane Austen's Art of Allusion*, 18.
33. Everett Zimmerman, 'The Function of Parody in *Northanger Abbey*', 58.
34. *NA*, 95.
35. *NA*, 78.
36. *Evelina*, 395.
37. *NA*, 16.
38. *NA*, 26.
39. Frances Burney, *Cecilia*, I, 266-67.
40. *NA*, 26.
41. *NA*, 133.
42. *NA*, 90.
43. *Cecilia*, II, 251.
44. *Cecilia*, I, 406-7.
45. *Cecilia*, I, 179.
46. *NA*, 38.
47. *Cecilia*, I, 190.
48. *ibid.*
49. Moler, *Jane Austen's Art of Allusion*, 18.
50. *NA*, 244.
51. *Cecilia*, II, 101.

52. Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 179.
53. *NA*, 111.
54. Ehrenpreis, ed., *Northanger Abbey* by Jane Austen, 251.
55. Wiesenfarth, *The Errand of Form*, 169n.
56. *ibid.*
57. *NA*, 18.
58. D.C. Measham, 'Sentiment and Sentimental Psychology in Jane Austen', 63.
59. Ebiike, '*Pride and Prejudice* and *First Impressions*', 38.
60. *NA*, 243.
61. *NA*, 187.
62. Samuel Macey, *Money and the Novel*, 146.
63. Macey, *op. cit.*, 146-7.
64. *NA*, 171.
65. Macey, *op. cit.*, 147-48.
66. Richardson, *Grandison*, I, 9.
67. *Grandison*, I, 49.
68. Wiesenfarth, *The Errand of Form*, 18.
69. Wiesenfarth, *op. cit.*, 3.
70. Frank J. Kearful, 'Satire and the Form of the Novel', 520.
71. Kearful, *op. cit.*, 526.
72. Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 58.
73. *NA*, 141.
74. *NA*, 144.
75. Frederic Weiss, *The Antic Spectre*, 198.
76. Christopher Kent, '"Real Solemn History" and Social History', 98.
77. Kent, *op. cit.*, 99.
78. *NA*, 175.

79. Weiss, *The Antic Spectre*, 202.
80. *ibid.*
81. *ibid.*
82. Judith Wilt, *Ghosts of the Gothic*, 147.
83. Sheridan Baker, 'The Comedy of Illusion in *Northanger Abbey*', 557.
84. Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, 235.
85. *NA*, 158.
86. *ibid.*
87. *NA*, 159-60.
88. *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, 239.
89. *NA*, 159.
90. Ann Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest*, I, 116-17.
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CHAPTER NINE: *SANDITON*

9.1 Introduction

The manuscript pages of *Sanditon* were almost the last pieces of creative work Jane Austen ever wrote (the very last would appear to be the verses entitled 'Venta'). *Sanditon* was written between mid-January and mid-March 1817, and abandoned four months before Jane Austen's death. Although excerpts appeared in Victorian times, in revised versions of Austen-Leigh's *Memoir*, *Sanditon* was not published in full until Chapman's edition appeared in the 1920s.

Critics have been divided over how seriously to take *Sanditon*. To some it has recalled the spirit - and unserious purpose - of the *Juvenilia*, or the 'Plan of a Novel', and has seemed like a private amusement; for others it represents, even in its unfinished, unpolished state, a "seventh novel" that represents a new direction in Jane Austen's work, one that is vital and mature. Forster considered that *Sanditon* was "reminiscent from first to last",⁽¹⁾ reminiscent, that is, of material found in the earlier novels and now recombined. Undoubtedly Jane Austen did recall her previous works when writing *Sanditon* - they could be sources and influences like the works of other authors - especially *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*, on both of which she had worked the previous year, and which were still in her mind in March 1817.⁽²⁾ But *Sanditon* has other sources, and shows

other influences, beyond Jane Austen's own previous works; yet for all the new direction *Sanditon* is supposed to take, these other works to which she was indebted remain familiar.

9.2 Influence of Charlotte Smith

Magee has written that "memories of Charlotte Smith stayed vital in Jane Austen's creative mind to the end of her career".⁽³⁾ He noted that the misfortune of an overturned carriage that overcomes the Parkers is similar to that which afflicts the Winslows in *The Young Philosopher*. This is true, but so many parallels of carriage accidents can be noted (see below) that it is not likely that this is a "source", or that an allusion to it is intended; Jane Austen had herself used the device of a carriage accident - though for climactic rather than introductory purposes - in 'Love and Freindship'. Magee also considered that "Parker's eagerness to found a seaside resort . . . parallels the eager seaside visiting of Rosalie's brother-in-law, Grierson, in *Montalbert*".⁽⁴⁾ But there is a considerable difference between merely *visiting* a resort and sinking capital, engaging in speculative enterprises and *founding* a resort, as Mr. Parker does; it is actually his brother Sidney who, with his occasional appearances at Sanditon, and his abortive trip to the Isle of Wight, seems most closely to resemble Grierson (or that other frequenter of resorts, the handsome and peripatetic Frank Churchill).

Magee remarked that "the foolish Sir Edward Denham . . . recalls the ex-lawyer Brymore in *The Banished Man*",⁽⁵⁾ but it would probably be

more accurate to say that they both derived from the same sources, and so have an incidental similarity. Sir Edward is compounded of a number of characters, and his main literary progenitors and parallels are to be found in the ranks of foolish baronets who wish to be (or are) rakes, like Richardson's Sir Hargrave Pollexfen and Maria Edgeworth's Sir Philip Baddeley; their ultimate model, as in the case of Brymore, is Lovelace.

Magee's judgement of Charlotte Smith's continued influence is correct, but his evidence would be stronger if he had considered *Sanditon* in the light of *Ethelinde*. In that novel, Sir Edward Newenden owns a residence near Windsor named Denham House. Jane Austen may have conflated his Christian name and the name of his property in calling her character Sir Edward Denham. It may be that a deliberate contrast is intended between the noble-hearted, 31-year-old man of feeling in *Ethelinde*, and the foolish posturer of *Sanditon*. Newenden is genuinely intelligent, well-read, and has a loving nature; Denham is stupid, incapable of grasping the real point of what he reads, and an egotist.

Ethelinde may also be recalled in Miss Lambe. Though as a "half mulatto"^(e) West Indian heiress she may seem a rather exotic character, the rich children of merchants and planters, sometimes with coloured blood, are not uncommon in novels of Jane Austen's time; this undoubtedly reflected reality. In *Ethelinde* there is a character named Victorine; educated in a Spanish convent, she is the daughter of a rich West Indian merchant. Possibly Miss Lambe may to some degree

parallel her; Victorine's combination of naïve gush in adversity and neglect of others in prosperity could lead to her justly being described, like Miss Lambe, as "chilly and tender".⁽⁷⁾

9.3 Influence of Fanny Burney

Fanny Burney's *Cecilia* features a carriage overturning and a passenger injuring a leg. This is a stock device, but possibly Jane Austen intended to recall this incident; for a reader who links *Cecilia* and *Sanditon* in their mind from the start, might well notice later a parallel between Mr. Hobson and Arthur Parker. Mr. Hobson enjoys "my pot of fresh tea, and my round of hot toast and butter . . . the first thing I do is have a good fire".⁽⁸⁾ Arthur, too, enjoys hot buttered toast and a good fire; his tippie is (strong) cocoa, while his sisters drink different herb teas. Arthur's air of premature age, and his indolence are thus fleetingly compared with the ways of a vulgar old man of the city - just as Mr. Woodhouse in *Emma* may recall Mr. Briggs in *Cecilia*, with their common liking for gruel. Lady Denham, in her meanness and suspiciousness, also has certain resemblances to the miserly Briggs. The humorous "types" found in *Cecilia* in abundance seem to be found also in *Sanditon*. Lady Denham's main passion is her money; Mr. Parker has *Sanditon* for his "hobby-horse"; Sir Edward's life is dedicated to the emulation of literary seducers; Arthur and his sisters practise invalidism. These characters, with their ruling passions amounting almost to manias, are brought together at a seaside resort, and left to interact, following Fanny Burney's placement of her eccentrics in "the ton". *Sanditon* represents Jane Austen's most

intensive use of a formula which Fanny Burney created in *Evelina*, refined in *Cecilia* and returned to in *Camilla*.

The great theme of *Cecilia*, which Jane Austen reproduced in some form in nearly every major fiction, is of the plebeian intruder who threatens to damage a family by causing an imprudent match. Lady Denham is briefly suspicious of Charlotte's ambitions towards Sir Edward, seeing her as a potential threat to his chances of marrying wealth, and gives her a warning against such hopes. Thus, in her very last work, Jane Austen is still recalling the seminal central situation of *Cecilia*.

However, it is to *Camilla* that an explicit allusion is made in *Sanditon*. At the library, Charlotte is surrounded by "all the useless things in the world that could not be done without",⁹ and finds herself being tempted into unnecessary expenditure. While thinking that she is too mature to be led into foolish extravagance, she picks up "a volume of *Camilla*. She had not *Camilla's* Youth and had no intention of having her distress".¹⁰ This alludes to how the naïve Camilla, aged only seventeen and in society for the first time, ran into financial difficulties through her inability to check her generosity, or prevent others encouraging her in purchases and imposing on her. "Camilla's distress . . . was caused by the debts she incurred at Tunbridge Wells",¹¹ as Bander noted. Charlotte, similarly in society for the first time, and also drawn from a rural background, is nevertheless twenty-two and feels that she could have none of Camilla's excuses for so behaving. The volume of *Camilla*

serves here as a warning, and Charlotte is shown as being determined *not* to behave as a heroine (though she has just so characterised Clara, possibly influenced by seeing her leave the library).

the novel, and no other work. The incident also serves to illustrate that Sanditon's *raison d'être*, and its most sacred ritual, lies in spending money; Charlotte Heywood, in making a conscious decision not to participate in this purchasing round, rebels against this. Mr. Parker wants visitors to spend money, as does Lady Denham, though she thinks they are fools to do so; without sufficient visitors, Mr. Parker must himself be a major customer for the market gardener he has encouraged, and the smallness of the library subscription list leaves Mrs. Whitby with little to do except to read her own novels. There might, if the work had continued, have been some elaboration on the conflict between Sanditon, with its desire for money, and the Misses Beaufort, who have retired there precisely so as to rehabilitate their finances.

The references to *Camilla* may suggest that Jane Austen intended to draw more largely upon this novel in *Sanditon* than she had in any previous work. It had been the least influential generally of Fanny Burney's first three novels on Jane Austen's work, despite the fact that she had subscribed to the first edition. With *Camilla* in mind, the officious "charities" of Diana Parker may recall the distresses of

the poor and the need for charitable disbursements found in *Camilla* (though Fanny Burney presents the poor rather than simply referring to them, for the purpose of adding pathos). *Camilla* emphasises that charities are worthier of interest than are fripperies; Jane Austen in *Sanditon* seems hard-headed about both.

9.4 Influence of Richardson

Sir Edward Denham's:

fancy had been early caught by all the impassioned and most exceptional parts of Richardson . . . He felt that he was formed to be a dangerous Man - quite in the line of the Lovelaces.⁽¹²⁾

Sir Edward's chosen victim is Clara - "it was Clara alone on whom he had serious designs; it was Clara whom he meant to seduce".⁽¹³⁾ If Sir Edward is a Lovelace *manqué*, then Clara seems to be intended to be an inferior Clarissa - indeed, her name suggests this, being a contraction of "Clarissa".

Sir Edward has responded to Richardson's novels, and those of his imitators, rather as Catherine Morland responded to the Radcliffe school, by misapplying them. In that sense, as a figure whose world-view has been distorted by his reading, he is another literary Quixote. Richardson's novel dated from nearly three-quarters of a century earlier, but the imitations were still being produced; Colonel Hargrave in Mary Bruton's *Self-Control*, for example, is, as his name suggests, a literary descendant of Sir Hargrave Pollexfen. But Sir Edward also demonstrates a knowledge of Romantic poetry - Scott,

Wordsworth and Burns - and other literary material, such as travel writing. Sir Edward thus comes to see himself not just as a Richardsonian rake, but as such a figure combined with a Byronic hero. The first may have been, in terms of literary genealogy, the "father" of the second, and both undoubtedly have common literary antecedents in the Malcontents of Jacobethan drama and in Milton's Satan; all are kinds of heroic anti-heroes. But Jane Austen's point is that Romanticism can, just like Sensibility, which helped to shape it, be misrepresented to give false moral views. The would-be seducers of Harriet Byron have their literary descendants in the hero-villains of Lord Byron, and emulation of either is undesirable. Charlotte pleads for literary morality to be linked to that of life:

I am not poetic enough to separate a man's Poetry, entirely from his Character; - and poor Burns's known Irregularities, greatly interrupt my enjoyment of his lines.^{<14>}

Charlotte makes a statement supporting Sincerity and Truth in literature, as well as in life. For Sir Edward, villains count for more than heroes, and Burns's real-life "Irregularities" only excite him further.

In his plan of seduction, Sir Edward felt "a strong curiosity to ascertain whether the Neighbourhood of Tombuctoo might not afford some solitary House adapted for Clara's reception".^{<15>} Doubtless Sir Edward had read about Tombuctoo, for he "read all the Essays, Letters, Tours and Criticisms of the day",^{<16>} in addition to fiction. He could have read about it, for example, in Jackson's *An Account of the Empire of Marocco* (1809). Supposedly fabulously wealthy, as well as

being remote, Tombuctoo presented a less romantic face in reality. Discussing this, Lock remarked that "Tombuctoo is an image of Sir Edward's mind; a mirage of rides and sexual freedom concealing a mean and sordid reality".⁽¹⁷⁾ Only in Sir Edward's mind is seduction a glorious thing; morally it is despicable, and Sir Edward may have sordid financial motives as well, for Clara is a competitor for Lady Denham's bounty, whom it would be advantageous to disgrace. That "sexual freedom" existed in Tombuctoo was suggested by Jackson:

The climate of Timbuctoo [sic] is much extolled as being salubrious and extremely invigorating, inasmuch that it is impossible for the sexes to exist without intermarriage⁽¹⁸⁾

- and this may indeed have attracted Sir Edward. But Jane Austen may also have intended, though Lock fails to note this, a comparison between Tombuctoo and Sanditon. The climate of the latter is extolled by Mr. Parker for its healthiness, while it is obvious that any watering-place is a kind of marriage-mart, as well as a focus for more illicit relationships - like that planned by Sir Edward for himself and Clara (or like those of Frank Churchill, or Lydia Bennet, contracted at other seaside resorts). Mr. Parker is well aware of the marriage-mart aspect of Sanditon; he desires Sidney's presence because he feels an attractive, eligible bachelor would be an asset. The Misses Beaufort, though at Sanditon to recover financially from ventures at greater resorts, are unlikely to be uninterested in possible matrimonial prospects. As noted, Lady Denham even briefly suspects Charlotte of having designs on Sir Edward. Tombuctoo was supposedly a fabulous, glorious market; Sanditon in Mr. Parker's eyes prospers with each pair of nankeen boots in Heeley's window. So

Tombuctoo can be seen as a distorted image of Sanditon itself; some rather disturbing parallels between the two places can be noted. The decaying, legendary city and the youthful, developing resort are neither totally admirable places, nor wholly what they seem. The reference to Tombuctoo points the gap between expectations - those of explorers, those of Mr. Parker - and reality. Southam (probably following Lock) noted that Tombuctoo's "romantic image had been shattered in the reports of Mungo Park and Robert Adams",⁽¹⁹⁾ works which had been published (and extensively reviewed) in 1815 and 1816; either Sir Edward missed them, which is unlikely, or he failed to absorb their lessons; so he is "laughably out of date in his Regency Afro-Gothicism".⁽²⁰⁾

9.5 Influence of Jane West

In *Sanditon*, Clara Brereton is the needy companion of the wealthy and mean Lady Denham. In Jane West's *Advantages of Education*, Miss Williams when young had been the needy companion of a couple named Brereton, who were rich and lived in style. Recalling this, Jane Austen may have chosen to bestow the name Brereton on a needy rather than a wealthy character; this would be an example of her allusive comedy of inversion. The name Brereton is unusual in fiction of the time.

9.6 Influence of Mary Brunton

As Sir Edward Denham enjoyed works depicting "Man's determined Pursuit of Woman in defiance of every opposition of feeling and convenience",⁽²¹⁾ he would have relished Mary Brunton's *Self-Control*, in which the heroine is pursued by the villainous rake Colonel Hargrave (an obvious literary descendant of Sir Hargrave Pollexfen). Sir Edward's desire to kidnap Clara and conceal her near Tombuctoo may seem extravagantly comic; but in *Self-Control* in all seriousness the heroine Laura (a name perhaps deliberately echoed in "Clara") is kidnapped, shipped across the Atlantic and hidden in a hut in Indian territory in America. Jane Austen had read this novel and made fun of it, especially Laura's escape in an Indian canoe. In comparison with this, Sir Edward's scheme seems an everyday affair.

9.7 Influence of Mary Hays

Moler noted that Sir Edward's stated "taste in literature . . . could serve as a parody of the preface to the *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*".⁽²²⁾ The first sentence of this preface certainly recalls Sir Edward's attitudes:

The most interesting, and the most useful fictions, are, perhaps, such, as delineating the progress, and tracing the consequences, of one strong, indulged, passion, or prejudice, afford materials, by which the philosopher may calculate the powers of the human mind, and learn the springs which set it in motion.⁽²³⁾

Emma Courtney chronicles the pursuit of a reluctant hero by a passionate heroine, an ironic counter-balance to Sir Edward's

Lovelacian viewpoint. If Jane Austen did recall the preface when writing the baronet's speeches, it is to make a further joke at his expense. Mary Hays's novel features, it may be noted, a serious carriage accident, with a resultant leg injury.

There was an Austen family tradition that *Sanditon* was to have been entitled 'The Brothers' - referring, presumably, to the contrasting Parkers, Thomas, Sidney and Arthur. However, it is worth noting that in 1815 Mary Hays published a novel with that title. As Jane Austen seems to have changed the names of 'Susan' and 'First Impressions' at least partially in response to the publication of novels with those titles, it would seem likely that she would not have used 'The Brothers' as a final title - assuming that she was aware of Mary Hays's book, and that she had not altered her practice of using original, unconfusing titles.

9.8 Influence of Thomas Love Peacock

Discussing *Sanditon*, Southam remarked that "the powerfully drawn gallery of eccentrics had an eighteenth century flavour, with touches of Fielding, Smollett and Sterne",⁽²⁴⁾ but went on to suggest that Jane Austen was also modelling her work on Thomas Love Peacock's *Headlong Hall*. Having noted that at the end of the first chapter of Peacock's novel, Dr. Gaster hurts his ankle leaving a carriage, and that a coachman announces breakfast, Southam suggested "Jane Austen is reminding us of *Headlong Hall* at the beginning of *Sanditon*".⁽²⁵⁾ But these accidents and injuries are commonplaces in the novels of the

time, and in any case Jane Austen comes closer to the Peacock incident later in *Sanditon*, when Diana's letter refers to how she helped "cure" Mrs. Sheldon's coachman's sprained foot. Southam regarded *Sanditon* as a conversational novel, and a kind of imitation of and response to Peacock's contributions to that genre. But Fanny Burney's novels, especially *Cecilia*, are probably more likely models, including as they do much characteristic conversation from individuals noted for one ruling humour or idiosyncrasy.

9.9 Influence of Thomas Skinner Surr

Thomas Skinner Surr's novel, *The Magic of Wealth* (1815) has been considered by Southam as a possible influence on *Sanditon*:

The particular aspect of the book that may have caught Jane Austen's attention is the story of its villain, Mr. Flim-Flam, a tradesman grown rich and turned banker, who exploits the current fashion of seaside resorts and changes the fishing village of Thistleton into Flimflampton.⁽²⁶⁾

The creation of Flimflampton (as Surr actually spells it) may have been modelled on a speculation at Bognor in the 1790s, when the place was briefly renamed Hothampton. Opposed to Flim-Flam is the landed proprietor Mr. Oldways.

In very broad outline, there is a suggestion here for Mr. Parker, like Flim-Flam a builder and speculator, and the representative of the traditional rural way of life, Mr. Heywood. But Jane Austen places the two in implicit contrast, rather than explicit contrast. Mr. Heywood is rather contemptuous of seaside speculations, but he is

unaffected by Sanditon's development and is not hostile to Mr. Parker. Whereas Flim-Flam is an obvious parvenu, Mr. Parker's family are established landed proprietors. The Flimflamton project fails financially, but that is because of the enormous wealth of the mysterious hero Mr. Lyttleton. The Flimflamton episode is only a backdrop to the novel, whose climax is an exposé of supposed world-wide Jesuit plots. It is not necessary to assume Jane Austen knew this work in order to have composed *Sanditon*; she could take note of the same topical trends as Surr. Stretching a point, Diana's charitable works could be seen as paralleling the subscription dinners at Flimflamton - but this would not be necessary. It is tempting to see in Mr. Parker's travel-agency puffery something of what Surr calls "confectionery journalism",⁽²⁷⁾ but again this should not be taken to infer an influence.

9.10 Influence of Frances Sheridan

Sir Edward feels that his name is a glamorous and seductive one; as he is acquainted with the Richardsonian literary tradition, he probably knew Frances Sheridan's *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph*, which features a rake named Sir Edward Audley. The latter abducts the virtuous Dorothea Arnold, rather as Sir Edward Denham plans to kidnap Clara. Both Sir Edwards are in difficult circumstances financially. (Another Sir Edward in the line of Lovelaces is the Sir Edward Archer who pursues Crabbe's virtuous Fanny Price.)

9.11 Influence of Mackenzie

In *The Lounger* No. 74, a periodical edited by Henry Mackenzie and published in 1785-6, there is a character named Sir W. Denham. When she first met him, his wife found in him "all the graces of a *Lovelace*";⁽²⁸⁾ however, while she was a woman of sensibility, he was a plain, sensible man, often preferring male company, and this led to an unhappy marriage. The name "Denham" occurs elsewhere in Eighteenth century literature, including *Ethelinde*; however, Jane Austen might have intended *The Lounger* to be recalled. Her Sir Edward Denham is also compared to Lovelace, at least by himself; but, ironically, he is the figure of sensibility (or pseudo=sensibility) in *Sanditon*, and his female partners/victims like Clara and Charlotte are women of sense - the reverse of the scenario in *The Lounger*.

9.12 Influence of Shakespeare

In *Persuasion*, Jane Austen evokes (or at any rate has caused critics to compare her work to), Shakespearean sources, in a number of ways. In her final tale, back by the sea, there is very little that is Shakespearean, although obviously it is impossible to assess fully an unfinished and incomplete text. But there is an implicit glance at a Shakespearean drama that takes place partly by the sea, and that is *King Lear*; it comes with Sir Edward's reference to "sapphire". He is most probably recalling the lines:

Half-way down,
Hangs one that gathers samphire - dreadful
trade! (28)

Possibly, also, "Mariners . . . overwhelmed by the sudden Tempest" (30) may recall *The Tempest*.

9.13 Influence of Jane Austen's Previous Work

When Sanditon is referred to as Mr. Parker's "Mine, his Lottery", (31) this seems to recall how Mr. Willmot in 'Edgar and Emma' "possessed besides his paternal Estate, a considerable share in a Lead Mine and a ticket in the Lottery". (32) Sanditon recalls the village of Evelyn in Sussex; their respective health-inducing properties are extolled by Mrs. Willis and Mr. Parker in similar terms. Shepperson considered that Sir Edward Denham "uses the same high-flown language" (33) as the Edward of 'Love and Freindship'. The overturned phaeton in that work is recalled in the accident that opens *Sanditon*; but that can also be seen as the culmination of fears about such accidents found in *Emma*, *Persuasion*, and *Northanger Abbey*.

Sidney Parker, with his schemes and restlessness, suggests a Parker figure, such as Henry Crawford; the moral, passive Charlotte recalls Fanny. Perhaps Jane Austen intended to rewrite *Mansfield Park* in *Sanditon* by allowing "Henry" to marry "Fanny" - he did, after all, nearly win her by the seaside, at Portsmouth. Clara recalls both Fanny and Susan Price; like them, she comes from a poor, crowded home, where she is undervalued, to a spacious and wealthy environment. Sir Edward's resolution to seduce Clara may have been intended to recall

Henry's intrigues, but Clara is robust and sensible, more Susan than Fanny or Maria; Susan's story, a minor strand in *Mansfield Park*, might have been foregrounded in *Sanditon*, continued through Clara. While not so oppressive, Lady Denham in her meanness recalls Mrs. Norris.

Clara also recalls the dependent orphan Jane Fairfax, being beautiful and caught up in a seaside intrigue by a man financially dependent on an old woman's caprice. Like Emma, Charlotte sees her difficulties - Clara's "was a situation which must not be judged with severity".⁽³⁴⁾ Sir Edward tries to pique Clara by paying his attentions to Charlotte, recalling how Frank flirted with Emma, causing Jane unease. The genial Mr. Parker recalls the indiscriminating Mr. Weston; Sanditon is his Frank, his enthusiasm.

Sanditon, though, most looks back to *Persuasion* and *Northanger Abbey*, one recently completed, the other still in Jane Austen's mind as she began her "seventh novel". *Sanditon* parallels and parodies a number of situations and themes found in *Persuasion*; Mudrick proposed that "Sir Edward and Clara may carry out the comic sex intrigue suggested and abruptly dropped between Sir Walter and Mrs. Clay",⁽³⁵⁾ although there are obvious differences. When Sir Edward and Charlotte stroll by the sea discussing literature, this seems to parody the episode in *Persuasion* where Anne and Benwick walk on the beach at Lyme talking about books. Benwick, bereaved and sensitive, is, despite his posturings, a more authentically Romantic and interesting figure than Sir Edward, the fantasist of seduction. Neither Anne nor, presumably, Charlotte will marry the man accompanying them, although in both works

the idea briefly occurs, especially to an older woman (Lady Russell, Lady Denham). Anne's insistence on fidelity is echoed in Charlotte's disapproving epigram on Burns - "he felt and he wrote and he forgot".^{<36>} At Sanditon, the new village dominates the old (comically, Sir Harry's portrait dominates in Mr. Hollis's house), recalling the contrast of the New House at Uppercross with the old. *Sanditon's* cast of hypochondriacs recalls Mary Musgrove and her headaches.

Describing Lyme in *Persuasion*, Jane Austen used a Romantic vocabulary for bathetic effect, generating a kind of "brochure language". Such a discourse recurs in *Sanditon*, in Mr. Parker's speeches; indeed, Lauber noted of several leading characters that "Each speaks a private language (a literary jargon, an advertising jargon, the slang of Diana)".^{<37>}

Southam considered that:

in *Sanditon*, Jane Austen is bringing *Northanger Abbey* up to date historically, giving its satire an immediate contemporary point . . . *Sanditon* can be regarded as a recasting of *Northanger Abbey*.^{<38>}

If Catherine Morland is both an anti-Evelina and a new version of her, then Charlotte Heywood may be both an anti-Catherine and a new version of *her*. Catherine enters the world at 17, the same age as Evelina and Camilla; Charlotte is older and more mature; her journey to Sanditon with the Parkers, from a rural environment, parallels Catherine's journey from Fullerton to Bath with the Allens. Both girls come from

large families, and have rural-sounding names. Isabella reminds Catherine of a literary heroine, as Clara does Charlotte; but the latter is ^{not} deceived by her reading. Sir Edward's veneer of culture covers a boorish personality not unlike John Thorpe's - misread romances being to him what horses are to Thorpe. Both are convinced of their irresistible appeal.

Mr. Parker's neophilia is a more amiable version of General Tilney's. Sanditon is a place more like the old Bath of *Northanger Abbey* than the new Bath of *Persuasion*; as an improver's home, it also resembles the Abbey. Sanditon is precisely visualised - it has "a distinctive genius loci",⁽³³⁾ it is almost a character. In both *Sanditon* and *Northanger Abbey*, the general spirit is satirical, though directed at different vogues and crazes.

9.14 Conclusion

In *Sir Edward*, the doctrines of the persecutors of *Clarissa* or *Harriet Byron* are combined with those of *Lord Byron* and his disciples. Romanticism is shown to be as morally suspect as *Lovelacism*; both have similar flaws, extolling "irregularities". *Jane Austen* had spent a lifetime satirising and warning against the cult of *Sensibility* and *Lovelace discipleship*; now, that cult largely superseded, she sees it perpetuated in a new form, and, dying, shows this new manifestation to be merely a variant on the old ("New *Presbyter* is but old *Priest* writ large"), in the character of *Sir Edward*. (He curiously prefigures another South Coast seducer, *Alex d'Urberville*, who meets his death at

Sandbourne, a name unconsciously echoing Sanditon; in Jane Austen's final fiction the Victorian novel casts its shadow before, though she may look back to her formative influences.)

But there is Romantic, as well as moral, symbolism in the misty morning encounter of Clara and Sir Edward - "something White and Womanish"⁽⁴⁰⁾ seems Romantic, while the "fine Elms, or rows of old Thorns"⁽⁴¹⁾ suggests morally Clara's alternative destinies - marriage, and an estate, or seduction, and suffering as if fallen among thorns. And before this supposedly secret tryst (Charlotte's cool musings removing much of its mystique) comes the brief encounter of Charlotte and Sidney, the intended romantic leads. How their romance and personalities would have developed is unknowable; despite - and made piquant by - Jane Austen's suspicions about the excesses of Romanticism, an apt analogy for this tantalising, unrealised love may be found in one of the great Romantic poems - for it could be said of Sidney and Charlotte (and, ironically, of Sir Edward and Clara) what Keats wrote in 'Ode on a Grecian Urn':

Bold Lover, never, never canst thou kiss,
Though winning near the goal . . .
For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair.⁽⁴²⁾

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE:
SANDITON

1. E.M. Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, 14.
2. Jane Austen, *Letters*, 484.
3. Magee, 'The Happy Marriage', 128.
4. *ibid.*
5. *ibid.*
6. *MW*, 421.
7. *ibid.*
8. Frances Burney, *Cecilia*, II, 282-83.
9. *MW*, 420.
10. *ibid.*
11. Elaine Bander, 'The Significance of Jane Austen's References to *Camilla* in *Sanditon*: A Note', 214.
12. *MW*, 404-5.
13. *MW*, 405.
14. *MW*, 398.
15. *MW*, 405-6.
16. *MW*, 404.
17. F.P. Lock. '"The Neighbourhood of Tombuctoo": A Note on *Sanditon*', 99.
18. J.G. Jackson, *An Account of the Empire of Marocco*, 303.
19. Southam, '*Sanditon* - The Seventh Novel', 8.
20. *ibid.*
21. *MW*, 404.
22. Moler, *Jane Austen's Art of Allusion*, 206-7.
23. Mary Hays, *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*, I, 5.
24. Southam, '*Sanditon* - The Seventh Novel', 17.

25. *ibid.*
26. Southam, '*Sanditon - The Seventh Novel*', 18.
27. Thomas Skinner Surr, *The Magic of Wealth*, II, 211.
28. Mackenzie, (ed.), *The Lounger*, III, 47.
29. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, IV.vi.14-15.
30. *MW*, 398.
31. *MW*, 372.
32. *MW*, 31.
33. A.B. Shepperson, *The Novel in Motley*, 138.
34. *MW*, 426.
35. Marvin Mudrick, *Jane Austen: Irony*, 254.
36. *MW*, 398.
37. John Lauber, '*Sanditon - The Kingdom of Folly*', 360.
38. Southam, '*Sanditon - The Seventh Novel*', 7.
39. Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts*, 104.
40. *MW*, 426-27.
41. *ibid.*
42. John Keats, '*Ode on a Grecian Urn*', II, 7-10.

CHAPTER TEN:

CONCLUSION

Henry Austen, in his 'Biographical Notice', referred to Jane Austen's preference for Richardson over Fielding; and undoubtedly the tradition of the social novel, derived from Richardson, was the one in which she worked. It is no surprise therefore to find that he alone of those called by McKillop "unquestionably *les cinq grandes* of their place and time"⁽¹⁾ (Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne) is a major influence on, and indeed ultimate source of many other influences on, Jane Austen's novels.

Aside from Richardson, Jane Austen's major influences were novels written between 1778 and 1796 - the years of publication of Fanny Burney's *Evelina* and *Camilla* respectively. Although posterity has ranked *Evelina* the most highly of Fanny Burney's novels, perhaps on account of the documentary value of its wealth of social detail, it would appear that *Cecilia* (1782) exerted the most influence over novelists of the time. *Cecilia* is, along with *Grandison*, the most important influence on Jane Austen's novels; nearly all make some reference to its central situation, or the variants on it of its imitators. *Cecilia* is itself a kind of variant on *Grandison*, with the central dilemma confronting a pair of lovers altered from one based on religious divisions to one founded on snobbery, and real or imagined

differences in social class. The literary lineage reaching from *Grandison* through *Cecilia* and its imitators to *Pride and Prejudice* and Jane Austen's other novels has never previously been accorded its proper importance.

Neither has Jane Austen's debt to Charlotte Smith been fully recognised before. Although Charlotte Smith imparted a conventionally sensational birth-mystery into *Emmeline*, her imitation of *Cecilia*, on the whole she attempted, with due deference to the public taste that was so important in determining her financial success, to write with greater "realism" than any of the other novelists of the late Eighteenth century. Jane Austen carried on this trend, redeploing much of Charlotte Smith's material, and, recalling Reynolds's idea of competition with a model, triumphing over her as genius will over talent; but Charlotte Smith was a necessary figure in the progress of "realism" towards Jane Austen's achievement.

Two major types of novel in the period covered were the Gothic and the Political. The Gothic was essentially a conservative form, providing an implicitly (and often explicitly) conservative commentary on the upheaval of the late Eighteenth century, most notably the French Revolution. Political novels are characterised by their overt contribution to the Jacobin and anti-Jacobin ^{clubs}. This fervour had died down by the time Jane Austen published her novels, but her early drafts were written when it was at its height, and her works display her knowledge of writings on both sides of the argument, as they do her knowledge of the Gothic, which by the second decade of the

Nineteenth century was a declining form. As noted in an earlier chapter, there was no clear direction between the social novel and the Gothic novel in the 1790s; so Ann Radcliffe's influence as a novelist of manners and sentiment can be felt throughout *Northanger Abbey*, and Jane Austen's other works, in addition to her more obvious contribution to the Gothic elements in Catherine Morland's adventures. In Politics, it seems fairly clear, despite attempts to disprove this, that Jane Austen was a Tory and a conservative, and in her moral opinions - which are more important than her politics - an orthodox Anglican - which is how Henry Austen described her. But conservative, anti-Jacobin writers such as Jane West appear to have been less important influences than some of those of a more liberal or even radical alignment, such as Charlotte Smith, Bage, and (in Jane Austen's middle novels) Elizabeth Inchbald. The reason was, presumably, that Jane Austen found the works of these authors more convenient as "starting-points" for her own fictions, and placed relatively little importance on the particular political slant; though it could be argued that Jane Austen was reclaiming certain classic themes from liberals and redeploying them in a more conservative (and, in *Pride and Prejudice* at least, more Tory) way. That she and the other authors drawing upon Richardson and Fanny Burney would have seen them as seminal writers, authors of classics, is an idea that finds support in Jane West, who, writing in 1810, referred to "the Harlowes, Byrons, Delviles [sic] and other classical families".⁽²⁾

Few novels written after the turn of the century seem to have made any impact upon Jane Austen's work, even though she continued to be an

avid novel-reader. A reason for this may be found in the fact that there were few novelists of note writing between 1800 and Jane Austen's death. Ann Radcliffe published no more novels in her lifetime after *The Italian*, Fanny Burney's *The Wanderer* was not published until 1814, and Charlotte Smith, who died in 1806, had given up novel-writing at the end of the 1790s. There were few who could fill such gaps. Jane Austen died before the full impact of Scott's novels could be felt, and before Mary Shelley and the "silver-fork" school had begun to publish.

It may also be the truth that Jane Austen was most impressionable, as a reader and potential writer, in her teens, which is when she would first have read most if not all of the major influences on her work. Since the same novelists, and frequently the same novels, are as important for her later works as for those begun in the 1790s, it may be speculated that she both liked to retain a formula with which she was comfortable, and that the basic material of the Eighteenth-century novel was so rich and important that she preferred throughout her writing life to ring changes upon it, exploring and discussing it in new ways and new variants, instead of looking for new material.

This predisposition for the matter which she had read in her youth may explain why Jane Austen was not greatly influenced by Maria Edgeworth, the most distinguished novelist of the first decade of the Nineteenth century. Jane Austen admired her work, and sent her a copy of *Emma* (the merits of which Maria Edgeworth did not really appreciate), but she did not employ her as a source of particular importance. Maria

Edgeworth achieved "realism" in her portrayals both of Ireland and of English fashionable life, and incidental parallels exist between, for example, *Mansfield Park* and *Patronage*; but those instances where Jane Austen does appear to have drawn on Maria Edgeworth's work only account for minor details.

The epistolary tradition was waning, but still in use (Maria Edgeworth and Scott both produced examples) when Jane Austen wrote; but, early efforts aside, it seems to have made little appeal to her, probably because of the form's lack of realism. The case for epistolary origins for several of her early works does not seem persuasive. Although Richardson was so important to Jane Austen, it was his matter, not his manner, that influenced her novels so much (the irony of *Lady Susan's* lack of Richardsonian influence is noteworthy).

Throughout Jane Austen's fiction there are allusions to literary works other than novels, but it is probably true to say that such references to drama and poetry are more densely and completely integrated into the text in the later novels. Drama includes Shakespeare, who, though invoked too frequently and inaptly by critics, does undoubtedly contribute to Jane Austen's work. According to Noyes, a survey of Eighteenth century literature revealed that "one novel in every seven contains some Shakespearean reference",⁽²⁾ but these references are frequently merely quotations (generally the same ones!) or descriptions of actors in a play; Shakespeare was fairly rarely used as a model for scenes or a source for plots, in the way that he was used by Jane Austen in, for example, *Mansfield Park*. For Jane Austen,

more than for almost any other novelist of her time, Shakespeare was a significant literary predecessor. (A few novels, which she would probably or certainly have known, *did* draw on Shakespeare's plots - Bage's *Mount Henneth* drew on *Lear*, and Lewis's *The Monk* drew on *Measure for Measure*, while Elizabeth Inchbald's *A Simple Story* recalled *The Winter's Tale*; these would have provided Jane Austen with precedents for her approach.) As Hertz remarked (though his own example is wrongheaded), "she often demanded familiarity with the national poet".⁽⁴⁾

Jane Austen was undoubtedly familiar with periodical literature, and, not unlike Sir Edward Denham, with essays, travels and *belles lettres*. If she was *The Loiterer's* Sophia Sentiment, then at the age of thirteen she claimed to know "the entertaining papers of our most celebrated periodical writers".⁽⁵⁾ References to periodicals are especially a part of the literary atmosphere of *Northanger Abbey*. Their influence has been charted by Bradbrook in *Jane Austen and her Predecessors*; while she assumed that her readers would be acquainted with the more "celebrated periodicals", the material out of which she spun her fictions rarely derived from them. Their influence mainly lies in certain thoughts and phrases, as background ideas and associations, rather than in characters or incidents.

As a clergyman's daughter, Jane Austen would have known the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer very well. In contrast to more didactic writers, she did not draw explicitly upon Scripture in her novels, to any noteworthy extent, perhaps considering it too sacred; but an

awareness of religious symbols, as well as of religion's more social dimensions, clearly informs her work. This is especially true in *Mansfield Park*, with its explicit mention of future divine justice ("a juster appointment hereafter").⁽⁶⁾ The "origin of Austen's balanced and co-ordinated sentences"⁽⁷⁾ may have been the prose rhythms of the Book of Common Prayer. She did not parade Classical learning in her works, unlike some other novelists, both male and female; but this should not be taken for ignorance of Classical mythology and history; although she might not have known the Classical languages, the ancient world would inevitably have been known to her, through her learned home and her reading in English poetry and fiction, and the references to "Zephyr" and "Lucina" (though not found in her novels) indicate this. If she ignored the Classics it was from choice.

Jane Austen wrote from a woman's point of view, necessarily so in terms of her aesthetic of "realism"; but this is not to be confused with her being a "feminist". Although many of her favourite authors were women, the literary tradition in which she and they worked could *not* be seen as specifically or characteristically belonging to that one sex; it is, after all, the tradition of Richardson, who had significantly more followers and adaptors as well. The view of Joyce Carol Oates seems pertinent to the case of Jane Austen - that considerations of gender are frequently a distraction, are essentially irrelevant and contain much special pleading: "the serious artistic voice is one of individual *style*, and it is sexless".⁽⁸⁾ Denying that there is a "distinctly 'female' voice", Oates opined that "biology" is

"subordinate to matters of personal vision, and even to matters of craftsmanship".⁽⁹⁾

As Jane Austen worked in a tradition, rewriting and adapting the work of her predecessors, so she herself became, for later authors, an important part of the novel tradition, and was herself imitated and adapted. Whatever Kipling's officers may have thought, she had more legitimate offspring than "Enery James". One of these imitators, and perhaps the earliest, was James Fenimore Cooper, whose first novel, *Precaution* (1821) was supposedly intended to be an ^{imitation} of and improvement on an English novel he had disliked; Scudder⁽¹⁰⁾ suggested that this was *Pride and Prejudice*, and Hastings made the case for *Persuasion*.⁽¹¹⁾ The parallels cited are convincing in both cases; *Persuasion* was probably the main model, but Cooper could easily have recollected the earlier novel by the same author, as well.

According to Chapman, subject-titles like *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice* "set a Fashion . . . after 1813 titles made up of pairs of abstracts became frequent".⁽¹²⁾ Catherine Gore (whose works include *Progress and Prejudice* and *Temptation and Atonement*) wrote her novel *Pin-Money* (1831) as "an attempt to transfer the familiar narratives of Miss Austen to a higher sphere of society".⁽¹³⁾ This is perhaps more an example of general influence rather than of an author drawing upon Jane Austen's works as specific models; undoubtedly Jane Austen did so influence a number of Victorian novelists, both major and minor. For Anthony Trollope, however, *Pride*

and Prejudice was a specific model for *Framley Parsonage*⁽¹⁴⁾ (with Lucy as Elizabeth, Lord Lufton as Darcy and Lady Lufton as Lady Catherine - though Lord Lufton also recalls Bingley), while Lily Dale's story in *The Small House at Allington* clearly rewrites Marianne's in *Sense and Sensibility*. Thus central themes, transmitted through generations of novelists responding to the traditional materials of their predecessors, and reshaping them with the alterations of the social fabric, can be seen to recur in works ranging from Richardson's time through to the mid-Victorian novel, at least. (Indeed, in late Victorian times, Meredith rewrote *Grandison*, the previous century's most seminal text, in *The Egoist* - George Eliot's Grandcourt in *Daniel Deronda* having represented another such rewriting.) Jane Austen, born in the Eighteenth century and dying in the Nineteenth, fittingly provides an important link in this chain.

No study of this kind can hope to be exhaustive; there may well be, in the mass of minor novels of the Eighteenth century, more parallels and sources for Jane Austen's fiction, as yet undetected. Quite which now-forgotten works she may have read, brought back from circulating libraries, can never be certainly known. Further investigation may well prove valuable, for this study has reinforced the truth of Tompkins's comment that, for Jane Austen, the works of her "forgotten predecessors" were "the leaf-mould in which that exquisite and thriving plant was rooted".⁽¹⁵⁾

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN:
CONCLUSION

1. Alan D. McKillop, *The Early Masters of English Fiction*, vii.
2. Jane West, *The Refusal*, II. 17-18.
3. Robert Gale Noyes, *The Thespian Mirror*, iii.
4. Hertz, 'Dancing, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Pride and Prejudice*', 206.
5. quoted in Honan, *Jane Austen: Her Life*, 60.
6. *MP*, 468.
7. Doody, 'Jane Austen's Reading', 347.
8. Joyce Carol Oates, 'Is There a Female Voice? Joyce Carol Oates Replies', 11.
9. Oates, *op. cit.*, 10.
10. see Harold H. Scudder, 'What Mr. Cooper Read to his Wife', *passim*.
11. see George E. Hastings, 'How Cooper Became a Novelist', *passim*.
12. R.W. Chapman, 'Jane Austen's Titles', 238.
13. quoted in M.W. Rosa, *The Silver-Fork School*, 127.
14. see Norman Page, 'Influence on Later Writers', 233.
15. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800*, 210.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:

<i>MLN</i>	=	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MLR</i>	=	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>NCF</i>	=	<i>Nineteenth Century Fiction</i> (now <i>Nineteenth Century Literature</i>)
<i>NQ</i>	=	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	=	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i> (of America)
<i>RES</i>	=	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>SEL</i>	=	<i>Studies in English Literature 1500-1900</i>
<i>TLS</i>	=	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>

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