

Romanticism, Gender and Surveillance, 1780–1836



PhD Thesis

Thesis submitted in candidature for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English and Creative Writing

Aberystwyth University

Lucy Elizabeth Thompson

80,000 words

June 2018

Contents

List of Illustrations	1
Acknowledgements	4
Abstract	5
Introduction	5
1. The Field of Surveillance.....	8
2. Flinging Aside the Curtain.....	15
3. Disciplining Women	24
Chapter 1 The Sexual Body: Slut-Shaming and Surveillance in Sophia Lee’s <i>The Chapter of Accidents</i>	32
1.1. Epistemologies of ‘Slut’: Pushing the Boundaries of Sentimental Comedy	35
1.2. ‘Sure ev’ry body must wish to see and be seen’: Monitoring Women in <i>The Chapter of Accidents</i>	42
1.3. Punishing Bridget: Regulating Female Agency in <i>The Chapter of Accidents</i>	48
1.4. Slut-Bonnets, Slang and Keyhole Testaments: Georgian Print Culture and Representation of Women in the Press	53
1.5. Resilience: Fabling Women’s Public Image.....	62
Chapter 2 The Medically Surveilled Body: Gendered Experiences of the Paramedical Gaze	77
2.1. ‘Figuring it out’: Modern Surveillance Medicine and Hermaphroditism in the Twenty-First Century	81
2.2. ‘Sweet marble monster’: Shelley, Medicine and the Hermaphrodite	91
2.3. ‘Semi-glorious human monster[s]’: Byron, Surveillance and Discipline.....	99
2.4. ‘Who and what is Geraldine?’: Extending the Disciplinary Gaze	108
Chapter 3 Surveillance and the Displaced Body: Charlotte Smith, <i>What Is She?</i>, and the ‘New Public Self’	117
3.1. Aliens, Paranoid Discourse and Surveillance	124
3.2. Charlotte Smith and the Emigrant Experience.....	136
3.3. Visibility, Social Control & Unmasking in <i>What Is She?</i>	143
3.4. Strategies of Resistance and the New Public Self	149
Chapter 4 The Domiciliary Body: Archio-Surveillance in Joanna Baillie’s <i>The Alienated Manor</i> and Jane Austen’s <i>Mansfield Park</i>	155
4.1. ‘Nothing so delightful as peeping’: Romantic Eavesdropping	160
4.2. Inspection Houses: Domiciliary Surveillance and Archio-disciplinary Power	168
4.3. ‘Unusual Noise’: Panopticism and Scripting Spaces in <i>Mansfield Park</i>	174
4.4. Re-scripting: Resistance in <i>Mansfield Park</i> and <i>The Alienated Manor</i>	182

Chapter 5 The Urban Body: Women, Geosurveillance and the City	190
5.1. Mapping in the Romantic Imagination	193
5.2. Risky bodies: Covent Garden Ladies and Geosurveillance	197
5.3. Geosurveilling Women in Fiction: Egan’s <i>Life in London</i> and De Quincey’s <i>Confessions of an English Opium-Eater</i>	205
Conclusion: Geraldine’s Sisters	214
Illustrations	222
Bibliography	239

List of Illustrations

Introduction

Figure 1. Johannes Vermeer, *A Girl Reading a Letter by an Open Window* (*Brieflezend Meisje bij het Venster*), c. 1657–1659, oil on canvas, 83 cm × 64.5 cm, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (Old Masters Picture Gallery), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.

Figure 2. Gerard Dou, *Man Smoking a Pipe* (Self Portrait), c. 1650, oil on panel, 48cm × 37cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figure 3. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden’s (SKD) 1:1 reconstruction of Vermeer’s ‘A Girl Reading a Letter by an Open Window’, produced by the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts for ‘The Young Vermeer’, 2010, in *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister*, previously available at: [<www.skd.museum/en/special-exhibitions/archive/the-young-vermeer>](http://www.skd.museum/en/special-exhibitions/archive/the-young-vermeer) [accessed 22 October 2015], photo © Thomas Scheufler.

Figure 4. Johannes Vermeer, *The Little Street* (*Het Straatje*), c. 1657–1661, 53.3 cm × 44 cm, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Chapter 1

Figure 5. James Gillray, *Sir Richard Worse-than-Sly, exposing his wife’s bottom.—O fye!*, originally published by William Humphrey, 14 March 1782, hand-coloured etching, 335 mm × 230 mm, © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Chapter 2

Figure 6. *Sleeping Hermaphroditus*, Imperial Age Roman copy of the Hellenistic original, Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Photo © Liêm Phó Nhòm.

Chapter 3

Figure 7. James Gillray, *Independence*, originally published by Hannah Humphrey, 09 June 1799, hand-coloured etching, 349 mm × 249 mm, © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 8. Anonymous, ‘No. 4 – Out-door, or Carriage Dress’, 1808, engraving, in *La Belle Assemblée* (London: J. Bell, 1808), p. 138.

Figure 9. ‘Costume Parisienne: Turban à la Gulnaire. Corset et jupon à la Lisbeth’, in *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 11 February 1798, engraving, 181 mm × 116 mm (Paris: Pierre de la Mésangère).

Chapter 4

Figure 10. Willey Reveley, *Plan of Houses of Inspection*, c. 1791, pencil, pen and ink and watercolour sketch on paper, inscribed with manuscript notes, 330 mm × 202 mm, Bentham Collection UCL, UC 119, fol. 121, Courtesy UCL Special Collections, image captured by UCL Creative Media Services

Figure 11. *Designing Safer Places, Planning Policy Approach* (Gloucester City Council, 2008),

<<http://www.gloucester.gov.uk/resident/Documents/Planning%20and%20Building%20Control/DSP%20IA%200808.pdf>> [accessed 01 December 2017], p. 9.

Chapter 5

Figure 12. Anna Letitia Barbauld and Joseph Ellis, *A New Map of the Land of Matrimony drawn from the latest surveys*, copperplate engraving, 36 cm × 28.5 cm (London: J. Johnson, 1772).

Figure 13. ‘Frontispiece’, in *Harris’s List of Covent Garden Ladies, or Man of Pleasure’s Kalender for the Year 1793* (London: H. Ranger, 1793).

Figure 14. Lucy E. Thompson, Map of London 1814. Locations plotted onto *The Stranger's Guide Through the Streets of London and Westminster: A New and Correct Plan of London* (London: William Darton, 1814).

Figure 15. Screenshot of Matthew Sangster's map, taken from 'Mapping *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies* (1788), in *Romantic London*, <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/harris-list-1788/#14/51.5207/-0.1255>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

Figure 16. David Hughson, 'Walk 12: Covent Garden Theatre', in *Walks Through London* (Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1817).

Figure 17. Screenshot of Matthew Sangster's map, taken from 'Mapping Pierce Egan's *Life in London*, in *Romantic London* (1821), <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/life-in-london-map/#18/51.51253/-0.11731>> [accessed 23 March 2018].

Figure 18. Joel E. Salt, *Map of London with Annotations from De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, in 'Re-Mapping as Remembering: the Digital De Quincey', <<http://drc.usask.ca/projects/eng803/joel/dequincey/dequincey.html>> [accessed 14 March 2018].

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my supervisors. Richard Marggraf Turley for his guidance and support throughout my PhD, for his meticulous comments on endless drafts and for his encouragement to pursue even the strangest avenues of research. And Beth Rodgers, for her kind advice, her support and for the tea and cake at Victorian Women Wednesdays, which always brightened my week. Their passion for their subject is unbelievable and they have been incredible throughout.

I am also particularly lucky to have such a patient family. They may have fallen asleep on occasion while reading drafts of my work but without them I probably wouldn't have finished (or even started). Of course, special mention goes to my dog, Douglas, because it seems remiss of me to forget his monumental contributions; in particular, his diligent efforts to lie across my laptop, which ensured that I took necessary breaks, even if I didn't want to. And to Stanley, my sister's whippet, whose cool indifference to my research in his tireless pursuit of food helped keep things in perspective.

I would also like to thank to my friends, without whom I would probably still be struggling through the first chapter.

A version of the introduction appeared in the journal of *Surveillance & Society* and I would like to thank my editor Gavin Smith, as well as the reviewers for their valuable advice.

And finally, thanks to everyone in the English and Creative Writing Department – they have been hugely supportive and helped me tremendously throughout my time at Aberystwyth University.

Abstract

This thesis explores various modalities of gendered surveillance in the Romantic period between 1780 and 1836. I am interested in the ways in which surveillance was explicitly gendered, in the range of situations in which women experienced surveillance, emotionally, psychologically and physically, as different to men. This thesis asks what kinds of resilience did women develop to surveillant mechanisms? How did art and literature process and reflect on surveillance? I also consider continuities between gendered forms of surveillance in the Romantic period and women's experiences of asymmetric inspection today. These questions are pursued across a broad range of material, including plays; newspaper adverts; letters; diaries; poems; novels; medical treatises; cartoons; paintings; Old Bailey transcripts; architectural plans; and government reports. I examine once popular but now neglected texts such as Sophia Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents*, Charlotte Smith's *What Is She?* and Joanna Baillie's *The Alienated Manor*, alongside more familiar works such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge's 'Christabel', Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* and Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of An English Opium-Eater*, as well as Percy Shelley's *The Witch of Atlas*, Byron's *Sardanapalus* and Pierce Egan's *Life in London*.

Introduction

I began this thesis in the immediate aftermath of the Snowden revelations of state and super-national surveillance in June 2013.¹ The leaks resulted in wide public awareness of hitherto secret programmes of mass warrantless surveillance carried out by intelligence agencies aided by internet providers, search engines and social media companies; the global scale of

¹ See Edward Snowden's interview with Laura Poitras and Jacob Applebaum: 'Edward Snowden Interview: The NSA and Its Willing Helpers', 08 July 2013, in *Der Spiegel*, <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/interview-with-whistleblower-edward-snowden-on-global-spying-a-910006.html>> [accessed 12 April 2018].

these programmes was startling to many people, myself included. To the consternation of national security circles,² Snowden's release of data – which was far more extensive than Daniel Ellsberg's leak of the 'Pentagon papers' in 1971 – put beyond doubt the fact that America's NSA and Britain's GCHQ were spying on, in Snowden's words, 'nearly everything a typical user does on the internet'.³ The revelations raised urgent questions concerning the legal, political and ethical status of such surveillance, not only in the United States but across other 'five-eyes' nations (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States). As people struggled to work out how the revelations affected them, most ended up simply giving a collective shrug. But I became increasingly conscious of, and fascinated by, the ways in which Romanticism – the first age of mass (analogue) inspection, the age in which the term *surveillance* entered the English language for the first time,⁴ and whose imagination produced the Panopticon – not only shaped the 'culture of surveillance' that Snowden's leaks had exposed, but also seemed to offer help as we recalibrated our own experience of modern-day invigilation.⁵ In particular, I became interested in the ways in which the widening network of government 'spies and informers' from the 1780s to the post-Napoleonic Wars era was socialised and internalised; this seemed to me the area with most application to the current situation exposed by Snowden.⁶ The manner in which the customs and modes of monitoring were embedded during this period constitutes an aetiology of surveillance culture that has continued in a largely unbroken line.

² For more detail on the precise fallout from Snowden's revelations, see *The Snowden Reader*, ed. David P. Fidler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

³ The leaked document is quoted by the Associated Press, 'Everyone is under surveillance now, says whistleblower Edward Snowden', 03 May 2014, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/03/everyone-is-under-surveillance-now-says-whistleblower-edward-snowden>> [accessed 28 April 2018], para. 6 of 14.

⁴ 'Surveillance' features in Charles James's dictionary in 1802 defined as 'inspection; superintendence; the act of watching. The substantive is new among the French, and comes from *Surveiller*, to watch': *A New and Enlarged Military Dictionary, Or, Alphabetical Explanation of Technical Terms* (London: T. Egerton, 1802), np.

⁵ David Lyon, *The Culture of Surveillance: Watching as a Way of Life* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), p. 2.

⁶ John Thelwall, *Political Lectures, Containing the Lecture on Spies and Informers and Prosecutions for Political Opinion*, Vol. I (London, 1795), p. 3.

The socialisation of surveillance in the Romantic period informs how – in the terms of pivotal surveillance theorist David Lyon – inspection is ‘imagined and experienced’ in our own age, and at the accelerated pace enabled by digital technicity (Lyon, *Culture of Surveillance*, p. 2).

Today, many of us are willing to bring smart home devices such as the Apple HomePod, Amazon Echo and Google Home into our living rooms, bedrooms and even bathrooms. Smart speakers, like smart phones before them, are now so domesticated that it seems reasonable to claim that we have made surveillance part of our sense of self-worth; such devices are seen as ‘adding value’ to our lives. Our increasing transparency to invigilators, whether governments and their agencies, corporations or hackers, within a networked infrastructure of surveillance, means that it is almost impossible to make a journey today on foot or by car without our precise coordinates being tracked. ANPR technology logs vehicle number plates; faces can be recognised and tracked in and through crowds; our phones, watches and fitness devices use geolocation services to record our routes – both habitual and extraordinary. The data harvested from such technologies is processed and combined for a range of uses, from micro-targeted advertising to political monitoring and crime investigation. Some of the technologies are disturbingly invasive: for instance, tools such as the software ‘FlexiSPY’ allow people with a monthly subscription to remotely monitor calls and messages, as well as enable the actor to view and track the target’s GPS locations, capture key logs or ‘listen in on a phone’s surroundings and hear what’s really going on’.⁷ Privacy activists warn that we have sleepwalked our way into an age of mass surveillance, where such technology is actively desired rather than feared by those who have been encouraged to equate surveillance with security.

⁷ Users pay a monthly subscription and download FlexiSPY’s software onto the phone, tablet or computer they wish to monitor. See FlexiSPY, ‘Features’, in *FlexiSPY*, <<https://www.flexispy.com/en/mobile-and-cell-phone-spy-features.htm>> [accessed 23 April 2018].

My surprise at the rapidity with which surveillance practices and techniques were being socialised under the banner of convenience and security led me to investigate earlier periods of such socialisation. By and through what mechanisms and vectors did Romantic art and literature internalise – and yet also process and resist – this incipient culture? Prime Minister Pitt’s informers and the spy catchers of Whitehall could hardly have dreamed of electronic devices capable of tracking and recording a population’s movements, innermost desires and political opinions in real time – still less imagined a population that would eagerly queue up to purchase these devices.⁸ Equally, they would probably have been bemused by the idea of a society where people regularly publish minute details of their daily lives, aspirations and political affiliations, not to mention sexual preferences and activities, friendship circles and professional networks on social media platforms, where anyone can – and, the posters hope, *will* – view them.⁹ Nevertheless, the Romantic era witnesses the beginning of, and early attempts to theorise, the nexus of spy networks, informers and other invigilatory mechanisms that are in operation today. Moreover, it is precisely at that juncture when the gendered surveillant paradigms – a neglected aspect in Romantic Studies – to which this thesis attends first emerge with clarity.

1. The Field of Surveillance

In 1795, alarmed by the increase in numbers of government spies, investigators and paid domestic observers, the radical reformer John Thelwall complained that the home no longer represented private space. ‘Every key hole is an informer’, he lamented, adding that:

⁸ Toby R. Benis, *Romanticism on the Road: The Marginal Gains of Wordsworth’s Homeless* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 105.

⁹ Andrew Griffin, ‘Everyone Who Can See Your Entire Internet History, Including The Taxman, DWP and Food Standards Agency’, 24 November 2016, in *Independent*, <<https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/news/investigatory-powers-bill-act-snoopers-charter-browsing-history-what-does-it-mean-a7436251.html>> [accessed 27 April 2018].

Our own houses and our own tables furnish no longer a sanctuary and an altar where it is safe to offer the free incense of friendly communication; and the very domestic who eats our bread stands open-mouthed behind our chairs to catch and betray the conversation of our unguarded moments (Thelwall, p. 6).

In similar vein, in public lectures¹⁰ Samuel Taylor Coleridge denounced the government's expanding 'system of spies and informers' that in 1797 would notoriously be directed at him and William Wordsworth during the 'Spy Nozy' affair, when Whitehall sent spy-catcher James Walsh to Devon to investigate accusations by informers that the pair were French spies.¹¹ Charlotte Smith's novels also register the pressure of Pitt's web of informers. *Marchmont* (1796), for instance, denounces 'the whole tribe of spies and sheriffs' officers'.¹² As Harriet Guest points out in her pioneering 'Suspicious Minds: Spies and Surveillance in Charlotte Smith's Novels of the 1790s', Smith's narratives are 'riddled with suspicions (sometimes groundless) of spies and informers, covert observers and reporters on the actions of others' that reflect 'a national concern with espionage'.¹³ A number of critics have drawn attention to the sublimation of spying in texts from the late-1700s and early 1800s. Nicholas Roe, for instance, looks beneath the humour of Coleridge's account of the 'Spy Nozy' affair to acknowledge the incident's seriousness in *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years* (1988).¹⁴ Similarly, John Barrell's *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s*

¹⁰ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Conciones ad Populum: or, Addresses to the People* (n. pub., 1795), p. 49.

¹¹ Coleridge relates the incident with humour in *Biographia Literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907 [Originally published 1817]), pp. 126–27.

¹² Charlotte Smith, *Marchmont*, Vol. II of IV (London: Sampson Low, 1796), p. 80.

¹³ Harriet Guest, 'Suspicious Minds: Spies and Surveillance in Charlotte Smith's Novels of the 1790s', in *Land, Nation and Culture, 1740–1840*, eds. Peter de Bolla, Nigel Leask and David Simpson (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 169–87, at p. 172.

¹⁴ Nicholas Roe's account in *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 248–62.

(2006) illuminates the various ways in which Romantic writing bears and registers anxieties about spies and spying at a time of widespread but ‘largely invisible’ regimes of governmental surveillance.¹⁵ Romantic Studies, then, recognises that the period and its literature was conditioned by widening surveillance. But this pioneering and still valuable work, however, does not take into account recent detailed and theorised research in Surveillance Studies – a discipline that has received additional impetus in the wake of the Snowden revelations.

My thesis represents the first sustained application of current surveillance theory to the art, literature and political culture of the Romantic era, and directs this body of knowledge in particular towards the recovery and analysis of women’s experience of inspection. The field of modern surveillance studies can be traced back to key publications in the 1970s, including Max Weber’s work on bureaucracy,¹⁶ James B. Rule’s study *Private Lives, Public Surveillance* (1973)¹⁷ and Michel Foucault’s seminal publication *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975). It developed in the 1980s and 1990s with important contributions from Anthony Giddens, Gary T. Marx, Richard V. Ericson and Kevin D. Haggerty, among others.¹⁸ Post-9/11, the field has developed to identify and elaborate the intricate ways in which surveillance operates in contexts as varied as gaming,¹⁹ social media,²⁰ medicine –

¹⁵ John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 28, 98–100, 204.

¹⁶ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978 [Originally published in German in 1922]).

¹⁷ James B. Rule, *Private Lives, Public Surveillance* (London: Allen Lane, 1973).

¹⁸ Anthony Giddens, *The Nation State and Violence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985); Gary T. Marx, *Undercover: Police Surveillance in America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Richard V. Ericson and Kevin D. Haggerty, *Policing the Risk Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

¹⁹ Jennifer R. Whitson, ‘Gaming the Quantified Self’, *Surveillance & Society*, 11.1/2 (2013), 163–76.

²⁰ Daniel Trotter, ‘Mutual Transparency or Mundane Transgressions? Institutional Creeping on Facebook’, *Surveillance & Society*, 9.1/2 (2011), 17–30.

from monitoring childhood development to cervical examinations,²¹ forensics,²² zoos²³ and financial markets.²⁴ Surveillance is not a Romantic invention, of course. As Edward Higgs points out, governments have engaged in minute record-keeping since at least 1500.²⁵ But the expansion of bureaucracy – of administrative surveillance – is a key feature of post-Enlightenment modernity, and signals a societal move towards the supervision of populations through organised information gathering, as theorised by Christopher Dandeker.²⁶ As an important mode of ‘administrative power’ (Dandeker, p. vii), surveillance has been ‘integral to the development of disciplinary power, modern subjectivities, and technologies of governance’ (Haggerty and Ericson’s formulation).²⁷ It constitutes a fundamental aspect of Gilles Deleuze’s ‘society of control’.²⁸ An extensive body of work by post-Foucauldian critics has scrutinised the role of surveillance in the creation of what has been called the ‘docile’ body: a body that ‘may be subjected, used, transformed and improved’ (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 136). Surveillance is part of what William Bogard calls a ‘disciplinary machine’, which compels obedience through a panoptic power that acts even when not present to produce submissive, passive subjects.²⁹ As Lyon summarises, surveillance is ‘strongly bound up with our compliance with the social order’ as a means of ‘social

²¹ Gary T. Marx and Valerie Steeves, ‘From the Beginning: Children as Subjects and Agents of Surveillance’, *Surveillance & Society*, 7.3/4 (2010), 192–230; Anthony Coronos and Susan Hardy, ‘En-Gendered Surveillance: Women on the Edge of a Watched Cervix’, *Surveillance & Society*, 6.4 (2009), 388–97.

²² Erin Kruger, ‘Image and Exposure: Envisioning Genetics as a Forensic-Surveillance Matrix’, *Surveillance & Society*, 11.3 (2013), 237–51.

²³ Irus Braverman, ‘Zooveillance: Foucault Goes to the Zoo’, *Surveillance & Society*, 10.2 (2012), 119–33.

²⁴ James W. Williams, ‘Law, Surveillance, and Financial Markets’, *Surveillance & Society*, 13.2 (2015), 306–09.

²⁵ Edward Higgs, ‘The Rise of the Information State: The Development of Central State Surveillance of the Citizen in England, 1500–2000’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 14.2 (2001), 175–97.

²⁶ Christopher Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power, and Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

²⁷ Kevin D. Haggerty and Richard V. Ericson, ‘The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility’, in *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility*, eds. Richard V. Ericson and Kevin D. Haggerty (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 3–25, at p. 4.

²⁸ Gilles Deleuze, ‘Postscript on the Societies of Control’, *October*, 59 (1992), 3–7, pp. 3–4.

²⁹ William Bogard, ‘Stimulation and Post-Panopticism’, in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirstie Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 30–37, at pp. 31–32.

control’.³⁰ In this thesis, I examine the emergence of such surveillant regimes in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and explore how early paradigms of discipline and control are both internalised and interrogated by Romantic texts. In the work of Coleridge, Percy Bysshe Shelley and Lord Byron, for instance, we gain insights into how incipient surveillant mechanisms sought to discipline behaviour, especially that of women and ‘deviant’ bodies. By the same token, Romantic writing by women such as Sophia Lee, Charlotte Smith, Jane Austen and Joanna Baillie often meditates on gendered mechanisms of power and discipline that operated against women in this period. For example, while we are used to political readings of Austen’s *Mansfield Park* (1814) – recently in the context of important debates around imperialism and Sir Thomas Bertram’s control of his unruly plantations in Antigua³¹ – I will argue that the novel is equally as preoccupied with the political function of the layout of the great house, which allows Sir Thomas to control his intransigent family.

My thesis expands historically the work of key surveillance critics, including Lyon and Zygmunt Bauman, Kristin Scott and Deborah Lupton, to include pre-digital surveillance,³² drawing on the methodology of Rachel Dubrofsky and Shoshana Magnet, who remind us of the advantages of cross-historical study: ‘by drawing together disparate fields and placing the burgeoning field of surveillance studies in historical perspective, we find that surveillance is not a new phenomenon’.³³ We should also recognise that social monitoring (along with our apparent eagerness for self- and over-exposure) has always formed part of our social

³⁰ David Lyon, *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 4.

³¹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), pp. 95–115; John Wiltshire, ‘De-Colonising *Mansfield Park*’, *Essays in Criticism*, 53.4 (2003), 303–22.

³² David Lyon and Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Surveillance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013); Kristin Scott, *The Digital City and Mediated Urban Ecologies* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Deborah Lupton, *Digital Sociology* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).

³³ Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana A. Magnet, ‘Feminist Surveillance Studies: Critical Interventions’, in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 1–17, at p. 3.

interactions; as John L. Locke points out, ‘the drive to monitor the behaviors of others is built into the human psyche’.³⁴ As we observe in Romantic drama such as Sophia Lee’s *The Chapter of Accidents* (1780), voyeuristic intrusions into private space, although often presented as humorous expressions of curiosity, also represent an authorised, almost expected mode of scrutiny – modes against which woman have learned to defend themselves. Peer-to-peer monitoring in the form of ‘lateral surveillance’ and ‘coveillance’ (typically between neighbours), as theorised by Mark Andrejevic and Steve Mann respectively,³⁵ have become normal forms of (covert) interaction in the community described in Charlotte Smith’s *What Is She?* (1799), where the focus of the drama is the play’s emigrant protagonist’s availability to the scrutiny of her neighbours. Victorian-era surveillance has been studied extensively by critics such as David Vincent and Alistair Black,³⁶ but with the exception of important publications by David Worrall, John Barrell, Jon Mee and David Simpson,³⁷ relatively little work has been done in the Romantic period. When I embarked on my project, Mark Vareschi’s 2018 call for critics to embrace surveillance studies had yet to be made. In fact, my thesis moves beyond Vareschi’s challenge in its analysis of surveillance in the specific context of its gendered economies.³⁸

Much post-2013 interest in privacy and spying has been directed at male Romantic writers.

By contrast, and under conceptual rubrics developed in modern surveillance studies, I attend

³⁴ John L. Locke, *Eavesdropping: An Intimate History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 17, 86.

³⁵ Mark Andrejevic, ‘The Work of Watching One Another: Lateral Surveillance, Risk and Governance’, *Surveillance & Society*, 2.4 (2005), 479–97, p. 479; Steve Mann, Jason Nolan and Barry Wellman, ‘Sousveillance: Inventing and Using Wearable Computing Devices for Data Collection in Surveillance Environments’, *Surveillance & Society*, 1.3 (2003), 331–55, p. 338.

³⁶ David Vincent, ‘Surveillance, Privacy and History’, 01 October 2013, in *Policy Papers*, <<http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/surveillance-privacy-and-history>> [accessed 10 April 2018]; Alistair Black, ‘The Victorian Information Society: Surveillance, Bureaucracy, and Public Librarianship in 19th-Century Britain’, *The Information Society*, 17.1 (2001), 63–80.

³⁷ Jon Mee, *Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation: Poetics and the Policing of Culture in the Romantic Period* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); David Worrall, *Radical Culture: Discourse, Resistance and Surveillance, 1790–1820* (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992); David Simpson, *Romanticism and the Question of the Stranger* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

³⁸ Mark Vareschi, ‘Surveillance Studies and Literature of the Long 18th Century’, *Literature Compass*, 15.2 (2018), 1–7, <<https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12435>> [accessed 10 April 2018].

to women's writing, women's experiences. In doing so, I respond to recent petitions from Hille Koskela, Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Kirstie Ball for a gendered approach to surveillance.³⁹ These pioneering theorists have been instrumental in alerting us to some of the ways in which women have historically sought to resist the strictures of social and moral norms – norms imposed by and through mechanisms of inspection that preceded modern surveillance but that are analogous to it as 'forms of interpersonal monitoring' (Koskela, p. 49). As Magnet, Andrejevic and Simone Browne point out, the specific implications of longstanding surveillance practices vis-à-vis gendered bodies have often been overlooked in surveillance discourse.⁴⁰ My own approach builds on the insights of these theorists to explore in precise terms how Romantic surveillance was experienced differently by women. My work proceeds from the understanding that, in Andrea Brighenti's words, 'it is no mystery that the asymmetry between seeing and being seen is a deeply gendered one – often, a sexualised one'.⁴¹ At a juncture today when women are routinely pushed above the 'fair threshold of visibility',⁴² and in increasingly complex ways, I believe it is vital that we re-examine how women historically have dealt with over-exposure and unwelcome transparency.

³⁹ Hille Koskela, "'You shouldn't wear that body": The problematic of surveillance and gender', in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirstie Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 49–56, at p. 49; Yasmeen Abu-Laban, 'Gendering Surveillance Studies: The Empirical and Normative Promise of Feminist Methodology', *Surveillance & Society*, 13.1 (2015), 44–56, p. 45; Kirstie Ball, Nicola Green, Hille Koskela and David J. Phillips, 'Surveillance Studies Needs Gender and Sexuality', *Surveillance & Society*, 6.4 (2009), 352–55.

⁴⁰ Shoshana Magnet, 'Foreword', in *Expanding the Gaze: Gender and the Politics of Surveillance*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. vii–x; Mark Andrejevic, 'Foreword', in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. ix–xviii; Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015).

⁴¹ Andrea Brighenti, 'Visibility: A Category for the Social Sciences', *Current Sociology*, 55.3 (2007), 323–42, p. 330.

⁴² Steeves and Bailey attribute the phrase 'the fair threshold of visibility' to Brighenti (pp. 329–30) in their argument on visibility and the body. However, Brighenti does not use these precise terms. For clarity, I acknowledge the influence of Brighenti on Steeves and Bailey and have referenced both sets of critics here. Henceforth, I will reference only Steeves and Bailey. Valerie Steeves and Jane Bailey, 'Living in the Mirror: Understanding Young Women's Experiences with social Networking', in *Expanding the Gaze*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 56–83, at p. 76.

2. Flinging Aside the Curtain

The signatures of gendered surveillance are discernible at earlier junctures than the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Romanticism, indeed, is an inheritor of earlier modes of inspection, as well as reflections on the human experience of surveillance, that have often become radically opaque to us. Contemporary surveillance theory allows us to see again how a Romantic poem, or indeed a painting by Johannes Vermeer, comments on women's experience of transparency. One of Vermeer's most famous paintings, *A Girl Reading a Letter by an Open Window* (*Brieflezend Meisje bij het Venster*; Fig. 1), c. 1657, is routinely presented today as a heavy-handed allegory of infidelity, or else simply as a saccharine portrayal of a young woman reading a letter from her admirer. In fact, the painting may be more interested in the ways that its subject is made available, made visible, to both the painting's audience and her own community.

It may seem incongruous to begin a study of Romantic literature and culture by focusing on a seventeenth-century painting; however, as Marjorie Levinson remarks, 'sometimes one must think trans-historically in order to produce a historicist understanding'.⁴³ Vermeer's painting reveals to us precisely the value of (trans)historic 'texts' in developing an understanding of how women experienced and engaged with surveillance historically. Indeed, I hope by considering *Girl Reading a Letter* to demonstrate succinctly the method I will apply when analysing various modalities of surveillance as they operated and were developed in the Romantic period. Vermeer's painting anticipates the forensic processing of gendered surveillance that we will see in, for instance, Sophia Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents*. Moreover, it raises related questions about the communal gaze that are placed at issue in Charlotte Smith's *What Is She?*, as well as problematises the expected transparency that

⁴³ Marjorie Levinson, 'Fundamental Tensions', interviewed by D. B. Ruderman, in *Romantic Circles*, March 2017, <<https://www.rc.umd.edu/pedagogies/commons/contemporary/pedagogies.commons.2016.contemporary.levinson.html>> [accessed 10 April 2018].

prostitutes in cities, women in the home, and people with non-standard bodies faced. By de-historicising the painting and reading it in conjunction with modern surveillance theory, we are able to adjust our understanding of the surveillance canon, specifically the female experience of asymmetrical inspection. In moving across periods in this way, we realise that modern surveillance is by no means a new cultural formation and are able to see the emergent issues of surveillance that Romantic era literature and art process more fully.

If the cut fruit depicted in *Girl Reading a Letter* offers an easily understandable code for a fleshly fall,⁴⁴ an equally important element of the composition – one whose heuristic significance would have been equally legible to the painting's original viewers – is the red curtain that the girl has flung over the opened casement, ostensibly to allow more reading light. However, this cast-aside curtain, which lets in the sun that illuminates letter and subject, is not even the most discussed drapery in the canvas: more critical attention has been given to the conventional green curtain Vermeer uses as a *repoussoir* to open the scene up to the viewer. In fact, other than brief references to the red window-curtain's presence as a marker of middle-class affluence, the cloth has escaped developed commentary altogether.⁴⁵ To the modern eye, perhaps the image of the singular curtain jars; unpaired, it disturbs any baroque aspirations to classical symmetry, and has a negligible decorative purpose.⁴⁶ At any rate, we miss the fact that its function and significance in the famous painting lie in relation to privacy – an oversight surveillance theory helps to remedy.

Modern commentators, typically via Foucault, routinely invoke the Panopticon – a conceptual prison hypothesised by philosopher Jeremy Bentham⁴⁷ – to make the point that those who suspect they are being watched tend to modify and self-regulate their behaviour

⁴⁴ Norbert Schneider, *Vermeer: The Complete Paintings* (Cologne and London: Taschen, 2004), p. 48.

⁴⁵ On affluence, see Christiane Hertel, *Vermeer: Reception and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 99.

⁴⁶ Judith Flanders discusses the asymmetry of singular curtains as unbecoming of the seventeenth-century aesthetic, *The Making of Home* (London: Atlantic Books, 2014), p. 86.

⁴⁷ Jeremy Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings* (London and New York: Verso, 1995).

(Abu-Laban, p. 47).⁴⁸ But we rarely consider ways in which art and literature prior to Bentham's age can also inform modern debates around surveillance. Nevertheless, perhaps it is precisely here where we should be looking.⁴⁹ Early insights from Donald Preziosi that the 'epistemological and synoptic position' of both the art historical subject and the position of the subject in the Panopticon are analogous, invite us to recognise the potential of art history in developing our understanding of historic surveillance.⁵⁰ The observation site for both panoptic and artistic subject 'confers upon the observer an invisibility and detachment from the objects of surveillance' (Preziosi, p. 36) and, as such, suggests that art, and indeed literature, provide a compelling point at which to intervene into issues of visibility.

Girl Reading a Letter articulates an 'attempt to deal with issues of social visibility and invisibility' in a way that valuably correlates with our contemporary understanding of regimes of visibility.⁵¹ As Andrea Smith, Magnet and Dubrofsky have recently shown, purposeful surveillant practice brings certain bodies into the light while occluding others, and as a result we should recognise that issues of hypervisibility and visibility lie at the core of surveillance studies (Dubrofsky and Magnet, pp. 1–17).⁵² Smith's articulation of the way in which state surveillance strategies throughout colonial history policed gender and sexual boundaries, crucially recognises that the focus of surveillance studies should not be limited to examining the modern, organised state (p. 25). Inflecting Smith's critique, I would add that

⁴⁸ Kevin D. Haggerty and Richard V. Ericson, 'The Surveillant Assemblage', *British Journal of Sociology*, 51.4 (2000), 605–22, p. 607; Kevin D. Haggerty, 'Tear down the walls: on demolishing the panopticon', in *Theorizing Surveillance: The Panopticon and Beyond*, ed. David Lyon (Portland: Willan Publishing, 2006), pp. 23–45, at p. 23.

⁴⁹ Richard Marggraf Turley, 'Curtainless rooms & slant rhymes', 18 October 2014, in *Richard Marggraf Turley Personal Blog*, <www.richardmarggraforturley.com> [accessed 28 February 2017], para. 4 of 7; Richard Marggraf Turley, 'Objects of Suspicion: Keats, 'To Autumn' and the Psychology of Surveillance', in *John Keats and the Medical Imagination*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 173–206.

⁵⁰ Donald Preziosi, *Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 36.

⁵¹ Andrea Brighenti, 'Artveillance: At the Crossroads of Art and Surveillance', *Surveillance & Society*, 7.2 (2010), 137–48, p. 137.

⁵² Andrea Smith, 'Not-Seeing: State Surveillance, Settler Colonialism, and Gender Violence', in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 21–38.

part of developing our understanding of historical gendered surveillance requires that we take account of historical texts. Vermeer's painting, we will see, subtly codes many issues of gendered surveillance that detain and animate Romantic writers like Thomas De Quincey, Joanna Baillie and Sophia Lee.

The painting leads us towards resonant insights around the ways in which privacy was conceptualised. Popularised in the 1600s, curtains had significant implications for discretion in the domestic sphere, as Judith Flanders briefly acknowledges in her recent study of the evolution of house to home.⁵³ There is no clearly documented reason for the curtain's sudden popularity, but its rapid and wide adoption appears to have been due less to changing decorative tastes or matters of practicality than to the desire for privacy (Flanders, pp. 85–86). Such window-curtains appeared exclusively on the apertures of ground floor rooms on the front of houses and they typically covered only the lower portion of a window, rendering them useless for the purposes of blocking light (Flanders, p. 85). If curtains represented a boastful exhibition of wealth, or an opportunity to pay homage to the nation's growing textile trade, then it seems odd, as Flanders points out, that they did not also feature in upper-storey windows (p. 85). The adoption of the window-curtain, then, seems to have expressed the new desire of inhabitants of Dutch towns to screen their home and domestic life from the social bustle of ever more densely populated urban areas. Additional statistics appear to confirm the causal connection: thinly populated areas were slow to adopt the curtain compared with cities (Flanders, p. 86).⁵⁴ In its depiction of the red curtain, then, *Girl Reading a Letter* expresses its connection to a privacy discourse that continues to play out in Romantic works, namely

⁵³ While Flanders' research is not directed specifically at Vermeer, her findings focus on the area around Delft, which Vermeer loved to depict. She does make very brief reference to Vermeer's *The Concert* (1658–1660) and its lute as a 'symbol of erotic love' (pp. 10–11).

⁵⁴ Eighty-seven percent of rural dwellers did not own curtains compared with eighty-one percent of city-dwellers who did (Flanders, p. 86); E. A. Wrigley, 'The Growth of Population in Eighteenth-Century England: A Conundrum Resolved', *Past and Present*, 98 (1983), 121–50, p. 122.

Joanna Baillie's *The Alienated Manor* (1836), which is similarly aware of threats to privacy in the home.

What's more, if Gary T. Marx is correct to assert that acts of 'blocking' or masking (physical or digital interventions which obstruct a channel of communication) 'call explicit attention' to a surveillant desire to read a subject,⁵⁵ then implicit in the green and red curtains of *Girl Reading a Letter* is an important message. They code not only the painting's engagement with issues of privacy, but also reflect the tacit desire of the painter and his audience to scrutinise a young woman in her home environment, a desire that pre-figures the appetite for domiciliary inspection we can discern animating *Mansfield Park* and *The Alienated Manor*. Put simply, whereas the technicity of resistance to modern surveillance entails complex strategies that are achieved through such means as signal jamming devices,⁵⁶ the act of drawing a curtain across a Dutch townhouse window in the 1650s has similar meaning. People drew curtains to prevent intrusion, just as people today use sliding covers on laptop and smartphone cameras to prevent remote spying.⁵⁷ In Vermeer's canvas, the subject is precisely unmasked by the open curtains, and left exposed.

It repays thinking a little more about the painting's two curtains: neither really make sense. In terms of compositional function, things are clearer: the curtains signal the two points from which the painting's subject is made available. The green curtain, which draws our focus to a frontal view of the scene, is most likely an illusionistic drape, whose function is to foreground the audience's view of the scene by creating a sense of depth.⁵⁸ The technique

⁵⁵ Gary T. Marx, *Windows into the Soul: Surveillance and Society in an Age of High Technology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 155.

⁵⁶ Xiongjun Fu, Ting Li, Shengqi Qian, Jiayun Chang and Min Xie, 'Electronic Countermeasures Against Reconnaissance Satellites', in *Information Technology*, eds. Yi Wan, Liangshan Shao, Lipo Wang, Jinguang Sun, Jingchang Nan and Quanguai Zhang (London: Taylor & Francis, 2015), pp. 199–203.

⁵⁷ Danny Yadron, 'Why is everyone covering up their laptop cameras?', 06 June 2016, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/06/surveillance-camera-laptop-smartphone-cover-tape>> [accessed 28 April 2018].

⁵⁸ Philip Steadman, '*Girl Reading a Letter*': *Vermeer's Camera: Uncovering the Truth Behind the Masterpieces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 37–38.

was used widely by Dutch painters, although the *repoussoir* in Vermeer's hands differs slightly from its use in the work of contemporaries: while Gerard Dou in his self-portrait (c. 1650) at least positions his *repoussoir* in front of a window, offering a fillip to realism (Fig. 2), Vermeer's green curtain, which hangs in the middle of the room, is apparently unconnected to furniture or structural features, and is in one sense preposterous (Steadman, p. 37). The Dresden Academy of Fine Arts' 2010 recreation of the scene (Fig. 3) accentuates this peculiarity by demonstrating that the curtain would need to float mid-air to achieve the effect seen in the painting.⁵⁹ The unnatural position of the green curtain draws the audience's attention to the fact that they are intervening into a 'private' scene. As Rodney Nevitt Jr. suggests, our participation in this scene implies that 'as viewers of Vermeer's paintings, our gaze merges with that of anyone we might imagine to have an interest in these women: husbands, parents, or *vrijers* [suitors] (licit or illicit)'.⁶⁰ The 'girl' is clearly and intentionally the object of voyeuristic surveillance.

If our view 'merges' with that of Nevitt Jr's interested viewers, then we must also consider who is likely to be situated outside the window – just as Vermeer appears to consider this issue. A marker of privacy, the red curtain reveals the window as an important secondary point of observation, clarifying that the young woman is not merely exposed to those in her immediate vicinity, but also to the newly urbanised community of Delft.⁶¹ For some indication of what may lie outside the window, we need only look to Vermeer's *The Little Street (Het Straatje, c. 1658)* (Fig. 4). This co-textual painting places the maid, the elderly woman busy with her needlework, and – in the original version – a third woman subsequently painted out, in close proximity, framing and advertising their 'privacy' through the alleyways

⁵⁹ Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 'The Young Vermeer', 2010, in *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister*, previously available at <www.skd.museum/en/special-exhibitions/archive/the-young-vermeer> [accessed 28 February 2017].

⁶⁰ H. Rodney Nevitt Jr., 'Vermeer on the Question of Love', in *The Cambridge Companion to Vermeer*, ed. Wayne E. Franits (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 89–110, at p. 107.

⁶¹ Kees Kaldenbach, 'The Genesis of the Wall Chart: Johannes Vermeer and the Delft School, A Chart of Homes of Delft Artists and Patrons in the Seventeenth Century', *Visual Resources*, 18.3 (2002), 185–96, p. 193.

and windows they inhabit.⁶² In this way, *The Little Street* already hints at women's experience of, and participation in, coveillance (communal surveillance) within the domestic sphere: a mode of surveillance further internalised in the Romantic era and borne out in works such as Charlotte Smith's *What Is She?*. We see that even before Smith's comedy was written, 'interpersonal spacing' (Locke's term) was already an influential factor in social monitoring (Locke, p. 31). The buildings – tightly packed together as was typical of houses in Delft in the 1650s – facilitate the 'lateral gaze' theorised by Andrejevic today (p. 479).⁶³ Their layout and their architecture permit inspection and we appreciate perhaps an early marker of the archio-surveillance that perturbs the Bertrams and Fanny Price in *Mansfield Park*, as well as Mrs Charville in *The Alienated Manor*. Outside the window, always potentially looking in, is a society on the advent of the domain of 'common concern',⁶⁴ as theorised by Jürgen Habermas; a society ever-concerned with private matters. Although Austen's and Baillie's heroines learn to negotiate and erect boundaries so as to spare themselves from 'perceptual pressure' (Locke, p. 86), Vermeer's subject in *Girl Reading a Letter* must face this outside attention. *The Little Street* offers one (co-textual) possibility of what Vermeer might have imagined lay outside her window, but it is the cast-aside red curtain that points to this world. It forms part of a visual code that suggests the woman is available, and more urgently represents a point of entry for 'the gaze'. But the gaze itself has become a somewhat contentious concept that deserves further interrogation before continuing.

⁶² Edward A. Snow refers to the 'aura of privacy' that surrounds the women in 'Little Street': *A Study of Vermeer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 90. The third woman's ghostly figure is revealed by infrared reflectography, which shows her to have been seated in the passage, as discussed by Jonathan Janson, 'Little Street: Hotspots', in *Essential Vermeer*, <http://www.essentialvermeer.com/catalogue/little_street.html#Wnyv0ejFLIV> [accessed 28 February 2017].

⁶³ Anthony Bailey, *A View of Delft: Vermeer Then and Now* (London: Pimlico, 2002), pp. 100–03.

⁶⁴ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), p. 36.

For Judith Butler and Laura Mulvey, the term ‘gaze’ is suggestive of the long-established dynamics pertaining to the ‘male gaze’ and the existence of a ‘female target’.⁶⁵ The use of ‘gaze’ in surveillance discourse is, however, much broader and Foucault’s work in *Discipline and Punish* on the gaze as part of ‘the overall functioning of power’ provides the foundation of several theorists’ understanding of the gaze today.⁶⁶ In *Practices of Looking*, for instance, Lisa Cartwright and Marita Sturken recognise the gaze as an exchange that is ‘integral to systems of power and ideas about knowledge’.⁶⁷ For Foucault, power becomes manifest in the gaze. The gaze operates when people are being watched, just as it does when they ‘merely’ believe they are being watched: whether actual or perceived, the gaze has self-regulating effects. In Foucault’s terms, ‘inspection functions ceaselessly. The gaze is on alert everywhere’ (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 195). So, too, Lyon and Thomas Mathieson acknowledge the continued role of the panoptic gaze in normalising and producing ‘self-controlled subjects’.⁶⁸ Further, Graham Sewell, along with Inga Kroener and Daniel Neyland, understands the gaze as often emanating from surveillance technologies that seek to ‘monitor and control a populace’.⁶⁹ This research takes account of recent discourse on surveillance as control, as well as Mulvey’s work, and takes ‘gaze’ to mean a way of

⁶⁵ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990); Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (New York: Palgrave, 1989), p. 19.

⁶⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London and New York: Penguin, 1991), p. 171.

⁶⁷ Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 96.

⁶⁸ David Lyon, ‘9/11, Synopticon, and Scopophilia: Watching and being Watched’, in *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility*, eds. Kevin D. Haggerty and Richard V. Ericson (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 35–54, at p. 42; Thomas Mathieson, ‘The Viewer Society: Michel Foucault’s ‘Panopticon’ Revisited’, *Theoretical Criminology*, 1.2 (1997), 215–34, p. 219.

⁶⁹ Graham Sewell, ‘Organization, Employees and Surveillance’, in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirsty Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 303–12, at p. 304; Inga Kroener and Daniel Neyland, ‘New technologies, security and surveillance’, in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirsty Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 141–48, at pp. 144–45.

regarding people that is ‘considered to embody certain aspects of the relationship between the observer and the observed’, and which infers associated connections to systems of power.⁷⁰

The curtain in Vermeer’s painting, then, can be recognised as a device whose function is to invite viewers to scrutinise the young subject and to expose her. The girl reads what is possibly intimate correspondence in full view of the street outside, subject to the gaze of her neighbours: an asymmetric viewing paradigm that makes her available in a distinct, and distinctly gendered, way. As I discuss in more detail elsewhere,⁷¹ the girl’s private affairs, advertised by the cast-aside curtain to the painting’s ‘outside’ world, are publicised to the painting’s spectators – through the ages – by the fruit, which cascades out of the bowl on the table, hinting at extramarital relations through the symbolism of peaches and apples that code Eve’s fall (Schneider, p. 49).⁷² Indeed, the painting does similar work to Sophia Lee’s *The Chapter of Accidents*, which uses a verbal rather than visual code to expose its characters’ sexually provocative behaviour. If the traditional reading of the letter’s illicit status is correct, and if Flanders is also right that curtains were installed in the service of privacy, then we can surmise that the girl has not removed the red privacy-curtain herself. Instead, the blushing subject has been intentionally exposed by the painter. Vermeer, rather than the girl, has drawn back the red curtain and denied the girl an opportunity to shield herself from prying eyes and moral censoriousness. We, the viewer, are invited to scrutinise her. We see this invitation to scrutinise a ‘transgressive’ woman depicted, and critiqued, not only in Byron’s, Shelley’s and Coleridge’s delineations of, for instance, hermaphroditic bodies, but also more unexpectedly in Romantic maps of London. Just as Vermeer makes his subject accessible,

⁷⁰ ‘Gaze, *n.* *Draft Additions October 2001*’, in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/77224?rskey=9wa45V&result=1#eid>> [accessed 11 October 2017].

⁷¹ Lucy E. Thompson, ‘Vermeer’s Curtain: Privacy, Slut-Shaming and Surveillance in ‘A Girl Reading a Letter’’, *Surveillance & Society*, 15.2 (2017), 326–41.

⁷² A whole peach would symbolise virtue, but halved, the fruit points to, or at, a woman defamed through immoral action. George Ferguson refers to peaches as symbols of virtue in paintings, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 36. See also ‘The Hidden Symbolism of Fruit in Western painting’, in *History of Painters*, <<http://www.historyofpainters.com/fruit.htm>> [accessed 28 February 2017], para. 10 of 11.

John Badcock's *The London Guide* (1818) encourages its readers to know the areas where prostitutes were most prevalent in order to understand 'the dangers to be apprehended from the loose women',⁷³ disclosing and advertising their locations with linear-precision; it makes them available.

3. Disciplining Women

Through the red curtain, Vermeer's painting reflects on the experience of close observation, transparency and discipline, an experience familiar to many women today. As gendered subjects of warrantless mass surveillance, we too find ourselves in front of open windows, our own red curtains flung aside. As I write this introduction, executives from Cambridge Analytica are answering to parliamentary committees for the misappropriation of data and multiple breaches of trust – the former with implications for the legitimacy of the 2016 UK referendum, Brexit and personal privacy. Wider populations are becoming alert to the myriad of ways in which digital surveillance can expose to view and consequently affect individual lives as well as the lives of nations as a whole in direct and quantifiable ways. Increasingly, people are demanding reassurances about their privacy. As a result, in Spring 2018, appearing before the House Energy and Commerce Committee in Washington, Facebook's co-founder and CEO Mark Zuckerberg attempted to play down the privacy implications of the ways in which his social network handles user data.⁷⁴ Five years earlier in 2013, then-UK foreign secretary William Hague acted in concert with his counterparts from other five-eyes nations to downplay the significance of the Snowden revelations. Faced with growing concern about

⁷³ John Badcock, *The London Guide, and Stranger's Safeguard Against the Cheats, Swindlers, and Pickpockets that Abound within the Bills of Mortality* (London: J. Bumpus, 1818), p. 120.

⁷⁴ While testifying Zuckerberg suggested that by using Facebook, users had already tacitly agreed to 'share' certain data – they chose to post photos, share statuses, join groups and make friends – therefore they were not sharing anything they would rather hide (suggesting they should not be concerned). Emily Stewart, 'The Privacy Question Mark Zuckerberg Keeps Dodging', 11 April 2018, in *Vox*, <<https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/4/11/17225518/mark-zuckerberg-testimony-facebook-privacy-settings-sharing>> [accessed 28 April 2018].

government spying programmes such as PRISM, XKeyscore and Tempora,⁷⁵ leaders drew on a well-worn aphorism: those with nothing to hide had nothing to fear. In Hague's words:

If you are a law-abiding citizen [...] going about your business and your personal life you have nothing to fear. Nothing to fear about the British state or intelligence agencies listening to the content of your phone calls or anything like that.⁷⁶

As Dubrofsky, building on Rachel Hall's conceptualisation of the 'aesthetics of transparency',⁷⁷ points out, today's surveillance society operates on the basis that 'if there is nothing to hide, then the body can be freely put on display'.⁷⁸ Hall's and Dubrofsky's theories help us to recognise Vermeer's subject as similarly exposed to a disciplinary surveillant machinery that expects she will perform transparency. If the girl has nothing to hide she will willingly submit to such exposure (willingly submit to having her red-curtain drawn back), just as airline passengers today must 'perform voluntary transparency' and display their own willingness to submit to inspection and monitoring (Hall, p. 111).

Both the well-worn phrase used by Hague and the 'aesthetics of transparency' inscribe a sense of shame into the desire for privacy (Hall, p. 9). The assumption is that a subject should be at ease with being watched; further, that this ease becomes a means of attesting innocence.

Hague's reassurances and modern surveillance discourse, then, have further traffic with

⁷⁵ Keath Wyszynski, 'PRISM, Tempora, XKeyscore: What is it?', 2014, *Articles Informer*, <<https://articles.informer.com/prism-tempora-xkeyscore-what-is-it.html>> [accessed 28 February 2017], paras. 2, 6 & 10 of 15.

⁷⁶ Hague was speaking in defence of the so-called 'Snoopers' charter' – Draft Investigatory Powers Bill – and to allay fears about the extent of GCHQ spying. See William Hague, 'Data Snooping', *The Andrew Marr Show – BBC*, 09 June 2013, <<https://www.theguardian.com/uk/video/2013/jun/09/data-snooping-law-abiding-citizens-nothing-fear-hague-video>> [accessed 28 February 2017].

⁷⁷ Rachel Hall, *The Transparent Traveler: The Performance and Culture of Airport Security* (Durham and New York: Duke University Press, 2015), p. 9.

⁷⁸ Rachel E. Dubrofsky, 'A Vernacular of Surveillance: Taylor Swift and Miley Cyrus Perform White Authenticity', *Surveillance & Society*, 14.2 (2016), 184–96, p. 185.

Vermeer's painting. Although Vermeer's white female may at first appear a 'safe' and transparent body (Dubrofsky, 'A Vernacular of Surveillance', p. 185), the curtains indicate that she is not a willing and docile subject and therefore, as with 'opaque' bodies who cannot perform their innocence to airport security because of age, religion, race, disability or citizenship status, the girl represents a threat that must be further inspected and controlled (Hall, p. 75). Vermeer's painting shows us the beginnings of a surveillant regime that expected 'dangerous individual[s]'⁷⁹ to render themselves 'safe' by submitting to inspection. It hints at the manner in which, as we will see in the following chapters, De Quincey's young prostitute Ann is expected willingly to submit to geosurveillance (surveillance of geographical activities),⁸⁰ and sexually indeterminate figures, emigrants and housewives are supposed to perform transparency once they are perceived as 'risky' bodies by patriarchal figures.⁸¹

What we perhaps begin to see in Vermeer's *Girl Reading a Letter* is the connivance of an aesthetic in a politics that sought to regulate and constrain female agency and sexual self-determination. The canvas marks the *gendered* aspects of peer scrutiny, and in doing so develops the work of earlier artists such as Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450–1516), whose *The Seven Deadly Sins* (c. 1505) displays what Sewell sees as 'the pre-modern concept of surveillance in pursuit of social control' (Sewell, p. 309). Vermeer's painting exposes its subject to the public gaze in an attempt to control her; she is shamed for her illicit conduct because, as I will discuss in a subsequent chapter, shame 'help[s] to reinforce sexual norms by creating pressures for self-regulation' (Koskela, p. 49). The image helps us to recognise

⁷⁹ Michel Foucault, 'About the Concept of the "Dangerous Individual" in Nineteenth-Century Legal Psychiatry', in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, trans. Robert Hurley, ed. James D. Faubion, Vol. 3 (London and New York: Penguin, 1994), pp. 176–200.

⁸⁰ Jeremy W. Crampton, *Mapping: A Critical Introduction to Cartography and GIS* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 113.

⁸¹ Jane Ogden, 'Psychosocial Theory and the Creation of the Risky Self', *Social Science and Medicine*, 40.3 (1995), 409–15, p. 413.

that seventeenth-century art was already registering the emotional and gendered pressures of surveillance that resonate anew, and more urgently still, in the Romantic era.

In the act of examining historic texts we further recognise troubling aspects of the disciplinary gaze. Transgressive women are situated within a frame – figurative or, as in Vermeer’s painting, in a very literal sense – that posits them as subversive elements to be contained and controlled. This disciplining mechanism persists through to Lee’s play, into Badcock’s descriptions of prostitutes and beyond into Romantic literature more broadly. We are able to see how communities such as those of Lee’s and Smith’s heroines’ take responsibility for normative conventions, scrutinising and monitoring each other’s behaviour, with especially pernicious outcomes for women. In her presentation of the female subject as ‘slut’, for instance, Lee maintains what Anne Burns refers to as ‘gendered power relations’ by ‘perpetuating negative female stereotypes that legitimize the discipline of women’s behaviors and identities’.⁸²

As we will see across the texts explored in this study, surveillance has a narrative ready and waiting for women in each ontology – from adolescents, to those forming relationships, to married women, and also to those of age but outside of marriage such as prostitutes and medically suspect bodies. Individual chapters examine representations of women in literature in a number of circumstances, as well as reflect on a range of women writers and their works, including letters; newspaper adverts; plays; diaries; novels; poems; medical treatises; satirical culture; cartoons; paintings; government reports on aliens and emigrants; Old Bailey transcripts; architectural plans; and fashion clothing. Chapter 1 considers Sophia Lee’s comedy, *The Chapter of Accidents* (1780), rarely cited in Romantic Studies, to explore how gendered derogative words and phrases like ‘slut’ and ‘artful jezebel’ were used in directed

⁸² Anne Burns, ‘Self(ie)-Discipline: Social Regulation as Enacted Through the Discussion of Photographic Practice’, *International Journal of Communication*, 9 (2015), 1716–33, p. 1716.

ways to draw women into various modalities of surveillance.⁸³ This opening chapter addresses the complex ways in which sexually active women were demonised, scrutinised and rendered transgressive by eighteenth-century communities. In the period's criminal conversation trials, we can further recognise the environment that sanctioned the public humiliation of women, as well as the way in which *The Chapter of Accidents* processed this societal issue. At the same time, although Lee knowingly publicises Sophia's and Cecilia's infidelity, she projects an awareness of the risks of being designated 'slut' and allows her sexually confident characters to sidestep their hymen loss. Aware of how Georgian print culture controlled the narrative of women's public image, she enables her heroines to manipulate their public image – to fable chastity.

Chapter 2 develops concepts introduced in the previous chapter to examine how the paramedical surveillant gaze configured and codified hermaphrodites in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as 'officially' abnormal and thus legitimate subjects to stare at and examine. It delves into the work of more familiar Romantic writers, Byron, Shelley and Coleridge, for the way they delineate gendered experiences of surveillance in often surprising ways and process issues of gender and sexual categorisation that continue to detain and trouble us. *Sardanapalus* (1821) and *The Witch of Atlas* (1824), for instance, annotate an enduring cultural fascination with sexually indeterminate bodies and offer an informative lens through which to reconsider the disciplinary gaze in 'Christabel' (1797–1800). Indeed, Coleridge's Geraldine appears to have activated eighteenth- and nineteenth-century anxieties about the fluid body, and her representation, along with readers' reactions to her, draws together the issues of erotics, surveillance, voyeurism, sexual fascination and control at stake when we are invited to view atypical anatomy.

⁸³ Sophia Lee, *The Chapter of Accidents: A Comedy in Five Acts*, 4th edn. (London: T. Cadell, 1782), III. I. 47; IV. i. 69.

Chapter 3 focuses on Charlotte Smith's little-discussed comedy *What Is She?* for the way the play performs an acute and complex awareness of the displaced body's experience of surveillance. In much the same way as the behavioural transgressions of Chapter 1's 'sluts' attracted a communal, surveillant gaze, and the hermaphrodites of Chapter 2 became both subject and object of surveillance machinery because of perceived abnormality, so Smith's protagonist Mrs Derville suffers intrusive, asymmetric scrutiny because of her refusal to explain 'the mystery which hangs about' her when she settles in a remote part of Caernarvonshire, Wales (*What Is She?*, I. i. 11). Smith wrote about surveillance and women's distinctive experience of it in ways we can recognise as pioneering, meditating on how mobile individuals such as displaced bodies summoned the attention of locals because they posed a threat to the social order of previously stable and undisturbed communities. This chapter further explores the resilience and resistance techniques employed in Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents* and examines how, like Lee, Smith articulates women's interest in what I call a 'new public self'. Part of my aim, indeed, is to suggest ways in which we might move from Smith's own explorations of how women emigrants were targeted by surveillance structures to work towards strategies of resilience today.

This sense of women's resistance and resilience to surveillance becomes still more apparent in the remaining chapters, where contemporary surveillance theory throws further light on attempts by women to defy regimes of enforced transparency and resist gendered surveillant mechanisms. Chapter 4 investigates archio-disciplinary surveillance in the context of female transgression in the insular household sphere through Austen's well-known *Mansfield Park* (1814) and Baillie's less well-read *The Alienated Manor* (1836). It examines the notions of 'disciplinary architecture' and 'scripted spaces' (areas in which the layout and structure of buildings controls and determines movement/actions) via Bentham's Panopticon. It focuses primarily on Baillie's *The Alienated Manor* (part of her 'Plays on the Passions' collection) for

the way it adeptly reflects the intense scrutiny women faced in the home. The chapter looks at how coded references to the interrelation of power and architecture in *The Alienated Manor* offer new ways to understand *Mansfield Park*. In both, male domains and surveillant authorities are challenged by women who are actively engaged in reconfiguring spaces and these two co-texts draw further attention to female characters who sought to resist surveillance's disciplinary regimes.

Chapter 5 investigates surveillance in the city, identifying and calibrating the gendered geosurveillance of women in urban space. *Harris's List* (1793) and John Badcock's *The London Guide* (1818) offer insight into how factual guides to London existed at the intersection of Romanticism's obsessions with mapping, cartography and walking tours and its fascination with transgressive female bodies. We see how society uses geosurveillant mechanisms to control the dangerous, unpredictable bodies of prostitutes as they felt they posed a threat to moral society. Moreover, recent work on geosurveillance allows us to see for the first time how urban women in *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821), as targets of gendered geosurveillance in the city, resist the text in which they are represented. As I will show, *Confessions* mounts its own resistance to the attempts of Thomas De Quincey's fictional persona to track and locate the prostitute Ann, reflecting the controlling mechanisms of the surveillance that she – with the aid of other 'street walkers' – manages to evade.

Collectively, the chapters in this thesis move to explore the historic intersections of surveillance with more familiar Romantic issues – gender, sexuality, urbanity, medicine – that Magnet compellingly points out remain under-theorised (p. viii). The hybrid methodology I have outlined demonstrates how historical texts and artefacts provide a valuable lens into the varied epistemology of surveillance and works to correct what Robert Heynen and Emily van der Meulen identify as society's more 'present-centric tendencies that

see surveillance as dramatically new'.⁸⁴ Moreover, surveillance discourse affords an opportunity to sharpen our collective awareness of historical gendered experiences of the asymmetric gaze. In Romantic literature we are able to see how gendered surveillance was overwhelmingly deployed against individuals who were perceived to disrupt the 'norm'. Each text reflects concerns and anxieties about various modes of surveillance, from slut-shaming, lateral surveillance and coveillance to medical surveillance, archio-surveillance and geosurveillance. With the help of feminist and neo-Foucauldian theoretical tools we can recognise more fully the means by which Romantic literature helps to expose gendered surveillance, while also revealing strategies through which women found ways to resist surveillant control.

⁸⁴ Robert Heynen and Emily van der Meulen, 'Gendered Visions: Reimagining Surveillance Studies', in *Expanding the Gaze: Gender and the Politics of Surveillance*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 3–32, at p. 5.

Chapter 1 | The Sexual Body: Slut-Shaming and Surveillance in Sophia Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents*

Bridget is a 'Slut!', proclaims Governor Harcourt in Sophia Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents* (1780).⁸⁵ In one sense, such phraseology belongs to the '*banter and raillery*' of Georgian rhetoric that, as Simon Dickie points out, was simply the knockabout currency of the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ But just as 'slut' is a pejorative term today, in Lee's age it also formed part of a deep epistemology that constructed women as inherently untrustworthy creatures, governed by their sexual urges. This chapter explores the representation of sexually active females in plays and visual culture of the late-eighteenth century, focusing particularly on Lee's play *The Chapter of Accidents* as an early dramatisation of the phenomenon now known as 'slut-shaming'.⁸⁷ As we will see, Lee's play is acutely aware of the dangers faced by women who were labelled 'sluts'. Scoring an instant hit at the Haymarket Theatre in August 1780, Lee's serio-comic work is largely neglected today. Those critics who consider Lee (1750–1824) at all, notably Janina Nordius and April Alliston, focus overwhelmingly on her novel, *The Recess* (1783), for its contribution to the Gothic.⁸⁸ In many ways, however, Lee's play is more engagingly complex – and self-complicating – in the relationship it develops with its own keyword 'slut'. Modern critics, by dismissing the play, have missed its most urgent provocation: namely, its engagement with the way in which words and ideas like 'slut' are used to draw women into various modalities of surveillance. On the one hand, *The*

⁸⁵ Sophia Lee, *The Chapter of Accidents: A Comedy in Five Acts*, 4th edn. (London: T. Cadell, 1782), V. i. 81.

⁸⁶ George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 2 vols., Vol. I (London: W. Strahan, T. Cadell and W. Creech, 1776), p. 81; Simon Dickie, 'Joseph Andrews and the Great Laughter Debate', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 34 (2005), 271–332, p. 286.

⁸⁷ Albert Ellis uses the term 'deviational' in relation to non-standard sexual behaviour, while Hugo Beigel considers extramarital relations to be a deviation from the norm, see: 'Coitus', in *The Encyclopædia of Sexual Behaviour*, eds. Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel, Vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1961), pp. 284–92, at p. 286; Hugo Beigel, 'Illegitimacy', in *The Encyclopædia of Sexual Behaviour*, eds. Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel, Vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1961), pp. 503–14, at p. 507.

⁸⁸ Janina Nordius, 'A Tale of Other Places: Sophia Lee's "The Recess" and Colonial Gothic', *Studies in the Novel*, 34.2 (2002), 162–76; April Alliston, 'Introduction', in *The Recess*, ed. April Alliston (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000), pp. ix–xliv, at p. xiv.

Chapter of Accidents makes sluts of its characters to expose them to the misogynistic scrutiny of the play's patriarchs. On the other, Lee problematises the public pillorying and condemnation of transgressive women – and yet only redeems certain 'sluttish' characters and not others. The play's engagement with 'slut' culture is further complicated by the dilemma of its author herself, whose anxieties about being made a public figure, an operator in the literary marketplace, is rehearsed in the Preface. The play, then, I argue, offers fascinating insights into women's attempts to develop resilience in the face of rigid and pernicious forms of social discipline.

We tend to think of slut-shaming as a recent phenomenon, a neologism closely associated with online culture. But as Lewis Mark Webb has shown in related contexts, the practice can in fact be located to earlier eras.⁸⁹ Webb historicises slut-shaming to argue that it should be recognised as 'a form of cultural suppression of female sexuality' practiced since the Roman Republic (para. 1). My concern here is not only to examine slut-shaming in the Georgian era, but to offer a new hybrid methodology for understanding the phenomenon. In what follows, I explore connections between shame and shaming culture, and surveillance discourse. Moreover, responding to Hille Koskela's, Yasmeen Abu-Laban's, Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Magnet's appeals for surveillance studies to attend to gender and feminist methodologies, I propose an approach that is more closely calibrated to recognise and situate slut-shaming as a gendered form of surveillance, one that is disproportionately applied to women.⁹⁰ My methodology is informed through dialogue with recent work by a number of neo-Foucauldian critics with an interest in surveillance theory, figures who include David

⁸⁹ Lewis Mark Webb, 'Shame transfigured: Slut-shaming from Rome to cyberspace', *First Monday*, 20.4 (2015), <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5210/fm.v20i4.5464>> [accessed 10 March 2016].

⁹⁰ Hille Koskela, "'You Shouldn't Wear that Body": The Problematic of Surveillance and Gender', in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirstie Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 49–56, at p. 49; Yasmeen Abu-Laban, 'Gendering Surveillance Studies: The Empirical and Normative Promise of Feminist Methodology', *Surveillance & Society*, 13.1 (2015), 44–56; Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet, 'Feminist Surveillance Studies: Critical Interventions', in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 1–17.

Lyon, Paulo Vaz, Fernanda Bruno and Bart Simon.⁹¹ I emphasise how various modalities of shame induce similar processes to panopticism (subjection and normalisation) since shame, similar to surveillance, engenders an internalisation of the gaze.

Collectively, the following sections elaborate a hybrid analysis that works to bring the thematic concerns of Sophia Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents* into contact with a new critical terminology that allows us to attend to aspects of the play that have not been visible to feminist readings hitherto. The first section presents an overview of the cultural resonances of 'slut' and posits an epistemology of the term in relation to the play's critical background. It contends that critics have often oversimplified its concerns, or else measured its success against the sophistication (or otherwise) of its adaptation of its French source in Denis Diderot's *La Père de Famille* (1758). Section 1.2. responds to critic Peter Hynes, among others, and considers the caricature of *The Chapter of Accidents* as 'merely' a comedy that laughs at women inadequate to the play's sophisticated exploration of more serious issues. As Catherine Burroughs – one of Lee's more sensitive critics – suggests, the play both 'demonize[s] premarital defloration' and 'implicitly explores the [Georgian] culture's fascination with the act of defloration'.⁹² Responding to Burroughs' provocations, I argue that the play has a complex relationship with 'slut'. Lee's heroines are situated within a framework that posits them as individuals who need to be controlled and scrutinised, while at the same time problematising this categorisation.

Section 1.3. recognises *The Chapter of Accidents* as a composition that resonates newly in our contemporary culture for the way in which it situates sexually active women as sluts. In it, I engage with Koskela and Sonia Kruks to examine shame and slut-shaming as a

⁹¹ See, in particular, Bart Simon, 'The Return of Panopticism: Supervision, Subjection and the New Surveillance', *Surveillance & Society*, 3.1 (2005), 1–20.

⁹² Catherine Burroughs, 'British Women Playwrights and the Staging of Female Sexual Initiation: Sophia Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents* (1780)', *Romanticism and Sexuality*, 23 (2001), <<http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/005983ar>> [accessed 27 March 2016], paras. 18, 24 of 25.

perniciously gendered form of surveillance that ‘help[s] to reinforce sexual norms by creating pressures for self-regulation’ (Koskela, p. 49).⁹³

In section 1.4., I examine shaming of women in the press around the years in which *The Chapter of Accidents* was staged. In reporting cases of infidelity so widely, and presenting women’s private affairs for scrutiny, newspapers engaged in what – in a contemporary context – Mark Andrejevic terms the ‘lateral surveillance’ of their peers.⁹⁴ My intent is to probe how Lee’s creative work processes this societal issue and invites the audience to engage in slut-shaming. While Lee figures certain women as sluts, at the same time she explores modes of resilience to such constructions. Section 1.5. considers multiple authorial Lees – one who both embodies and replicates slut-shaming, and one who is also a (self-conscious) victim of such practice and determined to resist it.

1.1. Epistemologies of ‘Slut’: Pushing the Boundaries of Sentimental Comedy

In a recent study by Demos, the prevalence of the words ‘slut’ and ‘whore’ in online posts was used to assess people’s attitudes to women.⁹⁵ Most compelling about this survey is that these terms, still used to gauge female sexual agency in the twenty-first century, have also traditionally been crucial to how society constructs female sexuality. For instance, as Robert Shoemaker points out, John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera* (1728) was just one of many works in the eighteenth century that denounced women’s ‘trickery’,⁹⁶ using precisely the same terminology measured by Demos to maintain that women possessed fundamentally immoral

⁹³ Sonia Kruks, *Retrieving Experience: Subjectivity and Recognition in Feminist Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 64–65.

⁹⁴ Mark Andrejevic, ‘The Work of Watching One Another: Lateral Surveillance, Risk, and Governance’, *Surveillance & Society*, 2.4 (2005), 479–97, p. 479.

⁹⁵ Jack Dale, ‘The Extent of Online Misogyny’, 26 May 2016, in *Demos*, <<http://www.demos.co.uk/blog/misogyny-online/>> [accessed 28 May 2016], paras. 2–3 of 11.

⁹⁶ Robert B. Shoemaker, ‘Print and the Female Voice: Representations of Women’s Crime in London, 1690–1735’, *Gender & History*, 22.1 (2010), 75–91, pp. 78, 80.

characters. The opera's highwayman Captain Macheath declares venomously that 'Women are Decoy Ducks; who can trust them! Beasts, Jades, Jilts, Harpies, Furies, Whores!'.⁹⁷ Gay's heroines are subjected to a steady stream of derogatory remarks. Polly, who secretly marries Macheath, is pronounced not only 'a sad slut!' but also a 'proud' and 'pouting' slut (I. viii. 14). Similarly, Lucy – also promised to Macheath – is a 'vulgar slut' (III. i. 49). The term 'slut' appears in its modern usage twelve times in the opera, often in conjunction with terms such as 'hussy' and 'wanton' (I. viii. 14, II. v. 33). Gay was not alone in labelling women sluts for their supposed illicit involvement with men. Eighteenth-century writers and the popular press vented their criticisms of promiscuous women in comparably plain terms. In *A Trip to Scarborough* (1781), Richard Brinsley Sheridan berates 'sluts' and 'trulls' (prostitutes), while Henry Fielding claims he 'never knew any [...] forward Sluts come to good' in *The Adventures of Joseph Andrews* (1742).⁹⁸ Likewise, Samuel Richardson directs a plethora of insults at women in *Pamela* (1741) that range from 'slut' and 'hussy' to 'jezebel', and 'baggage'. In fact, Richardson uses this lexical quadrumvirate to slight his female characters on no less than thirty-five occasions.⁹⁹ What is more, the increase in literacy rates in the 1700s meant that publications such as these, which maligned women for sexual misconduct, became increasingly familiar to readers.

At the same time, the public engaged with a common vernacular that impugned women, accustomed to Old Bailey proceedings that would routinely describe a woman as 'a common sort of creature', a 'whore' or a 'harlot'. For instance, in the case of Elizabeth Burroughs the

⁹⁷ John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera and Polly*, ed. Hal Gladfelder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013 [Originally published 1728]), II. v. 33.

⁹⁸ Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *A Trip to Scarborough* (London: G. Wilkie, 1781), IV. i. 62; Henry Fielding, 'The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews, and his friend Mr. Abraham Adams', in *The Works of Henry Fielding*, 2nd edn., ed. Thomas Roscoe (London: Henry Washbourne, 1841), pp. 279–373, at p. 302.

⁹⁹ *Slut* appears 11 times, see pp. 24, 48, 49, 59, 186, 205, 234, 239, 284, 389, 423; *hussy* appears 13 times, see pp. 15, 23 (x 2), 58 (x 2), 75, 123 (x 2), 124, 186, 303, 373, 470; *jezebel* appears on 8 occasions, see pp. 126 (x 2), 127, 132, 133, 185, 194, 239; *baggage* appears 3 times as an insult, see pp. 28, 35, 69; Samuel Richardson, *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*, ed. Thomas Keymer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

prosecutor William Orr accused the defendant of being a ‘Hussy and Slut’.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, people were fascinated by women of ‘the most scandalous character’ – and it is this fixation that draws the lexicon of ‘slut’ into sharp focus.¹⁰¹

Although it was certainly possible to deploy the word in a casual, light-hearted manner, ‘slut’ was as comparably a charged term in the 1700s as today. The *OED* records that ‘slut’ denotes and stigmatizes a ‘bold or impudent girl; a hussy, jade’ and has done since around the mid-1400s.¹⁰² In twenty-first-century usage, ‘slut’ is a derogatory term applied to a woman supposed to have had many casual sexual partners.¹⁰³ Eighteenth-century dictionaries of slang allow us to recognise further the consonance between Georgian and contemporary usage. Francis Grose’s *Lexicon Balatronicum* (1811) defines a slut as a ‘worthless woman’ or a ‘strumpet’, while John Badcock’s *Slang: A Dictionary* (1823) states that a slut was equivalent to a whore.¹⁰⁴ Janet Sorenson’s work on the ‘vulgar tongues’ of the eighteenth century attests that ‘slut’ was a divisive term associated with negativity and vulgarity.¹⁰⁵ Correspondingly, when Lee employs ‘slut’ in *The Chapter of Accidents* the expression is used accusingly and disdainfully, ‘you slut!’, as well as in rejection, ‘I renounce the unworthy little slut’ (V. i. 81; III. ii. 47). What is more, it is through Lee’s use of the term ‘slut’ that we are able to recognise *The Chapter of Accidents* as a complex work that both adheres to and challenges the generic boundaries of sentimental comedy. Lee engages with Rousseauian ideals that women are corrupt creatures, with what Jeff J. S. Black calls ‘a taste for

¹⁰⁰ ‘Trial of John Simmons’, 30 May 1745, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <www.oldbaileyonline.org> [accessed 26 July 2016] (t17450530-14); ‘Trial of Elizabeth Burroughs, Bryan Carney, Theft’, 8 September 1736, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <www.oldbaileyonline.org> [accessed 26 July 2016] (t17360908-59).

¹⁰¹ Jacob Larwood, *The Story of London Parks* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1874), p. 304.

¹⁰² Slut had been used in the derogatory sense since 1450. ‘Slut, n. 2.a.’, in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/182346?rkey=OSILmU&result=1#eid>> [accessed 26 July 2016].

¹⁰³ For the modern use of slut see ‘Slut’, in *Dictionary.com*, Random House Inc., <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/slut>> [accessed 26 July 2016].

¹⁰⁴ Francis Grose, *Lexicon Balatronicum: A Dictionary of Buckish Slang, University Wit and Pickpocket Eloquence* (London: C. Chappel, 1811), np; John Badcock, *Slang: A Dictionary* (London: T. Hughes, 1823), p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Janet Sorenson, ‘Vulgar Tongues: Canting Dictionaries and the Language of the People in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37.3 (2004), 435–54, p. 447.

debauchery' and vanity.¹⁰⁶ Even to the extent where she accedes to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas that women's refusal to act virtuously leads them to 'suffer the punishment for this preference' (Rousseau, p. 66). But she does not depict the merely 'trifling' faults that James E. Cox contends embody a true sentimental comedy.¹⁰⁷ Lee classifies her heroines as 'slut' and employs the term as part of a vigorous invective against Cecilia's, Sophia's and Bridget's supposed promiscuity. Lee calls attention to a set of female characters who are guilty of serious transgression and, in doing so, pushes the boundaries of sentimentality.

Ernest Bernbaum calls *The Chapter of Accidents* 'the final triumph of sentimental comedy', and indeed the play presents itself as a straightforward – though self-professedly controversial – work.¹⁰⁸ Sentimental comedies precursed Romanticism's own highly declamatory approach to comedic drama, and tended to reflect and explore contemporary concepts of philosophers such as Rousseau (1712–1778), often engaging with the idea that humans are innately good but easily led into reprehensible behaviour by corrupt societies.¹⁰⁹ With its focus on the human predicament, *The Chapter of Accidents*, originally framed as an opera, emulates the work of established sentimental writers, such as Richard Steele, author of *The Conscious Lovers* (1722). Lee encourages spectators to accept 'the happy versatility of the human character'.¹¹⁰ She figures her female heroines as 'slut' but simultaneously solicits the audience to pardon and applaud the minor faults of her characters – an archetypal motif of sentimental comedy in Oliver Goldsmith's (1728–1774) view.¹¹¹ She encourages her

¹⁰⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, ed./trans. Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 66; Jeff J. S. Black, *Rousseau's Critique of Science: A Commentary on Discourse on Sciences and the Arts* (New York and Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2009), p. 181.

¹⁰⁷ James E. Cox, *The Rise of Sentimental Comedy* (Folcroft: Folcroft Press, 1926), p. vi.

¹⁰⁸ Ernest Bernbaum, *The Drama of Sensibility: A Sketch of the History of English Sentimental Comedy and Domestic Tragedy, 1696–1780* (Boston and London: Ginn and Company, 1915), p. 265.

¹⁰⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin and the Foundations of Inequality Among Men*, trans. Maurice Cranston (London and New York: Penguin, 1984 [Originally published in 1754]), p. 135.

¹¹⁰ Sophia Lee, *The Life of a Lover, in a Series of Letters*, 6 vols, Vol. 1 (London: G. & J. Robinson, 1804), p. viii.

¹¹¹ Oliver Goldsmith, 'An Essay on the Theatre; or, a Comparison between Sentimental and Laughing Comedy', *Westminster Magazine*, January 1773, 398–402, p. 400.

spectators to see those in the play as capable of reform. Further, Lee explains in her Preface that the play intends to reflect and promote self-effacement and reform in women – a work designed to encompass ‘the Drama of a female heart, capable of frailty, yet shuddering at vice, and perhaps sufficiently punished in her own feelings’ (p. i).

The central action of Lee’s play appears, then, to be naturally sentimental in character, revolving around the redemption of Cecilia – a ‘seduced maiden’ in Susan Staves’ terms – who is eventually able to marry her lover, Frank Woodville.¹¹² Since a set of complex subplots support the main narrative, they can be usefully summarised here. Captain Harcourt loves Sophia Mortimer, ward to Lord Glenmore, but she is promised to her guardian’s son Frank Woodville; while Governor Harcourt (Frank’s uncle) plans to marry Woodville to his daughter, whom he has not seen for many years after leaving her ‘to the charity of strangers’ (I. ii. 8). Until the end of the play the Governor is unaware that Woodville’s mistress (Cecilia) is actually his child. What made Lee’s serio-comedy controversial was its premise; from the beginning, Lee makes it clear that Cecilia ‘possesses ev’ry virtue’ *except* chastity (I. iii. 16). Lee defies convention, as Staves points out, and gives prominence to a set of heroines who are not virginal.¹¹³ Out of duty to his friend Woodville, Harcourt enters Cecilia’s home in order to expose her lady-like persona as a deceitful act (II. v. 36). But although he is originally suspicious of this ‘artful and interested’ mistress, upon conversing with a self-effacing Cecilia he finds the ‘low suspicion’ cast on her character to be misplaced (II. v. 36). Harcourt and Sophia consequently conspire to help Cecilia escape punishment for her misdemeanours by bringing her to Lord Glenmore’s house. Meanwhile, Lord Glenmore and the Governor, outraged that Woodville is keeping a mistress, go to Cecilia’s house and remove a woman they believe is her (but is actually Cecilia’s maid – Bridget). As ‘moderate

¹¹² Susan Staves, ‘British Seduced Maidens’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 14.2 (1980), 109–34, p. 109.

¹¹³ Susan Staves, *A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain, 1660–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 403.

punishment' for her alleged offence, Bridget is imprisoned in Lord Glenmore's house (IV. i. 67). The final scenes reiterate the sentimental motif of redemption, controversially allowing happy endings for Cecilia and Sophia. Lord Glenmore encounters an ever-repentant Cecilia at his house – thanks to Sophia and Harcourt's earlier scheme – but is ignorant of her true identity. Once the cases of mistaken identity are resolved (Bridget is uncovered as the maid, while Cecilia is revealed as Woodville's mistress and the Governor's daughter) Cecilia's dignity is restored and she is allowed to marry Woodville, while Sophia and Harcourt are also united.

By the time *The Chapter of Accidents* was staged its sentimental motifs were well-worn – the genre had, after all, originally gained its popularity some eighty years previously.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, it found enthusiastic audiences at the Haymarket. Today, the play is neglected. Peter Hynes argues that for all Lee's nods towards Diderot, the play fails to attain the same complex range of emotions and Diderotian sentiment that *genre sérieux* produces in *La Père de Famille*.¹¹⁵ For Hynes, *The Chapter of Accidents* is 'disappointedly' uninterested in innovation and can be dismissed as merely 'a sentimental but brisk comedy' centred on the redemption of women who have lost their innocence (p. 38). The play also suffers from comparison with Lee's later novel *The Recess*. Alliston, for instance, commends *The Recess* as a 'masterpiece of literature of sensibility' and 'a pioneer' of the female Gothic mode, while Nordius extols Lee's successful foregrounding of female experience in the novel. Neither critic offers much more than a passing comment on *The Chapter of Accidents* (Alliston, p. xiv; Nordius, p. 163). Likewise, Megan Lynn Isaac and Diane Hoeveler attend primarily to *The Recess*, and find little deserving of merit in *The Chapter of Accidents* other than as a

¹¹⁴ Colley Cibber's *Love's Last Shift* (1696) and George Farquhar's *The Constant Couple* (1699) are largely regarded as the first sentimental comedies, see: *English Literature from the Restoration through the Romantic Period*, ed. J. E. Luebering (New York: Britannica, 2011), p. 222.

¹¹⁵ Peter Hynes, 'Sophia Lee and the *Genre Sérieux*', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33.1 (2009), 37–47, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-0208.2009.00209.x>> [accessed 26 July 2016], pp. 37–38.

source of substantial income for Lee.¹¹⁶ Although the play had a successful run at the Haymarket, even Lee's contemporaries and 'wou'd-be critic[s]' were dissatisfied with what they regarded as a frivolous sentimental comedy without depth (*The Chapter of Accidents*, p. v). 'P. P.' (George Daniel) levelled the charge of superficiality at *The Chapter of Accidents*.¹¹⁷ Branding the play a 'dangerous experiment', with barely concealed disdain he snipes that he has 'very little love for these crying comedies'.¹¹⁸ His main gripe is that the play's lack of depth means it is unable to provide a compelling moral lesson to those 'novel-reading sentimental young ladies who witness Cecilia's adventures' (P.P., p. iv). In the eyes of one critic from the *Westminster Magazine* (1780), the play offers such a 'whimsical' view of women's 'frailties' that it produced 'disgust rather than pleasure'.¹¹⁹ The play was consistently berated for its 'immorality' as the public, even in later decades, allied the play with other 'dangerous representations' that saw adultery rewarded with happiness – including, August von Kotzebue's *The Stranger* (1790) and *Lovers' Vows* (1798) by Elizabeth Inchbald, which was lambasted by Edmund in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814) as '*exceedingly unfit for private representation*'.¹²⁰ Lee was compelled to defend her play against these 'rigid moralists' and, in Ellen Donkin's terms, the 'corrosive charges' of immorality from critics who felt that the play failed to satisfactorily engage with serious

¹¹⁶ Megan Lynn Isaac, 'Sophia Lee and the Gothic Female Community', *Studies in the Novel*, 28.2 (1996), 200–18, p. 200; Diane Hoeveler, "'Humanizing the Heart," or Romantic Drama and the Civilizing Process', *European Romantic Review*, 14.1 (2003), 1–5, p. 2.

¹¹⁷ George L. Geckle suggests that 'P.P.' was the writer George Daniel who wrote under the pseudonym 'P–P–, Poet Laureate': '13. P.P., Character and Morality in *Measure for Measure*', in *Measure for Measure: Shakespeare: The Critical Tradition*, ed. George L. Geckle (London and New York: The Athlone Press, 2001), pp. 60–63, at p. 60.

¹¹⁸ P.P., 'Remarks', in *The Chapter of Accidents: A Comedy, by Miss Lee*, ed. William Oxberry (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1823), pp. iii–vii, at p. iii.

¹¹⁹ Anonymous, 'The English Theatre: Haymarket', *Westminster Magazine*, 08 August 1780, pp. 409–10, p. 410.

¹²⁰ See letters XIV and XV between a couple who compare the immorality of *The Chapter of Accidents* to these later plays, in *The Complete American Letter-Writer, and Best Companion for the Young Man of Business*, ed. Richard Scott (New York: Richard Scott, 1807), pp. 53–55; Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (London: Penguin, 2014 [Originally published 1814]), p. 130, emphasis added.

issues (*The Life of a Lover*, p. vii).¹²¹ Undoubtedly it was Lee's gesture towards sentimentality that spurred people to overlook the work's wider implications. Critics, then – contemporary and present-day – see Lee's play as a work that is ignorant of the debates on patriarchal society, the place of women, and illicit sexual relations, which Lee engaged with in her later works (Isaac, p. 200; Nordius, p. 162). But these received assumptions have missed Lee's diverse engagement with female behaviour, which push the boundary of sentimental comedy.

1.2. 'Sure ev'ry body must wish to see and be seen': Monitoring Women in *The Chapter of Accidents*

Notwithstanding charges of simplicity, Lee's play, I would contend, develops a nuanced and important representation of women. Far from foregrounding the frivolous lifestyles of heroines who 'coquette, curtsy, and talk nonsense', it reflects rather on contemporary eighteenth-century anxieties about women (III. i. 41). Indeed, the play effects a transition from generic sentimental literature to work that explores the social monitoring and victimisation of women assumed to be sexually active. Rather than attempting, as the *Westminster* put it in 1780, to 'gloss over' women's supposed defects (p. 410), *The Chapter of Accidents* is engaged in the *scrutiny* of women's sluttish behaviour and so is naturally concerned with complex issues of control and the gendered exercise of power, which in Andrejevic's view accompany monitoring.¹²² Yet traditionally, these regimes of discipline remain unrecognised in the criticism of eighteenth-century plays. For instance, while Amy Lehman's study of women in eighteenth-century theatre is adequately mapped in many

¹²¹ Ellen Donkin, *Getting into the Act: Women Playwrights in London 1776–1829* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 109.

¹²² Mark Andrejevic, 'Foreword', in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. ix–xviii, at p. xi.

regards, it fails to fully evaluate the significance of male scrutiny of women on the stage. While Lehman specifies that Diderot believed women's desires made them dangerous and advised that men should be 'vigilant about keeping them under control', she does not acknowledge the power relations behind these actions.¹²³ Lieselotte Steinbrügge's work contains similar oversights and also fails to recognise the 'invisible frameworks' – in Lyon's terms – of surveillance in Diderot's scrutinising practice.¹²⁴ If we return then to Lee's 'avowed remake' of Diderot's work, which according to Hynes is indebted to Diderotian theory and practice, we can learn from Lehman and Steinbrügge's oversights and recognise the scrutiny of women's conduct as an exercise of control and power (Hynes, p. 38). We must recognise that Lee's heroines are situated within a framework that posits them as that which needs to be controlled and scrutinised.

Respectively, the opening lines of the play clearly frame Lee's fascination with women's moral characters and set the tone for a performance in which the female leads are continually questioned, appraised, scrutinised and insulted. The Governor begins with an erotetic question: '[was] there ever yet a woman who didn't mean to pass for a goddess?' (I. ii. 5). The play's acute focus on virginity (passing for a goddess) and defloration contributes to an environment that spotlights women's behaviour (Burroughs, para. 2). Contrary to P.P.'s contention 'that female seduction is treated too much as a matter of indifference', Lee's heroines are actually portrayed as troublingly transgressive, and as a consequence pilloried by the male protagonists for their suspected sexual activity (P.P., p. iv). Rather than allowing sexual transgression to go unpunished, Lee's male characters offer repeated judgement and discriminate against 'wanton' and 'vulgar wretch[es]' (I. iii. 15). Lord Glenmore and the

¹²³ Amy Lehman, *Victorian Women and the Theatre of France: Mediums, Spiritualists and Mesmerists in Performance* (Jefferson and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), p. 25. Diderot expresses his opinions on women's lack of self-control in *The Paradox of Acting*, trans. Walter Herries Pollock (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883).

¹²⁴ Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Woman's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 44; David Lyon, *Surveillance Society: Monitoring Everyday Life* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2005), p. 8.

Governor in particular are, in Harcourt's words, 'inveterate against' Cecilia and Sophia for their unorthodox, amorous activities (IV. ii. 78). The play contributes to and engages with an environment that dichotomised sluttishness with chastity. While the play's two patriarchs idealise virginity, and romanticise Cecilia and Sophia as chaste, the two men simultaneously demonise carnal pleasures. On the one hand, the former is an 'amiable creature' of 'integrity' with 'amazing elegance of mind and person', and the latter lives in 'innocent elegance' (IV. ii. 72–73; I. ii. 5). On the other hand, the Governor objects to the 'slut' whom Woodville keeps 'in great splendor' (I. ii. 9). He contrasts her with his own daughter whom he considers pure – a woman who possesses 'innocence without knowing it' (I. ii. 6). Equally, Lord Glenmore praises Sophia's 'birth, merit and accomplishments', along with the 'innocent elegance' in which she lives, and sets her in opposition with Woodville's 'insolent' mistress who represents 'every thing contrary' (I. ii. 4–5, II. iv. 34, III. ii. 50). As with Inchbald's Henry in *Nature and Art*, who portrays 'tender affection for the virtuous female' and promotes disassociation from 'the depraved and vicious', Lord Glenmore and the Governor create what Faramerz Dabhoiwala refers to as an 'orthodox understanding of female reputation', whereby they establish an absolute distinction between those who are chaste and those who are promiscuous, almost as though 'the one was the defining antithesis of the other'.¹²⁵

In fact, *The Chapter of Accidents* reflects the common eighteenth-century belief that women needed to be closely monitored if they were to remain chaste. In Soile Ylivuori's terms, 'many writers saw it necessary to accompany claims of women's [...] chastity' with appeals for them to be kept under control.¹²⁶ Indeed, in the Governor's words, a 'chaste Miss Diana'

¹²⁵ Elizabeth Inchbald, *Nature and Art* (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2009 [Originally published 1796]), p. 39; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1996), 201–13, p. 207.

¹²⁶ Soile Ylivuori, 'Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, 59.1 (2016), 71–97, p. 82.

(the Virgin Goddess) could easily become ‘another kind of Miss’ (III. ii. 43). Proto-feminist Catharine Macaulay’s (1731–1791) discussion of the ‘female species’ in the eighteenth century describes that society considered women ‘easily corrupted’.¹²⁷ They were seen to have ‘natural failings’ – a predisposition towards ‘ruinous trespass’ and corruption (*Letters on Education*, p. 211).¹²⁸ In much the same way that Finn Mackay and Amy Adele Hasinoff see twenty-first-century women as walking a ‘tightrope’ between chastity and promiscuity – where society reinforces notions of deviance – Georgian society considered women to be walking a fine line between decent and immoral behaviour, and liable to fall.¹²⁹ Women were encouraged to adhere to gender-specific expectations, to maintain their reputation and virtue, but were considered likely to ‘deviate from the track’ without guidance or intervention.¹³⁰ Even in later years, court proceedings show that people continued to assert the need to control women’s behaviour.¹³¹ People saw women as individuals to be governed, as Gay shows in *The Beggar’s Opera* when Peachum explains that ‘Polly is Tinder, and a Spark will set her on flame’ so it is her mother’s ‘duty’ to ‘warn the Girl against her Ruin’ (I. iv. 10). Lee reflects these anxieties in *The Chapter of Accidents* and conceives her female characters as deceptive women who hide their transgressions – Cecilia described as being one of ‘the fallen’ and Sophia in an unsanctioned relationship with Harcourt – and who consequently require the scrutiny of the male characters (II. v. 37; V. ii. 98).

Helen Jones investigates how women in today’s society are ‘constantly monitored for rule-breaking’ but this monitoring of women to prevent their transgression is not a new

¹²⁷ Catharine Macaulay, *Letters on Education: With Observations on Religious, and Metaphysical Subjects* (London: C. Dilly, 1790), pp. 206, 212.

¹²⁸ Note that Macaulay considered it a ‘trite and foolish observation’ to say that ‘the first fault against chastity in a woman has a radical power to deprave the character’, p. 212.

¹²⁹ Finn Mackay, *Radical Feminism: Feminist Activism in Movement* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 208; Amy Adele Hasinoff, *Sexting Panic: Rethinking Criminalization, Privacy, and Consent* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015), p. 66.

¹³⁰ John Cleland, *Genuine Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Maria Brown*, Vol. I (London: I. Allcock, 1766), p. 147.

¹³¹ During the trial of Patrick Welch and Ellen Lyons, one of the witnesses comments that Lyons’ ‘conduct was not such as to need control’: ‘Trial of Patrick Welch and Ellen Lyons’, 15 September 1825, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <www.oldbaileyonline.org> [accessed 26 July 2016] (t18250915-42).

phenomenon.¹³² Cecilia, Bridget and Sophia are subject to what Sean P. Hier's calls 'moralized monitoring' for fear they may transgress.¹³³ Where Lord Glenmore suspects Cecilia is veiling her true character and 'would chuse to know what kind of creature she is', he subsequently employs his valet Vane to 'assume a clownish disguise' in order to 'learn something of her character and designs': 'Doubtless, to oblige your Lordship [...] I might get a good drubbing in the character of a spy' (I. ii. 11). To put things another way, the female characters are under inspection from what Hier calls 'moralized regimes', whereby the watcher positions themselves on the side of 'right' and intends to regulate another's transgressive behaviour (Hier, p. 406). Harcourt, for instance, trusts that monitoring is the only way to make Cecilia 'drop the celestials' and reveal 'her real character and intentions', an action that he rationalises by stating that he 'prefer[s] honour to art' (I. iii. 14, 16; II. v. 37). The Governor's moralising gaze goes yet further, with his rather outlandish proposal to build 'a bridewell large enough to contain the whole sex' so that all women may be observed and reformed (IV. i. 66).¹³⁴ The male protagonists' survey Sophia's, Bridget's and Cecilia's activities and attempt to supervise and control their 'naturally' deceptive behaviour. But more precisely, they subject them to surveillance.

Andrea Brighenti and Alice E. Marwick argue that a significant imbalance of power is characteristic of surveillance.¹³⁵ This asymmetry underpins the actions of Lee's male characters as potential suitors and patriarchs alike assert their 'right' to watch and control Cecilia, Bridget and Sophia. Take, for instance, the conversation that takes place between

¹³² Helen Jones, 'Visible Rights: Watching Out for Women', *Surveillance & Society*, 2.4 (2005), 589–93, p. 591.

¹³³ Sean P. Hier, 'Probing the Surveillant Assemblage: On the Dialectics of Surveillance Practices as Processes of Social Control', *Surveillance & Society*, 1.3 (2003), 399–411, p. 408.

¹³⁴ Later Bridewells displayed architectural similarities to Bentham's Panopticon. Robert Adam's Edinburgh Bridewell drew from Bentham in its semi-circular arrangement and was designed to encourage modulation of inmate behaviour. While Bentham's prison was conceived after Lee's play was written (1791–95), the connection between Bridewells and the Panopticon, between reform and punishment through the power of the gaze, is compelling. See Philip Steadman, 'The Contradictions of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon Penitentiary', *Journal of Bentham Studies*, 9 (2007), 1–31, p. 1.

¹³⁵ Andrea Brighenti, 'Visibility: A Category for the Social Sciences', *Current Sociology*, 55.3 (2007), 323–42, p. 330; Alice E. Marwick, 'The Public Domain: Social Surveillance in Everyday Life', *Surveillance & Society*, 9.4 (2012), 378–93, p. 383.

Jacob and Woodville in Act III, Scene iii. Woodville hopes that Jacob will be able to reveal some supposed misconduct of Cecilia's and indulges Jacob's tale about spying on her: 'I had curiosity to know what brought he[r] here, one deay I peap'd thro' the keayhole, and zeed un – (titters) – I shall never forget' (III. iii. 57). Upon discovering that Jacob only saw Cecilia dancing, Woodville chastises the 'impudent bumpkin' for daring to 'jest with [his] misery' but he does not question Jacob's right to pry on Cecilia through the keyhole (III. iii. 57). George E. Haggerty explains scenarios such as this are 'keyhole testimony' – a declaration which both distances the witness from the supposed transgressive act behind the door and authorises their voyeuristic view of the scene.¹³⁶ In other words, Jacob is afforded the right to observe Cecilia because he is situated as an authorised viewer – someone distanced from the scene. The episode is most illuminating for the way it not only evidences but also legitimises the surveillance of women. Jacob never uncovers any sexual activity, but his curiosity is not reprimanded. He is allowed to witness and provide a testimony of Cecilia's actions (where Cecilia cannot reciprocate) and thus partakes in the one-sided knowledge transfer that characterises surveillance according to Geoffrey Lightfoot and Tomasz Piotr Wisniewski, without rebuke.¹³⁷ Indeed, the little information Jacob is able to offer about the visits of a 'leettle mon in a black quoot' leads to hasty encouragements – 'yes, yes' – from Woodville (III. iii. 58). In Jacob's voyeurism, then, we can begin to recognise the asymmetric viewing paradigm to which female protagonists are subjected, a paradigm that makes it acceptable for men to watch women while the women are the ones who are looked at.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ George E. Haggerty, 'Keyhole Testimony: Witnessing Sodomy in the Eighteenth Century', *The Eighteenth Century*, 44.2 (2003), 167–82, p. 168.

¹³⁷ For 'information asymmetry' in surveillance, see Geoffrey Lightfoot and Tomasz Piotr Wisniewski, 'Information Asymmetry and Power in a Surveillance Society', *Information and Organization*, 24 (2014), 214–35, pp. 216, 223–24.

¹³⁸ For more on how the 'epistemic asymmetry of surveillance' constitutes the observer subjugating the observed, see Seán Moran, 'Surveillance Ethics', in *Philosophy Now*, 110 (2015), <https://philosophynow.org/issues/110/Surveillance_Ethics> [accessed 02 May 2016], para. 12 of 14.

1.3. Punishing Bridget: Regulating Female Agency in *The Chapter of Accidents*

I turn now to the different modalities of asymmetrical inspection experienced by the female characters in *The Chapter of Accidents*, and to specific instances of slut-shaming – a practice that, like surveillance, not only subjugates the observed but also acts as what Viktor Arvidsson and Anna Foka term a ‘lever of social control’.¹³⁹ As a practice, slut-shaming not only defames women who exhibit behaviour judged promiscuous but, as Jessica Valenti states, also aims to police their bodies and their actions.¹⁴⁰ *The Chapter of Accidents* reflects the way in which Georgian society forefronted female reputation to such an extent that people felt compelled to monitor and reform those who did not conform to the prescribed ideal of chastity. If we accept the descriptions offered by critics in the field that slut-shaming is the stigmatising and humiliating of a person for their sexually provocative behaviour, then *The Chapter of Accidents* clearly evidences the practice.¹⁴¹ Lee’s heroines are not merely categorised as chaste or otherwise but are actively *reviled* for their reputed sexual activity. Cecilia, ‘plung’d in vice and lost to every sentiment’, as her father declares, is condemned to live in a ‘house of shame’ for sharing Woodville’s bed (III. ii. 58; I. iii. 14). She is Woodville’s ‘ambitious minx’, his ‘insolent baggage’ (III. i. 41; II. iv. 34).¹⁴² Further, when Bridget is disguised as Cecilia she too is subject to the same extensive deprecations of her sexual conduct, labelled an ‘artful puss’, ‘jezebel’ and ‘audacious baggage’ (IV. i. 68, 69; V. i. 81). While Catherine Burroughs declines to refer to the treatment of women in the play specifically as ‘slut-shaming’ (perhaps understandably as the term was not in common usage until around 2010), she too recognises that it is through the discourse of ‘slut’ that the work

¹³⁹ Viktor Arvidsson and Anna Foka, ‘Digital Gender: Perspective, Phenomenon, Practice’, *First Monday*, 20.4 (2015), <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5210/fm.v20i4.5930>> [accessed 07 March 2016], para. 18 of 23.

¹⁴⁰ Jessica Valenti, *He’s a Stud, She’s a Slut, and 49 Other Double Standards Every Woman Should Know* (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008), p. 15.

¹⁴¹ Definition of slut-shaming compiled from: Leora Tanenbaum, *Slut! Growing Up Female with a Bad Reputation* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000), p. 19; Valenti, p. 15; and Emily White, *Fast Girls: Teenage Tribes and The Myth of the Slut* (New York: Berkley, 2003), p. 110.

¹⁴² John Badcock records that ‘baggage’ was slang for ‘a saucy mix, a slut, or w[hor]e’, see *Slang: A Dictionary*, p. 5.

‘demonize[s] premarital defloration in women’ (para. 18). In this respect, we must acknowledge that Lee’s relationship with ‘slut’ is complex. The play almost has a double vision, whereby it simultaneously redeems and demonises sexually active women. But Lee’s practice of slut-shaming is evident not only in the repeated use of the term ‘slut’ and related insults, as Burroughs seems to suggest, but also through the public degradation that accompanies this classification. Where the Governor vilifies his daughter’s sexual activity outside of marriage, he simultaneously calls for her to be publicly castigated: ‘I hope she pays for this severely! – you make her stand in a white sheet, to be pointed at by the whole village ev’ry Sunday, to be sure [...] I renounce the unworthy little slut’ (III. ii. 46–47). He intends for her sins to be publicised, exposing her to communal scrutiny, since slut-shaming, as Tanenbaum clarifies, is intended first and foremost as a punishment.¹⁴³

Cecilia’s and Bridget’s humiliations function as a means of shaping, disciplining and normalising their future behaviour, and function to elucidate slut-shaming as a gendered form of surveillance overwhelmingly directed at women. Such shaming punishment may prove ineffective, both women having already deviated to the point of no return by losing their virginities, but the practice intends to alter their subsequent conduct. Slut-shaming is an intervention that seeks to regulate and constrain female agency and sexual self-determination by encouraging self-surveillance. If we are to understand the finer ways in which slut-shaming engaged with the same regimes of discipline as surveillance, we need to arrive at a clearer sense of how shaming punishments operate and succeed.

The Governor’s calls for Cecilia to parade the streets in a white sheet would not have been considered unusual since such walks of shame were relatively common penance for those

¹⁴³ Leora Tanenbaum, ‘The Truth About Slut-Shaming’, 15 April 2015, in *Huffington Post*, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/leora-tanenbaum/the-truth-about-slut-shaming_b_7054162.html> [accessed 02 May 2016], para. 3 of 11.

found guilty of adultery, ‘un-chastity’ and other sexual transgressions.¹⁴⁴ This is because many eighteenth-century organisations considered shaming an effective means of promoting ‘lewd and scandalous persons’ to reform their behaviour.¹⁴⁵ As Graeme Newman puts it, shaming punishments were designed specifically to be experienced as an ‘ordeal’.¹⁴⁶ Although standing in front of your peers could not elicit the same physical pain as other collective punishments – for instance stoning, it could provoke emotional suffering. It could, according to Alice Morse Earle’s records from eye witnesses, initiate the torment of an ‘aching heart’.¹⁴⁷ Anecdotal evidence aside, current scientific research also recognises the physical impact of emotional stimuli, such as shame. Researchers, including Naomi Eisenberger, Matthew Lieberman and Kipling Williams, theorise that the feelings of social distress associated with shame generate a powerful, almost physiological, warning within the body.¹⁴⁸ Shame signals to an individual that their actions are unacceptable and potentially pose a threat to their social bonds with others (Eisenberger et al., p. 290). More specifically, shame comprises part of what Eric Jaffe terms a ‘social alert system’, which works quickly to regulate morally questionable behaviour.¹⁴⁹ Shaming punishments, then, utilise shame in order to alter an individual’s behaviour. The Harvard Law Review and Dan M. Kahan share in the view that public shaming, of prisoners at least, has ‘a general deterrent effect on the

¹⁴⁴ ‘Un-chastity’ was a term commonly used to describe sexual transgression in the Georgian era, see: William King, *Political and Literary Anecdotes of his Own Times* (London: John Murray, 1818), p. 50.

¹⁴⁵ A Society for Promoting a Reform of Manners, *The Eleventh Black List*, 1706, Houghton Library, Harvard University (ref: hyde_eb65_a100_b675b_v5_no43), <<http://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/30527567?buttons=y>> [accessed 11 May 2016].

¹⁴⁶ Graeme Newman, *The Punishment Response*, 2nd edn. (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2008), p. 100.

¹⁴⁷ Newman (p. 100) draws attention to the work of Alice Morse Earle, who describes the ‘bowed head and aching heart’ of Judge Samuel Sewell. Sewell, one of the judges at the Salem witch trials, stood in front of a congregation to confess his sins in the 1700s, see *Curious Punishments of Bygone Days* (Bedford, Massachusetts: Applewood Books, 1995 [Originally published by Herbert S. Stone & Company, 1896]), pp. 117–18.

¹⁴⁸ Naomi I. Eisenberger, Matthew D. Lieberman, Kipling D. Williams, ‘Does Rejection Hurt? An fMRI Study of Social Exclusion’, *Science*, 302 (2003), 290–92, p. 290.

¹⁴⁹ Eric Jaffe, ‘Why Love Literally Hurts: Psychologists have Discovered a Neural Link between Social and Physical Pain’, *Observer*, 26.2 (2013), <<http://www.psychologicalscience.org/observer/why-love-literally-hurts>> [accessed 28 February 2017], para. 11 of 29.

offender’ because it enables communities to powerfully reinforce their opposition to transgression.¹⁵⁰ In line with Kahan’s belief that shame has the capacity to shape an individual’s behaviour, John Braithwaite maintains that the primary objective of public ‘degradation ceremonies’ is to offer transgressors the chance to overcome their shame by participating in socially acceptable behaviour.¹⁵¹

To put things precisely, I am claiming that shaming-punishments such as those suffered by Cecilia and Bridget are intended to normalise behaviour in much the same way as the panopticism. Such castigations lead to what Thomas Fuchs terms ‘corporealizing effects’,¹⁵² where shame turns the ‘lived-body’ into the corporeal and in the process induces acute ‘self-perception from the standpoint of others’ (p. 229). The ‘cold, scrutinizing, contemptuous or voyeuristic gaze’ that an individual is subjected to after behaving improperly, he adds, “‘corporealizes” the lived-body and throws the person back on [their] own body’; it ‘captivates and subjects’ them (p. 226). In other words, in situations when one is exposed to the gaze, as occurs during slut-shaming, an individual is made excessively aware of their actions, and, as Paulo Vaz and Fernanda Bruno point out, as a consequence they impose surveillance on themselves. This act of self-surveillance – what Jeeshan Gazi has termed ‘soveillance’ – leads in Foucauldian terms to the creation of a docile body ‘that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved’ (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 136).¹⁵³

The Chapter of Accidents throws more light on the fraught juncture between slut-shaming and surveillance. More than causing mere humiliation, the Governor’s proposed shaming-

¹⁵⁰ Dan M. Kahan, ‘Social Influence, Social Meaning, and Deterrence’, *Virginia Law Review*, 83.2 (1997), 349–95, pp. 384–85; Harvard Law Review Association, ‘Shame, Stigma, and Crime: Evaluating the Efficacy of Shaming Sanctions in Criminal Law’, *Harvard Law Review*, 116.7 (2003), 2186–207, p. 2191.

¹⁵¹ John Braithwaite, *Crime, Shame and Reintegration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 55.

¹⁵² Thomas Fuchs, ‘The Phenomenology of Shame, Guilt and the Body in Body Dysmorphic Disorder and Depression’, *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 33.2 (2003), 223–43, p. 225.

¹⁵³ Paulo Vaz and Fernanda Bruno explain that self-surveillance is usually understood as ‘the attention one pays to one’s behaviour when facing [...] observation by others’: ‘Types of Self-Surveillance: from abnormality to individuals ‘at risk’’, *Surveillance & Society*, 1.3 (2003), 272–91, p. 273; Jeeshan Gazi, ‘Soveillance: Self-Consciousness and the Social Network in Hideaki Anno’s *Love & Pop*’, *Surveillance & Society*, 16.1 (2018), 84–111, p. 86.

punishment is intended to compel his daughter to modify her behaviour and also to induce in her an acute self-awareness of how others will judge her actions. The play offers further instances where slut-shaming is deployed as a part of a strategy to curtail female agency. In Act V, Scene i, where Woodville's supposed mistress Bridget cries 'mercy' from Lord Glenmore's threat of punishment – incarceration in a monastery, she learns it is not just the acknowledgement of her actions (i.e. public confession) that will shrieve her, but being 'a good girl' (i.e. the amendment of her behaviour): 'If thou had'st been a good girl, thou had'st been a happy one – Hark'ye, miss! confess all your sins, that's the only way to escape' (V. i. 81). Lee clarifies that wayward 'wretches' will be forced to conform through public humiliation: '[Woodville's mistress] shall be produced, and obliged to confess her arts; – then blush and obey!' (V. ii. 90). Enmeshed in the one sentence is a code for slut-shaming; Lee's male protagonists aim to invoke shame (blushing) via a public admission of transgression and deception ('arts') – an act that will then force the woman in question to conform. Bridget and Cecilia are made aware of the supervisory gaze of Lord Glenmore and Governor Harcourt, and this encourages them to amend their behaviour and remain chaste. Yet, although they are aware of the transgressive cast of their actions, Cecilia and Sophia are unable to conform to the expected standard of purity, something Sophia makes clear at the end of the play when she asks: 'What would you say, Sir, and you, my Lord, if I *had* fancied your Charles so much, as to make him mine already?' (V. ii. 98). Indeed, if Lee's heroines are 'already' unchaste then they must also find ways to withstand these attacks, for, such shaming practices were becoming more and more prevalent in Georgian culture.

1.4. Slut-Bonnets, Slang and Keyhole Testaments: Georgian Print Culture and Representation of Women in the Press

In addition to reflecting slut-shaming culture in the Georgian period, as we have seen *The Chapter of Accidents* – along with wider print culture in the period – also facilitated and proliferated the practice. However, Lee’s complex relation to slut-shaming may be gauged from the Governor’s complaint that women in that era were destined to be ‘paragraphed into purgatory’ (III. i. 48). The Governor’s lamentations over his daughter’s infidelity reflect the common response of the Georgian presses to promiscuous women: ‘the papers will get hold of it [...] and “a certain Governor and his daughter,” will set the grinners in motion from Piccadilly to Aldgate’ (III. i. 48). As Sarah Lloyd has suggested, women were routinely exposed to a ‘vastly expanded’ public audience by the popular press, who ensured that women’s adulterous ‘conduct bec[a]me the topic of discussion, in every gossiping circle, [and] in every public print’.¹⁵⁴ In many respects this means that print culture contributed to a stifling environment that made women more visible than ever before. Literacy rates had seen at least a fifteen percent increase from the seventeenth century, and, when combined with a rapid rise in newspaper circulation, publications were able to reach an increasingly varied audience beyond that of the usual gentrified reader.¹⁵⁵ Georgian women found their private affairs vulnerable to being exposed on a very public platform in much the same way as Millennial and Generation Z women do. Graham Meikle’s work on visibility in the digital age recognises that women ‘find themselves not just sharing, but being shared; not just

¹⁵⁴ Sarah Lloyd, ‘Amour in the Shrubbery: Reading the Detail of English Adultery Trial Publications of the 1780s’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39.4 (2006), 421–42, p. 431; Lloyd also cites Anonymous, *The Cuckold’s Chronicle: being select trials for adultery, incest, imbecility, ravishment, &c*, Vol. I (Boston, 1798), p. 25.

¹⁵⁵ David Cressy reports that by 1714 at least 45% of men and 25% of women could now read (compared with 30% and 10% respectively during the time of the English Civil War, 1642–1651), *Literacy & the Social Order: Reading & Writing in Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 176. For newspaper circulation and readership, see Peter King, ‘Newspaper Reporting and Attitudes to Crime and Justice in Late-Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth-Century London’, *Continuity and Change*, 22.1 (2007), 73–112, p. 74; Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 24.

choosing to make themselves visible, but being cruelly exposed'.¹⁵⁶ I would contend that the same is true for Lee's heroines as authors and journalists alike laid bare women's indiscretions and engaged an increasingly literate public in a common lexicon that attacked women for enjoying sexual lives.

Lee's serio-comic play captivated spectators and enjoyed several printings between 1780 and 1792 because it was, as John Howard Payne (1791–1852) remarked, 'a little licentious'.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, the play would have been particularly stimulating to theatregoers because of its consonance with the salacious stories reported by, in the words of one critical reader of *Lloyd's Evening Post*, the 'licentious press'.¹⁵⁸ As Lloyd has explored, the eighteenth-century press routinely spotlighted sexually transgressive women through coverage of 'trials for adultery' (p. 422). Tales of women's scurrilous activities were frequently printed in both the metropolitan and provincial presses, feeding a public hunger for prurient detail (Lloyd, p. 421). The *Morning Chronicle* claims 'unprecedented demand' for its account of Lady Seymour Worsley's trial, which sold out 'a few hours after it was printed'.¹⁵⁹ The advertisement reassures readers that the newspaper was now employing two presses to produce 'a sufficient quantity to satisfy the curiosity of the public' and in doing so reflects the widespread interest in, and demand for adultery cases. It seems that, although the editor of *Trials for Adultery* (1781) worried that perhaps infidelity was now commonplace and unexciting – '[it] is become so general that it is hardly considered criminal' – adultery stirred

¹⁵⁶ Graham Meikle, *Social Media: Communication, Sharing, and Visibility* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), p. xi.

¹⁵⁷ Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660–1900; Late Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750–1800*, VI vols., Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 281. John Howard Payne, *The Thespian Mirror*, 22 March 1806, No. XIII, (cited by S. H. Blakely, 'John Howard Payne's "Thespian Mirror"', *New York's First Theatrical Magazine*, *Studies in Philology*, 46.4 (1949), 577–602, p. 588).

¹⁵⁸ 'Nestor' lambasts 'the licentious press' for exaggerating the Duke's 'love of pleasure': 'News', *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 19 January 1770. Although Nestor was among the first to describe newspapers as the 'licentious press', the description gained popularity and persisted into the nineteenth century, see: 'Editorials', *The Times*, 23 January 1818, p. 2; 'News', *The Times*, 24 January 1821, p. 3; 'News', *The Times*, 11 December 1863, p. 6.

¹⁵⁹ 'Classified Ads', *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 04 March 1782.

the public's curiosity.¹⁶⁰ It was the epitome of a woman's shameful comportment, which made these trials and indeed Lee's play all the more scandalous and riveting to the Georgian readership.¹⁶¹ As one anonymous pamphleteer remarked in *Satan's Harvest Home* (1749), rather than 'hardly criminal', extramarital relations were regarded as one of 'the greatest Evil[s]'.¹⁶² 'Wives of Wanton Dispositions' were situated by publications as devious, debaucherous women and female sexual indiscretion as a whole was conceived of as 'deliberately vicious and scandalous' (*Satan's Harvest Home*, pp. 20, 31). It is, as historian Rebecca Probert reminds us, precisely because 'the illicit is... usually the more interesting than the regular' that the shocking lives of immoral women in the eighteenth century, real and fictitious alike, were of capital interest.¹⁶³

Reading audiences were particularly fascinated by the widely reported criminal conversation cases that involved women 'of the most scandalous character',¹⁶⁴ including the adulterous triptych of Ladies Abergavenny, Ligonier and Worsley (Larwood, p. 304). The private lives of these women were forcibly exposed to the public during court proceedings and it is through their trials that we can further recognise the environment that sanctioned the public humiliation and surveillance of women, as well as the way in which *The Chapter of Accidents* processed this societal issue. In Thomas Lockwood's words, it is precisely because of the 'unforgiving publicity' of the era that Lady Abergavenny's trial in February 1730 came to such prominence.¹⁶⁵ Newspapers capitalised on the 'irresistibly explicit testimony' of servant

¹⁶⁰ For more on public interest in scandalous newspaper stories see Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 42–43.

¹⁶¹ *Trials for Adultery, or the History of Divorces*, Vol. I (London: S. Bladon, 1781), p. iii.

¹⁶² Anonymous, *Satan's Harvest Home: Or, the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Procuring, Pimping, Sodomy and the Game at Flatts* (London, 1749), p. 31.

¹⁶³ Rebecca Probert, *Marriage Law and Practice in the Long Eighteenth Century: A Reassessment* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 344.

¹⁶⁴ Criminal conversation cases came to prominence in around 1716 and were a tort action brought by a husband where he claimed damages against an adulterer. See 'Criminal conversation, *n.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/44425?redirectedFrom=criminal+conversation#eid138738211>> [accessed 14 May 2016].

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Lockwood, 'The Modern Husband: Introduction', in *Henry Fielding: Plays, 1732–1734*, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 181–208, at p. 189.

Elizabeth Hopping (Lockwood, p. 189), who recounted Lady Abergavenny's affair with Richard Lyddel in such lurid and revealing detail that it features in Bernhardt Hurwood's *The Golden Age of Erotica*.¹⁶⁶ Hopping's candid evidence was made all the more gripping by her position as voyeur: 'she looked through the key-hole in the parlour, and saw her Lady against the door that went into the hall, and Mr Lyddel against her; her Lady's petticoats were as high as her garters'.¹⁶⁷ Her indulgence in 'keeking' (secretly watching a sexual act) provided newspapers with an erotic experience that the public could legitimately marvel at and, equally importantly, condemn.¹⁶⁸ She was a keyhole testifier whose exposure of Abergavenny's transgression not only permitted her intrusion, but recalls precisely the same asymmetric viewing paradigm as in Act III, Scene iii of *The Chapter of Accidents* between Jacob and Cecilia.

Lee's work is not separate from societal influences; her play reflects the asymmetric surveillant gaze brought to bear on adulteresses in the Georgian era. Elite women of the age were exposed to the gaze of both the witnesses at their trials, and the public who later read about their exploits. The height of criminal conversation trials saw Lady Ligonier maligned as a result of testimony from snooping chambermaid Ann Bartholomew, who, upon drawing back the bed-curtains, reported seeing 'Count Alfieri and Lady Ligonier in bed together, naked and alone'.¹⁶⁹ Likewise, Lady Worsley had her private life laid bare to the courts by an attendant from a bathhouse, who claimed she had seen Sir Richard Worsley assisting his Lady's lover George Bisset in watching Lady Worsley bathing (Fig. 5).¹⁷⁰ But these Georgian women found themselves not only, in Meikle's terms, 'cruelly exposed' by

¹⁶⁶ Bernhardt Hurwood, *The Golden Age of Erotica* (Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, 1965), p. 45.

¹⁶⁷ *Trials for Adultery, or the History of Divorces*, Vol. VII (London: S. Bladon, 1781), pp. 2–3.

¹⁶⁸ Hallie Rubenhold uses the term 'keeking' and describes how voyeurism in the eighteenth century was not considered an unlawful intrusion but merely a part of 'the spectrum of ordinary erotic experience', in *The Scandalous Lady W* (London: Vintage, 2015), p. 165.

¹⁶⁹ *Trials for Adultery, or the History of Divorces*, Vol III. (London: S. Bladon, 1779), p. 43.

¹⁷⁰ Transcripts of the court were recorded by Richard Pye Donkin and published in *The Trial, and the Whole of the Evidence, between the Right. Hon. Sir Richard Worsley, Bart, Plaintiff, and George Maurice Bissett, Esq., Defendant, for the Criminal Conversation with the Plaintiff's Wife* (London: G. Kearsley, 1782), p. 11.

witnesses but also *to* the public (p. xi). As Lloyd notes, numerous publications reported on the trials and sated a public hungry for titillating detail; more importantly, they made women visible *to* ‘a “publick” or vulgar gaze’ (p. 431). In Lacanian terms, these Georgian adulteresses were subjugated by a gaze they could not return.¹⁷¹ For instance, Lady Worsley’s brazen sexuality drew so much outrage that by the beginning of March 1782 (the trial began on the 21st of February) a plethora of publications were exhibiting her indiscretions to the nation in a multiplicity of forms, including *The Lousiad: An Heroi-Comic Poem* by Peter Pindar (John Wolcot):

Not Lady Worsley, chaste as *many* a nun,
 Look’d with more *horror* at Sir Richard’s fun,
 When raised on high to view her naked charms,
 He held the peeping Captain in his arms.¹⁷²

Likewise, Lady Ligonier’s trial spawned various reports and literary representations that exposed her to the public gaze. One prominent example, a parodic account detailing the ‘catalogue of Whims’ by the adulterous ‘Lady Whimsy’, marketed not only Ligonier’s indecency but also that of Lady Worsley and Lady Henrietta Grosvenor (1745–1828).¹⁷³ In parallel, then, with Cecilia and Bridget’s slut-shaming in *The Chapter of Accidents*, the

¹⁷¹ Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book XI*, trans. Alan Sheridan, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998), p. 84.

¹⁷² Peter Pindar, *The Lousiad: A Heroi-Comic Poem*, 7th edn. (Paris: Parsons and Galignani, 1804 [Originally published 1787]), pp. 8–9.

¹⁷³ Mirroring the court proceedings that came before and after hers, Lady Henrietta Grosvenor’s trial (1770) exposed her affair with Henry-Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, via the testimony of chambermaids and servants, see *Trials for Adultery, or The History of Divorces*, Vol. V (London: S. Bladon, 1780).

scrutinising gaze of the public corporealizes Ladies Abergavenny, Ligonier and Worsley; a one-sided exchange that disturbs, overwhelms and ‘reduces [them] to a feeling of shame’ (Lacan, p. 84). They are disempowered by the gaze of the public – a gaze they can neither reciprocate nor avoid. In fact, Lee’s contemporary Robert Trevor (1706–1783) remarked to a friend that even in death, women would be pursued for their wanton lifestyles: ‘private persons have not escaped the notice and censures of our licentious press; nor can even the grave bury poor Lady Abergavenny’s shame’.¹⁷⁴

The Chapter of Accidents and other Georgian publications, then, do not simply *reflect* the asymmetrical gaze of slut-shaming but in broadcasting scandalous cases so widely in fact *direct* the gaze. Elite women found themselves being ‘shared’ and shamed in a way that resonates in our digital age. Just as women today find their supposed misdemeanours published on the Internet, targeted for abuse by what the *Guardian* describes as ‘dismissive trolls’, women in the Georgian era suffered similar castigation from public commentators.¹⁷⁵

What Larwood terms the ‘very racy but very shameful’ details of Lady Ligonier’s trial catalysed public critique (p. 305). Women took it on themselves to express their criticisms of women’s private wrong-doing. In 1770, the *Independent Chronicle* reported that a French milliner had designed ‘a new fashioned bonnet’ called ‘La Coquine’, intended specifically for women to wear to adultery trials.¹⁷⁶ Far from merely evidencing changing courtroom fashions, La Coquine coded a fashion for slut-shaming – in colloquial French, the bonnet’s name translates as ‘slut’.¹⁷⁷ Women were invited to don these ‘slut-bonnets’ at trials as a way

¹⁷⁴ Jeremy Black cites Robert Trevor to Stephen Poyntz (21 December 1729, BL. Althorp Mss. E3), see *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 43 and notes p. 49.

¹⁷⁵ Becky Gardiner, Mahana Mansfield, Ian Anderson, Josh Holder, Daan Louter and Monica Ulmanu, ‘The Dark Side of Guardian Comments’, 12 April 2016, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/apr/12/the-dark-side-of-guardian-comments>> [accessed 16 May 2016], para. 3 of 16. See also, Hal Gladfelder, *Criminality and Narrative in Eighteenth-Century England: Beyond the Law* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 70.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Chit Chat of the Day: or, polite small-talk’, *Independent Chronicle*, 02–05 March 1770.

¹⁷⁷ ‘La Coquine’ can, I argue, be approximated to mean the ‘slut’ or ‘hussy’. *Le Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé* (TLFi) (The Treasury of the French Language) considers a ‘ coquine ’ to be a person without

of publicly signalling their disapproval of ‘sluts’. Just as the Internet facilitates and, according to popular critical opinion, encourages people’s criticisms, eighteenth-century reports of court proceedings ‘imitated the form of a trial’ and thus encouraged readers to ‘assume the position of judges’, or so Hal Gladfelder contends (p. 70).¹⁷⁸

Lee and the press employ a diatribe against adulteresses to gather public disdain for these supposedly licentious women. Writers, both authors and journalists alike, engaged an increasingly literate public in a common lexicon that impugned women for their sexual misconduct. In fact, Lee’s work and other Georgian publications help construct an argot specifically fashioned to rebuke women for their (mis)conduct. For instance, newspapers printed satirical rhymes that contained thinly veiled attacks on some of the most well-known female transgressors:

HERALD wherefore thus proclaim,
 Nought of WOMAN but the *shame*?
 Quit – oh quit at least awhile,
Perdita’s too luscious smile,

morality – ‘personne sans scruples’ – or someone who is associated with immodesty. In this case, the feminine, it specifically refers to a woman whose lack of moral sense becomes apparent because of a romantic or erotic relationship: <<http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/coquin>> [accessed 19 February 2016]. See also, Armand François Allonville who uses ‘ coquine ’ to mean slut in 1794: *Mémoires: Secret de 1770 à 1830* (Paris: Werdet, 1841 [Originally published 1794]), p. 113.

¹⁷⁸ For more on how the internet encourages criticism of others see: Clare Hardaker, ‘What is turning so many young men into internet trolls?’, 03 August 2013, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2013/aug/03/how-to-stop-trolls-social-media>> [accessed 16 May 2016], para. 4 of 19; Tim Adams, ‘How the internet created an age of rage’, 24 July 2011, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2011/jul/24/internet-anonymity-trolling-tim-adams>> [accessed 02 July 2016], para. 8 of 37.

Wanton Worsley, stilted Dally,
 Heroines of each black-guard alley.¹⁷⁹

Printed in the *Morning Herald*, Charles Burney's (1726–1814) poem offers a coded patois that identifies Lady Worsley for her 'wanton' behaviour and aligns her with other disgraced women, including 'Perdita' (Mary Robinson, 1758–1800) and Grace Dalrymple Eliot, 'Dally' (1754–1823) – the former best known for her affair with the Prince of Wales, and the latter famed for infidelity with Viscount Valentia.¹⁸⁰ Burney's choice of language, in particular the word 'wanton', forms part of a whole taxonomy of shame employed against women like Worsley, Robinson and Eliot in the Georgian period. Slang terms such as 'quean', 'slattern', and 'baggage' were all coined to label 'a flaunting woman of loose morals, if not practices' – a slut (as recorded by Badcock, p. 144). Publications offered clear terms that encouraged readers to pass judgement on these dishonoured women. Lee's use of degrading terms positions her text among this shaming-culture: 'gypsy', 'minx', 'wench', 'Mawkin', and of course 'slut' (III. ii. 50; IV. i. 64; V. i. 81). Her phraseology mirrors that of other Georgian authoresses, including Mrs Burgess in *The Oaks &c.* (1780) who talks of 'common' and 'forward wantons' and their 'rantipole doings', and Clara Reeve (1729–1807), whose protagonist Sukey Jones believes she passes 'for a piece of virtuous composition' only to be called out by her patroness as a 'saucy slut!'.¹⁸¹ But the insults employed against women, such as Lady Worsley, Cecilia, Bridget and Sophia, do more than merely provide explicit

¹⁷⁹ Charles Burney's poem was originally published in the *Morning Herald*, 12 March 1782, and is reprinted in 'Advice to the Herald', in *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney, 1782–1783*, eds. Lars E. Troide and Stewart J. Cooke, Vol. V (Quebec and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 2012), pp. 38–39.

¹⁸⁰ For Mary Robinson see Hester Davenport, *The Prince's Mistress, Perdita: A Life of Mary Robinson* (Stroud: The History Press, 2006), p. ii. For Grace Dalrymple Eliot see *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, p. 38.

¹⁸¹ Mrs Burgess, *The Oaks; or The Beauties of Canterbury, a Comedy* (Canterbury: Simmons and Kirkby, 1780), pp. 6, 12; Clara Reeve, *The Two Mentors: A Modern Story*, 3rd edn. (London: J. Mawman, 1803 [Originally published 1783]), p. 40.

terms to sway reader and audience disapproval: they form part of a wider slut-shaming vernacular that sought to discipline and regulate female behaviour.

David M. Turner's *Fashioning Adultery* (2004) provides an account of how in the early modern period bald terms such as 'adultery', 'whoredom' and 'uncleanness' were routinely ascribed to acts of sexual immorality as a means of deterring potential malefactors.¹⁸² Turner cites *Satan's Harvest Home*: 'the very title of a Bawd and a Whore is sufficient to fright a sober Man, not only from their Embraces and Converse, but even of all manner of Lustful thoughts and Inclinations' (Turner, pp. 26–27; *Satan's Harvest Home*, p. 20). Turner's argument, however, suggests that this powerful language was principally aimed at men to prevent them from concourse with such women. Through the lens of surveillance studies, it becomes apparent that the language of *porneia* was used equally to contain and control women.¹⁸³ As Andrew P. Morrison suggests, such language was designed to both isolate transgressive individuals and collectively immobilise specific groups – including women – by promoting self-indictment.¹⁸⁴ Through setting negative terms in opposition with 'pure', 'high-bred', and 'elegant', writers had at their disposal a lexicon that dichotomised and categorised women in ways that demanded comparison with an internalised ideal ('Advice to the Herald', 14, 23, 35). The use of derogatory terms both in *The Chapter of Accidents* and in the wider press was designed to remind women that their actions were being scrutinised and measured against the expected norm of female behaviour – chastity. The shaming vernacular employed by newspapers and writers simultaneously rebuked women and intended to deter them from committing further indiscretions by reminding them of the consequences of lewd behaviour. The language, much like a physical punishment, was meant to prompt self-

¹⁸² David M. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660–1740* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 26.

¹⁸³ Bruce Malina describes various translations of *porneia* but concludes it refers to unlawful sexual conduct or indeed any unlawful conduct, 'Does Porneia Mean Fornication?', *Novum Testamentum*, 14.1 (1972), 10–17, p. 17.

¹⁸⁴ Andrew P. Morrison, *The Culture of Shame* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), p. 29.

surveillance. For instance, the rhetoric adopted by the Governor in *The Chapter of Accidents* when he suggests the white-sheet punishment reinforces the idea that misconduct will result in social exclusion: ‘I *renounce* the unworthy little slut [...] I *abjure* the audacious little wretch for ever!’ (III. ii. 47, emphasis added). Lee’s work clearly reflects a broader cultural discourse that opposed, exposed and tried to regulate female transgression. *The Chapter of Accidents* forms part of a print culture that actively facilitated and contributed to a stifling environment that made women acutely aware of the consequences that would accompany misconduct – shame, exhibition and subjugation.

1.5. Resilience: Fabling Women’s Public Image

Through public sharing and shaming, Georgian print culture sought to define a woman’s public identity in terms of her private life. From the recycling of salacious rumours to adultery trials, private matters were discussed on an open platform in public spaces. *The Chapter of Accidents*, I argue, while deriving energy from the frisson between contradictory public and private lives is also urgently attuned to what these tensions put at stake – to the personal impacts of collapsing the gap between what is known publicly and what is known privately. Lee publicises Cecilia’s, Bridget’s and Sophia’s infidelity at the same time as undermining the category of ‘slut’ itself. Moreover, while she castigates the play’s ‘sluts’ for their transgressive behaviour, she redeems two of them at the close of the action. While Lee appears to revel in her age’s fascination with exposing and denouncing sluts, her sexually confident female characters are allowed to devise empowering strategies for sidestepping their predicament. Lee’s heroines seem to appreciate that shaming jeopardises the distinction between public and private – realms that proto-feminist commentators and twenty-first-century surveillance critics alike agree should be permitted to remain separate. Today’s

discussions about how citizens should be able to ‘maintain privacy and confidentiality’ at a time when society forces them to become increasingly visible,¹⁸⁵ are not too dissimilar from James Boaden’s (1762–1839) Georgian views. Indeed, as Felicity Nussbaum points out, Boaden steadfastly believed that private lives should be kept separate from the public, especially in the case of actress Sarah Siddons (1755–1831): ‘Her PRIVATE life! What is there, then, in the private life of the *most* excellent wife, mother, sister, friend, the *detail* of which could be interesting to the public?’¹⁸⁶ Aware that the lines between public and private realms were becoming increasingly blurred by a licentious print culture, Lee does not merely demonstrate and replicate slut-shaming, she is a self-conscious victim of such practice and so is determined to find ways for her characters to counter it. The play itself becomes a *mise en abyme* of the Preface – whereby the women are mishandled by men but are able to recover their status as ‘pure’. Lee does not merely perform ‘virginity’ in her preface, as Burroughs suggests, she reclaims the serio-comedy as an unwilling victim of abuse. *The Chapter of Accidents* enables its heroines to fable the relationship between what Chris Rojek calls their veridical (genuine) self and public self (the self seen by others), in order to restore a chaste image.¹⁸⁷ Lee’s female characters are able to engage in what Gina O’Connell Higgins describes as a process of ‘self-righting’ – resilience.¹⁸⁸ They regain control of their public images by reinventing themselves as marriageable virgins, in precisely the same way as the Preface reclaims its status as ‘pure’. In doing so, the heroines resist the gendered surveillant practice of slut-shaming in ways that can be extrapolated to help counter today’s mass surveillance culture.

¹⁸⁵ Mary Madden and Lee Rainie, ‘Americans’ Attitudes About Privacy, Security and Surveillance’, 20 May 2015, in *Pew Research Center*, <<http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/05/20/americans-attitudes-about-privacy-security-and-surveillance/>> [accessed 01 June 2016], para. 5 of 29.

¹⁸⁶ Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 119; James Boaden, *Memoires of Mrs. Siddons, Interspersed with Anecdotes of Authors and Actors* (Philadelphia and New York: H. C. Carey, I. Lea, I. Littell, G. & C. Carvill, 1827), p. ix.

¹⁸⁷ Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), p. 11.

¹⁸⁸ Gina O’Connell Higgins, *Resilient Adults: Overcoming a Cruel Past* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1994), p. 1.

The Chapter of Accidents was conceived and performed during an era where, as Michael Warner submits, ‘most things [were] private in one sense and public in another’.¹⁸⁹ Slut-shaming of women for their private transgressions emerged as a legitimate public discourse, and the shaming-vernacular fashioned by society valorised the public discussion of private matters. It is unsurprising, then, that readers and authors not only adopted the same parlance as the papers, but also conflated the public view of women with the private. Newspapers eagerly printed letters from men like ‘Bumfiddle’ – a self-confessed admirer of women’s posteriors, whose alias belongs to the same class of ‘handles’ used by today’s Twitter trolls. His vitriolic letters associate women’s public apparel with the sexualised pastime ‘a game of romps’ – an activity which, according to the 1797 *Sporting Magazine*, ‘throws off all distinction’ and threatens a woman’s ‘decorum and virtue’.¹⁹⁰ Indeed, Bumfiddle slut-shames ‘cork-rumped devils’ in what appears to be a protest at their attempts to hinder his sexual advances.¹⁹¹ His letters to the *Public Advertiser* bemoan how difficult it had become to ogle and grope women, his efforts impeded by the new fashion for cork bustles, which pushed out the backs of women’s dresses: ‘Let the *severity* of our criticism be no longer *pointed* at their HEADS; let us *attack their TAILS*’. But in his criticisms, Bumfiddle conflates women’s observable appearance with their private (mis)adventures. His slut-shaming consolidates images of women’s enhanced posteriors with notions of their indecorous private activities. But he was not alone in misrecognising women’s fashion as representative of the female moral character. Papers printed increasingly offensive, derogatory letters appraising women and their cork rumps. Letters from ‘Pushpin’, ‘B.W.’ and the ‘Coffee-house Lounger’ all

¹⁸⁹ Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), p. 30.

¹⁹⁰ A Game of Romps was a particularly popular parlour game from around the mid-1700s. It was played in private among small groups. The game appears to have been rough play of a sexual nature that included wrestling and tickling on the floor and elicited *The Sporting Magazine* to lament that ‘ladies will ... persevere in romping in spite of the evils that await them’: ‘Game of Romps: Rules for Christmas Gambols’, in *The Sporting Magazine, or Calendar of the Transactions of the Turf, the Chace and every other Diversion interesting to the Man of Pleasure, Enterprize and Spirit*, Vol. IX (London, 1797), pp. 152.

¹⁹¹ Bumfiddle’s real name appears to have been Harry, see ‘News’, *Public Advertiser*, 11 October 1776. See also his second response, ‘News’, *London Packet or New Lloyd’s Evening Post*, 28–30 October 1776.

engaged in the language of *porneia* when ranting that recent fashions had made women appear vulgar and depraved: ‘I will engage they shall be excelled by almost any Dutch market-woman or fat landlady in this kingdom’.¹⁹² The men’s slut-shaming rants all blur the line between a woman’s public self and her private conduct.

We should recognise that in one important respect Lee’s play does precisely the same work as the press in encouraging its audience to amalgamate or collapse women’s public and private identities. Where Woodville encourages Harcourt to envision what is under Cecilia’s ‘russet gown’ and ‘imagine all the graces hidden under a straw hat’, he also invites theatre-goers to visualise what Cecilia looks like undressed and in private (I. iii. 13). I argue that, in line with a Mulveian perspective, the exchange illuminates the voyeuristic, ‘sexualised and sexualising gaze’ of men,¹⁹³ and that this conversation also shows how Woodville conflates the public view of Cecilia with the private and bids the audience do the same. The scene suggests that Cecilia’s clothing actually invites observers to view her sexually (I. iii. 13). Where Woodville indicates that the dress invokes images of Phoebus (Apollo), the god of light, he states that Cecilia is ‘caught in his beams’ and in doing so implies that her attire is revealing (I. iii. 13). The gown invites the public to ‘imagine’ what is beneath it, in a similar way to the ‘grey russet’ dress of Richardson’s Pamela, which invites readers to view her as ‘honest’ (*Pamela*, p. 25). The russet gown is not merely an item of clothing, then, but a visual cipher of Cecilia’s private life that shapes her social identity, as was common at the time according to Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass.¹⁹⁴ Lee drives the audience to imagine

¹⁹² Pushpin, ‘News’, *London Chronicle*, 16–19 November 1776; B.W., ‘News’, *London Chronicle*, 30 November – 03 December 1776; Coffee-house Lounger, ‘News’, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 30 December 1784. Note the derogatory implication of ‘Dutch’, see Peter Douglas, ‘Dissing the Dutch: All’s Fair in Love and War’, in *New Netherland Institute*, 1–22, <<http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/>> [accessed 10 March 2016], p. 2.

¹⁹³ Paul Bowman, *Culture and the Media* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 73; Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures*, 2nd edn. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. xxxiv.

¹⁹⁴ Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 221.

that women's private offences are exhibited by their clothing. In fact, in a compelling connection to Bumfiddle's complaints, Bridget describes her previous mistress's part in a 'game of romps' and encourages the audience to picture Madam Fisk's clothes as representative of her private impropriety: 'as soon as ever master was gone', 'Madam Fisk used [to]... draw up her brocaded niggel-de-gee, and *fall* to play at some good fun or other' (II. i. 19, emphasis added). Madam Fisk's fall(en) status is directly connected to her brocaded negligee. Lee's work submits to a Georgian discourse on 'feminine propriety' that, as Ylivuori states, demonstrated how 'even though chastity was presented as an internal feminine feature, it was evaluated by external signs, making it less dependent on physical continence than on public display of purity' (p. 71). Indeed, the play aligns itself with a societal discourse – slut-shaming – that conflated the public view of a woman with the private transgressive self.

It should be clear, then, that in their criticism of promiscuous women, Lee and the popular press amalgamated women's public and private identities and encouraged others to do the same; they figured women as 'sluts' in a way that women were seemingly unable to respond to. Their slut-shaming blurred the line between what these women would and would not normally share in public, with Madam Fisk and Cecilia unable to exert control over which aspects of themselves they presented at any given time and to whom. More precisely, by placing women's private misdemeanours on display, the press prevented supposedly wanton women from demarcating a public and private life. These exclusions compound the asymmetry of slut-shaming since, to borrow terms from Kate Zittlow Rogness, they 'reinforce an unequal distribution of power'.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Kate Zittlow Rogness, 'The Personal is not Political: A public argument for privatizing women's sexuality', in *Disturbing Argument*, ed. Catherine H. Palczewski (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 123–28, at p. 125.

Lee was acutely aware that slut-shaming blurred line between the public and the private realms and was determined to find ways for her characters to resist it. She was a self-conscious victim of the practice, who, 24 years after the publication of *The Chapter of Accidents*, was still concerned with the imputations against her reputation which she had to endure: 'I was inexperienced enough to imagine that I might admit my little product of my fancy to the public without appearing personally at its bar' (*Life of a Lover*, p. v). Her use of the word 'bar' is perhaps particularly suggestive of a frustration at the immediate judgement women faced in the public courtroom. We must recognise that Lee's relationship with slut-shaming is knowingly complex. The play denigrates promiscuous women but also allows for what Burroughs calls a 're-enactment of hymen loss' and suggests 'that promiscuity need not condemn a particular woman to life as an outcast' (para. 18). While Lee certainly condemns sluts, Cecilia and Sophia are not merely continually reviled and monitored for their reputed sexual activity, they are also able to fable a 'chaste' public self at odds with their private, veridical self. For, while Lee may not have approved of sexually confident women, she seems to have objected even more to the double standards of the day that allowed 'Rakehell[s]' like Woodville to sleep-around, while denigrating women for the same 'crime' (III. ii. 50).

The Preface to *The Chapter of Accidents* registers and articulates Lee's complex intent. Her impassioned preamble details *The Chapter of Accidents*' difficult publication history, figuring the play as a sluttish body that has been passed around various men: 'I had reason to conclude he [Thomas Harris] had lent it to every one he knew, at least' (p. iii). Lee aligns herself with the corpus of the playtext as having similarly been forced to 'endure a variety of imputations' (p. i). The 'worn out and dirty' manuscript that she received back is presented as a manifestation of her own treatment (p. iii). In contemporary terms, Lee exhibits what Leslie Lebowitz and Susan Roth identify as 'self-blame' for the behaviour of others towards her, 'typical' of a victim of slut-shaming: 'I was perhaps in some degree blameable, for believing

that man would set any value on my time' (p. iv).¹⁹⁶ The Preface is not only a vehicle for Lee to bemoan her maltreatment, however. As Burroughs argues, she uses the Preface to perform her own 'virginity', much as her female protagonists do (Burroughs, para. 24; I. ii. 6). Lee separates herself from her soiled text and is consequently allowed to retreat from the public eye – 'I gave up, without a trial, all thoughts of the Drama, and sought an humble home in Bath' – while her text is punished and 'mutilate[d]' (pp. ii–iii). Lee is able to figure herself as virtuous by distancing herself from the sullied dramaturgy and so resist the judgment of the 'rigid moralists' who attacked her (*The Life of a Lover*, p. vii).

As Burroughs suggests, *The Chapter of Accidents* is clearly an 'abused playscript', having 'endured all sorts of violations in the process of reaching public performance' (para. 23). I would venture further than Burroughs and contend that Lee does not merely perform her own virginity in the Preface, but also reclaims her serio-comedy as a work that has been mistreated and abused by men. Rather than a willing participant in its dirtying, the manuscript is presented as a work that was defiled by men. In a complex response to the analogised sexual promiscuity of her work, Lee does not merely punish her work and consign the manuscript 'to oblivion' (p. iv). Rather, once it has been sufficiently punished – mutilated according to Harris's suggestions – she attempts to restore the work. Lee's careful phrasing clues the play's new 'public face', to use Rojek's terminology (p. 11). Minor alterations, 'cut[ting]', 'abbreviating' and 'heightening', enable both George Colman's (the Elder, 1732–1794) 'acceptance of the piece' and the play's eventual performance (p. iv). The manuscript is transformed from 'the reduced copy' it had become in Harris's hands, to one which now receives 'the most lavish applause' (p. iii, iv). Through its remodelling the manuscript is also re-virginized, since it regains parts previously lost via Harris's intervention – '[I] lengthened it into five acts' (p. iv).

¹⁹⁶ Leslie Lebowitz and Susan Roth, "'I Felt Like a Slut': The Cultural Context and Women's Response to Being Raped", *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 7.3 (1994), 363–90, pp. 374, 378.

The main body of the play itself becomes a virtual *mise en abyme* of the Preface – Lee’s female characters are also figured as ‘sluts’ who have had their virtue ‘ruined’ by men, with some of them able to restore their status as ‘pure’ (II. i. 21). This restoration is achieved, as Burroughs explains, through the play’s repeated staging of re-enactments of hymen loss. The play ‘re-virginizes’ Cecilia ‘by having others mistake her physiological condition’, permitting ‘the moment of hymen-taking to be re-enacted, even though it can never actually be repeated’ (Burroughs, para. 10). As a consequence of the complex sub-plots, secrecy and clothes swapping, which obscure her true identity as Woodville’s mistress, Cecilia is repeatedly mistaken by Lord Glenmore and the Governor for a potential bride. She is sought after as though still a virgin. The Governor repeatedly tries to marry her (his daughter) to his nephew Woodville, unaware that although he had her kidnapped and brought up in isolation in Wales, she is already sleeping with Woodville: ‘the wife, I would have given him, has beauty without knowing it, innocence without knowing it’ (I. ii. 6). He figures Cecilia a virgin, a ‘little wonder of the country’ who is untainted by ‘the painted dolls and unjointed Macaronies’ of the town (I. ii. 6). In the same manner, Lord Glenmore covets Cecilia as his future wife, the irony of which is made clear when he compares her to Woodville’s mistress: ‘I wish to make you a proposal worth a serious answer [...] and I will raise you to a title’ (IV. ii. 72). His vernacular signals the play’s preoccupation with defloration: ‘your integrity doesn’t render you less amiable in my eyes; it greatly enhances every other merit. As to his wretch...’ (IV. ii. 72). He mistakes Cecilia to have the ‘integrity’ of a potential bride, whole and uncorrupted unlike Woodville’s mistress. Likewise, Sophia is continually ‘re-virginized’ by the Governor and Lord Glenmore, who figure her as a match for the two heroes of the play. Although Sophia is already married to Harcourt, Lord Glenmore understands her to be ‘a match for Woodville’ and believes her to live in ‘innocent elegance’ (I. ii. 4, 5). Even at the conclusion of the play, Sophia is figured as a potential bride by Lord Glenmore – ‘my

dear, you can present me the husband of your choice, I will present him with a fortune fit for my daughter’ – while the Governor tries to marry her to Harcourt (unaware they are already married): ‘if she could but fancy our Charles, I’d throw in something pretty on his side’ (V. ii. 97–98). Lee deliberately creates confusion over Sophia and Cecilia’s physiological states and continually re-figures her heroines as virgins on the cusp of sexual initiation – a common trope for eighteenth-century erotic texts, as Kathleen Lubey and Bradford K. Mudge clarify.¹⁹⁷ In fact, in Mary Pix’s *the Spanish Wives* (1696) the protagonist Eleanora’s primary concern is, in Burroughs terms, ‘to be treated as though her hymen had been metaphorically restored’:¹⁹⁸ ‘[I] hope my future conduct will satisfie the world of my innocency’.¹⁹⁹

Lee does not, though, merely re-enact hymen loss to increase the erotics of the play, as Burroughs suggests. Rather, in re-virginizing Cecilia and Sophia she allows her heroines (with the exception of Bridget) to perform the process of ‘self-righting or growth’ – an action indicative of resilience (Higgins, p. 1). Indeed, contemporary resilience theory allows us to recognise that Sophia and Cecilia, as well as Lee and her Preface, all exhibit the ‘capacity to bounce back, to withstand hardship and to repair [themselves]’.²⁰⁰ In the face of a culture that sought to contain and persecute them for their transgression, these ‘sluttish’ women were able to restore both their hymens and their reputations because they recognised that slut-shaming jeopardised the distinction between public and private realms. In Zittlow Rogness’s terms, they understand that ‘at times the common public identity and one’s individual identity may overlap’ and consequently work to fable the relationship between their veridical and their public self, in order to resist attempts to categorise them as ‘slut’ (Zittlow Rogness, p. 125).

¹⁹⁷ Kathleen Lubey, ‘Making Pornography, 1749–1968: The History of *The History of the Human Heart*’, *ELH*, 82.3 (2015), 897–935; Bradford K. Mudge, *The Whore’s Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684–1830* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁹⁸ Catherine Burroughs discusses Mary Pix, see ‘The Erotics of Home: Staging Sexual Fantasy in British Women’s Drama’, in *Women’s Romantic Theatre and Drama: History, Agency, and Performativity*, ed. Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Keir Elam (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), pp. 103–22, at p. 105.

¹⁹⁹ Mary Pix, *The Spanish Wives: A Farce* (London: R. Wellington, 1696), III. iv. 48.

²⁰⁰ Steven J. Wolin and Sybil Wolin, *The Resilient Self: How Survivors of Troubled Families Rise Above Adversity* (New York and London: Random House, 1993), p. 5.

The play is able to hide from its two patriarchs – the Governor and Lord Glenmore – that the two women they fetishize as chaste are, as Burroughs puts it, “‘already” sexually active’ (V. ii. 90; Burroughs, para. 4). The complex dramaturgy and narrative structure allow Cecilia to be Woodville’s ‘insolent baggage’ and, at the same time, the ‘amiable’ and blushing creature idealised by Lord Glenmore (II. iv. 34, IV. ii. 73). Equally, while Sophia is understood to have taken ‘the strangest step’ in secretly marrying Harcourt, she is simultaneously the perfect potential match for either of the play’s leading men – ‘a good girl, and a charming girl’ in the eyes of both patriarchs at one time or another (II. v. 35; V. ii. 97). In ‘public’, specifically in front of Lord Glenmore and the Governor, Cecilia and Sophia are able to fabricate a chaste image. Even to the audience, who are fully aware that the two women are no longer virgins, Cecilia and Sophia establish a ‘public’ chastity. Lee works hard to reassure theatregoers that, despite their deflorations, Cecilia and Sophia are ‘so full of virtue, [that] *some of it runs over*’ (p. vi). The audience is continually reminded that Cecilia is an innocent minded girl who is ‘uninstructed in the ways of this bad world’ (III. ii. 45). She is preoccupied with being ‘a truly noble-minded girl, and far above her present situation, which she earnestly wishes to quit’ (II. v. 36). Likewise, Sophia, although ruined by Harcourt, is shown to be outraged by the transgressive conduct of Woodville’s lover: ‘In my name? You amaze me, Mr. Harcourt! Would you associate your wife with a kept mistress?’ (II. v. 37). She is presented as ‘Miss Mortimer’ – a woman who would, it seems, naturally be appalled by such behaviour. In many respects, although both women are reviled and monitored by the male characters for their reputed sexual activity, Lee refuses to let either be defined by their misdemeanours, and instead invokes in them a sort of innate chastity that cannot be overlooked by the audience.

Since their sexual transgressions are committed before the play began, and thereby away from the ‘public eye’, Lee is able to disengage her heroines from their private ‘sluttish’

personas. Publicly – in other words, during the action of the play – neither woman is shown to be an active force in her supposed misdeeds. Cecilia is projected as an unwilling victim of her treatment, and it is Woodville who is figured as the active, desecrating force: [Grey to Woodville] ‘for thou with the worst kind of avarice, hast by specious pretences wrested from poverty its last dear possession – virtue’ (III. iii. 59). The clergyman’s biblical phraseology and syntax (‘avarice’, ‘poverty’, ‘virtue’) work to condemn Woodville. As God’s representative, Grey functions to pass judgement on the ‘most accomplish’d villain!’ who took Cecilia’s virtue from her (III. iii. 59). Grey (Cecilia’s guardian in the country) draws attention to the sexual double standard that had previously left Woodville unimpacted by societal judgement. Where Lord Glenmore, the Governor and Harcourt seem to gloss over ‘that poor dupe’ Woodville’s part, Grey is acutely aware of Woodville’s equal responsibility (IV. i. 67). It is his awareness of Woodville’s accountability that shifts focus and fables Cecilia as a passive force who has had her virtue taken from her. Correspondingly, Sophia’s only action in the play is to shield Cecilia from persecution: ‘her protection of Cecilia deserves the highest recompence [...] I honour the very tip of her feathers now’ (V. ii. 97). It is by separating her heroines from their active role in transgressing that Lee enables Sophia and Cecilia to fable the relationship between their private, disobedient self and their innocent public image.

More precisely, I argue that Lee deliberately attempts to counter the asymmetric, gendered gaze of slut-shaming by allowing her heroines to control the narrative of their public identity. In as much as Lee seemingly disapproved of transgressive women and partook in a lexicon that impugned their actions, she seems to have objected even more to the double standards of the day that almost congratulated ‘scapegrace[s]’ like Woodville and even Harcourt for their philandering, while the women of the play were vilified for, and defined by the same action (III. i. 42). Via Miss Mortimer, Lee not only explains that ‘the world judges [women] by

actions, not thoughts, and will bury the merit in [Cecilia's] situation' but responds and condemns that 'cruel argument' as one which 'perpetuates error in so many of [the] frail sex' (II. v. 37). She encourages her audience to reject the way in which women were instantly judged by both men and women, through her suggestion that Sophia 'be the first to rise above it' and 'stretch out her hand to the fallen' (II. v. 37). She encourages the audience to evaluate her ruined heroines on their merit and their thoughts, as opposed to their actions alone, and in doing so, enables Cecilia and Sophia to control the narrative of their sexual identity. Lee creates an environment where 'rather than a stable state of sexual virtue', chastity is, in Ylivuori's terms, 'a negotiable performative identity' (p. 71). For instance, Cecilia is able to fable a new public persona that is so horrified at her own behaviour that both the audience and the patriarchs would not believe it possible she committed such an immoral act in the first place, while Sophia is able to project herself as a dutiful ward to Lord Glenmore. Both women, then, are able to claim agency over their public image, and perform chastity, resisting any attempts to classify them as 'slut'.

Yet Lee does not make these comments about female agency uncomplicatedly. She further problematises the public pillorying of transgressive women by redeeming certain 'sluttish' characters but not others. Although the playwright restores Cecilia's and Sophia's chastity, she does not reinstate Bridget's. Indeed, class aspirations appear to be a complicating factor in Lee's decision to redeem the play's 'sluts'. In stark contrast to the two ladies of the play, Bridget is a 'Country Mawkin' – a 'slut' (IV. i. 66).²⁰¹ Lee carefully and repeatedly underscores the difference between the 'Town-bred Misses' and the 'Barn-door Mawkin' by setting Cecilia's remorse and scrupulous displays of purity in opposition to Bridget's 'vulgarity' (IV. i. 64, 66). Lee ensures that Bridget cannot be redeemed for her dalliance with

²⁰¹ According to the *OED*, 'mawkin' is a variation of 'malkin', defined as: 'a lower-class, untidy, or sluttish woman, esp. a servant or country girl': 'Malkin, n. 1.a', in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/112962?redirectedFrom=malkin#eid>> [accessed 12 June 2016].

Timothy Hobbs, the gardener's squire, because she has no 'merit' (V. i. 82; II. v. 37). The play's system of value means that for Bridget, a servant, chastity is not a negotiable performative identity. Even when she is dressed as Cecilia, Bridget is unable to fable a new public image: 'Bridget dressed in Cecilia's Clothes, mixed with every thing vulgar and tawdry' (IV. i. 63). Instead, she is condemned for daring to pass for a lady (V. ii. 93). She is punished, branded a 'cursed vixen' and ends up married to a man she is afraid of: 'I am now as much afraid of my new husband as father' (V. ii. 93, 97). Her status as 'slut' is ultimately compounded by a cruel and brutal pun about rape and sodomy, where Lee suggests Bridget has been sodomised by Lord Glenmore's black servants (Anthony, Pompey and Cæsar): 'I shall die away if the black do but touch me' Bridget cries, as the men are instructed to 'lock her up in one of the lofts over the stables' and 'go the backway' (IV. i. 68–69). Unlike Sophia who has 'birth, merit, [and] accomplishments' and Cecilia whose merit cannot be lessened, only enhanced according to Lord Glenmore, Bridget is only ever allowed to be 'our Bridget' (IV. ii. 71–72; II. ii. 26). Lee clearly has a complex and self-complicating relationship with slut-shaming. By means of a confusing set of ideals, she enables certain characters (those deemed worthy enough) to perform chastity, while simultaneously punishing others for their 'wanton' behaviour. Even Colman, the theatre manager who produced *The Chapter of Accidents* to acclaim at the Haymarket, acknowledges Lee's manifold and 'mix'd intent' (p. vi). She engages in the language of porneia, embodies and replicates slut-shaming, but is also, it seems, determined to resist such practice. Nonetheless, at least on some level, Lee redeems her 'sluts' and grants them a degree of agency over their public image. Indeed, in Alliston's view it is precisely because Lee's dramaturgy redeems 'a heroine who fails to maintain perfect virtue', without compensating for her actions with destitution or death – typical fates in plays of the period – that the play was considered so unusual.²⁰²

²⁰² April Alliston, 'Lee, Sophia Priscilla', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*,

That is not to say, however, that the modes of resilience that Lee offers her audiences did not already exist as tried-and-tested strategies in eighteenth-century fiction and actual life alike. Novelist Clara Reeve (1729–1807) allows her heroine Sukey Jones, formerly ruined by Lord C., to fable a new public self in *The Two Mentors* (1783) (pp. 34–35). Despite Sukey’s ‘misapprehension’, readers are led to take pity on her (p. 25). Rather than the ‘saucy slut’ her malicious patroness expects her to be, Sukey proves to the audience she is far more virtuous when she refuses to sleep with Mr Saville, after they are locked in a room together: ‘since you have scruples about going to-bed, we will sit up and contrive how to baffle the schemes of this old Messalina of ours’ (pp. 40, 78–79). Sukey is ultimately able to problematise her classification as ‘slut’ when in due course she is able to ‘pass for a widow’ even though she has never married (p. 115). Similarly, Lady Worsley – a real-life victim of slut-shaming – problematises her treatment by exerting agency over her public image. She publishes her own response to the reports in the licentious press in the form of *An Epistle from Lady Worsley to Sir Richard Worsley* (1782). She challenges the papers’ and the public’s lateral surveillance of her by problematising the asymmetric gaze brought to bear on her. She negates the one-sided exchange that attempts to reduce her to a feeling of shame by using the publication as a discursive channel through which to openly address her conduct, and as an effective way to control her public image. She writes as though unaffected by the stigma and ignominy: she has ‘no follies to confess’ and is ‘quite regardless what the world can say’.²⁰³ In fact, she categorically states that she ‘despise[s] the shame’ the press tries to force upon her (p. 3). At a time when people were immensely concerned with reputation she asserts herself as a ‘slut’, although not using the term directly. She does not identify with the ‘blushing maids’ who used to ‘blubb’ring [...] tell the doleful tale’ of their downfall, instead she ‘pant[s] for fresh scenes of unrestrained delight’ (p. 3). She categorically states that she is *not* so chaste as Dian

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16311>> [accessed 10 May 2016], para. 3 of 6.

²⁰³ Seymour Worsley, *An Epistle from L__Y W_____Y to S_R R_____D W_____Y*, 2nd edn. (London: P. Wright, 1782), pp. 1–2.

(p. 8). She strives to assert that she has no comparison to other women; she is no ‘hapless *Fatima* [who] laments her doom’ (p. 11). She is in control: ‘What *I* expos’d, *she* most contriv’d to screen’ (p. 8). Her italicisation reflects her acute awareness that she has taken charge of her reputation. She fashions an absolute distinction between the decorous Dian and herself. She may be completely visible under the lateral gaze of the press and her peers but in asserting that she cannot be analogised with the likes of Dian or Messalina, she evades definition and constructs her own public persona (p. 2). Rather than the chaste image Cecilia and Sophia construct, Lady Worsley seems to deliberately fable a sluttish public persona, whereby she reclaims and boasts her sexuality.

Lee’s play, then, responds vigorously to an environment that delighted both in slut-shaming sexually active women by largely resisting attempts by the play’s patriarchs to expose and impugn them. Bridget’s brutal fate appears to be the price paid for Cecilia’s and Sophia’s social renovations. *The Chapter of Accidents*’ complex relationship with the term ‘slut’ indexes Lee’s interest in developing models of resilience against gendered forms of social discipline. Both Cecilia and Sophia are allowed to fable the relationship between their public and their private self. Although Lee derives comedic capital from directing the asymmetric gaze of the slut-shamer towards her female protagonists, she simultaneously renders the attempts to scrutinise her heroines itself comical due to the audience’s knowledge that her sluts are indeed already sexually active. In the age of the Investigatory Powers Act (2016), which grants to a wide range of governing bodies the right to collect our browsing history alongside other information on our movements and meetings, Lee’s exuberant, resourceful, resilient heroines suddenly appear not as sentimental heroines, marooned in the generic conventions of their day, but rather as striking role models for Millennials.

Chapter 2 | The Medically Surveilled Body: Gendered Experiences of the Paramedical Gaze

‘Never enter the cabinet of the *hermaphrodite*, if you do not wish to blush for pleasure and shame at the same instant. I dare not even say that it is too handsome ...’, cautioned Charles Dupaty in 1785 after inspecting a copy of the Sleeping Hermaphroditus statue in the Uffizi Gallery (Fig. 6).²⁰⁴ Dupaty’s red-faced reaction to the statue performs what Ruth Gilbert identifies as the eighteenth-century’s often ‘confused’ response to images of sexual ambiguity.²⁰⁵ Issues of desire, modesty, guilt as well as embarrassment were all at stake when confronted with atypical bodies, widely considered ‘unnatural’.²⁰⁶ Many Romantic-era writers responded to the famous hermaphroditic statue in similarly disordered terms as Dupaty. To John Moore (1729–1802), the ‘excellence of the execution [was] disgraced by the vileness of the subject’,²⁰⁷ while Percy Shelley responded poetically to ‘that sweet marble monster of both sexes’.²⁰⁸ In part, this chapter focuses on a complex, often perplexed eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century response to ambiguously sexed bodies, but also seeks productive correlations between the Romantic understanding of ‘irregular’ forms and

²⁰⁴ Charles Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy: Written in French by President Dupaty, in 1785*, trans. J. Poloveri, Vol. I (London: J. Bew, 1788), Letter XXXII, p. 121.

²⁰⁵ Ruth Gilbert, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites: Sex and Other Stories* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 3.

²⁰⁶ Anonymous, *An Historical Miscellany of the Curiosities and Rarities in Nature and Art*, Vol. II (London: Champante and Whitrow, c. 1794), p. 257.

²⁰⁷ John Moore, *View of Society and Manners in Italy: With Anecdotes Relating to Some Eminent Characters*, Vol. II (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1781), p. 367.

²⁰⁸ Percy Shelley, ‘Studies for Epipsychidion and Cancelled Passages’, in *Epipsychidion*, ed. Henry Buxton Forman (London: C and J Ollier, 1821), pp. 27–33, lines 55–60.

our own cultural fascination with, in Foucauldian terms, ‘abnormal’ bodies.²⁰⁹ Eighteenth-century medical science was fascinated by what surgeons termed ‘malformed’ anatomy, and sought to observe, dissect and categorise non-conforming bodies.²¹⁰ Medical discourse in turn influenced the wider public response to hermaphroditic bodies, much as medical knowledge around physical ambiguity informs wider social debates today. As physician Loftus Wood noted in 1788, titillating medical treatises seemed actively to seek to ‘excite public curiosity’.²¹¹ Certainly, Everard Home’s sensational study of hermaphroditic dogs encouraged readers to marvel at his subjects’ ‘monstrous’ bodies (p. 4).

In this context we might consider Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s ‘Christabel’ (1797–1800), a central canonical Romantic text and the focus of significant attention in its own day. The open question about Geraldine’s body was, from the outset, a troubling crux – as an anonymous critic demanded to know in 1816: ‘Is Lady Geraldine a sorceress? or a vampire? or a man? or what is she, or he, or it?’.²¹² But other, less well-known, Romantic texts also explore hermaphroditic bodies, suggesting that sexually atypical bodies represented an enduring area of fascination for the Romantic imagination. The current chapter addresses this critical blind spot to consider alongside ‘Christabel’ Percy Shelley’s *The Witch of Atlas* (1824) and Byron’s *Sardanapalus* (1821). The latter literary works not only further annotate the cultural allure of hermaphrodites but also constitute a lens through which we can reconsider the disciplinary gaze in operation in ‘Christabel’. What follows, then, examines epistemologies of our own fascination with hermaphroditic bodies, which culminated in controversy around gender nonconforming athletes at the 2016 Rio Olympics. I argue that

²⁰⁹ Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974–1975*, trans. Graham Burchell, eds. Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni (London and New York: Verso, 2003), p. 31.

²¹⁰ Everard Home, *An Account of the Dissection of an Hermaphroditic Dog: to which are prefixed some observations on hermaphrodites in general* (London, 1799), p. 5.

²¹¹ Loftus Wood, *Cases, Medical, Chirurgical, and Anatomical, with Observations* (London: J. Murray, 1788), pp. 113, 127.

²¹² Anonymous, ‘CHRISTABEL; KUBLA KHAN, A VISION; THE PAINS OF SLEEP,—BY S. T. COLERIDGE, ESQ.’, 26 May 1816, *Champion*, pp. 166–67, reprinted in *The Romantics Reviewed, Part A: The Lake Poets*, ed. Donald H. Reiman, 2 vols., Vol. I (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1972), pp. 268.

Romanticism already registers a complex specular gaze, and moreover, began the work of processing vexed issues and open questions of gender and sexual categorisation that continue to unsettle us. Building on the work on mid- to late-nineteenth-century hermaphroditism of Elizabeth Reis, Alice Dreger and Geertje Mak, my concern here is to undertake an investigation of non-conforming bodies in the Romantic era prised through contemporary surveillance discourse.²¹³

This chapter responds to a solidifying critical consensus that repeated attempts were made to control, categorise and label ‘hermaphrodites’ as early as the end of the seventeenth century. I argue that while such criticism recognises that the hermaphroditic body was subject to disciplinary practice, it does not sufficiently identify the ways in which the responses of eighteenth-century surgeons such as James Parsons (1705–1770) were engaged with various modalities of the surveillant gaze.²¹⁴ David Armstrong has coined the phrase ‘medical surveillance’; the ‘extension of a medical eye over all the population [... as a] manifestation of the new framework of Surveillance Medicine’ in the twenty-first century,²¹⁵ and I wish to argue that related paradigms of classification and control were already evident, moreover in often surprisingly developed forms, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Also, that in the literature of the period we can distinguish a *paramedical* surveillant gaze – a medical

²¹³ Elizabeth Reis, *Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Alice Dreger, *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex* (Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1998); Geertje Mak, *Doubting Sex: Inscriptions, Bodies and Selves in Nineteenth-Century Hermaphrodite Case Histories* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2012).

²¹⁴ Mak and Dreger reference mid-nineteenth-century responses to DSD bodies in relation to disciplinary practice (Mak, p. 23; Dreger, p. 44). See also Robert Groves’ detailed study of Hermaphroditus sculptures, which examines the specific act of viewing the Sleeping Hermaphroditus statue and identifies that we (the audience) occupy the position of voyeur, or ‘sleep-watcher’: ‘From Statue to Story: Ovid’s Metamorphosis of Hermaphroditus’, *Classical World*, 109.3 (2016), 321–56, p. 341.

²¹⁵ David Armstrong, ‘The Rise of Surveillance Medicine’, *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 17.3 (1995), 393–404, p. 400.

surveillance extended to the wider population by writers, rather than by doctors and surgeons based in hospitals.²¹⁶

As we will see, Shelley's, Byron's and Coleridge's works demonstrate how, and in often surprising ways, the debates and language of eighteenth-century medicine spread to and were circulated in the public domain. The 'sexually indeterminate figure' of the hermaphrodite became, as Gilbert puts it, a sight 'to be looked at and classified as part of an emerging 'enlightenment' codification of physical and social abnormality' (p. 136) – in Coleridge's phrase, a 'sight to dream of, not to tell'.²¹⁷ Further, while this chapter considers three texts with male authors, its focus remains on gendered bodies; by evaluating how the hermaphrodite was constructed by and signified in the Romantic period, we can better understand epistemologies of gendered surveillance. Although Georgian paramedical texts do not, of course, use the same terminology as medical practitioners today, they were already processing extra categories outside of 'male' and 'female', and indeed prefigure the modern 'five sexes' model proposed by Anne Fausto-Sterling in 1993 (Gilbert, p. 136; Donoghue, pp. 25, 27).²¹⁸ Hermaphroditic experience allows us to extrapolate not only the period's own sense of 'extra' physical categories, but also the complex structures of seeing that occurred – and persist – in society. What emerges is a paramedical gaze in Romantic literature that I argue radically overdetermined the 'hermaphrodite'. This gaze not only sought to discipline behaviour by classifying and exposing 'deviant' bodies, but also, through the gendered regimes of discipline that lay behind paramedical surveillance, created a category specifically generated to contain transgressive and disruptive women.

²¹⁶ Where Emma Donoghue uses 'paramedical' to describe eighteenth-century texts whose 'structures are those of scientific or medical treatise', I also employ the term to designate works surrounding medical writing, including poetry and prose relating to medical debates of the era. See *Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture 1668–1801* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), pp. 33–34.

²¹⁷ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Christabel', in *Selected Poetry*, ed. H. J. Jackson (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 68–86, I. 253.

²¹⁸ Anne Fausto-Sterling, 'The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough', *The Sciences*, (1993), 20–25, p. 21.

2.1. 'Figuring it out': Modern Surveillance Medicine and Hermaphroditism in the Twenty-First Century

To Anna Blume, museum goers often linger at the statue of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite and see in it a 'provocation', an invitation 'to either interpret or search for the maleness which at first is not apparent'.²¹⁹ For Blume, along with blogger Daisy de Plume and *New York Review of Books* staffer, Daniel Mendelsohn, the figure is a riddle to be solved – an 'anatomically interesting [...] SheMan beauty', which must be stared at closely, analysed and 'figured out'.²²⁰ The digital age's response to the body of the statue, however, extends beyond the world of art, and draws attention to the way in which the public responds to DSD ('Disorders of Sex Development', previously termed 'intersex')²²¹ individuals more widely, including, since recent Olympic games, DSD athletes. Graphic novels, such as Vineeth Nair's proposed text *Continuum*,²²² also reflect contemporary trends in Japanese 'futanari' (hermaphrodite) manga for sexualising, capturing and appraising DSD bodies.²²³ Currently unpublished, the

²¹⁹ Anna Blume, 'Mesh: The Tale of the Hermaphrodite', *LITR*, 4 (2005), <<http://www.litr.org/journal/4/mesh-the-tale-of-the-hermaphrodite>> [accessed 10 October 2016], para. 7 of 11.

²²⁰ Daisy de Plume, 'SheMan Beauty', 28 June 2012, in *THATlou Blog*, <<http://thatlou.com/blog/2012/06/27/sheman-beauty/>> [accessed 11 October 2016], para. 2 of 6; Daniel Mendelsohn, 'Mighty Hermaphrodite', 07 November 2002, in *The New York Review of Books*, <<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2002/11/07/mighty-hermaphrodite/>> [accessed 11 October 2016], para. 1 of 28.

²²¹ Vilain et al. explain that new nomenclature was adopted by the medical community in 2007 and note that 'gender labelling in the diagnosis should be avoided, and the use of the words "hermaphrodite," "pseudohermaphrodite," and "intersex" should be abandoned as they are either confusing or have a negative social connotation that may be perceived as harmful'. DSD – 'Disorders of Sex Development' – was instead accepted: Eric Vilain, John C. Ackermann, Erica A. Eugster, Vincent R. Harley, Yves Morel, Jean D. Wilson and Olaf Hiort, 'We used to call them Hermaphrodites', *Genetics in Medicine*, 9.2 (2007), 65–66. As Sharon E. Preves suggests, however, this revised term is not unproblematic, with many people taking issue with the word 'disorder', see 'Unruly Bodies: Intersex Variations of Sex Development', in *Introducing the New Sexuality Studies*, eds. Nancy L. Fischer and Steven Seidman (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 115–23, at p. 120.

²²² Although Nair reports the novel as 'coming soon', at the time of submission there is no evidence of any publication. There is however a manuscript for a film adaptation of the novel that Nair attempted to crowdfund in 2011: Vineeth Nair, 'Continuum First Draft', 14 February 2011, in *Amazon Studios*, <<https://studios.amazon.com/projects/3766>> [accessed 07 November 2016].

²²³ Futanari manga features women with male genitalia, often referred to as 'dickgirls', see Saitō Tamaki, *Beautiful Fighting Girl*, trans. J. Keith Vincent and Dawn Lawson (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), pp. 135–72; June M. Madeley, 'Transnational Transformations: A Gender Analysis of

synopsis Nair provides for his planned novel suggests not only an insensitivity towards DSD conditions, but more pressingly a prurient obsession with their bodies: '[a young man is] taken back in time and tricked into impregnating his younger female self (before he underwent a sex change). He thus turns out to be the offspring of that union, with the paradoxical result that he is his own mother and father'.²²⁴ Crucially, the summary figures the DSD protagonist as an individual who circumvents the traditional boundaries of sex and represents both the abnormal, even the impossible in his role as his own parents, and the desirable. When we encounter the protagonist before his surgery, the novel provokes its audience to search for the non-standard in the outwardly female figure and marvel at the unnamed character's 'athletic body' and assess their 'muscular' physique (*Continuum*, pp. 18, 22).

The representation of hermaphroditism in popular cultural forms such as Nair's graphic novel signals how when presented with non-standard bodies, we often infer a provocation to assess that person's anatomy. Reddit user 'dpy87' asks 'can you tell whether Caster Semenya is a man or a woman?', noting that they 'cannot see a bulge down there' so they are 'pretty sure she doesn't have a penis'.²²⁵ At the same time, they challenge other users: 'I don't know about you but just by looking at Caster she looks a little off'. They offer South African middle-distance runner Semenya as a figure to be examined and classified as either male or female based on an assessment of her physical anatomy. User 'dpy87' is not alone. Many others across Reddit express a desire to know what they see as the 'truth' about Semenya's sex. These users include 'distinguishedturd', whose reference to an Aerosmith song – 'dude

Japanese Manga Featuring Unexpected Bodily Transformations', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 45.4 (2012), 789–806; Katrien Jacobs, *Netporn: DIY Webculture and Sexual Politics* (Toronto and Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007), p. 103.

²²⁴ Vineeth Nair and Satyaranjan Bisoi, 'Coming Soon: Continuum', 2013, in *Striptease*, <<http://www.stripteasethemag.com/coming-soon-continuum/>> [accessed 18 October 2016], para. 1 of 3.

²²⁵ 'dpy87', 'Can you tell if Semenya is a man or a woman?', September 2016, in *Reddit*, <https://www.reddit.com/r/olympics/comments/4yi6rt/can_you_tell_if_caster_semenya_is_a_man_or_a_woman/> [accessed 11 October 2016].

looks like a laddyyyyyy’ – helps to paint a picture of the way in which society is normalising the exposure of ‘abnormality’.²²⁶ Many journalists defend Semenya, such as Daniel Fletcher, Jeré Longman and Donald McRae,²²⁷ who decry the intensely intrusive attention to which she has been subjected,²²⁸ but we might wish to ask what has brought Nair, ‘distinguishedturd’ and many others to this point of fascination and judgment.

In August 2009, the International Association of Athletics Federations confirmed that the controversial athlete had been given sex-determination tests. As Molly Osberg remarks, ‘moves to paint Semenya [...] squarely as either a dude or a lady in the public imagination have been ongoing [ever] since’.²²⁹ Semenya’s case helps us to realise how modern medicine’s commitment to examination and its epistemophilic endeavours have encouraged people to mimic its mode of operation – to inspect their peers and search for pathology. Indeed, although many critics discuss Semenya’s exposure,²³⁰ most overlook how the ‘extreme and unfair scrutiny’ (in Jamie Schultz’s terms)²³¹ to which the athlete has been subjected intersects in a profound sense with surveillance discourse. The episode at Rio 2016

²²⁶ ‘distinguishedturd’, ‘Can you tell if Semenya is a man or a woman?’, September 2016, in *Reddit*, <https://www.reddit.com/r/olympics/comments/4yi6rt/can_you_tell_if_caster_semenya_is_a_man_or_a_woman/> [accessed 11 October 2016].

²²⁷ Daniel Fletcher, ‘The Spectre of Female Otherness is Haunting Athletics’, 21 September 2016, in *Transformation*, <<https://www.opendemocracy.net/transformation/daniel-fletcher/spectre-of-female-otherness-is-haunting-athletics>> [accessed 11 October 2016]; Jeré Longman, ‘Understanding the Controversy Over Caster Semenya’, 18 August 2016, in *New York Times*, <<http://www.nytimes.com>> [accessed 11 October 2016]; Donald McRae, ‘The return of Caster Semenya: Olympic favourite and ticking timebomb’, 29 July 2016, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/jul/29/the-return-of-caster-semenya-olympic-favourite-and-ticking-timebomb>> [accessed 11 October 2016].

²²⁸ Dee Amy-Chinn, ‘Doing epistemic (in)justice to Semenya’, *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics*, 6.3 (2011), 311–26.

²²⁹ Molly Osberg, ‘Is the World Ready for a Black, Queer, Intersex Olympian?’, 11 August 2016, in *Fusion*, <<http://fusion.net/story/335424/caster-semenya-olympics-intersex-runner/>> [accessed 11 October 2016], para. 4 of 19.

²³⁰ Tavia Nyong’o, ‘The Unforgivable Transgression of Being Caster Semenya’, *Women & Performance*, 20.1 (2010), 95–100; Cheryl Cooky and Shari L. Dworkin, ‘Policing the Boundaries of Sex: A Critical Examination of Gender Verification and the Caster Semenya Controversy’, *The Journal of Sex Research*, 50.2 (2013), 103–11.

²³¹ Jamie Schultz, ‘“Intersex” athlete Caster Semenya rightly free to run at Rio’, 19 August 2016, in *New Scientist*, <<https://www.newscientist.com/article/2101769-intersex-athlete-caster-semenya-rightly-free-to-run-at-rio/>> [accessed 20 August 2016], para. 1 of 13.

underlines the increasingly internal as well as specular nature of the judgment that the public are now invited to make on ‘suspect’ bodies.

In Foucault’s terms, modern doctors employ a normalising gaze that ‘makes it possible to qualify, classify and to punish’, and their professional examination ‘establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them’ (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 184). Medical practitioners police the boundary between the normal and the pathological by selecting and sorting bodies based on examination and assessment. Such practices implicitly involve a model of hierarchical observation that subjugates the patient, as well as normalising the act of passing judgment on bodies in this way. Modern medicine, then, is engaged in the techniques of disciplinary power, or ‘mechanisms of discipline’, identified by Foucault (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 184). Put simply, the sex-determination testing to which Semenya was subjected constitutes a tele-examination that, as Susan Bauer and Jan Eric Olsén argue, seeks to monitor the ‘patient-body’ and categorise it within the female/male binary.²³² Semenya was subject to a ‘surveillance machinery’, to adapt Armstrong’s words, whose purpose is to regulate ‘normality’ by making the abnormal visible (p. 403). To put things still another way, in the eyes of modern medicine hers was a ‘risk identity’ that threatened the social order, a pathology that must be observed and managed (Armstrong, p. 403). Reportedly, Semenya was required to undergo rigorous testing of her testosterone levels and chromosomal pattern, as well as other ‘sex tests’ (McRae, para. 13 of 54) – which would include tests for the SRY gene (the sex determining region of the Y chromosome) and testicular tissue.²³³ Semenya was, then, subjected to what Raphaël P.

²³² Susanne Bauer and Jan Eric Olsén, ‘Observing the Others, Watching Over Oneself: Themes of Medical Surveillance in Society’, *Surveillance & Society*, 6.2 (2009), 116–27, p. 117.

²³³ Ambrose Wonkam, Karen Fieggen and Raj Ramesar, ‘Beyond the Caster Semenya Controversy: The Case of the Use of Genetics for Gender Testing in Sport’, *Journal of Genetic Counseling*, 19.6 (2010), 545–48, p. 546.

Hammer and Claudine Burton-Jeangros recognise as ‘chromosomal anomaly surveillance’.²³⁴ More than merely verifying her sex in the interests of guaranteeing ‘fair competition’ in sport, as suggested in a document posted on its website,²³⁵ the International Olympic Committee and medical personnel involved in Semenya’s case mapped her identity as ‘different’ and encouraged others to direct their gaze towards her (Armstrong, p. 403). The gynaecologist, psychologist and endocrinologist, along with other medical staff confirmed to be involved in Semenya’s gender verification, implicitly engaged in mechanisms of discipline via their policing and monitoring of what Mia Fischer terms ‘gender nonconforming bodies’ (p. 185).²³⁶

Semenya’s case illustrates how the invasive mechanisms of surveillance that inform modern medicine appear to have been adopted by the public. Amid the controversy that followed Semenya’s win at the World Championship in Berlin, 2009, one website proclaimed: ‘Results from the infamous ‘Gender Test’ show that she [Semenya] is a HERMAPHRODITE’.²³⁷ This report from Daniel Sharpstein elucidates the way in which media-reporting, influenced by surveillance medicine, has made DSD athletes such as Semenya and notably Indian sprinter Dutee Chand, visible both externally *and* internally. Without concrete evidence,²³⁸

²³⁴ Raphaël P. Hammer and Claudine Burton-Jeangros, ‘Tensions Around Risks in Pregnancy: A Typology of Women’s Experiences of Surveillance Medicine’, *Social Science & Medicine*, 93 (2013), 55–63, p. 56.

²³⁵ International Olympic Committee, ‘IOC Consensus Meeting on Sex Reassignment and Hyperandrogenism November 2015’, in *Olympics*, <<https://www.olympic.org/>> [accessed 12 October 2016], 1–3, p. 2.

²³⁶ Anna Kessel, ‘Caster Semenya wins 800m gold but cannot escape gender controversy’, 19 August 2009, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2009/aug/19/caster-semenya-800m-world-athletics-championships-gender>> [accessed 25 October 2016], para. 4 of 10; Mia Fischer, ‘Under the Ban-Optic Gaze: Chelsea Manning and the State’s Surveillance of Transgender Bodies’, in *Expanding the Gaze: Gender and the Politics of Surveillance*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 185–212, p. 188.

²³⁷ Dan Sharpstein, ‘Caster Semenya Gender Results – South African Runner is a Hermaphrodite’, in *BetUS*, <<http://www.betus.com.pa/sports-betting/other/articles/caster-semenya-gender-results-south-african-runner-is-a-hermaphrodite>> [accessed 12 October 2016], para. 1 of 13.

²³⁸ Simon Hart’s 2009 article in the *Telegraph* clarifies the test results were never released and that it was only *believed* that Semenya lacks ovaries or a womb: ‘Caster Semenya ‘is a hermaphrodite’, tests show’, 11 September 2009, in *Telegraph*, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/othersports/athletics/6170229/Caster-Semenya-is-a-hermaphrodite-tests-show.html>> [accessed 24 October 2016], para. 1 of 7. More recent articles from 2016, including McRae’s, specify Semenya has a condition known as ‘Hyperandrogenism’ or androgen excess – an ‘endocrine disorder of

Sharpstein's article confidently exposes Semenya's internal anatomy – 'Semenya has NO womb or ovaries and has internal testes' – and encourages readers to analyse scientific 'evidence', along with testimonies from her family, to assess whether they agree that 'Caster is normal, *inside and out*' (emphasis added, para. 13). Readers are invited to scrutinise her to decide if anything looks 'a little off' ('dpy87', *Reddit*).

Sporting personalities outside of the Olympics, such as American mixed martial artist Holly Holm, have suffered similarly invasive scrutiny of their bodies. In November 2015, Holm defeated Ronda Rousey (hitherto unbeaten in 12 consecutive MMA fights) to claim the bantamweight championship fight at UFC 193, prompting speculation about possible steroid use. An indicative headline from this controversy was: 'Have Steroids Caused UFC's Holly Holm To Grow a Mini-Penis?!'.²³⁹ The public rushed to examine, comment and condemn Holm for her 'dick'.²⁴⁰ YouTuber JuggernautFitnessTV (real name Jason Blaha) 'evidenced' Holm's altered anatomy in a video that went viral and amassed over 1 million views. Blaha's short clip offers a close-up shot of Holm's bikini as evidence of her 'clitoral hypertrophy' – a supposed 'side effect of androgen use' – and his commentary details the 'increase[d] speed and power, and aggression' she supposedly gained from anabolic steroids.²⁴¹ Although the revelation of 'facts' about Holm's transgressive body were pitched as an exposure of the athlete's unfair competition practices, the close-up screengrabs of Holm's genital anatomy in clickbait articles were clearly calculated to feed the public's fascination with sexualised atypical bodies. The salacious, obsessive nature of the discussion is clear from comments in a

women of reproductive-age'. For more information on Hyperandrogenism, see Bulent O. Yildiz, 'Diagnosis of Hyperandrogenism: Clinical Criteria', *Best Practice & Research Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism*, 20.2 (2006), 167–76, p. 167.

²³⁹ Thug Life Videos, 'Have Steroids Caused UFC's Holly Holm To Grow a Mini-Penis?!', in *Thug Life Videos*, <<http://thuglifevideos.com/holly-holm-steroids/>> [accessed 05 January 2017].

²⁴⁰ User 'xxxamazexxx' comments that 'juice' (steroids) 'gives you dick': 'Holly Holm? Or should it just be given that UFC=juicy?', 17 November 2015, in *Reddit*, <https://www.reddit.com/r/nattyorjuice/comments/3t7iqj/holly_holm_or_should_it_just_be_given_that/> [accessed 05 January 2017].

²⁴¹ Jason Blaha, 'Holly Holm Showing Signs Of Anabolic Abuse During The Ronda Rousey Fight?', in *YouTube*, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3TB40XkRuzM>> [accessed 05 January 2017].

subreddit where users debate whether it is appropriate to sexualise women with ‘penises’ such as Holm: ‘Is it wrong to say ‘that’s my fetish?’.’²⁴²

As with coverage of Semenya, publications appealed to the public to take on an investigatory role – a position of power and judgement. Fightstate.com placed a close-up shot of Holm’s genital area and appealed to its readership: ‘can someone please tell us what this really is?’ (para. 6), while Total Pro Sports told its readers ‘You be the judge!!’ (para. 9). Holm’s case, along with Semenya’s, foreground the ‘absurd and disturbing’ scrutiny and judgment that atypical bodies, particularly those in the public arena, face today – what actress Jennifer Anniston refers to as the ‘sporting event of speculation’ that perpetuates a dehumanising view of certain bodies.²⁴³ One reason for this speculation, I argue, is due to the medical surveillance that has made DSD individuals extraordinarily ‘visible’ to the press and public as figures to be determined – to be figured out (Blume, para. 7). Indeed, Catherine Clune-Taylor recognises the role medical practitioners have as ‘instructors’ who both identify individuals with DSD conditions as ‘legitimate object[s] for medical surveillance and management’, but who also call upon the public to do the same and ‘laterally discipline and surveil’ their peers.²⁴⁴

We might also recognise, as Fischer shrewdly observes, that the medical surveillant gaze is a mechanism that both scrutinises and makes visible gender nonconforming bodies. It is ‘an

²⁴² Fightstate, ‘Serious Rumors Are Circulating Holly Holm Was On Steroids Because of This Image’, in *Fightstate*, <<http://fightstate.com/serious-rumors-are-circulating-holly-holm-was-on-steroids-because-of-this-image/>> [accessed 05 January 2017]; see also ‘Cantstopper’, ‘Holly Holm Confirmed Steroid User’, 17 November 2015, in *Reddit*, <https://www.reddit.com/r/videos/comments/3t7668/holly_holm_confirmed_steroid_user/> [accessed 05 January 2017]. Also see Total Pro Sports, ‘Holly Holm Steroid Rumors Surface After Photo Shows Bigger Than Normal Vagina Area (Video)’, in *Total Pro Sports*, <<http://www.totalprosports.com/2015/11/19/holly-holm-steroid-rumors-surface-after-photo-shows-bigger-than-normal-vagina-area-vid/>> [accessed 05 January 2017], para. 1 of 9.

²⁴³ Jennifer Anniston, ‘For the Record’, 07 July 2016, in *Huffington Post*, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/for-the-record_us_57855586e4b03fc3ee4e626f> [accessed 05 January 2017], para. 4 of 9.

²⁴⁴ Catherine Clune-Taylor, ‘From Intersex to DSD: The Disciplining of Sex Development’, *PhaenEx*, 5.2 (2010), 152–78, pp. 176, 171.

inherently gendered and radicalized practice’, one that ‘brings certain bodies into view by rendering them “socially significant”’, while occluding others (Fischer, p. 188). As a result of such surveillance, DSD individuals have come to be figured as objects of public curiosity – subject to the gaze of the world. As is perhaps now clear, the act of examining and determining ambiguously sexed bodies does not belong exclusively to scientists but also to the media and society. Indeed, it is a complex practice, problematically compacted and knottily entangled. Hermaphroditic bodies are rendered significant on multiple levels: they are cases to be ‘managed’ (often via hormone treatment) by scientific and sporting bodies; they are subjects to be categorised as part of scientific endeavour (as Leonard Sax explains, there are numerous conditions that could be sub-categorised under the umbrella ‘intersex’)²⁴⁵; and they are objects of sexual fascination.

Particularly apparent at the 2016 Rio Olympics, today’s mechanisms for tracking and regulating ‘imperfect’ bodies via surveillance medicine have important roots in Romantic practice. Georgian writers and the press situated hermaphrodites as legitimate conundrums to be stared at and explored, similarly pushing audiences to engage in surveillant practice, to revel in accounts of intrusive examinations and seek out ‘malformation’ and ‘imperfection’ in their peers (Home, p. 6). From at least the middle of the eighteenth century, the hermaphrodite was the subject of widespread satirical writings that both belittled their ‘curious and interesting’ (Home, p. 3) anatomy and sought to draw attention to them:

Those male, those female, those ambiguous creatures,

With such hermaphrodite, unmeaning features,

²⁴⁵ Leonard Sax notes many conditions, including Complete Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome, Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia, Late-Onset Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia and Klinefelter syndrome, that could be termed ‘intersex’: ‘How Common is Intersex? A Response to Anne Fausto-Sterling’, *The Journal of Sex Research*, 39.3 (2002), 174–78, pp. 175–76.

One knows not male, or female which to call,

They're both, they're either, and yet none at all.²⁴⁶

To the Georgian imagination, as this doggerel suggests, hermaphrodites generated a dangerous state of uncertainty, neither male nor female yet simultaneously both. For the anonymous author of *Biographical Sketches of the most Remarkable Highwaymen* (1797), they were '*masculo-feminine*; half dog, half bitch' – 'object[s] of wonder' but also of suspicion (p. ii).²⁴⁷ Surgeon M. Vacherie's paramedical account of a 'Parisian Boy-Girl' informs its readers of the infamous Michel-Anne Drouart, displayed in Paris around 1750, and prompts them to recognise her as 'an object so interesting to the public curiosity' that people should naturally 'satisfy themselves of the reality so wonderful a phenomenon, as an hermaphrodite'.²⁴⁸ Much like the visitors who appraised and admired 'this extraordinary creature' first hand (p. 6), readers were invited to marvel at Drouart's external form and examine her presentation of both female and male characteristics:

Its bosom, which but a few months ago had not the least signs of breasts, now visibly and sensibly exhibits a pair, though very small and roundish, crowned with nipples perfectly of the female mould. [...] When placed at pleasure in a position to view, [...] there first exhibits the eye a *Penis* [...] which seems placed rather higher than ordinary, as if nature had managed itself sufficient room for the display of both the

²⁴⁶ Anonymous, *The Wig: A Burlesque-Satirical Poem* (London: W. Flexney, 1765), p. 6.

²⁴⁷ Anonymous, *Anecdotes, Bon Mots, Traits, Stratagems and Biographical Sketches of the most Remarkable Highwaymen, Swindlers and other daring Adventurers* (London: D. Brewman, 1797), p. 3.

²⁴⁸ M. Vacherie, *An Account of the Famous Hermaphrodite, Or Parisian Boy-Girl Aged, Michael-Anne Drouart* (London: Same Johnson and William Smith, 1750), p. 5.

sexes (pp. 7–8).

Such literature helps us to recognise that more than mere external scrutiny, Drouart and other DSD individuals like her, were subject to invasive, even *internal* surveillance. Readers were often treated to in-depth accounts of the internal anatomy of supposed hermaphrodites and Drouart's case was no exception. Although in one sense Vacherie's eyes fail him, as Richard C. Sha suggests,²⁴⁹ the surgeon quickly inserts a 'probing finger' to extend his 'gaze' beyond what the eye alone can see: 'There is no appearance of that round and glandulous body in this subject [the clitoris], which is doubtless absorbed, and supplemented by the *penis*' (*An Account of the Famous Hermaphrodite*, p. 10). Two hundred and sixty hundred years before Semenya's case, then, the 'extreme' rarity of individuals such as Drouart warranted invasive investigation that made them visible inside and out (*Historical Miscellany*, p. 257). By examining paramedical texts such as Vacherie's via the lens that Armstrong offers, we are able to see that individuals in the eighteenth century were subjected to a paramedical gaze that worked to 'monitor precarious normality' by detecting and inspecting 'deviant' bodies (p. 403). When applied to much earlier examples, Armstrong's theories enable us to recognise that Romanticism offers equally rich examples of the construction of this kind of surveillance. Indeed, such paramedical texts, I argue, enable us to better understand the complexities of gender featured in Romantic literature and, as we shall see, demonstrate that the hermaphroditic body in eighteenth-century France and England was considered both a spectacle to marvel and a figure to be domesticated and controlled, as today.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Richard C. Sha, *Perverse Romanticism: Aesthetics and Sexuality in Britain, 1750–1832* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 129.

²⁵⁰ Courtney Thompson, 'Questions of Genre: Picturing the Hermaphrodite in Eighteenth-Century France and England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 49.3 (2016), 391–413, pp. 408–09.

2.2. ‘Sweet marble monster’: Shelley, Medicine and the Hermaphrodite

Far from representing what Linda Nicholson calls a ‘shrinking concept’ that was synonymous with androgyny in the eighteenth century,²⁵¹ hermaphroditism, as Leslie Haines, A. J. L. Busst and Diane Hoeveler have argued recently, was a distinct and complex category.²⁵² As Vacherie observes: ‘*Hermaphrodite* is not what the Greeks understood by their *Androgyne*’ (*An Account of the Famous Hermaphrodite*, p. 13). Although modern critics have until recently been misled (via Foucault’s *Herculine Barbin*) in thinking that hermaphrodites in Georgian society lived in a ‘happy limbo of non-identity’,²⁵³ Romantic literature such as Shelley’s invites us to acknowledge the overly simplistic picture Foucault paints of hermaphroditism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Contrary to how we usually regard Shelley’s *The Witch of Atlas* – a text that ‘reconciles science and metaphysics’ in Carl Grabo’s belief,²⁵⁴ and merely a humorous poem to Richard Cronin and Stuart M. Sperry²⁵⁵ – my reading allows us to discern a different aspect: namely, the poem’s engagement with contemporary Romantic medical science. *The Witch of Atlas* channels medical debate and identifies hermaphroditism as a state distinct from androgyny – allied with transgression from ‘perfection’. My aim in this section is to highlight the complex issues of gender that Shelley and other writers were processing in their work but also recognises that to do this, we need to first trace medical interventions from that period, to enable us to evaluate how complexly poetry and medical science alike were already looking at hermaphroditic bodies.

²⁵¹ Linda Nicholson, ‘Interpreting Gender’, *Signs*, 20.1 (1994), 79–105, p. 87.

²⁵² Leslie Haines, ‘“Being sexless, wilt thou be”: Nineteenth-Century British Poetry and the Challenge of the Androgynous Mind’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Auburn University, Alabama, 2017), p. 6; A. J. L. Busst, ‘The Image of the Androgyne in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Romantic Mythologies*, ed. Ian Fletcher (London: Routledge, 1967), pp. 1–95, at p. 1; Diane Hoeveler, ‘Shelley and Androgyny: Teaching “The Witch of Atlas”’, in *Approaches to Teaching Shelley’s Poetry*, ed. Spencer Hall (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1990), pp. 93–95, at p. 93.

²⁵³ Michel Foucault, *Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-Century French Hermaphrodite*, trans. Richard McDougall (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. xiii.

²⁵⁴ Carl Grabo sees the poem as one that ‘reconciles science and metaphysics with an exactness hitherto unknown’, *The Meaning of the Witch of Atlas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 18.

²⁵⁵ Richard Cronin, ‘Shelley’s “Witch of Atlas”’, *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 26 (1977), 88–100, p. 88; Stuart M. Sperry, *Shelley’s Major Verse: The Narrative and Dramatic Poetry* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 152.

Dissertations, produced by figures both in and outside the Academy, indicate that individuals were not merely organised into a simplistic triptych of male, female or hermaphrodite, but were projected into a developed taxonomy that has much to tell us today about how modern medical surveillance selects and sorts DSD individuals.

The hermaphrodite – ‘a sexless thing it was’²⁵⁶ – that forms a central figure in Shelley’s *Witch of Atlas*, actually appears to focus Shelley’s idealised concept of androgyny:

Then by strange art she kneaded fire and snow
 Together, tempering the repugnant mass
 With liquid love – all things together grow
 Through which the harmony of love can pass;
 And a fair Shape out of her hands did flow –
 A living Image, which did far surpass
 In beauty that bright shape of vital stone
 Which drew the heart out of Pygmalion (35. 321–28)

Through the Witch and her endeavour to craft a being of ‘perfect purity’, Shelley plays with the utopic merger of masculine and feminine to create a creature that ‘seemed to have developed no defect | Of either sex, yet all the grace of both’ (36. 330–36). Shelley’s ‘Hermaphroditus’ (as the Witch calls it), then, is perhaps more productively understood as an androgyne, embodying a psychological meeting of masculine and feminine qualities (43.

²⁵⁶ Percy Shelley, ‘The Witch of Atlas’, in *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. William Michael Rossetti, Vol. II (London: E. Moxon, Son & Co., 1870 [originally published 1824]), 36. 329.

388).²⁵⁷ Certainly, several critics suggest that the viewing gaze in the eighteenth century made little to no distinction between androgyny and hermaphroditism and used the terms ‘interchangeably’.²⁵⁸ Maria Lucía G. Pallares-Burke even confuses the terms androgyny and hermaphroditism in her own analysis (pp. 418–20). As Gilbert notes, however, by the end of the seventeenth century hermaphroditism had already ‘shed most of its associations with androgyny’ (p. 136).²⁵⁹ Around the period in which Shelley was writing, androgyny was clearly understood as an Edenic state that existed before the fall of man, or in theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher’s (1768–1834) terms, a state in which the ‘Schranken des Geschlechts’ [limitations of sex] were overcome – a psychological rather than a physical concern.²⁶⁰ Hermaphroditism, comparatively, was figured a bodily manifestation of the abnormal and a ‘vile deformity’, in early eighteenth-century surgeon John Marten’s term.²⁶¹ It seems, then, that Tracy Hargreaves and Pallares-Burke offer an insufficiently attuned view of how the eighteenth century understood hermaphroditism. To encompass the complex issues of gender that Shelley and other writers were processing in their work, then, we should recognise that clear distinctions were drawn not only between hermaphroditism and androgyny at the time, but also between types of hermaphroditic bodies.

²⁵⁷ See Kate Tanquary, ‘Gender Constructs and Creation: From *Frankenstein* to *The Witch of Atlas*’, *The Common Room*, 11.1 (2008), http://departments.knox.edu/engdept/commonroom/Volume_Eleven/number_one/Tanqueray/index.html [accessed 26 October 2016], para. 2 of 23.

²⁵⁸ Tracy Hargreaves argues that androgynous and hermaphrodite were ‘often used interchangeably’: *Androgyny in Modern Literature* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 21; Maria Lucía G. Pallares-Burke ‘An Androgynous Observer in the Eighteenth Century Press: *La Spectatrice*, 1728–29’, *Women’s History Review*, 3.3 (1994), 411–35.

²⁵⁹ See also, Christine Lehleiter, ‘Inheriting the Future, Generating the Past: Heritage, Pedigree and Lineage in German Literature and Thought Around 1800’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Indiana University: Indiana, 2007), p. 74.

²⁶⁰ Friedrich Schleiermacher, ‘Idee zu einem Katechismus der Vernunft für edle Frauen’, in *Athenaeum: Eine Zeitschrift*, eds. August Wilhelm Schlegel and Friedrich Schlegel, Vol. 1 (Berlin: Friedrich Beiweg, 1798), pp. 109–11, p. 111 (translation my own). For a more detailed study of how Schleiermacher understood androgyny, see Catriona MacLeod, *Embodying Ambiguity: Androgyny and Aesthetics from Winckelmann to Keller* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), pp. 27–28.

²⁶¹ John Marten, *A Treatise of all the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease in Both Sexes*, 5th edn. (London: S. Crouch, 1737 [Originally published 1708]), p. 454.

Many members of the medical community in the eighteenth century, perhaps fearful of what one anonymous publication called the ‘irregularity’ of these ‘monstrous exhibition[s] of nature’, attempted to exert control and order over the state of hermaphroditism (*Historical Miscellany*, p. 257). Rather than accepting that hermaphrodites seemingly straddled two sexes or indeed conflating them with the androgyne, society had instead begun to categorise and distinguish between types of hermaphrodite.²⁶² Although biologist Fausto-Sterling proposed extra sexual categories to male and female in the early 1990s, writing ‘tongue in cheek’ – a deliberate strategy of provocation – she did not mention or perhaps recognise that during the Georgian era, physicians and writers of paramedical treatises were already selecting and sorting individuals with ambiguous anatomy into groups outside of the standard binary.²⁶³ Fausto-Sterling offered three additional sexual groups, namely ‘herm’, ‘merm’ and ‘ferm’: true hermaphrodites who represent an ‘equal’ meeting of male and female sexual anatomy (herms); predominantly male individuals with some aspects of external female anatomy but no ovaries (merms); and ‘ferms’, those who appear female but possess some aspects of male genitalia, such as a penis, yet lack testicles (Fausto-Sterling, p. 21). But her thought-provoking, ‘new’ nomenclature for non-standard anatomy unknowingly reworks a Romantic one. As early as 1707, Nicholas Venette had already counted ‘five kinds of them’ (hermaphrodites),²⁶⁴ while in 1750 George Arnaud offered ‘four species, namely: the male hermaphrodite... the female hermaphrodite... the perfect hermaphrodite... the imperfect hermaphrodite’.²⁶⁵ Alternately, James Parsons saw the existence of ‘true’ hermaphrodites as impossible – the product of ‘ignorance and superstition’ – and identified only pseudo-hermaphrodites, including ‘Macroclitorideæ’ (women who present with a penis but who

²⁶² Foucault suggests that it was ‘a very long time before the postulate that a hermaphrodite must have a sex’ (*Herculine Barbin*, p. vii).

²⁶³ Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 78.

²⁶⁴ Nicholas Venette, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love Revealed [Tableau de l’amour conjugal]*, 2nd edn. (London, 1707), p. 454.

²⁶⁵ George Arnaud, *A Dissertation on Hermaphrodites* (London: A. Miller, 1750), p. 16.

Parsons believed merely to possess ‘an overlong clitoris’).²⁶⁶ Although each man offers his own terminology, the categories are largely alike and establish certain similar characteristics: ‘true’ hermaphrodites – Venette’s fifth ‘sort’, Arnaud’s ‘perfect hermaphrodite’ – were those with equally male and female anatomy (for instance, one testes and one ovary). Likewise, sorts one, two, and three in Venette’s taxonomy and ‘male hermaphrodites’ in Arnaud’s, were those with predominantly male anatomy but who also presented with some female sexual characteristics. Eighteenth-century medicine, then, was quite capable of registering and articulating Romantic attempts to deal with sites of contradiction via its own taxonomy.

Shelley’s poetics is recognisably influenced by such debates over ‘challenging’ bodies, similarly processing extra categories outside those of male and female. Other Romantic figures, including William Blake (1757–1827), contributed to the increasing dissonance between the psychological state of the androgynous and the supposed physical deformation of the hermaphrodite. For Blake, hermaphroditism accompanied the negative, the monstrous and the ‘dark’, as in *Jerusalem* when masculine Spectre and feminine Vala combine.²⁶⁷ It was a ‘self-contradiction’ and, as S. Foster Damon puts it, symbolised ‘a sterile state of warring opposites’.²⁶⁸ Shelley too accentuated the differences between androgyny and hermaphroditism. His vernacular clarifies that instead of a captivating amalgamation of two sexes, his hermaphrodite is a corporeal mutation, separate from androgyny. As Hoeveler convincingly argues, Shelley deliberately differentiates between the Hermaphrodite ‘creature’ and the androgynous Witch (Hoeveler, p. 94; *Witch of Atlas*, 37. 341). Shelley’s

²⁶⁶ James Parsons, *A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites* (London: J. Walthoe, 1741), pp. xvii, 22.

²⁶⁷ William Blake, ‘Jerusalem’, in *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 144–258, at 64. 31 (p. 215). For more on Blake’s representation of hermaphrodites, see Camille Paglia, *Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 289–93.

²⁶⁸ William Blake, ‘Of the Gates’, in *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 268, at line 14; S. Foster Damon, *A Blake Dictionary: The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake*, 3rd edn. (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2013), p. 182.

Hermaphrodite is a mere ‘living image’ (35. 326), a ‘false copy’ in Hoeveler’s terms (p. 94), which only ‘*seemed* to have developed no defect’ (emphasis added, 36. 330), while the Witch can behold ‘the naked beauty of the soul lay bare’ and ‘make that spirit mingle with her own’ (66. 571–76). In other words, she approaches the Edenic state of androgyny and achieves mental asexuality:

Friends who, by practice of some envious skill,
 Were torn apart – a wide wound, mind from mind! –
 She did unite again with visions clear
 Of deep affection and of truth sincere (77. 661–64).

Shelley continually develops the distinction between the disparate states of his two central characters by situating the Hermaphrodite in direct opposition to the androgynous ‘wizard lady’ (43. 385). He determines the Hermaphrodite drowsy and apathetic, its only act to unproductively direct the boat upstream: ‘The pinnace, oared by those enchanted wings, | Clove the fierce streams towards their upper strings’ (45. 407–08). The Witch, on the other hand, is a positive and consistently active force, known for her ‘envious skill’: she would ‘often climb’ and run ‘upon the platforms of the wind’ (55. 481–87).

More than merely separating hermaphroditism from androgyny, however, Shelley’s work meditates on the confusion and uncertainty the hermaphroditic form elicited. Shelley was extremely familiar with medical literature and would have almost certainly encountered the debates that the medical community was having about non-standard anatomy; together with the writing of anatomist and surgeon John Hunter (1728–1793), whose work included a

memoir on hermaphroditic black cattle.²⁶⁹ As such, Shelley's phrasing throughout should be seen as usefully and deliberately self-conscious for the way it evidences how complicatedly the eighteenth century was already processing hermaphroditic bodies. Unlike Blake, Shelley had first-hand experience observing the Sleeping Hermaphrodite statues of Italy, which perhaps explains why the image of the hermaphroditic body not only appears repeatedly but also complexly in his poetic works.²⁷⁰ As Mary Shelley's diary confirms, although Percy Shelley's notes on the sculptures in Rome and Florence never explicitly mention the Sleeping Hermaphrodite statues, the poet encountered two examples. The first was viewed at the beginning of March, 1819, at the Borghese Villa, Rome, and the second at the end of March in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.²⁷¹ Shelley records his 'obscure' and 'intense' feelings at the sight of the marbles in the Uffizi collection, overcome with a sense of 'apprehension' at what has been 'realised in external forms'.²⁷² Indeed, his experience of observing these marbles and his 'apprehension' about their ambiguous form, I argue, worked itself into the poetic work (*Essays from Abroad*, p. 134). When we first encounter the Hermaphrodite, it is sleeping and shows a 'gentle countenance', much like the statues Shelley had come across in Rome and Florence (40. 463). It is a 'bright shape of vital stone' that reflects the 'ideal

²⁶⁹ For a list of the Shelleys' reading material and transcripts of their notes, see *The Journals of Mary Shelley, 1814–1844*, eds. Paula R. Feldman and Diana Scott Kilvert, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 631–84. See Scott Douglas de Hart for a discussion on Percy Shelley's knowledge of Robert John Thornton's *The Philosophy of Medicine, or, Medical Extracts on the Nature of Health and Disease* (1800), which collected together essays from various doctors of the period: *Shelley Unbound: Discovering Frankenstein's True Creator* (Port Townsend: Feral House, 2013), p. 38. See also, Melinda Cooper, 'Monstrous Progeny: The Teratological Tradition in Science and Literature', in *Frankenstein's Science: Experimentation and Discovery in Romantic Culture, 1780–1830*, eds. Christa Knellwolf and Jane Goodall (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 87–98, at pp. 87–88.

²⁷⁰ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pevsner: The Complete Broadcast Talks – Architecture and Art on Radio and Television, 1945–1977*, ed. Stephen Games (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 289.

²⁷¹ As confirmed in Mary Shelley's diary: 'Shelley and I go to the Villa Borghese. Drive about Rome. Visit the Pantheon': *The Life and Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, ed. Florence A. Thomas Marshall, Vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1889), p. 235. See also, Jennifer Wallace, *Shelley and Greece: Rethinking Romantic Hellenism* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), p. 145; Frederic S. Colwell, *Rivermen: A Romantic Iconography of the River and the Source* (Kingston and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 175.

²⁷² Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Notes on Sculptures in Rome and Florence*, ed. Harry Buxton Forman (London, 1879); Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Essays from Abroad, Translations and Fragments*, ed. Mary Shelley (London: Edward Moxon, 1845), p. 134.

beauty' Shelley admits to seeking in his visits to the gallery (35. 327; *Essays from Abroad*, p. 134).

On second reading, however, we realise that the Hermaphrodite is more than just an homage to the marbles of Italy that Shelley had a 'propensity to admire'.²⁷³ Rather, it is situated as an imitation of androgyny: merely a 'Shape', an 'Image' and a 'sexless thing' (*Witch of Atlas*, 35. 325 – 36. 329; Hoeveler, p. 95). If the Hermaphrodite appears as an androgynous combination of 'liquid love' and 'beauty', Shelley seems to want us to recognise that – always on closer inspection – it is also a 'repugnant mass' that the Witch attempts to 'temper' with 'the harmony of love' (35. 322–27). Shelley forces the reader to receive the Hermaphrodite on two levels; it is both beautiful and yet confusing. As Dupaty blushed with both pleasure and shame at the sight of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite statue (p. 121), so the reader of Shelley's poem feels 'rapid smiles that would not stay' at the sight of the Hermaphrodite (40. 365). More than a piece reflecting Shelley's 'verbal agility' as Cronin believes, Shelley's is an informed and attentive text, which valuably reflects on the early nineteenth-century's complex understanding of hermaphroditic bodies (Cronin, p. 89). To adapt Clune-Taylor's argument, via work such as Shelley's it begins to become evident that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was not only medical experts who reflected on non-standard anatomy but also paramedical non-experts such as the Romantic writers (p. 171). As I will now argue, readers were drawn into arguments over the 'proper' classification for gender non-conforming bodies at the same time as implicitly engaging in surveillant mechanisms of discipline and control.

²⁷³ Percy Bysshe Shelley, '23 March 1819', in *Peacock's Memoirs of Shelley, with Shelley's Letters to Peacock*, ed. H. F. B. Brett-Smith (London: Henry Frowde, 1909), pp. 176–85, at p. 181.

2.3. 'Semi-glorious human monster[s]': Byron, Surveillance and Discipline

The period's 'sexually indeterminate figures' were spectacles to 'goif' at (stare at and examine)²⁷⁴ – subjects to be watched, managed and codified by medical and non-medical communities alike. What's more, early eighteenth-century medical practitioners who goified at hermaphroditic individuals produced works that had continued impact in the Romantic era. In terms of surveillance discourse, Georgian physicians did not select and sort hermaphrodites to extend and exhibit their anatomical expertise, as Palmira Fontes da Costa, Michael Hagner and others suggest.²⁷⁵ Rather, as James Akin's 1839 hybrid biography/anatomical treatise on 'reputed hermaphrodite' James Carey illustrates, physicians were engaging with the invisible frameworks of surveillance that render certain bodies a socially significant 'spectacle' – frameworks that continue in operation today.²⁷⁶ Individuals who were designated hermaphrodite, such as Carey, were subject to a disciplinary power that was concerned with 'deviation from normative standards', in Christopher Dandeker's words, which sought to define and categorise hermaphroditic bodies against the 'norm' while subjecting them to continuous examination.²⁷⁷ Surveillance, then, (here the paramedical surveillance of hermaphrodites) actually functions as a form of social sorting. As David Lyon suggests, it constitutes: 'a powerful means of creating and reinforcing long-term social differences [...] a means of verifying identities but also of assessing risks and assigning

²⁷⁴ Eighteenth-century slang, which generally meant to gaze at (often open mouthed) and investigate, see James Sibbald, *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry; from the Thirteenth Century to the Union of the Crowns, to which is added a Glossary*, Vol. IV (Edinburgh: J. Sibbald, 1802), np; J. Jamieson, *Jamieson's Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, ed. John Johnston (Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1808), p. 236.

²⁷⁵ Palmira Fontes da Costa, 'Anatomical Expertise and the Hermaphroditic Body', *Spontaneous Generations*, 1.1 (2007), 78–85, p. 79; Michael Hagner, 'Enlightened Monsters', in *The Sciences of Enlightened Europe*, eds. William Clark, Jan Golinski and Simon Schaffer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 175–217, at pp. 175–79.

²⁷⁶ James Akin, *Facts Connected with the Life of James Carey, whose eccentric habits caused a post-mortem examination by Gentlemen of the Faculty; to determine whether he was Hermaphroditic: with Lithographed Drawings, made at their request* (Philadelphia, 1839), pp. 1, 4.

²⁷⁷ Christopher Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power, and Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 27.

worth'.²⁷⁸ To mark someone out as a hermaphrodite was to reinforce their difference from the standard gender binary – the 'norm' – and to disempower and contain them.

In *Sardanapalus*, one of Byron's less-studied works, the emergence of these surveillant regimes of discipline becomes visible. The work situates hermaphrodites as both a threat to the social order – as 'monstrous productions' that problematised the dichotomy of female/male (Home, p. 4) – and sights/sites to be scrutinised, controlled and confined. In the play's society, hermaphrodites are threateningly effeminate, weak individuals, partially human, 'semi-glorious human monster[s]',²⁷⁹ who needed to be 'much exposed' (III. i. 95). When read in conjunction with Akin's co-text *Facts Connected with the Life of James Carey*, Byron's *Sardanapalus* reflects the wider nineteenth-century paramedical gaze that cast hermaphrodites as threats in need of containment. In their encouragement of goifing, Romantic paramedical texts rendered hermaphroditic bodies 'subservient to the gaze of others' (Akin, p. 4): writers contrived a disturbing figure to be domesticated and contained. Byron's and Akin's texts show us how behind the many paramedical enquiries into hermaphroditism, there was an implicit effort to construct and constrict transgressive anatomy in a manner comparable to today's surveillance medicine. Romantic culture was registering a complex specular gaze that rendered hermaphroditic bodies significant on multiple levels: they were a 'spectacle' to be celebrated; subjects to be classified because of their risk identity and even, on some level, sexualised.

Published in 1839, Akin's account of James Carey (c. 1808–1838) reflects on the life and physiology of an individual who lived during the Romantic period and dealt with the threat of exposure to public scrutiny. The anatomical illustrations and lithographs that accompanied *Facts Connected with the Life of James Carey, A Reputed Hermaphrodite* (1839) indulged an

²⁷⁸ David Lyon, *Surveillance as Social Sorting: Privacy, Risk and Digital Discrimination*, ed. David Lyon (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. i.

²⁷⁹ Lord Byron, *Sardanapalus: A Tragedy* (London: John Murray, 1823), I. ii. 18.

audience who wished to marvel ‘at the novel and singular spectacle’ Carey represented, while the text itself unintentionally elucidated the troubling reality of living with a DSD condition in the early nineteenth century (p. 5). Carey’s tale illustrates what the critical orthodoxy terms ‘the enduring, painful plight of the “hermaphroditic monster”’.²⁸⁰ The pamphlet may have masqueraded as a medical examination, complete with a ‘certificate of the faculty’ that verified its accuracy, but this paramedical text was intended to titillate readers curious to see Carey’s ‘problematical’ anatomy exposed to plain sight (pp. 1, 12). Akin plainly catered to viewers accustomed to exhibitions of certified ‘Living Phenomenon’, such as one ‘female with a beard eight inches long, large whiskers & mustachios’, marketed in around the mid-1700s, whose audience were reassured that she had the ‘equivocal signs of the two sexes’ and was ‘acknowledged by the Faculty as a remarkable Phenomenon’.²⁸¹ In the same way that the advertisement offers the ‘bearded lady’ as a legitimate and authenticated spectacle, Akin does the same for Carey. Akin’s ‘diligent’ research and testimonies from ‘persons of great respectability’ impress upon the reader that this work constitutes an official ruling on Carey’s status (p. 1). Though not medically qualified, lithographer Akin emphasises that hermaphrodites are valid figures to detect and observe by pairing his anatomically accurate drawings with a cutting rhyme:

Facts reveal’d by Goddard’s knife,

Sheds light upon the M.D. strife;

For centuries contended.

That nature steady in her plan,

²⁸⁰ Elizabeth Reis, ‘Impossible Hermaphrodites: Intersex in America, 1620–1960’, *The Journal of American History*, 92.2 (2005), 411–41, p. 423.

²⁸¹ *Living Phenomenon*, Advertisement, c. 1750, <<https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-ocm99882490e&terms=living%20phenomenon&pageTerms=living%20phenomenon&pageId=eebo-ocm99882490e-195988-1>> [accessed 11 November 2016].

Confus'd not sexual forms in man,

Her systems pure intended.

But Carey's life, outré and strange!

Illustrates nature's freaks in change;

Virility affected,———

Devoid of ducts, glands and muscle,

Psychologists stare! their wits bepuzzle,

At wond'rous Facts detected! (p. 1).

Further unsympathetic descriptions of Carey's 'mental disquietude' and 'horribly foetid stench', along with his 'unsocial cast' and physiognomy 'not unlike the lesser Ouran Outang' (p. 2), are offered to confirm Carey's pathology, and as such validate his status as someone who needs observing (Armstrong, p. 398).

Certainly, Carey's case allows us to recognise how as much as those deemed 'hermaphroditic' were considered, as Courtney Thompson says, legitimately 'spectacular' in the eighteenth century (p. 392), they were also often the subject of abuse that rendered them even more visible:

There was a hermaphrodite [...] that came in. –

What should be done with that *thing*? Says Foote.

“Send him to Middle-Sex, by all means” replies Edwin.

Why so?

“Because he is of neither”.²⁸²

Imagined conversations with acerbic punchlines, such as the above example from *Edwin's Jests, Humours, Frolicks and Bonmots* (1794), repeatedly accentuated the supposed inhuman qualities of hermaphrodites in order to set them apart from the rest of society. Byron's *Sardanapalus* follows suit and compellingly reflects on a king of the same name who is under threat of deposition and ensures from the beginning of the play that his audience are supremely conscious that Sardanapalus does not fit the standard male/female binary – only ‘scarce less female’ than the women he surrounds himself with (I. i. 7). Audiences follow the last king of the Assyrian empire as he is offered counsel from his brother Salemenes and mistress (the slave Myrrha) on how to placate his angry subjects, but ultimately the rebellion succeeds, and he commits suicide on the pyre he erects under his throne. Even from the opening soliloquy, the King's image is presented as one of intrigue and constructed against that of his predecessor – his hermaphroditic grandmother Semiramis, the ‘she-king’ (II. i. 46). Indeed, the King's brother, Salemenes, engineers them as one and the same with his clever syntax: ‘As femininely garbed and scarce less female, | The grandson of Semiramis, Man-Queen’ (I. i. 7).

Hermaphrodites, who continued to form the attraction of ‘anatomical lectures’ and dissections according to Joseph Palmer in 1776,²⁸³ had evidently become what surveillance discourse recognises as ‘super-visible’.²⁸⁴ In other words, people categorised by society as hermaphrodites were pushed ‘above the fair threshold of visibility’ and exposed to the public

²⁸² Anonymous, *Edwin's Jests, Humours, Frolicks and Bonmots* (London: J. Roach, 1794), p. 56.

²⁸³ Joseph Palmer, *Four Months Tour Through France*, Vol. I (Dublin: S. Price & Co., 1776), pp. 114–15.

²⁸⁴ Valerie Steeves and Jane Bailey, ‘Living in the Mirror: Understanding Young Women's Experiences with social Networking’, in *Expanding the Gaze*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 56–83, at p. 76.

at unreasonable levels (Steeves and Bailey, p. 76). Society displayed their atypical anatomy at every available opportunity and exploited them as biological rarities, or in writer Emil Braun's terms in 1855, as 'freak[s] of nature'.²⁸⁵ Dramatist and essayist George Colman the elder underlines not only the perceived peculiarity of hermaphrodites, but that they were a 'creature' to be exhibited with other curiosities when he writes that Oxford society 'welcomed the arrival of the Fire-Eater, and the Giant, and the Dwarf, and the Hermaphrodite'.²⁸⁶ Likewise, editor of the *Champion* John Scott notes in 1815 that people esteemed 'the exhibition of a living hermaphrodite', as a 'gross' amusement.²⁸⁷ No doubt aware of these well-attended public displays of hermaphroditic bodies, it is unsurprising that Romantic authors like Byron capitalised on interest in these 'monstrous' forms in their fiction and boasted grotesque individuals like Sardanapalus, 'scarce less female' than his female courtiers (I. i. 7), or indeed returned to the confusing form of the hermaphrodite as Shelley does in *Epipsychidion* (1821):

Others swear you're a hermaphrodite;
 Like that sweet marble monster of both sexes,
 Which has looks so sweet and gentle that it vexes
 The very soul (57–60).

As well as being rendered a visible, popular spectacle, then, those with atypical anatomy had been 'stripped of the status of "normalized invisibility"', in Sean P. Hier and Josh

²⁸⁵ Emil Braun, *Handbook for the Ruins and Museums of Rome* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1855), p. 333.

²⁸⁶ George Colman, *Prose on Several Occasions*, Vol. I (London: T. Cadell, 1787), p. 225.

²⁸⁷ John Scott, *Paris Revisited, in 1815*, 2nd edn. (London: Longman & Co., 1816), p. 383.

Greenberg's terms, and as such were subjected to a societal gaze that not only singled out non-normative bodies but made it acceptable to further scrutinise them.²⁸⁸

Much as the 'sluts' of the previous chapter were subject to a communal, surveillant gaze, those categorised as hermaphroditic were not just interesting but construed by paramedical texts as dubious individuals or, as one anonymous publication frames them, as 'corporeal mutilations' who *needed* to be monitored (*Historical Miscellany*, p. 257). They became the subject and object of surveillance machinery because they were 'freak[s] of nature', and thereby *had* to be inspected and probed (Braun, p. 333). Just as Ladies Abergavenny, Worsley and Ligonier had gained notoriety for their behavioural transgressions, hermaphrodites became 'famous', according to one 1797 publication, and were celebrated for the perceived anatomical fault of being 'neither man nor woman' (*Anecdotes, Bon Mots, Traits*, p. 3). More precisely, they were rendered what Fischer terms 'socially significant' and because of their embodied deviancy 'cast as threats in need of containment' (p. 188).

Byron's *Sardanapalus* shows us the coded involvement of these regimes of discipline, as he emphasises those who do not fit the standard gender binary – horrors to be identified and monitored. Sardanapalus is, as Sarah Wootton observes, 'unmanly' and characterised by an 'irreverent indeterminacy'.²⁸⁹ Indeed, throughout, the troubled Sardanapalus is suggestively ambiguous, often 'effeminately dressed' in 'she-garb' as Byron plays with traditional sex and gender roles as he does in *Don Juan* (1818–24) (*Sardanapalus*, I. ii. 8; III. i. 96).²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ Sean P. Hier and Josh Greenberg, 'The Politics of Surveillance: Power, Paradigms, and the Field of Visibility', in *Surveillance: Power, Problems, and Politics*, eds. Sean P. Hier and Josh Greenberg (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), pp. 14–32, at p. 26.

²⁸⁹ Sarah Wootton, *Byronic Heroes in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing and Screen Adaptation* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 157–58.

²⁹⁰ For more on the question of gender in Byron's *Don Juan* see Susan J. Wolfson, "'Their She Condition': Cross-Dressing and the Politics of Gender in *Don Juan*", *ELH*, 54.3 (1987), 585–617.

[...] already I perceive
 The reeking odours of the perfumed trains,
 And see the bright gems of the glittering girls,
 At once his chorus and his council, flash
 Along the gallery, and amidst the damsels,
 As femininely garb'd, and scarce less female,
 The grandson of Semiramis, the man-queen. –
 He comes! (I. i. 7)

But Byron's drama pushes his interrogation of gender to new levels, as Mirka Horová intimates.²⁹¹ Although Sardanapalus' robe is often 'negligently flowing' as though inviting the audience to imagine what may lie underneath, Byron almost ensures that by the conclusion of the narrative the '*she* Sardanapalus' is 'much exposed' as a hermaphrodite to both his army and the audience: 'I go forth to be recognized' (I. ii. 8; II. i. 69; III. i. 95; III. i. 91). Devested of armour, Sardanapalus's female physiognomy and 'fair features' are uncovered (III. i. 95). He is in fact so visible that his demeanour 'scarcely more appal[s] the rebels than astonish[es] his true subjects' (V. i. 149). Byron accentuates Sardanapalus's threatening difference to the King's subjects and play's audience alike.

The play shows us a nineteenth-century paramedical gaze that cast hermaphrodites as threats in need of containment. In his exposure of Sardanapalus and Semiramis as hermaphrodite, Byron codifies them 'dangerous individual[s]', and in Foucauldian terms, ensures they are

²⁹¹ Mirka Horová, 'The Dynamics of Desire: Constructs of Identity in Byron's *Sardanapalus*', *Litteraria Pragensia*, 20.39 (2010), 92–98, p. 92.

‘considered by society at the level of [their] potentialities’ (*ses virtualités*).²⁹² Put simply, in marking their difference Byron focuses a disciplinary surveillant gaze on Semiramis and Sardanapalus (his own and that of the audience) and implies a sense of control, not over what the individuals have done but what they *might* do (*Abnormal Lectures*, p. 34; I. ii. 18).²⁹³ Although the ambiguous descriptions of Sardanapalus’ unnatural kingdom offer a space of potential, the play sets up a scenario where society is always waiting to be returned to the ‘norm’. In fact, we are told from the first scene that the crown will be returned to ‘the first manly hand which dares to snatch it’ (I. i. 7). Barbara Judson suggests that the carnivalesque scenes are supposed to encourage the audience to see Sardanapalus’ society as ‘haunted’ and under threat from ‘such phantom formulations as the testicular woman [and] the hermaphrodite’.²⁹⁴ However, it is also possible to see that Byron’s language and grotesque descriptions throughout work to discipline and disempower these threatening figures. Where Sardanapalus encounters the spirit Semiramis in an episode he describes as more ‘palpable’ than a ‘mere vision’, he expects a ‘sweet face’ but is met by ‘a gray-hair’d, wither’d, bloody-eyed, and bloody-handed, ghastly, ghostly thing, female in garb’ (IV. i. 116). Her image is so aberrant that his ‘veins curdled’ (IV. i. 117). But as threateningly transgressive as she may appear, on further inspection Semiramis is characterised as an inferior being. She is lessened, ‘wither’d’, and limited by her ghostly, incomplete form.

Put another way, the paramedical gaze that constructs hermaphrodites as capable of ‘destroy[ing] the character of humanity amongst human beings’ simultaneously marginalises

²⁹² Originally: ‘La notion de dangerosité signifie que l’individu doit être considéré par la société au niveau de ses virtualités, et non pas au niveau de ses actes’, see Michel Foucault, ‘Truth and Juridical Forms’, in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, trans. Robert Hurley, ed. James D. Faubion, Vol. 3 (London: Penguin, 1994), pp. 1–89, at p. 57.

²⁹³ For more see Arnold I. Davidson, ‘Introduction’, in *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974–1975*, trans. Graham Burchell, eds. Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni (London and New York: Verso, 2003), pp. xvii–xxvi, at p. xxii.

²⁹⁴ Barbara Judson, ‘Tragicomedy, Bisexuality, and Byronism; or, Jokes and their Relation to Sardanapalus’, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 45.3 (2003), 245–61, p. 248; For more on Carnival in Byron see, Marilyn Butler, ‘John Bull’s Other Kingdom: Byron’s Intellectual Comedy’, *Studies in Romanticism*, 31.3 (1992), 281–94, pp. 287–88.

and disempowers those it observes (*Historical Miscellany*, p. 257). Byron's play helps us to recognise that the observation and codification of those with doubtful anatomy as 'abnormal' was clearly part of an 'emerging dynamics of bio-power', in Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García's terms, that isolated those it deemed inadequate.²⁹⁵ Byron's figuring of Sardanapalus and Semiramis as hermaphroditic threats, as 'socially significant', acts as what Roger Smith refers to as 'a vehicle for the maintenance and legitimation of power relations which disenfranchise and oppress those who are most vulnerable'.²⁹⁶ Byron reinforces the difference between Sardanapalus/Semiramis and the rest of society, and in doing so engages in social sorting that disempowers his two characters. As such, *Sardanapalus* exhibits a nineteenth-century paramedical gaze that not only engaged with the hermaphroditic body as spectacle but recognised a need to contain the risks such challenging bodies posed. The play shows us that in much the same way that modern surveillance medicine uses technology to select and sort (Bauer and Olsén, p. 118), the Romantic era was already doing some of that demarcative work. What's more, it is in Coleridge's 'Christabel' that many of these aspects of the complex specular gaze are most apparent.

2.4. 'Who and what is Geraldine?': Extending the Disciplinary Gaze

Perhaps the most productive example of a literary hermaphrodite threatening the social order in the Romantic era, Geraldine is a 'daemonic vision' to the critics who frequently strive to

²⁹⁵ Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García discuss the emerging dynamics of bio-power in relation to the later nineteenth century, see 'The Hermaphrodite, Fecundity and Military Efficiency: Dangerous Subjects in the Emerging Liberal Order of Nineteenth-Century Spain', in *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present*, eds. Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 70–86, at p. 71.

²⁹⁶ Roger Smith, 'Social Work, Risk, Power', *Sociological Research Online*, 15.1 (2010), <<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/15/1/4.html>> [accessed 14 November 2016].

define her function (Paglia, p. 331).²⁹⁷ She is a figure ‘redolent of unnameable evil and repulsive yet irresistible desire’,²⁹⁸ a ‘supernatural’²⁹⁹ individual and, to Nina Auerbach and Arthur H. Nethercot, even a distinctly ‘serpent-like’ being, whose ‘monstrous’ form engendered numerous nineteenth-century vampires (including Polidori’s *The Vampyre* (1819) and Sheridan LeFanu’s 1871 tale ‘Carmilla’).³⁰⁰ Yet Coleridge’s ‘Christabel’ not only intimates what William Hazlitt (1778–1830) described as ‘something disgusting’³⁰¹ at the bottom of its subject – an almost disturbingly indefinable quality – it unites modalities of medical surveillance already identified in other Romantic works, including social probing, scrutiny, exposure and the regulation of ‘abnormal’ bodies. Coleridge’s poem reacted to the external stimuli of the paramedical gaze. ‘Christabel’, as we will see, is concerned with similar issues of fascination, hypervisibility and apprehension to those active in, and activated by, Shelley and Byron, but importantly puts into operation an even more developed disciplinary gaze. Surveillant paradigms evident in *The Witch of Atlas* and Byron’s *Sardanapalus* converge, colour and code Coleridge’s disturbing portrayal of Geraldine, and allow us to see how the hermaphrodite became a Romantic holding category for transgressive women.

Coleridge’s reader is prompted to imagine what lies under the other half of Geraldine’s robe, just as Byron’s reader is encouraged to peer under Sardanapalus’s: ‘[...] She unbound | The cincture from beneath her breast | Her silken robe, and inner vest, | Dropt to her feet and full

²⁹⁷ Abe Delson, ‘The Function of Geraldine in *Christabel*: A Critical Perspective and Interpretation’, *English Studies*, 61.2 (1980), 130–41.

²⁹⁸ Jonas Spatz, ‘The Mystery of Eros: Sexual Initiation in Coleridge’s “Christabel”’, *PMLA*, 90.1 (1975), 107–16, p. 107.

²⁹⁹ James Routh, ‘Parallels in Coleridge, Keats, and Rossetti’, *Modern Language Notes*, 25.2 (1910), 33–37, p. 34.

³⁰⁰ Nina Auerbach, *Our Vampires, Our Selves* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 47–48; Arthur H. Nethercot, ‘Coleridge’s “Christabel” and Lefanu’s “Carmilla”’, *Modern Philology*, 47.1 (1949), 32–38, p. 32.

³⁰¹ William Hazlitt, ‘Christabel;—Kubla Khan, a Vision; The Pains of Sleep. By S. T. Coleridge, Esq.—1816. Murray’, 2 June 1816, in *Examiner*, pp. 348–49, reprinted in *The Romantics Reviewed, Part A: The Lake Poets*, ed. Donald H. Reiman, 2 vols., Vol. II. (New York: Garland, 1972) pp. 530–31, at p. 531.

in view...’ (I. 248–51). We know surprisingly little of Geraldine’s appearance and there is something unsettling about the descriptions Coleridge does offer:

Her stately neck, and arms were bare;
 Her blue-veined feet unsandl’d were,
 And wildly glittering here and there
 The gems entangled in her hair.
 I guess, ’twas frightful there to see
 A lady so richly clad as she –
 Beautiful exceedingly! (I. 62–68)

Geraldine’s ladylike qualities, her stately neck and rich attire, are juxtaposed against bare feet, wild hair and a frighteningly startling beauty. Although there is sparse detail on her appearance, Geraldine is a figure so alarming to readers’ imaginations that someone as ostensibly pure as the ‘youthful hermitess’ Christabel should be kept from her: ‘Hush, beating heart of Christabel! | Jesu, Maria, shield her well!’; ‘O shield her! shield sweet Christabel’ (I. 320; I. 53–54; I. 254). Commentators such as Benjamin Scott Grossberg and Gregory Leadbetter imagine Geraldine as demonic and unnatural,³⁰² as well as serpentine and venomous.³⁰³ She appears almost ‘vulpine’ to Dronamraju Padmarani,³⁰⁴ and should be considered akin to John Keats’s Lamia in Jenny Fabian’s view – ‘the ultimate seducer in

³⁰² Benjamin Scott Grossberg, ‘Making Christabel: Sexual Transgression and its Implications in Coleridge’s “Christabel”’, *Journal of Homosexuality*, 41.2 (2001), 145–65, p. 145.

³⁰³ Gregory Leadbetter, ‘Coleridge’s Lizards in Malta and Sicily: Geraldine under the sun’, *Wordsworth Circle*, 43.2 (2012), 90–95, p. 93.

³⁰⁴ Dronamraju Padmarani, ‘Geraldine in S. T. Coleridge’s *Christabel*’, in *Recritiquing S. T. Coleridge*, eds. Amar Nath Prasad and S. John Peter Joseph (New Delhi: Scrup & Sons, 2007), pp. 128–38, at p. 129–33.

Coleridge's pantheon of female representations'.³⁰⁵ The sight we are encouraged to dream of, however, is only ever intimated in the poem.

Whereas Shelley and Akin explicitly reveal their dubious subjects to be hermaphrodites, Coleridge offers no such confirmation and figures the apparently malevolent Geraldine as only potentially hermaphroditic. Instead, the poem generates apprehension and foreboding about the character and conveys her as a perturbing, confusing, indefinable being. Coleridge contrives for the innocent Christabel to meet Geraldine by an oak tree covered with 'rarest mistletoe' (a poisonous hemiparasitic plant) in what Susan Parry believes is a foreshadowing of the 'parasitic and androgynous' Geraldine's later attempts to feed off her host, Christabel's purity and innocence ('Christabel', I. 34).³⁰⁶ Coleridge ensures that Geraldine is such a threatening, almost abstract presence that we can never be sure whether what we see is real:

A snake's small eye blinks dull and shy,
 And the lady's eyes they shrunk in her head,
 Each shrunk up to a serpent's eye,
 And with somewhat of malice and more of dread,
 At Christabel she looked askance! –
 One moment – and the sight was fled! (II. 583–88)

The unsettlingly hallucinatory quality of such passages points to an aspect of Geraldine that we can never be quite certain of: 'The maid, alas! her thoughts are gone, | She nothing sees – no sight but one!' (II. 697–98). Geraldine only ever seems partially human. Even the

³⁰⁵ Jenny Fabian, 'Coleridge – The Muse and the Albatross', 2011, in *London Grip*, <<http://londongrip.co.uk/2010/09/literature-coleridge-the-muse-and-the-albatross/>> [accessed 11 February 2017], Section 1, para. 2 of 11.

³⁰⁶ Susan Parry, 'Coleridge's CHRISTABEL', *The Explicator*, 58.3 (2000), 133–35, p. 134.

positioning of one of the line breaks figures Geraldine as ‘half-way’ from ‘deep within’, perhaps even half way between either sex: ‘Deep from within she seems half-way | To lift some weight with sick assay’ (I. 257–58). Further, though the final edition of the poem, as it appears in Coleridge’s 1816 pamphlet, only alludes to what Christabel sees when she gazes upon Geraldine’s exposed body: ‘Behold! her bosom and half her side’ – a *site* for readers to dream of but not to tell (I. 252), earlier drafts and annotations describe the stranger’s exposed midriff as ‘lean and old and foul of hue’,³⁰⁷ as well as ‘dark and rough as the Sea Wolf’s hide’.³⁰⁸ Although we, the reader, are not told precisely what Christabel sees, her traumatised response to Geraldine’s ‘stricken look’, and the ‘vision[s] of fear’ she subsequently endures, lead us to ‘dream’ of what a grotesque spectacle Geraldine must appear (I. 256, II. 453):

She shrunk and shuddered, and saw again –

(Ah, woe is me! Was it for thee,

Thou gentle maid! such sights to see?)

Again she saw that bosom old,

Again she felt that bosom cold (II. 454–58).

In lieu of any certainty about her form, part of Geraldine’s intrigue is that she successfully ‘pass[es] herself off for what she is imagined to be’, as Peter Knox-Shaw tells us.³⁰⁹ Since its

³⁰⁷ Lines from an earlier manuscript transcribed by Sarah Stoddart between 1804 and 1805, see Jack Stillinger, *Coleridge and Textual Instability: The Multiple Versions of the Major Works* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 87.

³⁰⁸ Lines from annotations added by Coleridge in a presentation edition of the 1816 pamphlet given to his physician James Gillman, reprinted in: Chris Koenig-Woodyard, ‘A Hypertext History of the Transmission of Coleridge’s “Christabel,” 1800–1816’, *Romanticism on the Net*, 10 (1998), <<https://dx.doi.org/10.7202/005806ar>> [accessed 08 January 2017].

³⁰⁹ Peter Knox-Shaw, ‘Coleridge, Erasmus Darwin, and the Naturalizing of Deceit in *Christabel*’, *Review of English Studies*, 67.279 (2016), 316–33, p. 316.

first publication, 'Christabel' has elicited extensive questions from readers. As an anonymous reviewer for *The Champion* put it in May 1816:

What is it all about? What is the idea? Is *Lady Geraldine* a sorceress? or a vampire? or a man? or what is she, or he, or it?³¹⁰

Such questioning is not just a part of what Donald Reiman describes as the 'chorus of abuse' that the poem faced in its own day,³¹¹ but also demonstrates the clear need of more vocal readers to define Geraldine. Much like *The Champion's* anonymous writer, nineteenth-century audiences returned to reflect on the meaning of Geraldine, as well as her purpose in the narrative: Henry Nelson Coleridge, for instance, articulates wide concern with a governing question – *what* is she?: 'Who and what is Geraldine – whence come, whither going, and what designing?'.³¹² Coleridge offered a measure of clarification: 'Geraldine is *not* a Witch, in any proper sense of the word [and] that she is a man in disguise is a wicked rumour sent abroad with malice prepense [...] by poor Hazlitt'.³¹³ If Coleridge's nephew offered a mollifying alternative, suggesting that Geraldine could not be categorised since she was '*sui generis*' (p. 15), modern critics like Camille Paglia have denounced her as forming part of an exercise in 'blatant lesbian pornography' (p. 331). Paglia's vehemence suggests that the most compelling aspect of Geraldine is not in fact contained in the information given

³¹⁰ Anonymous, 'CHRISTABEL; KUBLA KHAN, A VISION; THE PAINS OF SLEEP,—BY S. T. COLERIDGE, ESQ.', 26 May 1816, *Champion*, pp. 166–67, reprinted in *The Romantics Reviewed, Part A: The Lake Poets*, ed. Donald H. Reiman, 2 vols., Vol. I (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1972), pp. 268.

³¹¹ Donald Reiman, *The Romantics Reviewed, Part A: The Lake Poets*, ed. Donald H. Reiman, 2 vols., Vol. I (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1972), p. 268.

³¹² Henry Nelson Coleridge, 'Coleridge's Poetical Works', in *London Quarterly Review*, Vol. LII (New York: Theodore Foster, 1834), pp. 1–19, at p. 15.

³¹³ Coleridge wrote the rebuttal on the flyleaf of a copy of 'Christabel' given to his son Derwent. John Beer gives a full quotation in 'Coleridge, Hazlitt and 'Christabel'', *Review of English Studies*, 37.145 (1986), 40–54, at p. 40.

about her in the text itself, or offered later by its author, but is rather to be found in the extreme reactions she continues to elicit. Importantly, these Romantic and early Victorian discussions re-enacted debates about transgressive individuals by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century physicians, as attempts to define Geraldine as ‘she, or he, or it’ placed readers and critics in a paramedical role whose purpose was to expose and label the sexually indeterminate spectacle. In Armstrong’s terms, Geraldine was subjected to a disciplinary gaze precisely concerned with the monitoring of ‘deviant bodies’ and always ‘precarious normality’ (p. 403).

In one sense, then, Coleridge contributes to the same viewing gaze as ‘dpy87’ and JuggernautFitnessTV because he creates specific moments of intense looking, where the reader is invited to make a specular, paramedical judgement about a ‘deviant’ individual: Coleridge’s reader is encouraged to marvel at the ‘damsel bright, | Drest in a silken robe of white’ as well as to ‘look at the lady Geraldine’ and ‘behold’ what lies under the robe in the bedroom scene (244–54). Non-experts, we are asked to make a medical decision about Geraldine’s true state. Coleridge’s work prefigures today’s public’s role in the scrutiny of atypical anatomy. In the same way as ‘dpy87’ asks redditors to look for a ‘bulge’ and Fightstate asks its readers to explain ‘what this really is’ (Fightstate, para. 6), Coleridge invites his audience to question Geraldine.

What Geraldine has come to represent is not simply Paglia’s ‘daemonic personae of hermaphroditic force’ (p. 332), but rather a figure who focuses and combines different modalities of the communal surveillant gaze. Coleridge’s portrayal of Geraldine can be considered as part of the literature of paramedical examination, and Geraldine as both subject

and object of gendered surveillance.³¹⁴ Her physical deviancy must be contained in precisely the same way as that of Carey and Sardanapalus.

Febrily protean, ‘Christabel’ spawned several parodies, many of which construed Geraldine as dangerously Sapphic.³¹⁵ Among the best-known, ‘Christabel, Part Third’³¹⁶ by David Macbeth Moir (1819) and the anonymous ‘Christabess’ (1816) both accentuated Geraldine’s supposed gender deviation. In their pastiches, innocent female characters (imitations of Christabel) were harassed by a predatory character who attempted to corrupt ‘maiden limbs’ (‘Christabel’, 388). In ‘Christabess’:

The other [Adelaide] sylphid tore a song,
 To curl her hair so black and long;
 Nor did she seem, as first she said,
 So much in haste to come to bed;
 And Christabess almost began
 To fancy t’other was a man [...]

 There she saw the maid untie
 A piece of hempen cord, that bound
 Her alabaster belly round!
 Down dropt her shift, and——O dear me!
 She’s naked! – naked!! – naked!!! – see! –

³¹⁴ For more on the ‘risky self’ see Jane Ogden, ‘Psychosocial Theory and the Creation of the Risky Self’, *Social Science and Medicine*, 40.3 (1995), 409–15, p. 413.

³¹⁵ For more on the ‘Christabel’ parodies, see Chris Koenig-Woodyard, ‘sex—text: “Christabel” and the *Christabelliads*’, *Romanticism on the Net*, 15 (1999), <<https://dx.doi.org/10.7202/005869ar>> [accessed 08 January 2017], paras. 10, 17 and 21 of 52.

³¹⁶ David Macbeth Moir, ‘Christabel, Part Third’, *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 05 June 1819, pp. 286–91.

But, reader, turn away your view,

She's not to sleep with me nor you.³¹⁷

Geraldine activates eighteenth- and nineteenth-century anxieties about the fluid body, and about the Macroclitorideæ that Parsons warned of, and that continues to enthrall modern audiences as the Holm case suggests. To Hazlitt especially, who misremembered lines from Stoddart's version of the poem to figure Geraldine as 'hideous, deformed and pale of hue', the character's indefinite form proved threateningly erotic (Hazlitt, p. 531). Coleridge identified the erotic pleasure Hazlitt sought to obscure with his objections to this 'most obscene' character, accusing the essayist of practicing a displaced form of onanism in his literary criticism, as he 'shrugged himself up with a sort of sensual orgasm of enjoyment' (Coleridge, cited in Beer, p. 40). Figured in 'Christabel' is a gendered modality of surveillance that created a category almost waiting for transgressive and disruptive women. With the character of Geraldine, Coleridge presents us with a compelling example of a woman transformed into a figurative hermaphrodite – a woman with a figurative member, categorised as hermaphrodite and afforded male physical characteristics – because of her Sapphic behaviour. Geraldine is threateningly erotic and as such we are encouraged to imagine her to have a physical abnormality that signifies her social transgression.

As we have seen in this chapter, the paramedical surveillant gaze functions as a 'lever of social control' (Arvidsson and Foka, para. 18) and a disciplinary force in much the same way as slut-shaming. To label someone as a 'hermaphrodite' (or indeed to transfigure somebody into a 'pseudo-hermaphrodite') and advertise their anatomy to the public in either a medical treatise or a poem was to expose them to the pressures of a communal gaze. Drawing for

³¹⁷ Anonymous, *Christabess. A Right Woeful Poem, Translated from the Doggerel by Sir Vinegar Sponge* (London: J. Duncombe, 1816), pp. 21–22.

literary effects on the medicalised concepts and language of ‘irregularity’ and ‘mixed organization’, Romantic authors sought to exploit gender non-conforming anatomy.³¹⁸ It is tempting to assume that debates around the ethics of publicly scrutinising DSD individuals is a modern phenomenon, but – as the atypical bodies in Byron, Shelley and Coleridge show us – Romantic literary culture had already gone a considerable way to processing complex issues of gender, inspection and sexual categorisation.

Chapter 3 | Surveillance and the Displaced Body: Charlotte Smith, *What Is She?*, and the ‘New Public Self’

In recent years, Romanticists have become more closely attuned to the wider writing of Charlotte Smith (1749–1806). Smith is now recognised as a political writer, a ‘Jacobin novelist’ in John Barrell’s work.³¹⁹ The sobriquet is fitting for an author who was toasted by

³¹⁸ P. A. O. Mahon, ‘*Médecine Legale & c.*; i.e. Legal Medicine and Medical Police’, in *The Monthly Review*, Vol. 38 (London: T. Becket, 1802), pp. 507–14, at p. 508.

³¹⁹ John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 25.

radicals in Paris in the 1790s as one of the ‘lady defenders of the Revolution’.³²⁰ In this chapter, I wish to expand recent research on the political valencies of Smith’s work to develop a hybrid methodology that takes fuller account of the insights and discourse of modern surveillance studies. As we will see, Smith’s writing, particularly her dramatic work, displays a prescient consciousness of various modalities of gendered surveillance – several of which have assumed more acute and pervasive forms in our own era – as they emerged during and after the Revolution. Focusing on Smith’s little-discussed comedy *What Is She?*, first staged in April 1799 at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden,³²¹ I argue that the play performs a complex awareness of the displaced gendered body’s encounter with lateral (intra-communal) modes of inspection. What I hope will emerge is that Smith’s insights into women’s experience of surveillance were pioneering, especially in their acknowledgement of the ways in which emigrant women – the displaced, exiled bodies of my title – were specifically targeted through peer surveillance.

Diego Saglia, one of the few commentators to discuss Smith’s *What Is She?*, suggests that the play opens a lens into new forms of curiosity in the late-eighteenth century.³²² In a resourceful reading, he argues that the key dressing room scene from Act III reveals the characters’ collusion in strategic acts of nosiness. The play itself supports such a reading; Lady Zephyrine Mutable and her maid’s discussions about how best to entrap the village’s newcomer into revealing her true, and as yet unknown, identity, constitute more than usual neighbourly curiosity:

³²⁰ The toasts of the ‘expatriate extremists’ in Paris are reprinted by J. G. Alger: ‘The British Colony in Paris 1792–93’, in *The English Historical Review*, eds. S. R. Gardiner and Reginald L. Poole, Vol. XIII (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898), pp. 672–94, at p. 673.

³²¹ First performed on 27 April, by the 30th of that month the papers reported that the play was being performed to ‘increased applause’. On 10 May, it was reported that the play had appeared to ‘highly please’ its royal audience members. ‘News’, *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, 30 April 1799; ‘News’, *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, 10 May 1799.

³²² Diego Saglia, ‘“This Village Wonder”: Charlotte Smith’s ‘What Is She?’ and the Ideological Comedy of Curiosity’, in *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism*, ed. Jacqueline Labbe (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 145–58, at p. 146.

Mrs Mirror: It is very lucky your cousin left these clothes here, they fit your Ladyship exactly.

Lady Zephyrine: You think, then, Mrs Derville will not discover me?

Mrs Mirror: That she won't, if your Ladyship does but talk loud, stare at people, yet pretend not to see them, and behave rude, there's no fear but she'll take you for a modern fine gentleman.

Lady Zephyrine: Yes, I cannot doubt but this village wonder, this Mrs Derville, is some adventurer [...] and under this disguise, and the assumed title of my brother Lord Orton, I hope, by professing a passion for her, at least to ascertain her sentiments.³²³

In a provocation I will extend to other aspects of the play, I propose that the kind of scrutiny planned here between Lady Zephyrine and Mrs Mirror, rather than representing a single plot device, in fact takes place within, and as part of, a larger structure of 'coveillance', a term used by surveillance theorists Steve Mann, Jason Nolan and Barry Wellman to capture the nuances of the social monitoring that occurs between neighbours and other groups in small urban settings.³²⁴ While Saglia's work on *What Is She?* develops important insights with regard to the many (from the audience's perspective) ridiculous acts of curiosity in operation

³²³ Charlotte Smith, *What Is She? A Comedy in Five Acts, as Performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden* (London: T. N. Longman, 1799), III. i. 28.

³²⁴ The term *coveillance* is used here instead of Mark Andrejevic's 'lateral surveillance', which more broadly refers to general peer-to-peer surveillance. For *coveillance*, see Steve Mann, Jason Nolan and Barry Wellman, 'Sousveillance: Inventing and Using Wearable Computing Devices for Data Collection in Surveillance Environments', *Surveillance & Society*, 1.3 (2003), 331–55, p. 338; Steve Mann, "Sousveillance" and "Coveillance", in *Wearcam.org*, 2002, <http://wearcam.org/sousveillance_and_coveillance.htm> [accessed 29 May 2016], para. 2 of 3. Mark Andrejevic, 'The Work of Watching One Another: Lateral Surveillance, Risk, and Governance', *Surveillance & Society*, 2.4 (2005), 479–97.

in the play, it does so in isolation from modern surveillance studies, and does not take advantage of a hermeneutics that enables us to recognise in new ways the very specifically gendered pressures and observations to which Mrs Derville is subjected.

What at first seems to fall into the category of farcical comedy, then, is, I would argue, actually a drama that participates in, as it processes, the intricacies of post-Revolutionary surveillance. Since the plot of *What Is She?* is now largely unfamiliar, I summarise it here. The main strand of narrative follows Mrs Eugenia Derville, a recent and mysterious arrival to Caernarvonshire, Wales, about whom the community knows little, as she is courted by a 'Mr Belford' (who is in fact Lord Orton in disguise). Although originally from the area, Lord Orton has only recently returned from many years in Europe and goes unrecognised by the locals and even his sister – the 'fashionable coquette' Lady Zephyrine Mutable whom we encountered in the previous exchange (V. i. 71). Though somewhat contrived, the play's action turns around acts of surveillance, realised through various means, as the characters attempt to 'discover Mrs Derville's character and sentiments' (III. ii. 36). At one point or another, most of the play's characters appear in implausible disguises – Lady Zephyrine masquerades as Lord Orton, Lord Orton appears as Belford and Tim Period impersonates his friend Lord Orton upon the Lord's request. It is only in the final scenes that the interloper, Mrs Derville, is exposed as an Italian emigrant – 'the wife, the generous wife' of a deceased man named Harcourt (Lord Orton's cousin) (V. iii. 83). It is revealed that Mrs Derville is the widow of an abusive marriage who fled to a convent and subsequently to England 'under a borrow'd name': the situation 'obliged me to escape from Florence to Leghorn [Livorno]. Public events again removed me to England, and by the assistance of an English servant I at length settled in my present situation' (V. iii. 83). Though the stranger is eventually exposed, the play's use of modern, almost post-Foucauldian terms such as 'eves-dropping',

‘concealing’, ‘discovering’, ‘shame at detection’, ‘suspicion’ and ‘mystery’, all characterise the drama as concerned with coveillance (I. i. 6, 7; IV. ii. 62, 67; III. v. 47).³²⁵

What Is She’s popularity in its own day can be gauged from the fact that it went through three print editions in its first year alone.³²⁶ Smith’s dramatic writing is widely neglected in modern criticism, however. Smith scholars including Sarah Zimmerman and Stuart Curran have tended to limit their focus to the earlier writings published at the height of Smith’s popularity,³²⁷ such as *Elegiac Sonnets* and her novel *The Old Manor House* (1794), generally considered her best work.³²⁸ Those who attend to Smith’s wider *oeuvre*, including Toby R. Benis, Katherine M. Rogers and Antje Blank,³²⁹ primarily address her novels *Desmond* (1792) and *The Banished Man* (1794), along with what is perhaps her best-known poem, *The Emigrants* (1793). The emphasis in this group of studies has been squarely placed on Smith’s sympathetic treatment of émigrés and on her interest not only in ‘a dialectic of political and legal persecution’, but also in ‘the resulting emotional and physical pain suffered by the victims’ (Blank, p. 87), with an additional focus on Smith’s self-proclaimed intention to ‘humanize both countries [Britain and France], by convincing each, that good qualities exist in the other’.³³⁰ So, too, Amy Garnai concentrates on Smith’s awareness of the Alien Act through volume four of Smith’s collection of tales *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer* (1802). In

³²⁵ There are errors in consecutive numbering of scenes in the play. I have amended this and reference scenes in the correct sequence.

³²⁶ Allardyce Nicoll lists the production and publication details of *What Is She?* (C.G. 27/4/1799) 8° 1799 [bis]; 8° 1800 [3rd]; 12° [Dublin; 1800; “by Charlotte Smith”], *A History of English Drama, 1660–1900; Late Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750–1800*, VI vols., Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 308.

³²⁷ Sarah M. Zimmerman, ‘Smith, Charlotte (1749–1806)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25790>> [accessed 08 March 2017], para. 15 of 21; Stuart Curran, ‘Charlotte Smith and British Romanticism’, *South Central Review*, 11.2 (1994), 66–78.

³²⁸ Edward Wagenknecht termed it ‘surely one of the best romances in the whole realm of English fiction’, *Cavalcade of the Novel* (New York: Holt, 1954), p. 96. See also, Anne Katherine Elwood, *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England* (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber and Company, 1845), p. 60.

³²⁹ Toby R. Benis, *Romantic Diasporas: French Émigrés, British Convicts, and Jews* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 25; Katherine M. Rogers, ‘Inhibitions on Eighteenth-Century Women Novelists: Elizabeth Inchbald and Charlotte Smith’, *American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 11.1 (1977), 63–78, p. 73; Antje Blank, ‘Things as they were: The Gothic of Real Life in Charlotte Smith’s *The Emigrants* and *The Banished Man*’, *Women’s Writing*, 16.1 (2009), 78–93, at p. 87.

³³⁰ Charlotte Smith, *The Emigrants* (London: T. Cadell, 1793), pp. vii.

many ways, though, these themes are precisely continued and expanded in Smith's *What Is She?*. The play, indeed, may be fitted into current discussions about Smith's politics, since it also considers the experience of emigrants and strangers, as well as codes an awareness of the different forms of gendered surveillance such displaced bodies faced in the 1790s and early 1800s. Smith's personal connection to émigrés, such as her son-in law, Alexandre Marc-Constant De Foville, produces writing that illuminates Romantic Britain's fraught, at times contradictory, relationship with foreigners, and also engages with the first formal, large-scale system of government surveillance, as recently discussed by Richard Marggraf Turley.³³¹ That Smith's work directly intervenes into debates about surveillance is not entirely new information. Harriet Guest's pioneering 2005 study 'Suspicious Minds: Spies and Surveillance in Charlotte Smith's Novels of the 1790s' already observed that Smith was 'one of the most politically alert novelists of the decade' whose 'novels are marked [...] by their attention to the effects of a political culture of suspicion and surveillance on private life'.³³² Crucially, however, like Saglia's work, Guest's engaging chapter is unable fully to consider the nuances of surveillance encoded in Smith's writing since it does not take account of recent work in the rapidly developing field of surveillance theory. Guest's foundational work, then, requires radical updating.

David Lyon's pivotal works on the modalities and taxonomies of surveillance help us to recognise the subtle ways in which Smith's play explores the gendered body's encounter with surveillance. Smith depicts a rural community engaged in acts of peer inspection that subjects a genteel widow to a process in which 'special note is taken of certain human behaviours that

³³¹ Richard Marggraf Turley, 'Objects of Suspicion: Keats, 'To Autumn' and the Psychology of Surveillance', in *John Keats and the Medical Imagination*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 173–206.

³³² Harriet Guest, 'Suspicious Minds: Spies and Surveillance in Charlotte Smith's Novels of the 1790s', in *Land, Nation and Culture, 1740–1840*, eds. Peter de Bolla, Nigel Leask and David Simpson (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 169–87, at p. 170.

go well beyond idle curiosity' – in other words, surveillance.³³³ Mrs Derville's neighbours are not nonchalantly interested in her past; rather, the narrative unfolds – as the play's interrogative title suggests – around their *active* endeavours to discover the interloper's 'true' identity (III. ii. 36).³³⁴ Indeed, at a time when the threat of French invasion was felt most keenly in the public imagination,³³⁵ Smith's protagonist represents both the 'suffering, persecuted female wanderer' that Saglia suggests appears in much of Smith's work (p. 146), and simultaneously the 'foreigner-stranger' – the always potentially threatening unknown recently theorised by David Simpson.³³⁶ In part, the current chapter examines the various modes of surveillance to which the 'displaced body', the body outside of its native home, such as the emigrant or the specifically French emigrant, the 'émigré', is subject. My aim is to consider these communal acts of lateral inspection as analogous to the gendered surveillant paradigms we previously saw in operation against the sluts and hermaphrodites of chapters 1 and 2. Once Smith's *What Is She?* has been situated in terms of its political milieu, including such legislative structures as the Alien Act, we can understand more fully how the play both absorbs the tensions of the era and reflects the ways in which communities assimilated and engaged with the scopic regime of the day.

Smith's *What Is She?* allows us to examine how female writers in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries processed the treatment and surveillance of 'aliens' – foreigners whose subcategories included émigrés and emigrants in Britain. At the same time, as we will see, it also affords valuable insights into how surveillant structures of discipline operate today. Smith's play, I argue in the coda to this chapter, illuminates surveillance in both its emergent

³³³ Emphasis added, David Lyon, *Surveillance Studies: An Overview* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2009), p. 13.

³³⁴ Saglia notes that Smith's title was not unusual in its use of an interrogative to create 'an enigma on identity', and lists other examples from the period such as Hannah Cowley's *Who Is The Dupe?* (1779) and *Which Is The Man?*, as well as Anna Austen Lefroy's unfinished novel *Which Is The Heroine?* (see notes p. 245).

³³⁵ Loraine Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 14.

³³⁶ David Simpson, *Romanticism and the Question of the Stranger* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 22.

and modern manifestations. For instance, it throws intriguing light on how the modern phenomenon of ‘Facebook stalking’ can also be considered as an example of the coveillance documented and critiqued in *What Is She?*, with particularly insidious modes pertaining between women. Part of my aim, indeed, is to suggest ways in which we might move from Smith’s own explorations of how women emigrants were targeted by surveillance structures to work towards strategies of resilience today. *What Is She?* cleverly engages in resistance techniques of its own that resemble those employed by Smith’s friend Sophia Lee in *The Chapter of Accidents* (1782).³³⁷ Similar to Lee, Smith articulates Romantic women’s interest in what I wish to designate as a ‘new public self’. Whether due to felt shame about their past, a desire to start afresh or even determination to make a positive impression in a new country, displaced women, Smith’s play shows, worked to construct new public identities as part of a strategy aimed at concealing or preserving their private selves from prying eyes. This strategy, I propose, is available to women and other overly scrutinised groups today.

3.1. Aliens, Paranoid Discourse and Surveillance

David Simpson suggests that the period 1790–1810 was a time of ‘paranoid discourse’ that represented aliens as a particular threat to social cohesion and security.³³⁸ Late-eighteenth-century popular fiction frequently voices disapproval at the ‘conflux of strangers to different parts of the country’ who might be ‘emigrant French come to cut our throats’, as William

³³⁷ Smith seems to have known the Lee family (Sophia, her sister Harriet and even their father, John) fairly well. She often mentions them and their work in her letters, and even on one occasion expresses that it would ‘grieve’ her to be forgotten by them. For more on the Lees’ friendship with Smith see Harriet Guest and Judith Stanton, ‘Charlotte Smith to Thomas Cadell, Sr., and Harriet Lee: Two New Letters’, *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 57 (2008), 32–41.

³³⁸ The phrase ‘paranoid discourse’ is part of Simpson’s wider argument about how strangers were theorised in the 1790s, which focuses on the ‘designated enemy of the state’ as both the ‘foreign stranger’ and the ‘enemy within’ during the tense political climate of the age (Simpson, p. 22).

Frederick Williams's character Mr Simmons declares in *Fitzmaurice* (1800).³³⁹ The rhetoric of newspapers and parliamentary debates fuelled these fears with propaganda against aliens:

The most positive orders have been given [...] to arrest or send away every Alien who shall be found to reside within ten miles of the coast [...] The object of this extraordinary vigilance is to counteract the views of the enemy in obtaining secret intelligence of our operations.³⁴⁰

The Alien Act of January 1793 itself detailed that ‘under the present Circumstances, much Danger may arise to the publick Tranquillity from the Resort and Residence of Aliens, unless due Provision be made in respect thereof’.³⁴¹ In their rhetoric directed at emigrants, members of parliament spoke vitriolically of how ‘every street, and every corner of Britain swarms with these desperate and dangerous aliens’³⁴² – images sustained more recently, and controversially, by former UK Prime Minister David Cameron who in 2015 portrayed migrants seeking a better life in Britain as ‘a swarm of people’ from across the Mediterranean.³⁴³ To appreciate more fully the surveillant nuances of Charlotte Smith’s *What Is She?*, we need to situate it in this climate of ‘paranoid discourse’. By examining how the ‘alien’ was constructed in the social psyche and how governmental surveillance of these bodies functioned, we will see how Smith’s works echoed a climate of political anxiety that promoted scrutinising practice in local communities and be able to identify why members of

³³⁹ William Frederick Williams, *Fitzmaurice: A Novel*, Vol. I (London: J. Murray, 1800), p. 13.

³⁴⁰ ‘News’, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 20 September 1800.

³⁴¹ Alien Act, 33 Geo. III, c. 4, ‘preamble’.

³⁴² ‘News’, *Bell’s Weekly Messenger*, 09 October 1796.

³⁴³ Cameron was speaking to ITV News about the Calais migrant crisis, see: David Cameron, ‘Calais migrant crisis: UK-French centre to tackle traffickers’, *ITV News*, 30 July 2015, <<http://www.itv.com/news/update/2015-07-30/pm-a-swarm-of-migrants-want-to-come-to-britain/>> [accessed 29 May 2017]; BBC, ‘David Cameron criticised over migrant ‘swarm’ language’, 30 July 2015, in *BBC*, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-33716501>> [accessed 29 May 2017], para. 20 of 26.

communities suddenly made outsiders, particularly women, were rendered visible and subjected to an intrusive inspective force.

Smith wrote at a time when measures introduced by the government to monitor alien arrivals actively and deliberately singled out foreign bodies as figures that needed to be scrutinised and catalogued. Mindful of the threat of revolution crossing the Channel, Britain joined the war against France in 1793, following initial reluctance due to the memory of previous colonial losses.³⁴⁴ Simultaneously, political writing by radicals such as Robespierre (1758–1794) and Danton (1759–1794), who Smith warned in *Marchmont* (1796) possessed ‘the power of doing [...] extensive mischief’, provoked social and political upheaval in France.³⁴⁵ All of which prompted the government to introduce the Alien Act. Although this act might appear to have been expressly designed to block foreigners from entering the country, Simpson alerts us to the fact that it was actually enacted to ‘control the terms on which they might be welcomed’ (p. 22). It did not automatically prevent emigrants from entering Britain but instead facilitated the enumeration and control of foreign arrivals, legally obliging aliens to declare their name, rank and occupation to the Port Officer upon their entry into the country, with the information subsequently passed on to the Inspector of Aliens (as of 1798 being one of either John King, Charles William Flint or William Wickham) (33 Geo. III. c. 4; Sparrow, p. 375). The few records that survive from the Alien Office³⁴⁶ point to the strategic, organised efforts of Britain’s first secret service to gather information about alien bodies, with then Home Secretary the Duke of Portland (1738–1809) instructing Wickham to take ‘any proper means of being well informed of the descriptions and abodes of all foreigners etc.’.³⁴⁷ Eric Hobsbawm explains that such systems of documentation brought individuals

³⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion of the French Revolutionary wars, see Roger Knight, *Britain Against Napoleon: The Organization of Victory, 1793–1815* (London: Penguin, 2013).

³⁴⁵ Charlotte Smith, *Marchmont*, Vol. IV of IV (London: Sampson Low, 1796), p. 411.

³⁴⁶ The administrative office set up to cope with the extra work that came with the Alien Act.

³⁴⁷ Duke of Portland to Wickham written at Pepplewick, 8 September 1794, H.R.O. 38M49/1/40/1, cited in Elizabeth Sparrow, ‘The Alien Office, 1792–1806’, *The Historical Journal*, 33.2 (1990), 361–84, p. 362.

‘into even more direct contact with the machinery of rule and administration, even if he or she moved from one place to another’.³⁴⁸

We know from Garnai that throughout her career Charlotte Smith was preoccupied with precisely this kind of ‘legalistic and institutionalized intolerance’.³⁴⁹ This concern finds direct routes into Smith’s fiction. In one of the defining moments of the fourth volume of Smith’s *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, Hungarian protagonist Leopold de Sommerfeldt is arrested under the oppressive Alien Act. Leopold carefully details the circumstances of his arrest when he finds himself ordered out of England and denied the opportunity to see his British wife, Gertrude, before he departs:

[My captor] delivered me an order from the Secretary of State, issued under the alien act, and importing that I must remain in custody of the bearer till my departure from England, which must be within the space of four and twenty hours.³⁵⁰

Already forced to flee Hungary due to Leopold’s jealous older brother Volgeth, the mixed-nationality couple are – apparently – cruelly prevented from settling in England together due to Britain’s inhospitable approach to foreign nationals. With this event, Smith’s novella not only articulates the ‘exigencies of exile’ in the way Garnai suggests, but intervenes into discourse about the formal surveillance of emigrants.³⁵¹ Indeed, although the measures employed by the government and relayed by Smith may not appear to constitute surveillance

³⁴⁸ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 81.

³⁴⁹ Amy Garnai, *Revolutionary Imaginings in the 1790s: Charlotte Smith, Mary Robinson, Elizabeth Inchbald* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 101.

³⁵⁰ Charlotte Smith, *The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer: The Hungarian*, Vol. IV (London: T. N. Longman, 1802), p. 260.

³⁵¹ Amy Garnai, ‘The Alien Act and Negative Cosmopolitanism in The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer’, in *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism*, ed. Jacqueline Labbe (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 101–12, at p. 101.

in the narrow sense of ‘spying’ on people, the work of surveillance theorists such as Christopher Dandeker, itself influenced by Anthony Giddens and Max Weber, allows us to distinguish this ‘gathering of information about and the supervision of subject populations’ as a form of surveillance that emerges from bureaucratic record-keeping.³⁵² The Act’s supervisory and information gathering capacity, also discussed by Michael Durey,³⁵³ was at its most fundamental level engaged with regulation for the purpose of control – a key function of surveillance. Where Parliament and the government sought, in minister Charles James Fox’s words, ‘the proper remedy for such danger’ as they believed emigrants posed,³⁵⁴ they enmeshed foreign bodies in the machinery of the state and encouraged their supervision.

References to government surveillance in Smith’s work, such as those in ‘The Hungarian’, were neither arbitrary nor mere literary ‘backdrop’, nor does it seem likely that they were intended to be understood by their first audiences in that way. Where anti-Jacobin novelists, such as Isaac D’Israeli (1766–1848) in *Vaurien* (1797), used the Alien Act simply as a plot device,³⁵⁵ Smith’s use of the Act appears to be pitched as a direct comment on governmental modes of inspection and scrutiny. As Guest’s work on Smith’s novels illustrates, Smith was influenced by politically acute writing about the ‘suspicious eye’ that people in Britain now cast ‘upon every stranger, especially every solitary stranger, that fell under their observation’,³⁵⁶ such as that of William Godwin (1756–1836), whose *Caleb Williams* (1794) – a novel that dramatises the psychological pressures of living under constant surveillance –

³⁵² Christopher Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power & Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p. vii; Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985); Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson, ed. Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1947).

³⁵³ Michael Durey, *William Wickham, Master Spy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 45.

³⁵⁴ Taken from Fox’s speech in the debate on the Alien Bill, 31st December 1792, ‘On the order of the day for going into a committee on the Alien bill being read’, in *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, Vol. XXX (1792–1794) (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Browne, 1817), pp. 190–94, at p. 193.

³⁵⁵ Jon Mee, ‘The Novel Wars 1790–1804’, in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English: English and British Fiction 1750–1820*, eds. Peter Garside and Karen O’Brien, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 199–215, at p. 212.

³⁵⁶ William Godwin, *Things as They Are or the Adventures of Caleb Williams*, ed. Maurice Hindle (London: Penguin, 2005 [Originally published 1794]), p. 279.

she ‘much admired’ (Guest, p. 171). So too her own experience furnished her with an awareness of the tense political climate that made communities wary of strangers, as she herself had first-hand experience of being an emigrant subject to such scrutiny, having accompanied her husband to Normandy for a winter.³⁵⁷ Loraine Fletcher records Smith’s experience:

[Smith’s husband] Benjamin said nothing to warn her of walking on her own, and none of the stories she had heard about France prepared her for the desolation she found [...] While she hesitated, villagers appeared in their doorways to stare sullenly at her. When she began to retrace her steps, a group of older women in rags and thin sabots followed, caught up and surrounded her. They fingered her thick cloak, patted her belly and joked in a dialect too broad for her to catch as they eyed the lace at her neck longingly (Fletcher, pp. 8–9).

Smith later gained even greater insight into the vulnerable position in which emigrants found themselves through her close relationship with her son-in-law Alexandre Marc-Constant De Foville, a French emigrant, which she maintained after her daughter Augusta’s death.³⁵⁸ All of which perhaps accounts for her well-informed portrayal of the experience of being detained under the Act, as well as her engaged view of the lack of appeal and finality of the bureaucratic process: of his captor, Leopold observes, ‘it was not in his power to make the least alteration in the orders he acted under; they were peremptory, and without appeal’ (‘The Hungarian’, p. 261). Purposefully set against the backdrop of the various events of the French

³⁵⁷ Smith was in Normandy over the winter of 1784–1785. Although this was before the Alien Act it was still at a time of political unease between France and Britain.

³⁵⁸ Smith’s letters reveal her close relationship with De Foville, see Charlotte Smith, *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, ed. Judith Phillips Stanton (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003).

Revolution, Smith's 'The Hungarian' engages with a political era in which 'aliens' were targeted by an Act that became, in Renaud Morieux's terms, the 'cornerstone for the surveillance of foreigners throughout the revolutionary period'.³⁵⁹

That emigrants were the subject of bureaucratic surveillance is well known, and has been discussed by commentators including Nichola Deane, Durey, Benis and Simpson (Benis, p. 35; Simpson, p. 21).³⁶⁰ More compellingly, perhaps, emigrants were also the target of a derogatory rhetoric of 'unfeeling suspicion', a sensibility dramatised by Smith's Madame D'Alberg in *The Banished Man*,³⁶¹ who characterised these interlopers as untrustworthy and threatening. Madame D'Alberg's views are wholly aligned with the government's warnings about a 'formidable body' of people acting 'in the most outrageous manner' (*Parliamentary History*, p. 193). The government's response, specifically their 'paranoid discourse' as Simpson terms it (p. 22), was calculated not only to examine and collect information about emigrants, but to categorise emigrant bodies as that which required monitoring; they situated them as 'risky' individuals (Jane Ogden's term).³⁶² As Smith suggests in 'The Hungarian', the Act and those acting under it shrewdly asserted that certain bodies, foreign bodies to be precise, could not be trusted, with her emigrant protagonist bemoaning: 'I do not know in what light I was represented at the places where my jailers stopped for refreshment; but I believe it was as an enemy to the British government' ('The Hungarian', p. 264). Numerous politicians worked to warn the public against allowing in an 'influx of foreigners' with what Lord Beauchamp deemed the 'most questionable characters' (*Parliamentary History*, p. 197). The Marquis of Titchfield cautioned that 'circumstances in the country were in the highest

³⁵⁹ Renaud Morieux, *The Channel: England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 297.

³⁶⁰ Nichola Deane, 'Reading Romantic Letters: Charlotte Smith at the Huntington', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 66.3 (2003), 393–410, pp. 396–97; Michael Durey, 'William Wickham, the Christ Church Connection and the Rise and Fall of the Security Service in Britain, 1793–1801', *English Historical Review*, 121 (2006), 714–45, p. 726.

³⁶¹ Charlotte Turner Smith, *The Banished Man*, IV vols., Vol. I (London: T. Cadell, 1794), p. 15.

³⁶² Jane Ogden, 'Psychosocial Theory and the Creation of the Risky Self', *Social Science and Medicine*, 40.3 (1995), 409–15, p. 413.

degree critical’, while Michael Angelo Taylor (MP for Poole 1791–1796) advertised the ‘alarming’ threat of ‘riots and insurrection’ that he felt emigrants brought with them (*Parliamentary History*, p. 194). Smith was writing at a time when emigrants were always potentially dangerous. The Bill’s challengers, including Fox (MP for Westminster 1785–1806), recognised this rhetoric and even parodied the government’s language of suspicion, doubting the ‘external danger’ aliens were said to present (*Parliamentary History*, p. 193). But despite opposition, with Smith herself railing against the government’s ‘pusillanimous apprehensions’ (*Banished Man*, p. 7), most of the government still engaged in a lexicon that categorised foreign bodies as potential ‘mal-contents’, ‘wretches’ and ‘wanton innovat[ors]’ (*Parliamentary History*, p. 197). Via this consciously detrimental rhetoric, the government situated emigrants as individuals who warranted surveillance – in the paranoid discourse of the nation state, they were a threat to polite society (Simpson, pp. 22, 46).

Smith herself seemed to identify that government rhetoric of this kind was now reaching a much wider audience, and engineers an exchange in *What Is She?* between aspiring politician Tim Period and his uncle, Ap-Griffiths, as a means of critiquing through her fictional proxies the pervasive yet ‘dissonant language of the law’ (III. v. 50). Certainly, during Smith’s active years politicians had become acutely aware of a growing public regard for parliamentary proceedings, and realised that with newspapers’ expanding practice of publishing members’ speeches, they were, as Christopher Reid asserts, ‘no longer simply addressing parliament and the house – they were also addressing the wider public’.³⁶³ Contributors to the *Morning Chronicle*, such as Robert Macfarlane, for instance, exploited while also arousing the public’s ‘dramatic interest’ in parliamentary activities with animated narratives that often took up half

³⁶³ Christopher Reid, *Imprison’d Wranglers: The Rhetorical Culture of the House of Commons 1760–1800* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 11.

a paper's space.³⁶⁴ One anonymous writer in 1798 even attested that the newspaper Macfarlane wrote for gained much 'celebrity and currency [...] by the insertion of speeches in Parliament'.³⁶⁵ With increasing numbers of people exposed to parliamentary rhetoric, prominent ministers saw an opportunity to take advantage of what Reid calls the 'new tribunal of newspaper readers' (p. 11). When Parliament came to debate the government's Alien Act, for instance, Gilbert Elliot (MP for Helston 1790–1795) openly – and in all likelihood knowingly – vowed to 'zealously co-operate' in both his 'public and private capacity' with the government's 'exertions' to 'save the country from the evident attacks mediated against it' (*Parliamentary History*, p. 192).

The government, then, engaged in a dialectic of directed surveillance that targeted emigrants and encouraged others to do the same, both publicly and privately – an issue that we will see Smith consciously responds to in *What Is She?*. Where the medical practitioners and writers of the previous chapter encouraged people to scrutinise bodies they deemed physiologically 'abnormal', so too the British government in the late-eighteenth century actively encouraged its citizens to monitor 'alien' bodies. The government had created, in Simpson's view, a climate of 'heightened political urgency', where bodies could easily slip from 'friend' to 'enemy' (p. 22). As such, society came to consider emigrants, in Foucault's terms, 'at the level of [their] potentialities' (*ses virtualitiés*) – not for what they did but for what they might do.³⁶⁶ Subsequently, newspapers relayed the government's surveillant discourse and reported that it was incumbent on upstanding members of the community to identify and discriminate against individuals with foreign names on lists of local inhabitants, as *The Morning Post and*

³⁶⁴ Christopher Reid, 'The Power of Political Oratory', 12 March 2012, in *Queen Mary University of London News*, <<http://www.qmul.ac.uk/research/news/features/65541.html>> [accessed 18 April 2017], para. 5 of 17.

³⁶⁵ Anonymous, 'Review of Literature: *The History of the Reign of George the Third from the Conclusion of the seventeenth session of the sixteenth Parliament, in 1790, to the end of the sixth session of the seventeenth Parliament, in 1796*. By Robert Macfarlane', in *The Monthly Mirror: Reflecting Men and Manners*, Vol. V (London: J. Wright, 1798), pp. 28–29, at p. 28.

³⁶⁶ Michel Foucault, 'Truth and Juridical Forms', in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, trans. Robert Hurley, ed. James D. Faubion, Vol. 3 (London: Penguin, 1994), pp. 1–89, at p. 57.

Gazetteer did: ‘petty constables, tythingmen, and other peace officers of every parish [should provide...] complete accounts of the names of men usually, and at this time, dwelling within each parish [...], particularising the names of Aliens and Quakers’.³⁶⁷ Likewise, many writers of fiction echoed government sentiment and preached the threat emigrants posed to national security, as can be seen in Thomas J. Mathias’s *The Pursuits of Literature* (1798):

I have charity for the plundered exiles; I have pity and would give relief to the wretched and the suffering [...] But I have, and it is an Englishman’s duty to have, a watchful eye upon the insinuating or domineering Romish church [...] I call upon the guardians of our church and state to be watchful, and to regard with attention the proceedings of ALL THE EMIGRANTS.³⁶⁸

Given the popularity of books such as Mathias’s, which reached eleven editions in its first four years, and the widespread publication of parliamentary proceedings, it is perhaps unsurprising that late-eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century publics also absorbed and adopted the invasive mechanisms of observation advanced by the government and disseminated by presses. Indeed, I argue that it is precisely this crisis of imagination around the emigrant threat and the influence that the government’s policies exerted on the public’s sense of duty that Smith both responds to and critiques in *What Is She?*.

Smith’s comedy, as I suggest in section 3.3, carefully and deliberately attends to the way in which late-eighteenth-century communities, exposed to the government’s surveillant rhetoric against aliens, began themselves to engage in and propagate surveillant practice. One such community is revealed by an anonymous Denbigh freeholder in 1798. In a letter to his MP,

³⁶⁷ ‘News’, *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, 29 September 1801.

³⁶⁸ Thomas J. Mathias, *The Pursuits of Literature*, 7th edn. (London: T. Beckett, 1798), p. 198.

the freeholder proposes that society should actively monitor certain ‘classes’ of emigrant, internalising the government’s judgement that certain French emigrants ‘must be enemies to the country which affords them relief and subsistence’.³⁶⁹ The letter is vital to our understanding of women’s experience of surveillance in Smith’s *What Is She?* because, through its derogatory terminology and support of surveillant action, it publicises the ways in which local communities, specifically members of rural communities in Wales such as Mrs Derville’s, had begun to adopt the government’s own set of surveillant practices, taking up their duty to be ‘watchful’ (*Pursuits of Literature*, p. 198):

To implicate in the same condemnation, and to expel without distinction as well those who have really done wrong, as those against whom there is no imputation, would be to confound the innocent with the guilty [... But there are] foreigners who may be mistrusted, over whom Ministers cannot keep too watchful an eye; with regard to whom the slightest grounds of suspicion may very easily be converted into a presumption for guilt (*Denbigh Letter*, pp. 3, 20).

The freeholder explains that he reads the same paper Macfarlane wrote for (p. 12), and (as in his above statement) makes clear that although he does not agree that *all* emigrants should be targeted and expelled, he does believe that particular groups of emigrants should be monitored. He mirrors the divisive language employed by the government. Where Jones (Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt Jones, MP for Denbigh Boroughs 1797–1802)³⁷⁰ repeatedly expressed

³⁶⁹ ‘A Freeholder’, *Letter of a Freeholder to Mr Jones, Member of Parliament for the Borough of Denbigh on the Subject of his Motion against French Emigrants* (London: Wright, 1798), pp. 2, 19.

³⁷⁰ For more on Thomas Tyrwhitt Jones, 1st Baronet (1765–1811) of Carreghofa – a parish of Llanymynech, see History of Parliament Trust, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1790–1820*, ed. R. G. Thorne, 5 vols., Vol. IV (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986), pp. 324–27.

alarm in Parliament at the presence of French émigrés in Britain,³⁷¹ at one point satirised by James Gillray for the ‘burlesque’ tenor of his Francophobic discourse (Fig. 7),³⁷² so too the freeholder stresses that a ‘watchful eye’ should be directed at certain foreign bodies, as many were known to have ‘intrigued, babbled, and caballed in every direction’ (pp. 19–20). The freeholder echoes the terminology of Robert Banks Jenkinson (MP for Rye 1790–1802), who ‘distinguished between the culpable and the innocent emigrants’,³⁷³ with his proposition that aliens should be scrutinised and subsequently categorised as either ‘true’ or ‘false’; the former being ‘real Emigrants’ whose horror at the ‘revolutionary doctrines’ forced them to ‘leave a devoted country’, and the latter being those who came to Britain with suspect motives (pp. 17–20). However ‘exorbitant’, ‘extravagant’ and ‘scandalous’ Jones’s views may have appeared to the author, then, he still unconsciously submits to the invasive mechanisms of surveillance the government enforced against emigrants (*Denbigh Letter*, pp. 2–4). He engages in what Lyon terms an ‘exclusionary form of power’ that, as today, targets foreign bodies and seeks to identify and categorise them as ‘desirable’ or ‘undesirable’.³⁷⁴ Coded in the freeholder’s statement is both a recognition of the existing surveillant structures directed at all emigrants, and a complicity in a rhetoric of surveillance that sought to monitor and categorise emigrant bodies as inherently risky and ‘different’. What’s more, we need to recognise that it is hardly a coincidence that in *What Is She?* Charlotte Smith would choose to reflect on the sentiments of this cautious and vigilant Welsh public represented in the freeholder’s letter.

³⁷¹ Jones discussed the French on the 22 February, as well as the 12 and 29 of March 1798, see: *House of Commons, 1790–1820*, p. 325.

³⁷² Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. 7: Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, 1793–1800* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1978), p. 560.

³⁷³ Taken from Banks Jenkinson’s speech made during the debate in the Commons on the Alien Bill, 4 January 1793, cited in *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, Vol. XXX (1792–1794) (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Browne, 1817), p. 205.

³⁷⁴ David Lyon, ‘Surveillance, Power and Everyday Life’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Information and Communication Technologies*, eds. Robin Mansell, Chrisanthi Avgerou, Danny Quah and Roger Silverstone (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 449–72, at p. 453.

3.2. Charlotte Smith and the Emigrant Experience

In a recent study, Adriana Craciun observes that Smith locates suffering and displacement in a ‘larger political and cultural matrix’.³⁷⁵ Craciun acknowledges the ways in which Smith’s works consciously, often directly and in specific forms, engage with their contemporary contexts. Smith uses what is now her best-known poem ‘The Emigrants’ as an undisguised vehicle for social and political commentary that pities the position and pain of aristocratic and clerical émigrés, even as it recognises their ‘complicity in *ancien regime* oppression’ (Craciun, p. 102):

But more the men, whose ill acquire’d wealth
Was wrung from plunder’d myriads, by the means
Too often legaliz’d by power abus’d
Feel all the horrors of the fatal change (*The Emigrants*, I. 26–27).

I would add that it is precisely here, at this political and cultural nexus in Smith’s works, where we need to focus new attention. Smith’s travels around Britain and visits to Wales, a setting she also used in her novels *Emmeline*, *Desmond* and *The Banished Man*, had furnished her with an informed view of public opinion and of their actions towards ‘aliens’, and we can see this reflected in her work. The freeholder’s letter points to how an example from material culture can facilitate our understanding of the complex ways in which Smith’s work engaged with precisely this emigrant experience as well as absorbed the tensions of the era. Indeed, by

³⁷⁵ Adriana Craciun, ‘Citizens of the World: Émigrés, Romantic Cosmopolitanism and Charlotte Smith’, in *Nineteenth-Century Worlds: Global Formations Past and Present*, eds. Keith Hanley and Greg Kucich (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 97–115, at p. 102.

concentrating on items of material culture we are able to see precisely how *What Is She?*, in a similar manner to Smith's other more discussed works, signals its engagement with the political tensions of the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

'The Brazilian coif, and *émigrée* cloak, with the Minerva helmet, are ornaments of considerable elegance; but are best adapted to the carriage costume' – so claimed *La Belle Assemblée's* editorial devoted to the latest and most exciting fashions from Paris and London for the 1808 autumn season.³⁷⁶ The accompanying plate in the popular Georgian ladies' magazine reveals that the *émigrée* cloak, designed to be worn with a walking dress, was a particularly imposing sight (Fig. 8). It featured elaborate *passementerie* detail at the lace neck as well as what are described as mother of pearl buttons, it was braided with gold or silver cord at the hem, and fastened at the waist with tassels.³⁷⁷ But it was the choice of simple fabric, namely 'morone muslin over white cambric' (*La Belle*, p. 139), that ensured the high-collared robe epitomised the height of early nineteenth-century fashion.³⁷⁸ The cloak was among a range of popular, free-flowing garments worn by fashionable Parisiennes that signalled a clear departure from the old aristocratic order to a new political era.³⁷⁹ Whereas previous eras had favoured formal, full-skirted attire with stiff bodices, the adoption of the *émigrée* cloak's soft, non-restrictive fabric coincided with the free-thinking principles of French Revolutionaries and channelled the aesthetics of Ancient Greece and Rome since, in part at least, such democratic, self-governing cultures 'offered intriguing alternatives in terms

³⁷⁶ 'Fashions for October 1808', in *La Belle Assemblée, being Bell's court and fashionable magazine, addressed particularly to the Ladies*, Vol. V (London: J. Bell, 1808), pp. 137–41, at p. 140. See also, Alison Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814 to 1840* (London: Faber and Faber, 2012), pp. 224–25.

³⁷⁷ Claire B. Shaeffer, *Couture Sewing Techniques* (Newtown: Taunton Press, 1993), p. 204.

³⁷⁸ For more on the popularity of muslin in France, as influenced partly by Marie Antoinette, see Harold Koda and Andrew Bolton, *Dangerous Liaisons: Fashion and Furniture in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 26; Betty-Bright P. Low, 'Of Muslins and Merveilleuses: Excerpts from the Letters of Josephine du Pont and Margaret Manigault', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 9 (1974), 29–75.

³⁷⁹ *Journal des Dames et des Modes* features numerous fashion plates from the era depicting 'Costume Parisienne', most of which depict loose-fitting, muslin garments, for instance 'Turban à la Gulnaire. Corset et jupon à la Lisbeth' (Fig. 9). See also, Chertsey Museum, 'Vanity Fair: Fashions of the 19th Century', in *Chertsey Museum*, <<http://chertseymuseum.org/vanityfair>> [accessed 15 March 2017], para. 6 of 16.

of lifestyle, design and politics' (Chertsey Museum, para. 6).³⁸⁰ As Susan L. Siegfried points out, every day clothing came to be 'infused with political and social meanings'.³⁸¹ The loosely fitted design of the cloak was not, however, confined to the streets of France. As early nineteenth-century newspapers show, demand for garments such as the emigrée cloak unsurprisingly spread to and around British shores. Extracts from *La Belle Assemblée's* feature on the robe were reprinted in various national newspapers, from London, to the Norfolk coast and across to Wales.³⁸² But far from merely constituting the 'must-have' fashion of the season, the emigrée cloak reflects a complex dynamic between Britain and France in the 1790s and early 1800s.

Although cultural relations between France and Britain during the Napoleonic Wars remained, as Kirsty Carpenter suggests, surprisingly 'cordial',³⁸³ with regard to British enthusiasm for French fashion, wine and even governesses³⁸⁴ (as portrayed in Maria Edgeworth's *The Good French Governess* 1801), in political terms relations between the two states were under extreme pressure. As the *Monthly Magazine* was to reflect in 1803, throughout the 1790s and 1800s 'it ha[d] been wise in France to threaten, and it ha[d] been wise in England to prepare'.³⁸⁵ Indeed, by the time the emigrée cloak was popularised in the early 1800s, the British government had, as we have seen, worked hard to alert the nation to

³⁸⁰ It is important to note that interest in antiquity dates from the Renaissance but that, as Aileen Ribeiro reports, during the eighteenth century this admiration 'turned into a desire to put into practice some of the tenets expressed by the political philosophers of the ancient world': *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750 to 1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 135.

³⁸¹ Susan L. Siegfried, 'The Visual Culture of Fashion and the Classical Ideal in Post-Revolutionary France', *The Art Bulletin*, 97.1 (2015), 77–99, at p. 88.

³⁸² 'Fashions', *Bury and Norwich Post: Or, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, and Ely Advertiser*, 05 October 1808; 'Fashions for the present Month', *The Cambrian, and general weekly advertiser for the principality of Wales*, 08 October 1808, pp. 4.

³⁸³ Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789–1802* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 1999), p. xv.

³⁸⁴ For instance, an anonymous family placed an advert in *The Morning Post* for a 'respectable Seminary of Female Education, a LADY, who writes and speaks the French language with ease, purity, and elegance', with the note that 'to an émigré of pleasing disposition, the situation would be eligible and advantageous'. 'Advertisements and Notices', *Morning Post*, 17 October 1810, pp. 1.

³⁸⁵ Anonymous, 'State of Public Affairs, in September 1803', in *Monthly Magazine*, Vol. XVI (London: Richard Phillips, 1803), pp. 274–77, at p. 274.

the danger France and French ideas posed, and passed legislation such as the Traitorous Correspondences Act of May 1793 (33. Geo. III, C27) that assumed any connections with France were inherently suspicious. For nearly a decade, ever since the Alien Act had afforded the government the power to ‘remove those Aliens who were suspected of machination against the state, and whose presence was thought dangerous’, British coastal towns and cities had been encouraged to identify and register all foreign arrivals.³⁸⁶ The *Caledonian Mercury*, for example, regularly regaled readers with stories of suspicious émigrés ‘conducted out of the Kingdom’ for incorrect paperwork,³⁸⁷ or on suspicion of involvement in ‘active and dangerous correspondence’ between Britain and ‘the enemy’.³⁸⁸ Today, then, the emigrée cloak advertises its connection to the Alien Act and the paranoid discourse of the era. More than a mere high-fashion item, the cloak (in name and in unconstrained French style) was a fashion choice guaranteed to attract attention. The chic fabric and ‘modest’ price appealed to customers,³⁸⁹ many of them likely supplied by Mary Ann Bell – fashion editor at *La Belle Assemblée* – in her Bloomsbury shop *Magazin de Modes*.³⁹⁰ However, in a subtlety seemingly lost on its aristocratic wearers, the cloak was also allied with those regarded as sympathetic to political upheaval and revolution – the émigré – at a time when such alliances could be unwise.³⁹¹

Authors in the 1790s and 1800s were evidently aware of, or actively engaged with, the tensions that these neo-classical fashions absorbed. As Edmund Burke (1729–1797) put it in

³⁸⁶ ‘British Parliament’, *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post*, 29 May 1800.

³⁸⁷ ‘News’, *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 May 1802.

³⁸⁸ ‘News’, *Aberdeen Journal*, 11 August 1800.

³⁸⁹ Mary Ann Bell, ‘Newest London and Parisian Fashions for January’, in *The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons*, Vol. VI (London: J. Bell, 1829), pp. 7–12, at p. 7.

³⁹⁰ Alison Adburgham, *Women in Print: Writing Women and Women’s Magazines from the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1972), p. 226; Doris Straus, ‘Fashion, The High Life, and “The Duties of Married Females”’: 19th Century Fashion-Plate Magazines’, 25 September 2014, in *New York Public Library Blog*,

<<https://www.nypl.org/blog/2014/09/25/19th-century-fashion-plate-magazines>> [accessed 28 March 2017].

³⁹¹ Émigrés were regarded with immense suspicion by the British and even the French governments. They were, as Carpenter explains, ‘very vulnerable to accusations and scrutiny of all kinds whether founded or speculative’ because they were inexplicably tied to ideas of Revolution, political upheaval and conflict. For more, see Carpenter, pp. xiv–xv, 36.

Letters on a Regicide Peace (1796): ‘Nothing in the Revolution, no, not to a phrase or gesture, not to the fashion of a hat or shoe, was left to accident’.³⁹² In *What Is She?*, through her reference to the politicised French trend of lightweight fabrics unsuitable for British climes, Smith too puts in tension the British ‘fashionable world’ and the harsh realities of life in the 1800s. ‘No woman of spirit’, she suggests in *What Is She?*, ‘ever thinks about climate or seasons – gauzes, muslins, cobwebs, in winter – furs, gold lace, and velvets, in summer – ’tis the system’ (II. iii. 23). These words, spoken by the ‘systematic coxcomb’ Jargon, satirise unthinking aristocratic women (V. i. 73). Although Smith does not directly engage with the emigrée cloak itself, we can see that through Jargon’s ridicule of Lady Zephyrine’s ‘assumed follies’ (V. i. 71), and Lady Zephyrine’s cruel mocking of her peers, the calculating comedy both recognises the continued cultural influence of France and telegraphs the author’s unease about the upper-class echelons of society and their inability to perceive anything beyond the superficial:

Lady Zephyrine: Ha, ha! – don’t you remember how poor old Mrs Parchment (*mimicking the appearance of a person cold*) used to be shivering through a frosty night, and a thin opera, in a silver muslin, with her arms squeez’d to her sides, and the natural crabbedness of her features improved by angular contractions, till she gave one the idea of a petrified mummy? [...] Then, there was poor Lady Lovemode got a quinzy³⁹³ by going to see the skaters in Hyde-Park in an Otaheite [Tahitian]³⁹⁴ chemise (II. iii. 23–24).

³⁹² Edmund Burke, ‘Three Letters to a Member of Parliament on the Proposals for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France’, in *The Works of Edmund Burke*, 12 vols., Vol. 5 (London: J. C. Nimmo, 1887), pp. 233–508, at p. 311.

³⁹³ ‘Inflammation or swelling of the throat or part of the throat’, for example tonsillitis. See ‘Quinzy, *n.*’, in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/156685?redirectedFrom=quinzy#eid>> [accessed 17 June 2017].

Smith questions ‘aristocratic privilege’, something Fletcher recognises she did in *Emmeline* (1788).³⁹⁵ By means of several seemingly trivial examples in the play of women who used fashion to distract from the ‘Dog-days’ of war, Smith inherently criticises her sex’s naivety and refusal to engage with real-world issues; in Kathryn Pratt’s terms, she demonstrates an ‘awareness of the cultural positioning of woman as the figure of potential excess’ (II. iii. 23).³⁹⁶ Jargon’s flippant speeches about what is ‘in’ and what is ‘out’ lampoon the current state of societal value (II. i. 17):

Our business is to push fashions, oaths, phrases, shrugs, and gestures. Let a mode be ever to[o] ridiculous, stamp it with the name of one of our order, and it passes current. Absurdity, absurdity is the grand secret to which we owe our success (II. i. 17).

As his name suggests and as the rest of the play demonstrates, Jargon is acutely aware of the meaningless talk that occupies the public sphere and plays to the trivial whims of fashionable women. The overt observation of Jargon’s mocking exchanges with the ‘fickle minded’ Lady Zephyrine is that people are wearing and even laughing at these inconsequential fashions, these ‘modern whim whams’, but that they do not recognise the political symbolism of the clothing (III. i. 28; IV. i. 59); the cloak and other clothes like it, have had their radical charge absorbed.

³⁹⁴ ‘Otaheite’ comes from Samuel Wallis’s records of first encountering Tahiti in 1767. Linguists later realised the ‘O’ was not properly part of the name, see Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 187.

³⁹⁵ Loraine Fletcher, ‘Introduction’, in *Emmeline*, ed. Loraine Fletcher (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2003), pp. 9–35, at p. 9.

³⁹⁶ Kathryn Pratt, ‘Charlotte Smith’s Melancholia on Page and Stage’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 41.3 (2001), 563–81, p. 565.

Smith ostensibly continues in the vein she began in her preface to *Desmond* (1792), where she had addressed women's engagement with political culture: 'It is said that women have no business with politics – Why not? – Have they no interest in the scenes that are acting around them?'.³⁹⁷ I argue, then, that in a body of work both praised for its sentimentality and critiqued for its favourable presentation of the French Revolution (Fletcher, p. 1),³⁹⁸ Smith's *What Is She?* offers us a valuable lens through which to examine how *women* processed the tense and complex political context of the Georgian era. She directs us to the tensions later realised in the emigrée cloak as (in Garnai's terms) she 'calls to attention the concerns of the revolutionary decade' (p. 13) and offers a voice to the liminal and displaced bodies of those who had found themselves both stared at and silenced. Though neglected in Guest's discussion of surveillance and Smith, *What Is She?* valuably reflects on, while it complicates our sense of, the climate of suspicion created by the government. It forces us to question why foreigners, particularly women, were suddenly made visible. Indeed, Smith's work was both determined to engage with politics as it affected women and determined to address pernicious scrutinising practice in late-eighteenth-century communities, for she was acutely aware that Britain had not just borrowed French fashion, as *La Belle Assemblée's* 'emprunt' [borrower] Mary Ann Bell had,³⁹⁹ but had become an *emprunteur* [borrower] of what Elizabeth Sparrow calls 'the much despised French system of secret police' (p. 362).

³⁹⁷ Charlotte Smith, *Desmond*, 3 vols., Vol. I (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1792), p. iii.

³⁹⁸ The Anti-Jacobin review critiqued Smith for her Jacobin novels, see 'Art V: *The Young Philosopher*, A Novel by Charlotte Smith', *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, Vol. I (London: J. Whittle, 1799), pp. 187–90; Jacqueline Labbe, *Charlotte Smith: Romanticism, Poetry and the Culture of Gender* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 50.

³⁹⁹ 'Newest London and Parisian Fashions for May', in *The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons*, Vol. VI (London: J. Bell, 1829), pp. 104–08, at p. 106.

3.3. Visibility, Social Control & Unmasking in *What Is She?*

What Is She? captures a time of political anxiety in which ‘all strangers [had] become a potential threat’ that required monitoring by the watchful eye of British communities and, I argue, also leads us to resonant insights into the ways in which late-eighteenth-century residents engaged in regimes of discipline (Simpson, p. 22). Smith’s narratives are jointly preoccupied with the precarious position of displaced bodies and with the ‘invisible frameworks’ (Lyon’s term)⁴⁰⁰ of surveillance that underpinned community interactions at this time. Through the intensity of the characters’ curiosity about Mrs Derville, and their efforts to discover their new neighbour’s history, the play addresses the ways in which these communities attempted to regulate unknown identities – particularly women’s. Smith’s play leads us to examine the issues of social control and discipline recently discussed by Michalis Lianos, which arise from the exposure and supervision of certain individuals in the community.⁴⁰¹ When we add the insights of contemporary surveillance discourse to Charlotte Smith scholarship, in particular recent work by Reinhard Kreissl and colleagues on naming and tracking, we are able to identify in clearer terms the regimes of discipline that are in operation in Smith’s play. A hybrid criticism of this kind illuminates the precise ways in which Mrs Derville, along with other displaced bodies, represented what Kreissl refers to as a ‘transitory and anonymous’ threat to the local community, which had to be tracked, identified and de-anonymised, something Smith criticism has yet to consider.⁴⁰²

In an analogous fashion to the hermaphrodites of the previous chapter, *What Is She*’s Mrs Derville is rendered ‘super-visible’; she is pushed above what Steeves and Bailey term ‘the

⁴⁰⁰ David Lyon, *Surveillance Society: Monitoring Everyday Life* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2005), p. 8.

⁴⁰¹ Michalis Lianos, ‘Social Control After Foucault’, *Surveillance & Society*, 1.3 (2003), 412–30, at p. 412.

⁴⁰² Reinhard Kreissl, Clive Norris, Marija Krlic, Leroy Groves and Anthony Amicelle, ‘Surveillance: Preventing and detecting crime and terrorism’, in *Surveillance in Europe*, eds. David Wright and Reinhard Kreissl (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 150–210, at p. 157.

fair threshold of visibility'.⁴⁰³ Whereas the other women characters in *What Is She?* court the stares of their peers, with Lady Zephyrine in particular 'anxious for the reputation of singularity', Mrs Derville is made visible without her consent (I. i. 11). She complicates the understanding of visibility as desirable that is set forth by characters Period and Sir Caustic Oldstyle (Lord Orton and Lady Zephyrine's uncle), who submit that at the time it was 'the custom of people of rank to [...] be visible every where, and to every body' because they endeavoured to be 'seen' in the fashionable world (IV. i. 55). Even though she has adamantly expressed that she does not wish to have her 'rest disturbed by the evesdropping' of the village's 'clowns' (I. i. 6), Mrs Derville suffers Lord Orton's repeated inquiries and examinations: 'Madam! – Mrs Derville – would you not deign to confirm your good opinion of me, by explaining the mystery which hangs about you' (I. i. 11). In spite of her protestations, even Sir Caustic who is briefly returned to the village, takes it upon himself to look 'at her attentively' and ask, 'surely I think I have seen you before, were you ever in Cornwall?' (III. iv. 43–44). She is the unwilling target of a covilliant gaze – surveillance from her neighbours and peers – that makes her, in Mann, Nolan and Wellman's terms, 'observable and accountable to all' (Mann et al., p. 347).

The uncertainty that surrounds Mrs Derville almost invites such covilliance. She is the figure that late-eighteenth-century society had been taught to watch and suspect: the anonymous outsider (Simpson, p. 22). Her image is constantly shifting, and purposefully shifted, in a way that is made very much to depend on who is watching (III. ii. 32). Jargon desires to 'puff [her] in the papers – stare [her] into notice at the Theatre', even at one point attesting that she will 'make such a blaze' in London society, because to him she is a spectacle (IV. ii. 64), but

⁴⁰³ Valerie Steeves and Jane Bailey, 'Living in the Mirror: Understanding Young Women's Experiences with Social Networking', in *Expanding the Gaze*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 56–83, at p. 76.

to the play's aspiring novelist Mrs Gurnet, Mrs Derville is the unlikely heroine of an imagined Romance novel:

Mrs Gurnet (To Mrs Derville, in a Romantic tone): But really, young woman. I can't think you were born in the station you appear in. I shou'd like to hear your history. Nay, if you will, I'll write – four volumes, interspersed with pieces of poetry – call it translated from the German – 'twill be delightful. I have a moonlight scene, a dungeon, and a jealous husband – all ready done (II. iii. 24–25).

To Lady Zephyrine she is 'some adventurer' (III. i. 28), to Sir Caustic she is a 'young gentlewoman' (III. iv. 44), to Lord Orton she must be of 'noble birth', while to Winifred Mrs Derville is so akin to 'farmer Gloom, or farmer Hoard-grain's daughters' that the maid questions why the Lord 'persist[s] in believing her higher born than she says she is' (I. i. 4). Ultimately, *What Is She?* ensures that Mrs Derville is unknowable: an interloper who will neither confirm nor deny her neighbours' suspicions and thereby remains a 'risky' individual who could be either friend or foe (Ogden, p. 413; Simpson, p. 22).

Smith's play codes an awareness not just of surveillant structures, then, but of mechanisms of control as they affected ordinary women. No longer tied to 'narrow social and geographical space[s]', emigrants such as Mrs Derville summoned the attention of locals because their anonymity – their unknowability – posed a threat to the social order of previously stable groups (Kreissl et al., p. 157). Kreissl comments that 'in stable, village communities no one ever raises the question of who is who' because they have no need to, and it is easy for local people to 'spot and identify deviant behaviour and deviant individuals' (p. 157). In other words, in small communities everyone is known and accountable. They are transparent, 'safe'

bodies.⁴⁰⁴ In the already established context of the social and political changes accelerated by the French Revolution, however, Smith's Mrs Derville seems to represent the mobile and as yet unidentifiable individuals beginning to trouble such communities at the end of the eighteenth century. More specifically, she represents the emigrants who 'raise[d] suspicion by the mere fact that they dare[d] to present something that [was] not entirely visually accessible to the viewer' – an opacity Rachel Hall identifies in certain travellers today.⁴⁰⁵

Although Hall's work focuses on passengers at airports, her theories help us to recognise that Mrs Derville is exposed to a similar regime of discipline as today's mobile citizens are: she finds herself in a community that expects she will perform transparency and will display a willingness to identify herself, and when she does not, she finds herself the target of a disciplinary power that seeks to expose her (Hall, *Transparent Traveler*, p. 111). The village's other inhabitants demand that Mrs Derville answers their various queries about her, with their questions succinctly repeated by Sir Caustic in the later stages of the play: 'Eh! What! Who told you to depart? How should I know you were unhappy? Who are you? Where are you going?' (V. iii. 81). Mrs Derville's continued refusal to confirm her status and origins is subsequently perceived as a threat that needs to be controlled (as it would be today in airports).⁴⁰⁶ Indeed, in Lord Orton's words, such deliberate opacity as Mrs Derville's demands surveillant intervention (with the Lord plotting to hide in a closet and spy on her): 'Does not the mystery, nay, the conduct of Mrs Derville justify me?' (III. v. 47). Winifred is even entreated to help with the scheme to observe and expose Mrs Derville in the interests of ending society's 'torment' over her:

⁴⁰⁴ Rachel Hall, *The Transparent Traveller: The Performance and Culture of Airport Security* (Durham and New York: Duke University Press, 2015), p. 76.

⁴⁰⁵ Rachel Hall, 'Terror and the Female Grotesque: Introducing Full-Body Scanners to U.S. Airports', in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 127–49, at p. 127.

⁴⁰⁶ Hall explains that airline passengers who refuse to bow to the pressure 'to perform voluntary transparency' by submitting to screening by full-body scanners are considered dangerous bodies (Hall, 'Terror and the Female Grotesque', pp. 128, 132).

Winifred: There, there, you'll be safe enough; my mistress never uses this closet, and to make sure, I'll lock it and take the key – I wish tho' my Lord had done with his trials and disguises; he'll certainly get me into some scrape at last (IV. ii. 61).

So too Period recognises that although the surveillance of one's peers is immoral, it is necessary in Mrs Derville's case because it functions as a legitimate means to ease the community's 'doubts and anxiety' (III. v. 48) over this 'risky' individual (Ogden, p. 413):

Belford: You shall get yourself installed at the Abbey – pretend a passion for her [Mrs Derville] as we originally plann'd [...and] by means of my intelligence with Winifred, I can get concealed during your first interview.

Period: 'Tis eaves dropping, my Lord, and liable to action. However, as you please, and I think your Lordship is authorised to take down the evidence in short hand (III. v. 46–48).

Coded in these exchanges is the community's engagement with a scopic regime concerned with disciplining bodies (rendering them 'safe') by tracking and de-anonymising them. Lord Orton and Period, with Winifred's assistance, exercise direct supervision in order to gather information about Mrs Derville and ensure she does not pose a threat, something Dandeker and Giddens recognise as supervisory control (Dandeker, pp. 32, 37; Giddens, p. 13). They

engage with a disciplinary power that seeks to render Mrs Derville a 'docile' and transparent body.⁴⁰⁷

Although the characters in Smith's play could be regarded as acting impulsively and without clear agenda in their observations, Mrs Derville's neighbours do not merely wish her to be open about her identity, but also want to ensure it fits into a safe, socially acceptable tale, one that conforms to societal expectation. They expect her to acquiesce to their requests to reveal her identity. The neighbours are obsessive in their desire to find out the 'truth' about Mrs Derville, and this objective regularly morphs into their controlling how she appears. Lord Orton, for instance, is horrified at the thought that there may be 'any thing improper in Mrs Derville's conduct' and quickly works to ascertain whether or not she is the 'village handmaid of iniquity' (IV. ii. 66), dismissing any conversation not directly relevant to his inquiries: 'What news! Does it concern me; does it relate to Mrs Derville?' (I. i. 3). Throughout, the play develops this connection between Lord Orton's distrust of the mysterious Mrs Derville and his frantic desire to uncover and control his beloved's identity. His affection is, as Saglia points out, contingent upon 'the possibility that Mrs Derville's story coincides with a socially irreproachable narrative' (p. 152).

In its acts of observation directed against Mrs Derville, the community is, as Saglia contends, actively engaged in 'establishing, controlling and ultimately coercing Mrs Derville's identity' from her (p. 151). More precisely, I would argue, they participate in a surveillant mechanism of discipline that expects her to conform to societal expectation and perform her own transparency, as Lord Orton, Lady Zephyrine, Mrs Gurnet, Period, Sir Caustic and even Winifred, all attempt to force Mrs Derville's identity from her. By recognising Mrs Derville as an 'unknown', the community interprets her as a body that, in Mia Fischer's terms, needs

⁴⁰⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1977), p. 138.

to be contained,⁴⁰⁸ and subsequently subjects her to a ‘disciplinary machinery’ that seeks to control her (a classic function of surveillance, in Foucauldian mode) (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 143). *What Is She?*, then, uses observation and scrutiny to code a coveillant force aimed at compelling Mrs Derville into submission, and that relentlessly targets and persecutes the displaced body for its opacity, its riskiness.

3.4. Strategies of Resistance and the New Public Self

To this point we have considered how surveillance theory can assist in illuminating aspects of a little-known Smith play. By the same token, *What Is She?* can help us to understand how coveillant structures of discipline operate in the modern age. In this coda, I’m interested in the strategies employed by *What Is She?* both to celebrate women’s ability to disguise themselves and to explore the construction of what I term a ‘new public self’. This outward-facing version of the female self offers the possibility of protecting overly scrutinised groups from some of the more egregious aspects of coveillance. Indeed, where we have seen that Smith’s contemporary and friend Sophia Lee offered her heroines the chance to restore their reputations and resist further maltreatment for perceived (sexual) transgressions, we see that Smith’s play is similarly interested in developing gendered resilience in the face of social discipline. The play, after all, occludes the ‘true’ identity of its protagonist until the conclusion of the narrative, and allows Mrs Derville to control her public identity. Saglia contends that ‘Smith envisages the possibility of an assumed and fabricated identity that defeats curiosity and its damaging intrusions in order to protect a secret core of genuine identity’ (p. 9). I suggest Smith’s response is even more complex than that. In Smith’s play we find useful containment strategies against a society that insisted its strangers became more

⁴⁰⁸ Mia Fischer, ‘Under the Ban-Optic Gaze: Chelsea Manning and the State’s Surveillance of Transgender Bodies’, in *Expanding the Gaze: Gender and the Politics of Surveillance*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 185–212, at p. 188.

transparent. Smith creates an emigrant heroine who falls victim to coveillance, but she also confronts her audience with the powerful possibility of a self-defined and self-controlled female identity that controls coveillance. Her resourceful and resilient heroine seems to suggest that a ‘public identity’ could be a strategy that other overly scrutinised women could implement. Indeed, many women today probably already do so without realising it; we know from Sonja Utz, for instance, that people are conscious of their ‘self-presentation’ on social network sites, with the public display of the social network functioning as a mechanism for social control.⁴⁰⁹ But in looking at historical literature such as *What Is She?*, we gain a sense of how this strategy worked at the very beginnings of organised surveillance, both top-down and laterally distributed, as we know those structures today. Romantic literature provides a lens onto containment strategies already tested and employed historically, for, as Jessica A. Volz tells us, ‘the conflict between expressed and concealed dimensions of the self governs the plots’ of a number of novels in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴¹⁰

While participating in a genuinely modern phenomenon, people who practice ‘Facebook stalking’ are also engaging in a system of social regulation that Judith Donath rightly argues pre-dates digital practice – and one, moreover, that may already be discerned in Smith’s play. Facebook constitutes what I am calling a ‘coveillant platform’, where individuals engage in the processes of tracking and identifying in order to de-anonymise their peers and regulate their personal networks – coveillant processes that Lee Rainie and Barry Wellman have recently discussed.⁴¹¹ Users consciously engage in ‘side-to-side companion veillance’

⁴⁰⁹ Sonja Utz, ‘Social Network Site Use among Dutch Students: Effects of Time and Platform’, in *Networked Sociability and Individualism: Technology for Personal and Professional Relationships*, ed. Francesca Comunello (Hershey, Pennsylvania: IGI Global, 2012), pp. 103–25, at p. 105.

⁴¹⁰ Jessica A. Volz, *Visuality in the Novels of Austen, Radcliffe, Edgeworth and Burney* (London: Anthem Press, 2017), p. 9.

⁴¹¹ Lee Rainie and Barry Wellman, *Networked: The New Social Operating System* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 2012), p. 240.

(Mann's phrase),⁴¹² or as it is more commonly known 'Facebook stalking',⁴¹³ as a tactic for gaining insights into the 'political views, the cultural tastes, the friendship circles, the basic lifestyle preferences, and even the daily activities of those in their networks' (Rainie and Wellman, p. 240). According to Donath, such social media stalking is a manifestation of individuals' desire to 'keep track of ever-changing relationships' because of their felt-need to know who to trust.⁴¹⁴ This desire to locate and be located, as Olivier Razac tells us, is an intrinsic part of the human need for security and is inevitably tied to surveillance practice (Kreissl, p. 159).⁴¹⁵ Social media stalking could be regarded as a manifestation of this desire to locate ourselves and others, as well as to control those in our social sphere. It is surveillance as 'social sorting', in Lyon's terms,⁴¹⁶ with users closely monitoring others in their networks in order to verify identities, assess risk and assign worth – 'unfriending', 'unfollowing' or disassociating from individuals with whom they do not wish to interact.⁴¹⁷ In other words, as the public today are increasingly likely to encounter strangers both online and offline,⁴¹⁸ individuals reduce 'risk' by tracking others online and social media proves 'a means for extending trust and assessing reliability in large-scale, mobile communities' (Donath, p. 235). Indeed, similar to communities in the eighteenth century such as Mrs

⁴¹² Steve Mann cited by Philip Sheldrake from their correspondence, see 'McVeillance, Coveillance, and Socioveillance in the Context of Social Business', 21 October 2014, in *Influence*, <<http://influence.cipr.co.uk/2014/10/21/mcveillance-coveillance-socioveillance-context-social-business/>> [accessed 02 June 2017], para. 15 of 27.

⁴¹³ The practice of Facebook stalking has become very common in recent years, with numerous online publications offering tips and advice on how to accomplish the best results, as well as how to prevent falling victim to the practice. For example, Aatif Sulleyman, 'How to see who is stalking you on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and Snapchat', 06 April 2017, in *Independent*, <<http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/features/facebook-stalking-how-to-see-who-friends-instagram-twitter-snapchat-photos-linkedin-a7670786.html>> [accessed 05 June 2017].

⁴¹⁴ Judith Donath, 'Signals in Social Supernet', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13 (2008), 231–51, p. 232.

⁴¹⁵ Olivier Razac, *Avec Foucault, Après Foucault: Disséquer la société de contrôle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008).

⁴¹⁶ David Lyon (ed.), *Surveillance as Social Sorting: Privacy, Risk and Digital Discrimination* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. i.

⁴¹⁷ Oliver Burkeman, 'Facebook and Twitter: the art of unfriending or unfollowing people', 14 September 2012, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2012/sep/14/unfollow-unfriend-on-facebook-twitter>> [accessed 07 June 2017].

⁴¹⁸ Catherine Harris, Lucy Jackson, Aneta Piekut and Gill Valentine, 'Attitudes towards the 'stranger': negotiating encounters with difference in the UK and Poland', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 18.1 (2017), 16–33, p. 17.

Derville's, today's internet users seek to shape their personal networks and render their companions 'safe' by scrutinising and locating them.

What Is She? points to methods that women and other super-visible groups can use today to build resilience towards this kind of coveillance. As I have explored, Smith purposefully engages with the masking and impersonation aspects of masquerade throughout *What Is She?*, exploiting a mode of playful subterfuge that had become increasingly popular since the 1720s when masquerade balls presented an opportunity for individuals to 'perform' different identities at public events.⁴¹⁹ Smith arranges various scenarios where her characters must obscure their true identities, but Saglia suggests that throughout it is the women of the play who are far more able to maintain these masks than the men (p. 153). In fact, it is not 'women' as a collective in the play who are the most convincing in their disguise; rather, it is the individual targeted most unfairly by the surveillant gaze, Eugenia Harcourt, who is most successful. Instead of allowing her heroine to be relentlessly targeted by coveillance from her neighbours, Smith celebrates her emigrant's ability to disguise herself: with Eugenia Harcourt having styled herself 'Mrs Derville' – a woman, presumably a widow, with 'an elegant and cultivated mind' but also an 'unobtrusive sorrow and love of retirement' – even before the start of the action (V. iii. 83; I. i. 4). Harcourt constructs a new public self that thwarts attempts to identify and calibrate her with any finality, a public mask that her maid acknowledges in Act I:

Winifred: [E]very moment she passes alone, she grieves, and pines, and sings such woe-begotten ditties, 'twou'd make a Turk yearn to hear her. Yet, when she leaves her room, she is as sprightly as the river Dee; smiles like the vale of Glamorgan – in

⁴¹⁹ Christoph Heyl, 'The Metamorphosis of the Mask in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century London', in *Masquerade and Identities: Essays on Gender, Sexuality and Marginality*, ed. Efrat Tseëlon (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 114–34, at p. 129.

short, she is just what your Lordship has been pleased to fall in love with, and to woo in masquerade (I. i. 2–3).

Smith ensures that the audience is aware that ‘Mrs Derville’ never ‘wear[s] a smile, but as a mere holiday dress to meet the world in’ (I. i. 3). Harcourt is a character who, like Sophia Lee’s heroines, is conscious that she is being watched and is aware that she can put on a disguise to hide aspects of her ‘true’ self.⁴²⁰ Indeed, while Sophia Lee’s heroines in *The Chapter of Accidents* regain control of their public images by reinventing themselves as marriageable virgins,⁴²¹ so Smith’s protagonist also carefully and effectively controls her public image as part of a strategy to hide from the stares of her peers.

It is the recognisably performative nature of Harcourt’s public self in *What Is She?* that proves most valuable to us today. Smith seems to understand that with the lack of distinction between the public and private spheres that, according to Michael Warner among others, existed at the time,⁴²² individuals needed to ‘negotiate their actions, discursive and otherwise, across constantly shifting boundaries’.⁴²³ She did not believe in the ‘binary opposition of “public” and “private”’, but rather, saw the two as a ‘spectrum’, as Zimmerman tells us,⁴²⁴ and recognised the potential for individuals to shape their identity across the two spheres. More specifically, she saw an opportunity for women, in particular emigrant women, to take

⁴²⁰ Eugenia Harcourt also shares her surname with Governor Harcourt and his son in Lee’s play.

⁴²¹ Catherine Burroughs, ‘British Women Playwrights and the Staging of Female Sexual Initiation: Sophia Lee’s *The Chapter of Accidents* (1780)’, *Romanticism and Sexuality*, 23 (2001), <<http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/005983ar>> [accessed 27 March 2016], paras. 18, 24 of 25.

⁴²² Michael Warner suggests ‘most things [were] private in one sense and public in another’, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), p. 30.

⁴²³ Dena Goodman, ‘Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime’, *History and Theory*, 31.1 (1992), 1–20, p. 14.

⁴²⁴ Sarah M. Zimmerman, ‘Varieties of Privacy in Charlotte Smith’s Poetry’, *European Romantic Review*, 18.4 (2007), 483–502, p. 485.

advantage of the situation and exercise agency over their public identity and use it as a means to conceal their ‘true’ self, ‘veridical self’ in Chris Rojek’s terms,⁴²⁵ from intrusive stares.

In a society, then, where our actions online are ‘continuously electronically tracked, analysed, clustered and segmented in profiles and graphs’, as Francesca Bria and Elettra Bianchi Dennerlein observe,⁴²⁶ *What Is She?* sheds literary-historical light on some of the ways in which the variously subversive act of shaping our own public identities online – our ‘digital identities’⁴²⁷ – might protect our private selves from coveillance. Where Smith consciously allows Harcourt to disguise her ‘veridical self’ in order to protect it from prying eyes (Rojek, p. 11), she points to the performative aspects of public life that we could take advantage of, and indeed already do take advantage of, today.⁴²⁸ Eugenia Harcourt’s disguise suggests to us the importance of controlling (or attempting to control) our public identity by coding public façade as potentially empowering for women, since as Smith writes in the epilogue: ‘woman’s best weapons are her tongue and eyes’ (p. 89). Smith allows her heroine to construct a new public persona and thereby to keep, in Rojek’s terminology, a ‘significant portion of the self in reserve’ (p. 11), ensuring that even though the community in which Eugenia settles renders her ‘super-visible’ by targeting her with a coveillant gaze, her peers only witness the self that she permits them to see. *What Is She?* suggests to us, in an age of digital inspection, that while the coveillance women encounter on social media is complex, and often overlaps with other forms of surveillance, self-regulation of our public identities on the internet is a historically tested means of combatting the more pernicious effects and

⁴²⁵ Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), p. 11.

⁴²⁶ Francesca Bria and Elettra Bianchi Dennerlein, ‘Digital Identity Ecosystems in the Context of Big Data and Mass Surveillance’, 18 September 2015, in *Nesta*, <<http://www.nesta.org.uk/blog/digital-identity-ecosystems-context-big-data-and-mass-surveillance>> [accessed 27 July 2017], para. 1 of 12.

⁴²⁷ Mark Bregman, ‘Can We Control Our Digital Identities’, 03 November 2014, in *Dark Reading*, <<http://www.darkreading.com/identity-and-access-management/can-we-control-our-digital-identities/d/id/1127620>> [accessed 27 July 2017].

⁴²⁸ The performative aspects of public life are already much discussed by Judith Butler and Sandra Lee Bartky: Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Gender* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Sandra Lee Bartky, ‘Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power’, in *The Politics of Women’s Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance, and Behavior*, ed. Rose Weitz (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 25–45.

outcomes of coveillance. Perhaps it is Smith herself who best summarises the suggestive strategy coded in her play when she reflects that ‘the great secret of modern life is appearance – there would be no living without concealing our miseries more carefully than our vices’ (I. i. 7).

Chapter 4 | The Domiciliary Body: Archio-Surveillance in Joanna Baillie’s *The Alienated Manor* and Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park*

What do you think of his sneaking behind doors, and listening too? [...] I see him at this very moment lurking in the passage [...] He mistakes every nook and corner of the house, where he can stick himself up to listen.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁹ Joanna Baillie, ‘The Alienated Manor’, in *Dramas*, Vol. I (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1836), pp. 123–249, at III. ii. 194–95.

The question is posed by lady's maid Mrs Smoothly to the butler Dickenson in respect of their master Charville, who has been monitoring the private conduct of his wife in the manor house. This uncomfortable moment in Act III of Joanna Baillie's comedy *The Alienated Manor*, published in 1836, but written at some point between 1810 and 1815,⁴³⁰ not only lays bare the intrusive inspective force experienced by the play's female characters, but also hints at the role played by the building's architecture itself in facilitating such prying. In this chapter, I argue that *The Alienated Manor* is alert to the politics of gendered domestic spying, and in particular to the ways in which Georgian architecture could be put to surveillant work.

The best-known of all structures purposefully designed for surveillance belongs to the Romantic period: namely, Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon.⁴³¹ Recognising the role architecture could play in managing people's behaviour, Bentham hired architect Willey Reveley (1760–1799) to produce the plans for his 'Inspection-House', a prison that allowed a single inspector to observe all inmates from a central position.⁴³² Baillie (1762–1851) counted both Bentham and his brother Samuel (1757–1831), a partner in the Panopticon project, among her friends.⁴³³ Bearing the imaginative imprint of those friendships, Baillie's comedy for the stage, I suggest, explores a range of lateral modes of surveillance, most

⁴³⁰ Baillie comments that *The Alienated Manor* was 'written many years ago' and explains it was intended as a continuation of her 'Plays on the Passions' series (the last volume of which was published 1812): Joanna Baillie, *Dramas*, Vol. I (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1836), pp. v–vi. Further, in an 1816 letter to Sir Thomas Lawrence, Baillie discusses her recently written play *Henriquez*, which also appears in the same collection as *The Alienated Manor*. Joanna Baillie, *The Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, ed. Judith Bailey Slagle, Vol. 1 (Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), pp. 272, 489.

⁴³¹ The Panopticon was not built in Bentham's lifetime. See Janet Semple, *Bentham's Prison: A Study of the Panopticon Penitentiary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 255.

⁴³² Jeremy Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings* (London and New York: Verso, 1995), p. 29.

⁴³³ Baillie often dined with the Benthams and exchanged several letters with them between 1810 and 1816 – around the time that *The Alienated Manor* was composed. See Judith Bailey Slagle, *Joanna Baillie, A Literary Life* (Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), p. 188; *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham: January 1809 to December 1816*, ed. Stephen Conway, Vol. 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), letters 2201, 2362, pp. 300, 356. See also, Philip Steadman, *Building Types and Built Forms* (Leicester: Troubador, 2014), p. 294.

notably peer-to-peer surveillance between spouses,⁴³⁴ that awaited women in the home in the early nineteenth century. What is more, by identifying the play's coded references to the interrelation of power and architecture we gain new ways of understanding a far more familiar text from the period, Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814). Austen's novel – as the title suggests – is also 'about' designed structures, and, I will show, is similarly animated by themes of spectatorship and surveillance. Austen's novel and Baillie's play can be productively considered as co-texts that draw our attention to the ways in which female characters and Romantic-era authors alike experienced, and sought to resist, what Grant Vetter has called 'archio-disciplinary' surveillance.⁴³⁵ My larger argument is that Austen (1775–1817) and Baillie belong to a distinct mindset that emerged at the end of the eighteenth century, which – as Foucault argues in 'Space, Knowledge, and Power' – began to reflect on the ways in which architecture was capable of assisting social governance.⁴³⁶

A certain amount of comparative criticism has already been directed at the work of contemporaries Austen and Baillie. Christine A. Colón examines moral development in Baillie's *Orra* (1812) and Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1817),⁴³⁷ while Catherine Burroughs suggestively aligns Austen's *Mansfield Park* with *The Tryal* (1798), published in Baillie's first volume of 'Plays on the Passions', noting that 'private spaces and domestic settings influenced public stages'.⁴³⁸ However, the hitherto undiscussed pairing of *Mansfield Park* and *The Alienated Manor* is potentially more productive in precisely these terms, since in both narratives male domains and authority are challenged by women who are actively

⁴³⁴ Mark Andrejevic theorises the concept of 'peer-to-peer monitoring' employed by romantic interests, family and friends to 'keep track of one another', in 'The Work of Watching One Another: Lateral Surveillance, Risk, and Governance', *Surveillance & Society*, 2.4 (2005), 479–97, pp. 481, 488.

⁴³⁵ Grant Vetter, *The Architecture of Control: A Contribution to the Critique of the Science of Apparatuses* (Winchester and Washington: Zero Books, 2012), p. 24.

⁴³⁶ Michel Foucault, 'Space, Knowledge, and Power', in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, trans. Robert Hurley, ed. James D. Faubion, Vol. 3 (London: Penguin, 1994), pp. 349–64, at p. 349.

⁴³⁷ Christine A. Colón, *Joanna Baillie and the Art of Moral Influence* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 74–82.

⁴³⁸ Catherine Burroughs, "'A reasonable woman's desire": The Private Theatrical and Joanna Baillie's *The Tryal*', in *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist: Critical Essays*, ed. Thomas C. Crochunis (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 187–205, at pp. 187, 202.

engaged in reconfiguring spaces. Alistair M. Duckworth's pioneering study *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels* (1971) alerts us to the significance of alterations to grounds of the Mansfield estate;⁴³⁹ similarly, Regina Hewitt has examined improvements to the grounds of Baillie's manor.⁴⁴⁰ However, I wish to develop these earlier readings in the light of modern surveillance studies to suggest that it is rather spatial reconfigurations *inside* the buildings that drive the governing anxieties of both novel and play around what Foucault terms the 'continuous hierarchical figure'.⁴⁴¹ In *The Alienated Manor*, this figure is represented by Charville, while in *Mansfield Park* it is Sir Thomas Bertram, the patriarch who seeks to 'reinstat[e] himself in all the wonted concerns of his Mansfield life, [...] to examine and compute'.⁴⁴²

Neither Austen nor Baillie criticism of the last twenty-five years has, in any concerted sense, been informed by surveillance theory. The few critics who discuss *The Alienated Manor* in detail, notably Hewitt, do not focus on surveillance as a comedic trope in the play, and do not apply theorised surveillance paradigms to their reading of the play.⁴⁴³ Instead, they tend to focus either on Charville's jealousy – and therefore on the play's place in relation to the other 'Plays on the Passions' (Colón, pp. 74–82);⁴⁴⁴ on Baillie's use of Charville to depict the 'darker side of marriage' (Slagle, p. 256); or on Baillie's treatment of race via Charville's

⁴³⁹ Alistair M. Duckworth, *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), pp. 35–80.

⁴⁴⁰ Regina Hewitt, 'Utopianism and Joanna Baillie: Joanna Baillie's Ecotopian Comedies', in *Romantic Circles Praxis: Utopianism and Joanna Baillie*, ed. Regina Hewitt, <<http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/utopia/hewitt/hewitt.html>> [accessed 22 September 2017], paras. 31, 35, 41 of 43.

⁴⁴¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London and New York: Penguin, 1991), p. 197.

⁴⁴² Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (London and New York: Penguin, 2014 [Originally published London: T. Egerton, 1814]), p. 177.

⁴⁴³ A recent collection of essays, *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist* (2004), refers only once to the play to clarify that it formed part of the final instalment of Baillie's 'Plays on the Passions': Frederick Burwick, 'Joanna Baillie, Matthew Baillie, and the Pathology of the Passions', in *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist: Critical Essays*, ed. Thomas C. Crochunis (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 48–68, at p. 49.

⁴⁴⁴ Emil Ziegenrucker, 'Joanna Baillie's "Plays on the Passions"' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Rostock University, Germany, 1909), pp. 74–77.

encounters with Sancho, a black slave (Anne K. Mellor).⁴⁴⁵ In fact, little has been done in respect of surveillance and *The Alienated Manor* beyond a brief acknowledgement that Charville ‘eavesdrops’ on his wife’s conversations, and ‘reads her letters’ (Hewitt, para. 37). Similarly, although a number of critics such as Douglas Murray and Anna Despotopoulou have explored spectatorship and ‘looking’ in Austen’s *Mansfield Park*,⁴⁴⁶ and Daniel R. Mangiavellano and Shea Stuart,⁴⁴⁷ among others, have addressed in broad terms surveillance-related themes in the novel, these readings either ignore surveillance theory entirely, or rely on a well-worn Foucauldian reading that lacks the nuanced specifics that have come to light more recently in post-9/11 surveillance theory.⁴⁴⁸ Even David Worrall’s seminal work on the broader culture of regulation, restriction and surveillance, which focuses specifically on the years during which Baillie and Austen were writing, does not take account of parallel developments in surveillance theory. More importantly for this chapter’s concerns with gender, Worrall explicitly states that he has ‘tried not to make [his] writing gender specific’.⁴⁴⁹ While he addresses government surveillance of a large number of male figures of the period, Joanna Baillie is not mentioned at all, and Jane Austen is one of only three women noted for reasons other than in connection to their husbands;⁴⁵⁰ the others are Hannah More and Mary Wollstonecraft, to whom Worrall devotes fewer than 10 lines collectively.⁴⁵¹ By definition, then, Worrall’s ‘gender blind’ approach overlooks the ways in which Romantic

⁴⁴⁵ Anne K. Mellor, ‘Am I Not a Woman, and a Sister?’: Slavery, Romanticism and Gender’, in *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture, 1780–1834*, eds. Alan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh (Bloomington: Indiana University press, 1996), pp. 311–29.

⁴⁴⁶ Douglas Murray, ‘Spectatorship in *Mansfield Park*: Looking and Overlooking’, *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 52.1 (1997), 1–26; Anna Despotopoulou, ‘Fanny’s Gaze and the Construction of Feminine Space in “Mansfield Park”’, *The Modern Language Review*, 99.3 (2004), 569–83.

⁴⁴⁷ Daniel R. Mangiavellano, ‘Habit and Reimagining Female Identity in *Mansfield Park*’, *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal*, 36 (2014), 89–99; Shea Stuart, ‘“A Walking Ought”: Displacement and the Public Sphere in *Mansfield Park*’, in *Everyday Revolutions: Eighteenth-Century Women Transforming Public and Private*, eds. Diane E. Boyd and Marta Kvanne (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 205–18, at p. 217.

⁴⁴⁸ David Lyon, *Surveillance After Snowden* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), p. 17.

⁴⁴⁹ David Worrall, *Radical Culture: Discourse, Resistance and Surveillance, 1790–1820* (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), p. 3.

⁴⁵⁰ Worrall’s book does not mention women, except to briefly acknowledge the wives of key radicals: Catherine Blake – William Blake’s wife (pp. 43–44, 69), Mrs Grinder (p. 70), Mrs Hooper (pp. 114, 125–26), Mrs Thistlewood (p. 124), and Mrs Watson (p. 148).

⁴⁵¹ For Austen, see pp. 4, 18; for Hannah More, see p. 20; and for Mary Wollstonecraft, see p. 31.

texts written by women reflect the complex and nuanced ways in which women were surveilled, and as such his analysis is not tuned to respond to issues of social power and control as experienced specifically by women of the period.⁴⁵² My aim in this chapter is to answer calls for a gender-nuanced critique of literary representations of surveillance and to the wider lack of focus on this topic in critical analysis of Baillie's and Austen's works. Where the Vermeer painting in the introductory chapter provided an opportunity to (re)examine our own experiences of close-observation and surveillance, so *The Alienated Manor* and *Mansfield Park* suggest to us a number of ways in which lateral surveillance remains a powerful mechanism waiting for women in the home. As I hope becomes apparent, surveillance theory can help us radically to transform our understanding of key issues associated with women's visibility that Austen and Baillie explore in their social dramas.

4.1. 'Nothing so delightful as peeping': Romantic Eavesdropping

Regina Hewitt notes that in *The Alienated Manor* Charville's 'absurdly possessive behaviour' is inherently connected to his house. Although she chooses to focus on the building's legal status as 'alienated',⁴⁵³ Hewitt's initial contention correctly identifies the house's vital bearing on the characters' actions in the play.⁴⁵⁴ It is, I argue, the manor itself, as signalled by the title, that is vital to a clearer apprehension of the complexities and subtleties that Baillie codes in her play because, as the protagonist Charville points out, it is the building's 'back stairs, and panelled doors, and haunted chambers' that are the source of the many 'cursed conveniences' that both help and hinder his observations of his wife (IV. iii. 222). Precisely

⁴⁵² Yasmeeen Abu-Laban, 'Gendering Surveillance Studies: The Empirical and Normative Promise of Feminist Methodology', *Surveillance & Society*, 13.1 (2015), 44–56, p. 45.

⁴⁵³ The term 'alienate' refers to the 'transfer or surrender of ownership of property rights'. See 'Alienate, v.', in *Oxford English Dictionary* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/4995>> [accessed 31 October 2017].

⁴⁵⁴ Regina Hewitt, 'Improving the Law: Property Rights and Self-Possession in Joanna Baillie's "The Alienated Manor"', *The Wordsworth Circle*, 38.1 (2007), 50–55, p. 50.

how, then, through the house and its inhabitants' relation to it, does *The Alienated Manor* locate itself in a culture that was aware of domestic threats to privacy through eavesdropping? Baillie's play declares its affinity with other literature of the period, including *The Chapter of Accidents*, that explores the appetite for prying while also attending to the concentrated efforts men made to circumvent the obstacles that walls, roofs and other barriers posed when watching women. In Baillie's play we can begin to recognise that eavesdropping – a term derived from the practice of standing within the 'eaves drop' in order to hear private conversations in the home⁴⁵⁵ – does not merely function as a comedic trope, but rather is saying something much more profound about the way surveillance was understood at the time.

Baillie enjoyed early success with her 'Plays on the Passions': *De Montfort* (1798), for instance, was a stage success at Drury Lane, with Sarah Siddons and John Philip Kemble in the title roles (Colón, p. 52). However, *The Alienated Manor* was never performed, perhaps due to the impracticality of the sixteen different settings required for the sixteen scenes of the play. What presented a challenge from a staging perspective, though, also gestures towards the manor's integral importance to the play, the house is by no means an arbitrary setting but rather a key construct that affects the characters' behaviour towards each other. The central plot of the comedy concerns the relationship between upper-middle class gentleman Charville, 'so suspicious he will trust nobody by halves', and his 'handsome' new wife Mrs Harriet Charville. The action is complicated by the efforts of their neighbour Crafton to buy their estate from them (I. i. 124, 129). The house is not merely a desirable home but the chief object of Crafton's desires – his uncle having been forced to sell it to Charville to repay gambling debts. Crafton's 'sinister design' is to induce Charville to dislike the house he is so fond of by convincing him that his wife is cuckolding and using the estate's 'dark covert

⁴⁵⁵ 'Eavesdrop, v.', in *Oxford English Dictionary*
 <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/59159?rskey=qB1An7&result=2#eid>> [accessed 09 January 2018].

nooks' to hide her activity (V. iii. 244; I. i. 125). Crafton choreographs his nephew Sir Robert Freemantle's arrival at the Charvilles' estate to kindle Charville's suspicion. Crafton's actions, though not surveillant per se, catalyse Charville's jealousy and his intrusive and, in his wife's words, 'ludicrous' efforts to monitor the house's occupants (III. ii. 204). Charville's activities constitute more than mere 'whim[s]' and 'little frolic[s]' (III. i. 191). Instead, he engages in concerted lateral surveillance of his wife, aided in his 'peeping' by the house's 'back stair' and hidden doors (II. v. 182). Since Charville's wife deliberately obscures her actions by screens, walls and doors, he misconceives her actions, 'confirm[ing]' to himself that she is having an affair with Freemantle – with comedic results. Charville intercepts a letter his wife sends to her childhood friend Charlotte (Freemantle's sister) and misconstrues it as a love letter to Freemantle; all the while, unbeknownst to Charville, Freemantle has succeeded in wooing Mary, Charville's sister. The final scene sees Charville mistakenly think that Freemantle has just asked to marry his wife, while his family assumes Charville's resulting anger is because he has finally discovered that Freemantle wishes to marry Mary. Ultimately, the confusion is resolved and Charville consents to his sister's marriage, while also promising to be 'very good, and very penitent' but most importantly, 'less suspicious' (V. iii. 244). For his deception, Crafton relinquishes his claim on the house: 'we shall all be wiser, and, I hope, better, for what has just passed' (V. iii. 249). *The Alienated Manor*, then, seems designed to serve as a warning about the dangers of spying.

As Hewitt points out, in order accurately to 'follow Baillie's agenda, spectators have to judge Charville in context' (p. 50). For Hewitt, the examination of context means acknowledging that Charville and the play's nineteenth-century audience lived 'in a culture that valorise[d] ownership' (p. 50). I would argue that it means recognising that the early nineteenth century was a period, in the words of Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), where 'walls [had] ears, where

doors [had] tongues, and window bars [had] eyes'.⁴⁵⁶ According to John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1798), Stephen Jones's *Sheridan Improved* (1798) and the *Universal Dictionary of Knowledge* (1798), in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, an established culture existed of 'insidious listen[ing]' (eavesdropping),⁴⁵⁷ with people seeking to 'snook',⁴⁵⁸ snoop and 'snoke' around one another's houses.⁴⁵⁹ As Mrs Charville declared, 'there [was] nothing so delightful as peeping' (II. i. 153). According to Ann Gaylin, the Romantic public were fascinated as never before with the 'unlawful intervention[s]' and 'physical encroachment[s]' into one another's space that became staple tropes of the novels of the period, including Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) and *Persuasion* (1818) (Gaylin makes little mention of *Mansfield Park*).⁴⁶⁰ To put this fascination in wider context, John O'Keefe reminds us that his two-act comic opera *Peeping Tom of Coventry* (1785),⁴⁶¹ in which the voyeuristic protagonist famously peeps at Lady Godiva, was a 'prime favourite with the public'.⁴⁶²

Dramatically focused on Charville's hairbrained schemes to keep tabs on his wife, *The Alienated Manor* capitalises on the reading and play-going public's fascination with eavesdropping. At the same time, it also engages with the challenge of overcoming architectural impediments. For instance, when Charville disguises himself in livery as new servant 'Barnaby' to scrutinise his wife, he has to struggle with the house's physical barriers – namely, its walls and doors (III. ii. 194). The episode is related by Mrs Smoothly, whose

⁴⁵⁶ Honoré de Balzac, *Cousin Pons*, trans. Ellen Marriage (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1913), p. 112.

⁴⁵⁷ *Universal Dictionary of Knowledge*, Vol. VII (Perth: C. Mitchel and Co., 1798), p. 697; Stephen Jones, *Sheridan Improved: A General Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language* (London: Vernor and Hood, 1798); John Walker, *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language*, 3rd edn. (Dublin: P. Wogan, 1798).

⁴⁵⁸ 'Snook' is a colloquial term for lurking listed in John Ash's *New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language*, Vol. II (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775), p. 269.

⁴⁵⁹ To 'snoke' is 'to range, prying into every corner', see John Jamieson, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Company, 1818), p. 361.

⁴⁶⁰ Ann Gaylin, *Eavesdropping in the Novel from Austen to Proust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 2, 16, 18.

⁴⁶¹ John O'Keefe, *Peeping Tom of Coventry* (Belfast: James Magee, 1785), II. iii. 30.

⁴⁶² John O'Keefe, *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keefe*, Vol. II (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), p. 76.

somewhat extreme threats clarify that Charville did not incidentally happen to be outside his wife's door but rather made a deliberate effort to hear the conversation within:

I say, sirrah, you are a dirty, sneaking, curious fellow. What business had you to stand listening at my lady's door when I was dressing her for dinner [...] Take care, sirrah; for if I catch that snout of yours again where it should not be, I'll take the tongs in my hand, and treat you as St. Dunstan did the devil. I'll teach you to sneak, and to pry and to haunt one so (III. ii. 195).

Charville has not, as he claims, 'mistake the door [...] judging as how it was the parlour' (III. ii. 195). He has deliberately bypassed potential barriers the house poses to his surveillant endeavours. Although the dressing-room door obstructs his immediate view of his wife, his 'snout' still ends up 'where it should not be' as he presses himself up against the door to listen, echoing Jacob's keyhole eavesdropping from Lee's play. Similarly, later in Act III, Charville once again gets around the house's architectural obstacles and is able surreptitiously to enter the drawing-room through a previously closed door when it is accidentally 'left ajar by Mary', and he conceals himself behind a screen so as to listen to his wife and Freemantle converse (III. ii. 200). Charville seems almost to recollect the eighteenth-century figure of Asmodeus, who was a literary symbol for those who wished to observe private activity according to John L. Locke.⁴⁶³ Much like the demon from Alain-René Le Sage's 1707 work *Le Diable Boiteux*, who magically removed the rooftops of homes in Madrid to expose occupants and reveal the 'spring of their actions and their most secret

⁴⁶³ John L. Locke, *Eavesdropping: An Intimate History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 13.

thoughts’,⁴⁶⁴ Charville refuses to be stymied by the walls and doors of the house. Instead, he finds ways to get around the architecture and even to utilise it, in order to eavesdrop on his wife.

The play, then, appears to be conscious of the opportunities afforded by the structure of the home, and signals its concern with what David Vincent calls the ‘dynamics and dilemmas’ of domestic privacy that were animating society at that time.⁴⁶⁵ Charville’s intrusions show Baillie’s awareness of the manifold threats to women’s privacy in the home. As Hannah Greig and Giorgio Riello observe, at the same time as the culture of eavesdropping seemed to be escalating, the ‘defence of privacy became an organizing force’ in the family home.⁴⁶⁶ The earlier advent of the ‘corridor’ arrangement, for example, employed by architects Roger Pratt (1620–1684) and later Robert Walpole (1676–1745), had significantly restructured the fundamental physicality of homes in the way it demarcated newly private spaces, as Judith Flanders explores.⁴⁶⁷ Corridors offered separation between masters and servants, removing any unwanted exchanges and interactions previously forced by the flow of adjoining rooms (Flanders, p. 76).⁴⁶⁸ By the time Baillie and Austen wrote, this degree of separation had, in Flanders’ terms, forced ‘the actual layout of houses [to alter] to permit new notions of privacy to be integrated’ (pp. 76, 79). Privacy was assimilated into the structural foundations of the

⁴⁶⁴ The character of ‘Asmodeus’ originates from before Le Sage’s novel, but Le Sage adapts the demon to make him a character who can remove rooftops: Alain-René Le Sage, *Le Diable Boiteux: or, the Devil Upon Two Sticks*, trans. Anon (Glasgow, 1760), p. 19. Though originally published in the early eighteenth century, Asmodeus’s tale was repeated well into the nineteenth century by the *New Monthly Magazine* and *Leigh Hunt’s London Journal*, among others, and even featured in Byron’s poem ‘Granta. A Medley’. See *The New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 35 (London: H. Colburn, 1832), p. 28; *Leigh Hunt’s London Journal*, Vol. 1–61 (London: Sparrow & Company, 1834), p. 234; Lord Byron, ‘Granta. A Medley’, in *The Works of George Byron*, Vol. 7 (London: John Murray, 1832), pp. 44–48, at p. 44.

⁴⁶⁵ David Vincent, *I Hope I Don’t Intrude: Privacy and its Dilemmas in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 15.

⁴⁶⁶ Hannah Greig and Giorgio Riello, ‘Eighteenth-Century Interiors—Redesigning the Georgian: Introduction’, *Journal of Design History*, 20.4 (2007), 273–89, p. 281.

⁴⁶⁷ Judith Flanders, *The Making of Home* (London: Atlantic Books, 2014), p. 77.

⁴⁶⁸ For example, the *enfilade* layout where people moved through rooms to gain entry to the next. See Tad Jusczyk, ‘Consider the Corridor: Lessons from Architectural History’, 23 February 2011, in *Shepley Bulfinch*, <<http://insight.shepleybulfinch.com/2011/02/consider-the-corridor-lessons-from-architectural-history/>> [accessed 20 October 2015], para. 2 of 3.

building itself as well as the public's expectations. Baillie would have been aware that the public sought consolation in the home and saw it as protection from the gaze of others, just as her contemporary Maria Edgeworth's character Lord Colambre did in 'The Absentee' (1812): '[He] went into his room, locked the door, and was relieved, in some degree, by the sense of privacy; by the feeling, that he could now indulge his reflections undisturbed'.⁴⁶⁹ People saw their home as a 'haven from snooping strangers', according to Amanda Vickery, and this psychological shift was 'inscribed into the fabric of houses'.⁴⁷⁰

The Alienated Manor processes the changing significance of the house and its interior boundaries and is particularly attuned to what Flanders calls the period's 'privacy-producing architecture' (p. 79), developed, in part, as a reaction to the practice of eavesdropping. The manor imagined by Baillie appears to be deliberately structured to allow each character some private space – there are at least sixteen different, specialised rooms that are demarcated for a variety of uses: a drawing-room, dining-room, saloon, summer parlour, gallery and at least two libraries (Charville's private library, along with the main library),⁴⁷¹ as well as a parlour and an 'outer-court' and 'back-court' used by the servants.⁴⁷² Baillie distances Mrs Smoothly, Dickenson, Dolly and Isaac from their employers to allow the family more privacy. Indeed, the manor is deliberately designed to keep the servants' interactions with their employers to a minimum, from the bell Charville rings in his study to call Dickenson, to the servants' 'back stair' (III. i. 189; II. v. 182). Moreover, the play maps the importance of the manor's architecture on the characters' sense of privacy. Each character has a room in which they can seek 'perceptual refuge', a place where they strive to be free 'from the possibility of being

⁴⁶⁹ Maria Edgeworth, 'The Absentee', in *Tales of Fashionable Life*, Vol. II (Philadelphia and Trenton: E. Littell, 1823), pp. 249–466, at p. 426.

⁴⁷⁰ Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 26.

⁴⁷¹ There is potentially another library, as the stage directions refer to 'the library' as the setting for Act IV, Scene iii (215) and 'a library' as the setting for the final scene (V. iii. 239).

⁴⁷² The saloon is the setting for Act I, Scene ii (135), the drawing-room the setting for Act III, Scene ii (193), while the back-court and the libraries are the settings for Act IV, Scene i (205), Act IV, Scene iii (215) and Act V, Scene iii (239), respectively. The outer-court is the setting for Act II, Scene iv (177).

observed and engaged' (Locke, pp. 86, 88): Mrs Charville has her own dressing-room, we first encounter Mrs Smoothly in her own room, Dickenson has the 'Butler's room', while Charville has his own private study and library.⁴⁷³ Baillie has designed a structure that allows the characters to separate themselves from the others, as well as offers them the opportunity to conceal their actions.

At the same time, the play is acutely aware of intrusions into those spaces and threats to the perceptual refuge that the house is ostensibly designed to offer,⁴⁷⁴ flagging up the conflict that exists between people's desire for privacy and the eavesdropping – peer-to-peer surveillance – they are often subject to.⁴⁷⁵ As a network structure, the rooms are often described in relation to which other parts of the house they adjoin, as well as whether the characters will be overhead. For instance, when Dickenson is in the drawing-room he observes to Mrs Smoothly, 'don't you hear the company coming from the dining room?'; similarly, when Mary is with Mrs Charville in her dressing room, Mrs Charville predicts they are about to be interrupted – 'somebody is coming' – just before the resident philosopher Smitchenstault 'enters with heavy creaking steps' (III. ii. 196; II. i. 153). Even Charville, the only character to spy on the other residents in the manor, fears interruption, confiding to Dickenson that 'there is not a room in my own house where I can be at peace for a few minutes to read a letter' (II. v. 180). In these exchanges we see how the play processes the fashion for eavesdropping, while also putting it in tension with people's desire for privacy. What we might at first take as merely comedic intrusions by a husband begin to take on additional significance when considered against the eighteenth-century's newly developing sensitivity to domestic privacy. As we will see, Baillie's interest in the ways in which each

⁴⁷³ Mrs Charville's dressing-room is the setting for Act II, Scene i (149), Mrs Smoothly's room the setting for Act II, Scene ii (162), while the Butler's room is the setting for Act II, Scene v (180). Charville's study is never seen but is mentioned in Act II, Scene v (18).

⁴⁷⁴ Architect Richard Brown describes the structures of the home as useful to those 'so fond of privacy', see *Domestic Architecture: Containing a History of the Science, and the Principles of Designing Public Buildings, Private Dwelling-Houses, Country Mansions, and Suburban Villas* (London: George Virtue, 1841), p. 295.

⁴⁷⁵ Alan F. Westin, *Privacy and Freedom* (London: The Bodley Head, 1970), pp. 52–63.

character moves through the building and intrudes into other's space, coupled with her sense of how the manor's internal structure affects the characters' ability to see or hear one another, is used to develop an arch comedy of archio-surveillance.

4.2. Inspection Houses: Domiciliary Surveillance and Archio-disciplinary Power

The Alienated Manor not only traces the dilemma of domestic privacy but also codes the house's relation to discipline, considering larger issues of panopticism that animated Romantic society – issues Austen's novel is also concerned with. At that time, the 'science of architecture', as John Reynolds termed it in 1834,⁴⁷⁶ recognised and addressed the various ways in which form lent itself to function. Architects such as Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728–1799) and Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806) expanded the limits of architectural convention and looked at how spaces could generate certain sensations,⁴⁷⁷ and most famously Jeremy Bentham attended to the ways in which the structure and design of buildings could facilitate discipline. The related regulatory control Foucault later identifies in other institutional architecture of the period – prisons, factories, barracks, hospitals and schools – can also be perceived in the structure of the early nineteenth-century home, where we see the maintenance of power by one group over another (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 228). This dynamic of power, architecture and surveillance in the home is precisely what we find operating in Baillie's comedy; the house is structured to facilitate control. In depicting Charville's use of the house when spying, Baillie seems to anticipate and 'proto'-critique the

⁴⁷⁶ John Reynolds, *Recollections of Windsor Prison: Containing Sketches of Its History and Discipline* (Boston: A. Wright, 1834), p. 209.

⁴⁷⁷ Nicolas Temple, 'Prologue: Cultivating Architecture', in *The Cultural Role of Architecture: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, eds. Paul Emmons, Jane Lomholt and John Shannon Hendrix (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), pp. xix–xxviii, at p. xix. See also, Louise Pelletier, 'The Space of Fiction: On the Cultural Relevance of Architecture', in *The Cultural Role of Architecture: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, eds. Paul Emmons, Jane Lomholt and John Shannon Hendrix (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 58–67, at p. 60.

behaviour for which recent archio-surveillance discourse has begun to offer a taxonomy – a nomenclature that will aid us in examining *Mansfield Park*.

The design for a surveillant penitentiary by Baillie's friend Bentham, may, at some level, have influenced *The Alienated Manor*'s own exploration of issues of discipline and control; indeed, as I will be suggesting, Bentham's ideas perhaps also inform the archio-surveillant themes of Austen's novel.⁴⁷⁸ Prompted by his brother Samuel's 1786 designs for a Russian factory in which workers could be comprehensively and efficiently supervised, Bentham recognised that architecture had greater potential to assist with social governance than hitherto realised.⁴⁷⁹ In 1791, to realise his concept for social management through workable plans (Fig. 10), Bentham employed Willey Reveley,⁴⁸⁰ who had earlier worked for Richard Worsley. Worsley himself, of course, is a familiar figure from Chapter 1 as a result of his voyeuristic intrusions on his wife in a bathhouse.⁴⁸¹ Bentham's aim was for the 'persons to be inspected [to] always feel themselves as if under inspection' (*Panopticon Writings*, p. 43). As Foucault clarifies, in panoptic surveillance 'inspection functions ceaselessly' to 'induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power' (*Discipline and Punish*, pp. 195, 201). As a result, individuals who suspect they are being watched tend to modify and self-regulate their behaviour. The Panopticon, then, is 'an architecture that would operate to transform individuals' (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 172).

⁴⁷⁸ The Panopticon was a structure that Baillie would likely have been familiar through her friendship with Mary Bentham, wife of Samuel Bentham. John Neal details the precise nature of Baillie's close friendship with Mary and even reproduces the note from Joanne Baillie to Lady Bentham, inviting her for tea, which reads: 'If you are perfectly disengaged this evening, Agnes and I will have the pleasure of taking tea with you, if you give us leave. J. Baillie'. See John Neal, 'London Forty Years Ago', in *The Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Science, Art, and Politics*, Vol. XVII (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866), pp. 224–36, at p. 227.

⁴⁷⁹ Simon Werrett, 'Potemkin and the Panopticon: Samuel Bentham and the Architecture of Absolutism in Eighteenth Century Russia', *Journal of Bentham Studies*, 2 (1999), 1–25, p. 3; Gillian Furlong, *Treasures from UCL* (London: UCL Press, 2015), p. 136.

⁴⁸⁰ Tim Causer, 'New Material to Transcribe: Panopticon', 18 December 2013, in *University College London*, <<https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/transcribe-bentham/2013/12/18/new-material-to-transcribe-panopticon/>> [accessed 27 October 2017], para. 4 of 5.

⁴⁸¹ Sylvanus Urban, 'Obituary of Remarkable Persons; with Biographical Anecdotes', in *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1799*, Vol. LXIX (London: John Nichols, 1799), pp. 620–30, at p. 627.

The manor in Baillie's play works within a similar mode of operation, and functions in Foucauldian terms as a 'disciplinary space' (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 143). In Act III, for instance, the layout of the summer parlour, its 'door opening to the garden', reminds Mary that her conversation with her ill-advised lover Freemantle is at risk of being monitored:

Freemantle: Have you not perceived your brother's growing dislike to me?

Mary: He is of late more ungracious to us all; but I must confess I have perceived something of what you say.

Freemantle: I perceive it whenever I come near him, in every gesture of his body, in every glance of his eye. I perceive too well that he has discovered my secret, and disapproves, more strongly than I had apprehended, my attachment to you [...] I have not now the face, poor as I am, and poor as I shall probably remain, to propose myself as a match for you.

Mary: Well then, Sir Robert, what makes you timid makes me bold. Have the constancy to wait till I am twenty-five: three years will bring this pass; and then, if you still think me worth the having, and do not consider me altogether antiquated, I am yours. My fortune will then be in my own power, independently of my brother's consent.

Freemantle: [...] My uncle has offered to settle his very moderate fortune upon me: but in this case, my sister would be scantily provided for [...] I have therefore refused it.

Mary: You have done right, and this refusal gives you a value in my estimation beyond any acquisition of fortune. (*Noise without*). We shall be interrupted here.

Freemantle: Let us return to the garden. My formidable rival, Mr Smitchenstault, must, by this time, have left it (IV. iv. 227).

We can infer that Mary curtails the pair's exchange because the 'noise without' reminds her that the parlour's position in relation to the garden makes her accessible, it exposes her: 'we shall be interrupted here'. Her abrupt ending of the conversation with her suitor appears to be an attempt to perform obedience to whomever might be watching, as confirmed by her later remark 'I don't think he observed us' (IV. iv. 227).⁴⁸² She is aware that she does not have her brother's permission to marry and engages in *soiveillance* (self-surveillance).⁴⁸³ In Bentham's Inspection-House inmates are encouraged to modulate behaviour because they may be being watched at all times. So, too, the Charvilles' manor appears to remind its residents that they cannot escape observation. Indeed, the manor's network of rooms seems in some ways to channel the visibility achieved in the Panopticon.

Foucauldian theory also allows us to see the ways in which the house's numerous and specialised rooms, while demonstrating a societal commitment to privacy, actually serve to interpellate the mechanisms of social control then becoming common in the nineteenth-century household. In delineating set functions for each room and assigning each character their own space, Baillie in fact partitions the inhabitants – an important technique in establishing discipline (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 143). By ensuring that 'each individual has their own place; and each place its individual', she has, consciously or otherwise, fashioned an environment that locates inhabitants and eliminates what Foucault refers to as 'the uncontrolled disappearance of individuals' (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 143). The manor serves Charville as part of a disciplinary machinery that allows him to control his family; it is a

⁴⁸² In this instance it was not Charville whom they heard, but Smitchenstault.

⁴⁸³ Jeeshan Gazi, 'Soiveillance: Self-Consciousness and the Social Network in Hideaki Anno's *Love & Pop*', *Surveillance & Society*, 16.1 (2018), 84–111, p. 86.

space that ‘establish[es] presences and absences’ and allows Charville at each moment ‘to be able [...] to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, [and] to judge it’ (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 143). Baillie has conceived an environment that permits Charville’s spying. She has created a manor house that codes issues of panopticism, where Charville is able to, in his own words, constantly track his wife and monitor the ‘levity of [her] conduct, the unblushing partiality shown on every occasion to that minion of [her] fancy [Freemantle]’ in an attempt to prevent her from transgressing (III. ii. 204). He even asks himself ‘what man on earth would not do as I do?’ (II. v. 181).

The kind of archio-disciplinary power structures in operation in Baillie’s comedy continue to concern theorists of social control working within the discipline of architecture today. Dan Crawford, for instance, observes that the urban form is ‘one of the main ways in which modern society is still controlled and restricted by those in power’.⁴⁸⁴ In this context, we can see that Baillie’s manor forms part of what Crawford refers to as a ‘rigid framework of rules and regulations which enhance social control’ – specifically, Charville’s control of his ‘bad wife’ (Crawford, para. 14; V. i. 231). The building is, in Grant Vetter’s terms, a ‘scripted space’ that reproduces the social order by facilitating the ‘architectural/observational gaze of power’;⁴⁸⁵ it is a space designed to effect interactions and to influence the way people interact in/with their environment, and one which enables Charville’s controlling voyeurism. Indeed, the Charvilles’ residence is scripted on multiple levels; it is literally ‘scripted’ by Baillie to aid and affect her characters’ behaviour and, at the same time, it is a space that Charville scripts with the help of ‘improver’ Sir Level Clump so as to shape and regulate the way his

⁴⁸⁴ Dan Crawford, ‘Social Control Within Architecture’, June 2010, in *Cargo Collective*, <<http://cargocollective.com/dancrawfordarchitecture/Social-Control-Within-Architecture>> [accessed 03 October 2017], para. 4 of 21.

⁴⁸⁵ Vetter adapts the term ‘scripted spaces’ from Norman M. Klein, who sees scripted spaces slightly differently, describing them as ‘a walk-through or click-through environment (a mall, a church, a casino, a theme park, a computer game). They are designed to *emphasize* the viewer’s journey’ (pp. 11, 13, 159). See also, Norman M. Klein, *The Vatican to Vegas: A History of Special Effects* (New York and London: The New Press, 2004), pp. 10–11.

family behaves (*Alienated Manor*, p. 122). Charville seeks to control his environment by altering the grounds of his estate, as Hewitt details in ‘Utopianism and Joanna Baillie: Joanna Baillie’s Ecotopian Comedies’, as we see when Level Clump plans to remove any ‘dark covert nooks’ by ‘clearing away the underwood and cutting out that heavy mass of forest’ (Hewitt, paras. 31, 35; *Mansfield Park*, I. i. 125). Charville scripts the grounds to ensure that separations are clear, and openings are well-arranged – key elements of panopticism according to Sean P. Hier – ensuring the visibility of his family.⁴⁸⁶

Baillie’s stage directions, too, call attention to the scripted nature of the house and its role in facilitating Charville’s discipline. They highlight how Baillie has designed the building to allow Charville, the ‘continuous hierarchical figure’, to watch and judge his wife’s every interaction with ease (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 197). In Act I, Scene ii, for example, open sightlines between the saloon and the garden enable Charville to supervise his wife as she walks with Freemantle, and they allow him to monitor what he later calls his wife’s ‘cunning, her witchery, [and] her wickedness’: Charville ‘*has been all this while watching with his eyes Mrs Charville and Sir R. Freemantle, as they walked to and fro*’ (V. i. 228; I. ii. 145). Later, in Act II, Scene i, Baillie’s architectural influence is apparent in Mrs Charville’s dressing room, which she scripts to allow Charville to eavesdrop on his wife’s conversations. Stage directions clarify that the positioning of the two entrances into the room mean Charville is able to enter ‘*by a door behind the ladies*’ and listen undetected, but Smitchenstault, who enters ‘*by the opposite door*’, is made immediately visible to Mrs Charville and Mary (II. i. 152). From its lighting, to the number of doors into each room, the house has been written to facilitate surveillance in a social setting, a ‘key technique of architectural regulation’

⁴⁸⁶ Sean P. Hier and Josh Greenberg, *The Surveillance Studies Reader* (New York: Open University Press, 2007), p. 71.

according to Lee Tien.⁴⁸⁷ The building allows Charville to engage in what would today be included under the umbrella of ‘domiciliary surveillance’ – a mode of surveillance typically associated with house arrest,⁴⁸⁸ but here used to describe lateral surveillance that occurs inside the home.

It is impossible to know the extent of Baillie’s knowledge of specific architectural structures of control in the home. What we can say with some certainty is that *The Alienated Manor* reflects wider Romantic-period concerns around domestic surveillance. In the next section, I want to suggest that our reading of Baillie’s play, with its coded references to the relationship between privacy, power and architecture, invite us to read Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* in new, and perhaps surprising, ways.

4.3. ‘Unusual Noise’: Panopticism and Scripting Spaces in *Mansfield Park*

As with Baillie’s play, the title of Austen’s novel signals the central position of the manor house in the narrative. Home to Sir Thomas and Lady Bertram, their children Tom, Edmund, Maria and Julia, as well as their niece Fanny Price, Mansfield Park is not simply the container for the events of the novel. The structure of the building also shapes and at key moments regulates the behaviour of its inhabitants. I suggest that seeing the alienated manor of Baillie’s comedy as a Benthamite ‘disciplinary space’ suggests a context for understanding the importance of architecture in *Mansfield Park*. Duckworth and Leland S. Person Jr. have examined the ‘spatial dimension’ of Austen’s work, focusing on the importance Austen ascribes to the grounds and buildings that her characters inhabit.⁴⁸⁹ Likewise, critics who examine power and visibility in *Mansfield Park* such as Ulf Olsson, Shea Stuart and Mary M.

⁴⁸⁷ Lee Tien, ‘Architectural Regulation and the Evolution of Social Norms’, *Yale Journal of Law and Technology*, 1.7 (2005), 1–22, p. 8.

⁴⁸⁸ Usually state-mandated and part of organised bureaucratic surveillance. For instance, author Gwyneth Jones refers to one of her characters as having to return ‘to the Garden House to serve a whole life sentence under the strictest form of domiciliary surveillance’, see *The Grasshopper’s Child* (TJoy Books, 2015), p. 277.

⁴⁸⁹ See Duckworth’s *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen’s Novels* and Leland S. Person Jr., ‘Playing House: Jane Austen’s Fabulous Space’, *Philological Quarterly*, 59.1 (1980), 62–75.

Chan have considered Fanny's role as a docile body under Sir Thomas's authority.⁴⁹⁰ In Stuart's terms, the novel 'concerns the powers of surveillance' (Stuart, p. 217). What is missing in these critiques is an appreciation of the connection between the layout of rooms in Mansfield Park and the surveillant structures of discipline and control that are in operation in the novel. As a corrective, in this section I focus on the alterations made to Mansfield during the siblings' production of Elizabeth Inchbald's *Lovers' Vows* (1798).

Austen writes in considerable detail about Fanny's rooms at Mansfield – 'the little white attic, which had continued [as] her sleeping room ever since her first entering the family' – as well as the adjoining 'East Room', said to be 'more spacious and more meet for walking about in, and thinking' (pp. 139–40). On top of mapping Fanny's bedroom, Austen also provides a lengthy account of the 'nest of comforts' Fanny has established inside the East room:

[I]ts greatest elegancies and ornaments were a faded foot-stool of Julia's work, too ill done for the drawing-room, three transparencies [...] a collection of family profiles [...] and by their side and pinned against the wall, a small sketch of a ship (pp. 140–41).

It is no coincidence, as Melissa Edmundson, M. Lucy Schneider and Freya Johnston suggest, that the novel includes such detail about Fanny's rooms in the house.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ Ulf Olsson, *Silence and Subject in Modern Literature: Spoken Violence* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 51; Mary M. Chan, 'Vision and Visibility: Jane Austen's Observers' (unpublished master's thesis, McMaster University, 2002), pp. 39–40.

⁴⁹¹ For more precise detail on the importance of Fanny's rooms, in particular, see: Melissa Edmundson, 'A Space for Fanny: The Significance of her Rooms in *Mansfield Park*', *Persuasions*, 23.1 (2002), <<http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol23no1/edmundson.html>> [accessed 25 November 2017], para. 1 of 10; M. Lucy Schneider, 'The Little White Attic and the East Room: Their Function in "Mansfield Park"',

Austen, like Baillie, seems acutely aware of the importance of her building's geography; she carefully considers the configuration of the house's furniture and rooms and, most importantly, ensures that Mansfield can only be fully understood in terms of its separations. Austen is, as P. Keiko Kagawa explains, an architect whose 'articulation of space [...] coincides with the awareness that early nineteenth-century architects had with respect to how space and bodies in domestic architecture' interact.⁴⁹² She is well-informed of current design conventions.⁴⁹³ In Austen's description, Mansfield is a 'spacious' but most importantly 'modern-built house' with contemporary privacy-producing architecture that operates in similar ways to that discussed previously in the context of Baillie's *The Alienated Manor* (p. 45). For instance, we encounter familiar separations between the servants and the family, such as the bell Fanny rings to call the servants because Lady Bertram insists she 'must have' dinner and the poultry yard that is conveniently located near the Servants' Hall, both of which maintain a distance between the family and their staff (pp. 131–32). Just as Baillie carefully ascribes each character their own space, so does Austen. She takes care to feature at least fifteen of Mansfield's rooms, ranging from specialised spaces such as the drawing-room, breakfast-room, dining room, ball room and billiard room, to the lobby and the room where Tom convalesces, which becomes known as the 'sick room'.⁴⁹⁴ More than this, Austen partitions the Park's inhabitants – a key technique used to imprint discipline – and assigns them various areas within the house: the white attic and East Room (originally the School-room) for Fanny, a room for Edmund on the same floor as Fanny's (p. 247), as well as

Modern Philology, 63.3 (1966), 227–35; Freya Johnston, 'Public and Private Space in Jane Austen', *English*, 46 (1997), 193–212, p. 199.

⁴⁹² P. Keiko Kagawa, 'Jane Austen, The Architect: (Re)Building Spaces at *Mansfield Park*', *Women's Studies*, 35.2 (2006), 125–43, pp. 126–27.

⁴⁹³ Cynthia Wall draws attention to how Austen makes her interest in architecture 'well-known' through her letters, as does Leland S. Person Jr. in his article, 'Playing House: Jane Austen's Fabulous Space'. Cynthia Wall, 'Gendering Rooms: Domestic Architecture and Literary Acts', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 5.4 (1993), 349–72, p. 352.

⁴⁹⁴ We encounter the drawing-room and the breakfast-room on pages 15 and 16 respectively. The dining room, billiard room and ball room are mentioned on pages 37, 116 and 237, while the lobby appears on page 247. The sick room is noted near the end of the novel on page 398.

separate dressing rooms for Lady Bertram and Sir Thomas, with the latter also afforded a study/library (although this later becomes the green room for the family's theatre production), while the servants have their own hall.⁴⁹⁵ Family members are seemingly able to maintain a distance from their staff as well as escape the 'perceptual pressure' – the stress of constantly being watched – of their family (Locke, p. 86), with Fanny able to 'retreat from [noise] to the solitude of the east room, without being seen or missed' (*Mansfield Park*, p. 147).

In the context of *The Alienated Manor*, Mansfield's careful partitions also signal the novel's responsiveness to the issues of panopticism and hyper-visibility that challenged people's privacy in the early nineteenth century. Austen is as concerned with Mansfield Park as a network structure as Baillie is with the Charvilles' manor. She appears similarly mindful of how the layout of rooms at Mansfield influences and affects the visibility of characters within those spaces. Acoustics at Mansfield are important: Austen frequently relates characters' experiences of listening. For instance, when Fanny is waiting for her brother Frederick to arrive, 'she found herself in an agitation of a higher nature – watching in the hall, in the lobby, on the stairs for the first sound of the carriage which was to bring her a brother' (p. 216). Austen is also preoccupied with the ways in which sound travels through the house and reveals the movements and the locations of the characters to one another. Mary Crawford, for example, locates Mr Yates (Tom's friend) during rehearsals for the play, commenting that she knows he 'is storming away in the dining room', because she 'heard him as [she] came up the stairs' (p. 157), while later in the novel Fanny reassures herself that she will not be disturbed because 'no footsteps [approach] the East room' (p. 287).

Furthermore, Austen's concern, like Baillie's, lies with sightlines along with the accessibility and positioning of rooms in relation to each other. Rooms and their relational structure are

⁴⁹⁵ On page 15 Austen first mentions the school-room, which is later referred to as the East room on page 140, where the white attic also appears. Edmund's room is noted on page 247, while Sir Thomas and Lady Bertram have separate dressing rooms which feature on pages 202 and 343, respectively. Sir Thomas's room, described in the book as 'Father's room', is mentioned on page 117. The Servants' Hall is first mentioned on page 109.

not merely mentioned casually, but in a way that allow readers to build a detailed map of them. The newly made theatre is in the ‘vicinity’ of Sir Thomas’s study and ‘seems to join the billiard room on purpose’ by ‘doors at the farther end’ (pp. 171, 116). Its position in the house and the layout of the drawing-room are clarified by extended descriptions of the family’s whereabouts in Chapter 13:

Maria, Julia, Henry Crawford, and Mr. Yates, were in the billiard room. Tom returning from them into the drawing-room, where Edmund was standing thoughtfully by the fire, while Lady Bertram was on the sofa at a little distance, and Fanny close beside her arranging her work (p. 116).

We are also made aware that just a slight repositioning of the furniture in the drawing-room allows Fanny to observe her whole family with ease: she edges ‘back her chair behind her aunt’s end of the sofa, and screen[s] from notice herself’ to see ‘all that was passing before her’ (p. 172). The house is so extensively described as a network structure that it accentuates the characters’ visibility to one another and, most importantly, to Sir Thomas.

Where the fabric and layout of Charville’s manor house facilitates his efforts to regulate his wife’s behaviour towards Sir Robert Freemantle, so, too, Sir Thomas’s mansion compounds his discipline over his children and niece, for, even in his absence, the building ensures he is ever-present in their thoughts, affecting their decisions. His control, as Charville’s, is tied into panopticism. Although Fanny, ‘the quiet auditor of the whole’, is rightly described by Stuart as an ‘agent of discipline’ who fulfils the role of examiner in Sir Thomas’s absence (p. 206), it is the house that proves ‘more important than all the people living in it [...] defining and regulating what may be regarded as a complete social order’, as John Skinner explains

(*Mansfield Park*, pp. 127–28).⁴⁹⁶ Mansfield's architecture reminds its inhabitants of Sir Thomas's scrutinising, evaluatory gaze and we see this most acutely in Chapter 13. When Tom assesses the billiard room and proclaims, 'it is the very room for a theatre, precisely the shape and length for it', proposing to 'merely' move the bookcase in Sir Thomas's room so as to make 'an excellent green-room', Edmund is instinctively compelled to respond (pp. 116–17). Tom's proposal to rearrange Sir Thomas's room reminds Edmund of what his father's opinion of the play would undoubtedly be: 'My father wished us, as school-boys, to speak well, but he would never wish his grown-up daughters to be acting in plays. His sense of decorum is strict' (p. 118). What is more, it would in Edmund's view, 'show great want of feeling on [his] father's account, absent as he is', to meddle with the layout of the house (p. 117). But from Tom's response, it is clear that Edmund's outburst is somewhat disproportionate:

The house shall not be hurt [...] I have quite as great an interest in being careful of his house as you can have; and as to such alterations as I was suggesting just now, such as moving a Book case, or unlocking a door, or even as using the Billiard room for the space of a week without playing at Billiards in it, you might just as well suppose he would object to our sitting more in this room, and less in the breakfast room, than we did before he went away, or to my sisters' piano forte being moved from one side of the room to the other. – Absolute nonsense! (pp. 118–19).

Edmund, who does not suffer from the 'aggressive narcissism' that Kay Souter sees in Tom, is able to grasp the significance of the changes in a way that Tom does not: 'I think a theatre

⁴⁹⁶ John Skinner, 'Exploring Space: The Constellations of *Mansfield Park*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 4.2 (1992), 125–48, p. 125.

ought not to be attempted. – It would be taking liberties with my Father’s house in his absence which could not be justified’ (p. 118).⁴⁹⁷

Surveillance studies allows us to recognise the specific valencies of archio-surveillance in operation here. While for Tom the changes merely represent the actions of a whim, since Sir Thomas is in Joseph M. Duffy Jr’s words ‘a human personification of the Park and nearly always speaks, not as a man, a husband, or a father, but as a governing body or institution’,⁴⁹⁸ any alterations to the house necessarily signify a challenge to Sir Thomas himself. Manifest in the appropriation of the billiard room is a challenge to male authority and space, specifically Sir Thomas’s space, and indeed the ‘solemnity’ of Sir Thomas’s later countenance causes Tom to ‘see more clearly than he had ever done before that there might be some ground of offence’ in the changes he has made to the house (p. 170). It is important to note here that Tom, Edmund, Mary, Julia and Maria do not make alterations to the house to resist or challenge Sir Thomas. Instead, they make the changes to create a theatre or in Mary’s case, her designs on the house’s theatre are part of her quest to seduce Edmund. But the text itself seems to understand that by reconfiguring spaces in the house, they are affecting a shift in Sir Thomas’s sense of control. One of Sir Thomas’s first actions is to reinstate the material structure and layout of his billiard room:

He had to reinstate himself in all the wonted concerns of his Mansfield life, to see his steward and his bailiff – to examine and compute – and in the intervals of business to walk into his stables and his gardens, and nearest plantations; but active and methodical, he had not only done all this before he resumed his seat as master of the

⁴⁹⁷ Kay Souter, ‘Mansfield Park and the Family: Love, Hate, and Sibling Relations’, in *Approaches to Teaching Austen’s Mansfield Park*, eds. Marcia McClintock Folsom and John Wiltshire (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2014), pp. 105–15, at p. 110.

⁴⁹⁸ Joseph M. Duffy Jr., ‘Moral Integrity and Moral Anarchy in *Mansfield Park*’, *ELH*, 23.1 (1956), 71–91, p. 75.

house at dinner, he had also set the carpenter to work in pulling down what had been so lately put up in the billiard room, and given the scene painter his dismissal [...] *Sir Thomas was in hopes that another day or two would suffice to wipe away every outward memento of what had been*, even to the destruction of every unbound copy of “*Lover’s Vows*” in the house, for he was burning all that met his eye (emphasis added, p. 177).

Sir Thomas’s orders appear in new light when read through the surveillance nomenclature tested in the previous discussions of *The Alienated Manor*. Sir Thomas is not merely returning his furniture to its original position but is actively seeking ‘to reinstate’ his own place as ‘master’. He is scripting the manor. In the process, he reaffirms his role as ‘continuous hierarchical figure’ (*Discipline and Punish*, p. 197). The repositioning of the bookcase that had previously blocked the communicating door to the billiard room, for instance, affects the way he is able to move through the house. Though he steps through the door from his study to the billiard room ‘rejoicing at that moment in having the means of immediate communication’ between the two spaces, he is quickly angered again on discovering the cause of the ‘almost hallooing’ he can hear – the theatre (p. 169). He recognises that although Mansfield had previously been ‘under his government’, it has been remodelled to such an extent that he has ‘been forgotten’ (pp. 182, 174). The house is an ‘altered place’ that no longer reinforces his surveillant control, no longer reminds his children how he would ‘see or judge’ them (pp. 182, 119). He is thus compelled to re-set the layout in order to make a ‘striking change in the ways of his family’ (p. 182).

We have seen that *Mansfield Park* dramatises a family’s experience of, and engagement with, emergent panoptic and surveillant mechanisms of discipline; similarly, the plot of *The*

Alienated Manor revolves around various modes of laterally directed surveillance experienced by women in the home during the early nineteenth century. But these modes of surveillance do not go wholly unchallenged. Indeed, while both Baillie and Austen explore the emotional pressures generated by the asymmetric forms of surveillance their characters struggle with in their respective mansions, these authors also investigate ways in which women could resist such undesired inspective force.

4.4. Re-scripting: Resistance in *Mansfield Park* and *The Alienated Manor*

To this point, I have considered the often intricate ways in which articulations of space in *Mansfield Park* and *The Alienated Manor* are keyed into the emerging concept of panoptic and surveillant discipline. The following section switches focus to evaluate how both authors afford their characters opportunities to challenge archio-disciplinary control. My aim is to illustrate how play and novel explore the ways in which women's 'recoding' and re-scripting of spaces offers a challenge to the domiciliary lateral gaze and to male authority and discipline (Hewitt, para. 4).⁴⁹⁹ In *Mansfield Park*, alterations to the house in preparation for the siblings' play, *Lovers' Vows*, threaten to disrupt the surveillant mechanisms established by Sir Thomas and compounded by the house's original design. By the same token, Mrs Charville's alterations to the house in *The Alienated Manor* successfully subvert the archio-surveillant disciplinary gaze of her husband.

If the extensive descriptions and mapping of rooms in *Mansfield Park* and *The Alienated Manor* are important because they demonstrate how Austen and Baillie are mindful of the relationship between power and the structure of the house, then modifications made to those

⁴⁹⁹ Kagawa presents a detailed study of precisely the kinds of 'rebuilding' that occur in *Mansfield Park* (p. 125) and give specific attention to Fanny's rearrangement of the East room and to the different architectural styles and landscapes Austen presents.

structures throughout the narratives must also be considered significant. Sound usually travels easily between the rooms at Mansfield, as we saw, but the adjustments made to accommodate the siblings' production of *Lovers' Vows* deliberately reduce this panoptic audibility.⁵⁰⁰ These changes, though relatively small, are the reason the family is unaware of Sir Thomas's return during their rehearsals. Rather than the usual quiet that comes with daily life at Mansfield, the house is noisy because the new theatre redistributes the usually separate inhabitants, gathering them in one area. Simply put, the family do not hear Sir Thomas's movements as they would have usually:

They did begin – and being too much engaged in their own noise, to be struck by unusual noise in the other part of the house, had proceeded some way when the door of the room was thrown open, and Julia appearing at it, with a face all aghast, exclaimed, “My father is come! He is in the hall at this moment” (p. 159).

Changes to the fabric of Charvilles' manor also interfere with audibility. Upon Freemantle's arrival the usually quiet estate becomes noisy, as Mrs Charville, gaining confidence from their neighbour's presence, has 'a better lock put upon the north door of her dressing room' (III. i. 188–89). The subsequent 'noise' permeates through the house and bothers her husband (III. i. 188). These changes distress the patriarchal figurehead in each text. The construction of the temporary theatre at Mansfield is, as Kagawa points out, 'unsettling' to Sir Thomas, whose 'dark brow' betrays his emotion, while Mrs Charville's modifications evidently enrage Charville who reacts by instructing the locksmith to 'take his smutty face out of [the] house'

⁵⁰⁰ Audibility and panopticism are discussed in detail by Christiane Lenk, 'Audibility Is a Trap: Aural Panopticon in *The Lives of Others* (2006)', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century: An Introduction*, eds. Florence Feiereisen and Alexandra Merley Hill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 125–40.

(Kagawa, p. 140; *Mansfield Park*, p. 172; *Alienated Manor*, III. i. 189). These changes, I argue, aggrieve their buildings' owners precisely because they represent a disruption to the customary functioning of visibility and audibility in these spaces.

Charville, for instance, is not only threatened by changes to his house but also by elements of the house known to others but not him. In Act IV, when Charville chases an unwelcome visitor through the manor (believing the figure to be Freemantle sneaking around), he is thwarted in his pursuit by the house's doors but, unlike on previous occasions, is unable to overcome its obstacles. To locate the unwelcome presence and maintain control, Charville deliberately pursues the intruder into a room that he believes is a dead-end – 'there is no door for him to escape by' – confident of capturing him, only to discover a secret door, or jib-door as it was commonly called at the time, which has allowed his target to escape (Brown, p. 197):

Charville [to Smitchenstault]: You here! Where is Freemantle? It was him I followed along the gallery, if there be any truth in vision [...]

Smitchenstault: Gone out by dat door. (*Pointing to the panel*).

Charville: Is there a door here? (*Searching for it*)

Dickenson (*to Smitchenstault*): Pray, Sir, how did you see him?

Smitchenstault: I peep tro' de chinks of de closet, and see him pass [...]

Dickenson: How could that be, when there is no door there?

Charville: (*having just discovered*). Faith! But there is though, which confirms every word he has said. (*Bursts open the concealed door, and exit, followed by Dickenson*) (IV. ii. 212–13).

Baillie's comedy is by no means alone in featuring a jib-door, which was an increasingly commonplace 'contrivance' of houses such as Ston Easton Park, Somerset (built 1750–1760).⁵⁰¹ For example, in her 1800 novel *The Mourtray Family*, Elizabeth Hervey's protagonist Emma also uses one as a means of escape: '[she] darted through a gib-door, covered with pictures, which had struck her eye while [Lord Wilmington] was speaking: this door (the key of which she turned after her) opened into a long passage leading to a staircase'.⁵⁰² In *The Alienated Manor*, however, the door not only permits escape but represents a loophole in Charville's control: it signals his lack of command over his domain and the movements of his fellow inhabitants. Although the door is obviously not a new addition to the house because the room is unused and undisturbed, an 'old dismal-looking' and dusty chamber, Charville is unaware of its presence (IV. i. 207).⁵⁰³ Yet it is obvious that many of the women in the household, Mrs Smoothly and Dolly, are aware of the door because they enter through it at the beginning of the scene, which forces us to question how much control Charville really has over his household (IV. ii. 207).

Certainly, both *The Alienated Manor* and *Mansfield Park* feature characters who are able to undermine, or at least threaten, the control of the texts' continuous hierarchical figures. In *Mansfield Park*, Mary Crawford exerts pressure on structures of archio-surveillant discipline. As Karen Jane Cowan has argued, Mary represents a figure of resistance who often articulates what Fanny cannot say, but as well as challenging expectations of female

⁵⁰¹ Jib-doors were often used to 'assist with awkward layouts and give an illusion of greater space', see Katy Green, 'In these walls, secrets hide', *The English Home*, <[http://www.theenglishhome.co.uk/in these walls secrets hide 1 2294265/](http://www.theenglishhome.co.uk/in-these-walls-secrets-hide-1-2294265/)> [accessed 31 October 2017], para. 2 of 8. See also, Ston Easton, 'History of Ston Easton Park', in *Ston Easton*, <<http://www.stoneaston.co.uk/about-us>> [accessed 06 November 2017], p. 12.

⁵⁰² Elizabeth Hervey, *The Mourtray Family*, Vol. II (London: R. Faulder, 1800), p. 159.

⁵⁰³ The audience is led to assume the door was part of the original owner's designs.

propriety,⁵⁰⁴ she also challenges archio-surveillance at Mansfield.⁵⁰⁵ She catalyses the house's transformation by convincing Edmund to agree to the idea of the play. His vehement opposition, which represents the last stronghold of Sir Thomas's discipline – 'I am convinced Sir Thomas would not like it' – falters when Mary Crawford accepts the role of Amelia (p. 131). She uses what Cowan calls her 'bold' speech and 'female licence' to force Edmund to reassess the situation by convincing him of her 'unwillingness to be acting with a stranger' (Cowan, p. 56; *Mansfield Park*, p. 143). In doing so, she breaks down the last obstacle to altering the house. Even Fanny, fixated on Edmund's newfound acceptance of the play, recognises Mary's role in facilitating the play's production, and by association, the changes to the house:

After all his objections – objections so just and so public! After all that she had heard him say, and seen him look, and known him to be feeling. Could it be possible? [...] Alas! it was all Miss Crawford's doing. She had seen her influence in every speech (p. 145).

Austen, then, offers Mary as a force for change, a woman who can affect transformation and who to a certain extent represents the potential for women to challenge archio-surveillance through their alterations to their homes. At the same time, however, Austen ultimately does not allow the challenge to Sir Thomas's control to succeed, with the return of the house to its

⁵⁰⁴ Nineteenth-century conduct books for women expounded that women should be virtuous, obedient and only concerned with domestic issues and should not challenge male authority, for more see: Daniel Wise, *The Young Lady's Counsellor: or Outlines and Illustrations of the Sphere, Duties, and the Dangers of Young Women* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1851); Jane E. Rose, 'Conduct Books for Women, 1830–1860', in *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995), pp. 37–58.

⁵⁰⁵ Karen Jane Cowan, 'Domestic Disruptions: Strategies of Resistance in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* and Fay Weldon's *The Heart of the Country*' (unpublished master's thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1993), pp. 39, 56–57.

original state, ‘the destruction of every theatrical preparation at Mansfield, the removal of everything appertaining to the play’, reaffirming the discipline of the patriarchal figure (p. 181). Neither the men nor it seems the women in *Mansfield Park* are able to escape Sir Thomas’s control.

In *The Alienated Manor*, by contrast, challenges by female characters to archio-surveillant power are more rewarding. Where we might have assumed that Mrs Charville accepted her husband’s eavesdropping, even if Mrs Smoothly did not, on further inspection it is clear that she desires to escape her husband’s gaze, complaining that even his ‘occasional absence’ would increase her happiness (I. ii. 138). When she later sees through her husband’s ‘Barnaby’ disguise and he asks whether she is having an affair, the audience is made extremely aware of Mrs Charville’s anger at and exasperation with her husband’s spying:

You have, in serious earnestness, thus disguised yourself to be a spy upon my conduct. And you have, no doubt, made some notable discovery to justify your suspicion [...] Had you asked me that question before with open and manly sincerity, you should have had an answer as open and sincere; but since you have preferred plots, and disguises, and concealment, even make it out your own way. It would be an affront to your skill and sagacity to satisfy your curiosity independently of them (III. ii. 204–05).

In light of her frustrations, it becomes apparent that in the remainder of the play Mrs Charville does not merely accept her husband’s control over her accessibility, rather, she colludes with and alters the house in an effort to resist it. In Act III, for instance, she seeks to ‘have a better lock put upon the north door of her dressing room’, a door Charville observes

has been ‘nailed up for a long time’ (III. i. 189). Although Dickenson explains that she merely ‘has a fancy to have it opened’, her protestations about Charville’s spying reveal that the change is more significant; it is a challenge to her husband’s panoptic gaze. Her small modification would leave her, in surveillance terms, harder to locate, because as Dickenson explains, the newly opened door would provide a secondary exit to the room, ‘convenient[ly]’ leading ‘to the back staircase’ once opened (III. i. 189). Even Charville himself recognises the challenge to his control Mrs Charville’s alterations represent, taking ‘some capricious dislike’ to the manor precisely because rather than aiding in his control, it appears to facilitate Mrs Charville instead (IV. iv. 224). The house has allowed, in what appears a most ‘extraordinary circumstance’ to Charville, a suitor to ‘mak[e] his way through private doors, and by privacy stairs, to apartments’ without his knowledge (V. iii. 245). Unlike Austen, Baillie proceeds to allow the challenge to Charville’s archio-disciplinary power to prove successful, with Charville ultimately apologising and promising to control his ‘character of suspicion’ during the narrative’s resolution (V. iii. 249).

Whether the characters are ultimately successful in their attempts to disrupt lateral surveillance is almost of secondary importance both to Austen’s and Baillie’s texts and to my critique. Novel and play offer vital clues about how the recoding and re-scripting of interior spaces challenge power structures that have implications for women in the home in our own time. Women today live in a specifically gendered version of what Lyon terms a ‘surveillance society’,⁵⁰⁶ where not only so-called ‘smart home’ devices such as Amazon Echo and Google Home are capable of tracking and influencing behaviour,⁵⁰⁷ but in which the houses themselves also facilitate visibility and promote mutual surveillance between residents and

⁵⁰⁶ David Lyon, *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 3.

⁵⁰⁷ Trevor Timm, ‘The government just admitted it will use smart home devices for spying’, 09 February 2016, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/feb/09/internet-of-things-smart-devices-spying-surveillance-us-government>> [accessed 03 October 2017].

their neighbours. Twenty-first-century architects routinely take account of opportunities for what they call ‘natural surveillance’ around the home, that is, non-digital surveillance which enhances the perceived risk of being seen or detected.⁵⁰⁸ Town councils across Britain even stipulate that ‘the placement of physical features, activities and people’ must be managed ‘in a way that maximises visibility and the ability to identify suspicious people or activities’.⁵⁰⁹ Modern design conventions actually rely on neighbourhoods wanting to monitor each other (see Fig. 11).

Baillie’s neglected play not only offers sharp insights into precisely the kind of gendered domestic lateral surveillance that technology is amplifying today, but also appears conscious of the ways in which different forms of architecture specifically enable asymmetric peer-to-peer surveillance. It is only by altering the shape and layout and passages through their homes, only by actively redesigning their domestic spaces, that Mrs Charville and Mary, as well as the disciplined sons Tom and Edmund, succeed – even if only temporarily – in mounting a challenge to surveillant paradigms in the home. Sir Thomas Bertram ultimately resists any attempts to alter his Georgian pile. *The Alienated Manor*, on the other hand, explores in riotous manner what surveillance theorists would term a ‘feedback loop’ between the ‘structure and the needs of the individuals that reside in it’, as Mrs Charville conspires

⁵⁰⁸ Natural surveillance is part of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). See Paul Cozens for a more detailed overview: ‘Crime Prevention through Environmental Design’, in *Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis*, eds. Richard Wortley and Lorraine Mazerolle (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 153–72.

⁵⁰⁹ At least twenty district councils mandate for ‘natural surveillance’ or ‘mutual surveillance’ in their design guides. For example, South Oxfordshire District Council suggests buildings should have large windows in the ‘primary’ rooms of the house to allow ‘natural surveillance’ of the street outside. Kent County Council, *Design for Crime Prevention: A Kent Design Guide for Developers, Designers & Planners*, <<https://www.kent.police.uk/getmedia/42fbc650-d9d3-4025-8883-8c3f58041fe2/7-principals-of-design-kdi.pdf>> [accessed 13 February 2018], p. 12; *South Oxfordshire Design Guide*, 2016, in *South Oxfordshire District Council*, <<http://www.southoxon.gov.uk/services-and-advice/planning-and-building/conservation-and-design/design/design-guide>> [accessed 04 October 2017], p. 35.

and colludes with the house itself to escape her husband's gaze.⁵¹⁰ Two different outcomes – but both works insist on their pertinence today, at a time when digital means of surveillance, from smart speakers to internet-connected doorbells and thermostats, present new threats to women's privacy in the home.

Chapter 5 | The Urban Body: Women, Geosurveillance and the City

Cartographic theory recognises that new mapping technologies have expanded the possibilities for what Jeremy W. Crampton terms 'geosurveillance', the surveillance of geographical activities.⁵¹¹ Data relating to a subject's whereabouts and movements – 'spatial

⁵¹⁰ Pinter-Wollman, Noa, Stephen M. Fiore and Guy Theraulaz, 'The Impact of Architecture on Collective Behaviour', *Nature Ecology & Evolution*, 1.5 (2017), <<https://dx.doi.org/10.1038/s41559-017-0111>> [accessed 27 September 2017], pp. 1–2.

⁵¹¹ The term geosurveillance captures the nuances of pre-digital mapping more acutely than the 'surveillance cartography' theorised by Mark Monmonier. Geosurveillance includes the surveillance of 'travel and movement' as well as 'the distribution of people and things in territories and spaces'. See Jeremy W. Crampton, *Mapping: A Critical Introduction to Cartography and GIS* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 113; Mark Monmonier, *Spying with Maps: Surveillance Technologies and the Future of Privacy* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2002), p. 3.

annotations’ – can reveal intimate information about who we are, and what we do.⁵¹² In January 2018, it came to light that data about training routes collected by smartphones and fitness trackers and shared by soldiers on the fitness tracking app and online platform Strava made it possible to pinpoint the locations of otherwise secret US overseas facilities.⁵¹³ As geographer and cartographer J. Brian Harley contends, mapping is an integral part of contemporary surveillance and cannot be fully understood without an awareness of Foucauldian ideas of power, knowledge and surveillance.⁵¹⁴ In Gustavo Velho Diogo’s terms, maps should be recognised as ‘structures of power’ that ‘distribute authority between different individuals or groups of people’ (para. 3). In recent decades, surveillance theorists and cartographers have both recognised the complex ways in which mapping is closely ‘involved in such things as governance, geosurveillance and identity construction’.⁵¹⁵ I would add that literary theorists have much of value to add to debates focused on this nexus of mapping, power and surveillance.

Geographers and surveillance theorists such as Harley, Crampton and David Lyon have attended to the power dynamics involved in acts of mapping.⁵¹⁶ In parallel strands of inquiry, Sébastien Caquard and William Cartwright attend to the close relationship between mapping and narrative. They point out that maps can help us both ‘to better understand how a narrative is placed in a geography’ and to appreciate how a ‘geography has informed or influenced an

⁵¹² Gustavo Velho Diogo, ‘Google Earth, Surveillance, and the Power of Digital Cartography’, 07 October 2016, in *Institute of Network Culture*, <<http://networkcultures.org/longform/2016/10/07/google-earth-surveillance-and-the-power-of-digital-cartography/>> [accessed 01 February 2018], para. 2 of 26.

⁵¹³ Alex Hern, ‘Fitness tracking app Strava gives away location of secret US army bases’, 28 January 2018, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/28/fitness-tracking-app-gives-away-location-of-secret-us-army-bases>> [accessed 02 February 2018].

⁵¹⁴ J. Brian Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 53–55.

⁵¹⁵ As Fernando N. van der Vlist explains in his ‘Counter-Mapping Surveillance: A Critical Cartography of Mass Surveillance Technology After Snowden’, *Surveillance & Society*, 15.1 (2017), 137–57, p. 141.

⁵¹⁶ David Lyon, *The Culture of Surveillance: Watching as a Way of Life* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), pp. 108–09.

author'.⁵¹⁷ My aim is to bring these discourses together as a strategy for disclosing hitherto concealed aspects of gendered surveillance in Romantic literature.

This final chapter intersects with wider recent efforts to bring Romantic texts into contact with the discipline of literary geography, notably Christoph Bode's and Jacqueline Labbe's collection of essays, *Romantic Localities* (2010), and Richard Marggraf Turley's edited volume, *Keats's Places* (2018).⁵¹⁸ Both books explore the ways in which writers' relations to geographical space shape authorial identities. At the same time, I wish to maintain methodological distance from the current spatial turn in literary criticism and 'topopoetics' in so far as my primary interest is directed not at investigating 'sense of place' or the influence of actual topography on fictional vistas, but rather at making visible the mechanisms of surveillant cartography as far as these can be discerned in Romantic literature.⁵¹⁹

My first aim is to situate key texts in the context of the Romantic public's engagement with mapping and locating. To this end, I consider geosurveillance in terms of social regulation in late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century 'guides' to London, such as *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies, or Man of Pleasure's Kalender for the Year 1793* and John Badcock's *The London Guide, and Stranger's Safeguard* (1818). Lyon and Crampton point out that surveillance and geosurveillance 'are forms of knowledge [...] that are tied to forms

⁵¹⁷ Sébastien Caquard and William Cartwright, 'Narrative Cartography: From Mapping Stories to the Narrative of Maps and Mapping', *The Cartographic Journal*, 51.2 (2014), 101–06, p. 101.

⁵¹⁸ Christoph Bode and Jacqueline Labbe (eds.), *Romantic Localities: Europe Writes Place* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010); Richard Marggraf Turley (ed.), *Keats's Places* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

⁵¹⁹ See Neal Alexander, 'Senses of Place', in *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, ed. Robert T. Tally Jr. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 39–49; David Cooper, 'Digital Literary Cartographies: Mapping British Romanticism', in *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, ed. Robert T. Tally Jr. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 135–47; Tim Cresswell, 'Towards *Topopoetics*: Space, Place and the Poem', in *Place, Space and Hermeneutics*, ed. Bruce B. Janz (New York: Springer, 2017), pp. 319–31.

of power'. This insight, I will show, opens up new ways of reading the attempts of Harris and Badcock to track and map women in urban terrain (Crampton, p. 114).⁵²⁰

Expanding on Jane Rendell's pioneering research into gender, mobility and visibility,⁵²¹ I also wish to demonstrate how Romantic women, particularly transgressive bodies, experienced geosurveillance as a gendered practice in urban areas. As we will see, fictional accounts of London's 'low life',⁵²² notably Pierce Egan's *Life in London* (1821), were influenced by these indexes and guides, and similarly invited readers to keep track of the city's 'risky' female bodies.⁵²³ In a similar way, I will suggest, De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821), is obsessed with tracking women – particularly the young prostitute Ann, who successfully evades the narrator. I wish to read Ann's eerie elusiveness not as a function of De Quincey's urban sublime, but rather as the result of a deliberate strategy of evasion, one that points to ways in which other women in the text resist De Quincey's geosurveilling narrator.

5.1. Mapping in the Romantic Imagination

In 1801, *The Critical Review* launched a 'Review of Maps and Charts' that promised to expose the 'gross mistakes and inaccuracies' of current cartographers. The first edition presented a scathing review of the 'fictions' that German chartists 'admitted all too readily

⁵²⁰ David Lyon, *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of the Surveillance Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

⁵²¹ Jane Rendell, 'Displaying Sexuality: Gendered Identities and the Early-Nineteenth Century Street', in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity, and Control in Public Space*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 75–91.

⁵²² Pierce Egan, *Life in London; or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorne, Esq. and his Elegant Friend Corinthian Tom, Accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in their Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1822), p. 178.

⁵²³ Jane Ogden, 'Psychosocial Theory and the Creation of the Risky Self', *Social Science and Medicine*, 40.3 (1995), 409–15, p. 413.

into their maps'.⁵²⁴ To the modern reader such a report may seem at odds with the journal's other summaries and critiques of history books, prayer books and poetry collections, but to the *Critical Review* the importance of new maps was 'obvious to every one' (p. 577). An acquaintance with maps and charts, it added 'constituted [...] an indispensable branch of literary knowledge' (p. 577).

The contents of the *Critical Review* registers an avid public appetite for maps.⁵²⁵ As *The Port Folio* remarked excitedly, geography had become 'the most exalting and sublime of all the speculative sciences'.⁵²⁶ Readers flocked to buy Abraham Crocker's *Elements of Land-Surveying* (1809), which presented information on 'plotting and mapping',⁵²⁷ and proved so popular it was reprinted in 1813 and updated again in 1841.⁵²⁸ The Regency fascination with travelling allowed some geographers to become household names. Welsh writer and naturalist Thomas Pennant (1726–1798), for example, emerged as 'one of the best-known and best-regarded cultural topographers of late eighteenth-century Britain',⁵²⁹ celebrated author of the *Tours in Scotland* (1771–1774) and *Tours in Wales* (1778–1781) series. Thomas Gisborne Marshall counted him as one of 'Five Hundred Celebrated Authors of Great Britain', while mentions of his walking tours permeated the writing of other popular authors, including Anna Seward (1742–1809).⁵³⁰ *The British Critic* suggested that part of the reason his work was received by the public with such eagerness was due to the fact that 'a very good

⁵²⁴ 'Review of Maps and Charts', in *The Critical Review, or, Annals of Literature*, Vol. XXXI (London: S. Hamilton, 1801), pp. 577–84, at pp. 577, 579.

⁵²⁵ Lester Jesse Cappon, 'Geographers and Map-makers, British and American, from about 1760 to 1789', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 81 (1971), 243–71.

⁵²⁶ 'Domestic Literary Intelligence', in *The Port Folio*, Vol. III (Philadelphia: Harrison Hall, 1817), pp. 350–51, at p. 350.

⁵²⁷ Abraham Crocker, *Elements of Land-Surveying* (London: Richard Phillips, 1809).

⁵²⁸ Abraham Crocker, *Elements of Land-Surveying* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1813); T. G. Bunt, *Crocker's Elements of Land-Surveying* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1841).

⁵²⁹ Elizabeth Edwards, 'A Galaxy of the Blended Lights': The Reception of Thomas Pennant', in *Enlightenment Travel and British Identities: Thomas Pennant's Tours in Scotland and Wales*, eds. Mary-Ann Constantine and Nigel Leask (London: Anthem Press, 2017), pp. 141–59, at p. 142.

⁵³⁰ Thomas Gisborne Marshall, *Catalogue of Five Hundred Celebrated Authors of Great Britain* (London: R. Faulder, 1788), np; Anna Seward refers to Thomas Pennant's tour in a note with her poem 'Llangollen Vale, Inscribed to the Right Honourable Lady Eleanor Butler, and Miss Ponsonby', in *The Collected Poems of Anna Seward*, ed. Lisa L. Moore, Vol. I (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 149–54, at p. 146.

map is prefixed to each volume of the route pursued by the author', adding 'which we always think an effectual addition to every publication of this kind'.⁵³¹ It was not merely travelling that interested people, then, but mapping.

The Romantic vogue for rural tours and walks through urban and peri-urban zones accompanied the expansion of the road network and public transport infrastructure. John Cary's 'accurate delineation of the great roads of England and Wales', for example, was just one of many roadbooks that provided detailed, up-to-date information about the most 'direct roads' between market towns, as well as alternative 'return routes'.⁵³² Such guidebooks not only afforded 'the traveller the means of extending his journey at pleasure', but also encouraged wayfarers to visit parts of the country previously unknown to them (p. iii).

Romantic writers responded to this fascination, either describing acts of peripateticism enabled by improved maps and travel infrastructure or being themselves brought into existence through their author's movements through various terrains. John Keats's (1795–1821) 'To Autumn' (1820), for instance, was inspired by walks sketched out in Charles Ball's 1818 guide to the history and topography of Winchester, *An Historical Account of Winchester*. The third walk, detailing a route that took in St Giles's Hill and the new cornfield there, provided sights and sounds that directly inspired the composition of Keats's great ode.⁵³³ Frances Burney (1752–1840) and Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849) were both influenced by their passion for cartography. Burney not only avidly read books on travel but raved that their accompanying maps were 'really & properly entertaining';⁵³⁴ Edgeworth

⁵³¹ British Critic, 'Art III. A Journey from London to the Isle of Wight', in *The British Critic*, Vol. XVII (London: F. and C. Rivington, 1801), pp. 580–90, at pp. 580, 590.

⁵³² John Cary, *Cary's New Itinerary: or, an Accurate Delineation of the Great Roads, both Direct and Cross, throughout England and Wales*, 2nd edn. (London, 1802), pp. ii–iii.

⁵³³ Richard Marggraf Turley, Jayne Archer and Howard Thomas, 'Keats, 'To Autumn', and the New Men of Winchester', *The Review of English Studies*, 63.262 (2012), 797–817; Charles Ball, *An Historical Account of Winchester, with Descriptive Walks* (Winchester: James Roberts, 1818).

⁵³⁴ In 1787 Frances Burney reflects on hearing about 'The Travels of Mr Bruce in Abyssinia': *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney: 1787*, ed. Stewart Cooke, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon, 2011), p. 135.

used to showcase her father's and uncle's amateur maps to enthusiastic friends;⁵³⁵ and Anna Letitia Barbauld famously delighted in the popular eighteenth-century practice of what the British Library terms 'spoof cartography' – allegorical mapping – in her *New Map of the Land of Matrimony* (Fig. 12).⁵³⁶

In this chapter, I focus on what is perhaps the best-known example of Romanticism's engagement with movement and mapping in *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*. A self-styled 'peripatetic, or a walker of the streets',⁵³⁷ De Quincey responded to the popularity of accounts of walking tours. He saw them as a 'way of both moving through and knowing a world changing through enclosure and industrialisation'.⁵³⁸ In this context, we are probably more used to thinking about *Confessions* as a psychogeographical text concerned with De Quincey's emotional states in the various urban territories he traverses. However, my aim is to shift attention away from De Quincey's performances of hallucinatory states and sublime confusion to place pressure instead on his text's efforts to put Ann on the map and fix her coordinates. The geosurveillance *Confessions* directs at Ann, I argue, deserves to be recognised as one of *Confessions*'s most urgent engagements with key Romantic tropes.

⁵³⁵ According to William Rowan Hamilton (1805–1865) – a mathematician who assisted with the mapping of Ireland. See 'From W. R. Hamilton to his sister Eliza: Edgeworthstown, March 19, 1828', in *Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton*, ed. Robert Perceval Graves, Vol. I (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1882), pp. 291–92, at p. 291.

⁵³⁶ British Library, 'Map of the Land of Matrimony', in *British Library*, <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/map-of-the-land-of-matrimony>> [accessed 13 February 2018].

⁵³⁷ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium-Eater*, ed. Robert Morrison (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013 [Originally published 1821]), p. 21.

⁵³⁸ Amanda Gilroy, 'Introduction', in *Romantic Geographies: Discourse of Travel, 1775–1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 1–18, at p. 2. See also Robin Jarvis's notes on De Quincey's discussions of his walking tour of Wales: *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997), p. 25; Joel E. Salt, 'Re-mapping as Remembering: the Digital De Quincey', in *The Geography of London's Imaginary Spaces in the Eighteenth Century*, <<http://drc.usask.ca/projects/eng803/joel/dequincey/dequincey.html>> [accessed 14 March 2018].

5.2. Risky bodies: Covent Garden Ladies and Geosurveillance

Simone Browne and Nicole Shephard discuss how surveillance, at root, represents a mode of ‘social control’ that ‘historically [has] functioned as an oppressive tool to control women’s bodies’.⁵³⁹ Asymmetric modes of inspection ‘define what is in or out of place’ by monitoring, sorting and selecting bodies it deems to lie outside of the ‘norm’.⁵⁴⁰ In what follows, I build on Browne’s and Shephard’s ideas to examine geosurveillance, and in particular urban mapping, in the Romantic era as an exercise that aimed to keep tabs on women’s whereabouts. A series of guides to London sought to chart the city not only in terms of intra- and inter-urban coach routes but also in terms of moral zones. These guides mapped women differently to men, as we see in *Harris’s List of Covent-Garden Ladies* and Badcock’s *The London Guide, and Stranger’s Safeguard*. In both, women are mapped according to sexual activity, linked to private brothels, popular soliciting sites such as Vauxhall Gardens and the Burlington Arcade and particular streets, all of which are coded as threatening spaces, filled with dangerous, unpredictable, diseased bodies.

First compiled by Jack Harris, scathingly labelled ‘Pimp-General to the People of England’ by his critics,⁵⁴¹ *Harris’s List of Covent-Garden Ladies* was notorious in its day as an index that provided ‘exact’ information on the women who frequented the metropolis. Erotic frontispieces advertised the prurient nature of the text (Fig. 13).⁵⁴² Originally intended for the clientele of *Shakespeare’s Head Tavern* in Covent Garden, where Harris worked as head

⁵³⁹ Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), p. 16; Nicole Shephard, ‘Big Data and Sexual Surveillance’, December 2016, *APC Issue Papers*, 1–17, p. 1.

⁵⁴⁰ John Fiske, ‘Surveilling the City: Whiteness, the Black Man and Democratic Totalitarianism’, *Theory, Culture & Society*, 15.2 (1998), 67–88, p. 81.

⁵⁴¹ British Library, ‘*Harris’s List of Covent-Garden Ladies*, an 18th century guide to prostitutes’, *British Library Collections Online*, <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/harris-list-of-covent-garden-ladies-an-18th-century-guide-to-prostitutes>> [accessed 18 January 2018].

⁵⁴² ‘Classified Ads’, *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 29 December 1770.

waiter,⁵⁴³ the list's circulation figures increased until they peaked at 8,000.⁵⁴⁴ Issued yearly between 1757 and 1795,⁵⁴⁵ the list has recently been returned to critical scrutiny by Hallie Rubenhold's work on Samuel Derrick, Jack Harris and Charlotte Hayes.⁵⁴⁶ What interests me here, however, is less the rumbustious lives of the compilers, or indeed the titillating nature of the tales that accompany each entry, than the position occupied by the list at the intersection of Romanticism's obsession with mapping, cartography and walking tours on the one hand, and its fascination with transgressive female bodies on the other.

Across a 10-year run of volumes, the locations of over 1,000 women are recorded.⁵⁴⁷ My focus here is restricted to the 1793 edition of *Harris's List*. Beside a lurid biography of each prostitute is an address: Mrs Abbing-on 'next door to the butcher's shop, Store-street'; Miss B-lford of Titchfield Street; 'Mrs Will-ms, No. 17, Pit-street [...] just returned from Brighton'.⁵⁴⁸ Many of the entries simply provide a list of services together with a street name, but others are more detailed. Entries for Miss Godf-y, Miss Chis-lme, Mrs Harris-n, Miss Sh-rd, Miss H-rington and Mrs St-ton not only provide their addresses but also pinpoint their location with scalar precision to 'the first floor' of a particular building.⁵⁴⁹ For some women, the list's spatial annotations go even further, recording their customary movements around London. Miss P-ctor, 'Cursitor-street, formerly of Gress-street' is 'a nice girl who lives in the first floor' and 'frequents the Theatre', as does Miss W-l-n of No. 27 Litchfield-street, Soho

⁵⁴³ Eventually imprisoned, Jack lent his alias to Samuel Derrick (1724–1769) in 1758 who continued the list's publication and upon Derrick's death in 1769 the list was continued by its publishers.

⁵⁴⁴ If contemporary reports from E. J. Burford are to be believed. Liz Denlinger contests this number. See E. J. Burford, *Wits, Wenchers and Wantons: London's Low Life – Covent Garden in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Robert Hale, 1986), p. 103. See also Carol Houlihan Flynn, who summarises Denlinger's unpublished conference paper: 'Where the Wild Things Are: Guides to London's Transgressive Spaces', in *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Eighteenth-century Society: Essays from the DeBartolo Conference*, eds. Regina Hewitt and Pat Rogers (Lewisburg: Bucknell University press, 2002), pp. 27–50, at p. 49 (note 25).

⁵⁴⁵ Only volumes from 1761, 1764, 1773, 1779, 1788, 1789, 1790 and 1793 survive in full today.

⁵⁴⁶ Hallie Rubenhold, *The Covent Garden Ladies: Pimp General Jack & The Extraordinary Story of Harris's List* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005).

⁵⁴⁷ See Rubenhold for detailed discussion about which issues survive (p. 285).

⁵⁴⁸ *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies, or Man of Pleasure's Kalender for the Year 1793* (London: H. Ranger, 1793), pp. 65, 87, 67.

⁵⁴⁹ References to the ladies first floor lodgings may be found on the following pages: Miss Godf-y (p. 32), Miss Chis-lme (p. 49), Mrs Harris-n (p. 62), Miss Sh-rd (p. 63), Miss H-rington (p. 94), and Mrs St-ton (p. 96).

(pp. 99, 108). Miss S-wyn of the King's Road, Chelsea not only visits the theatre but 'is frequently to be noticed in the green boxes of the Theatres' (p. 115), whereas Miss H-r-y of No. 16 Phoenix street, Soho, prefers taverns to the theatre and is 'frequently to be met with at the original Thirteen Cantons, in King Street, Soho' (pp. 128–29). While the level of detail varies, all the entries operate similarly, providing precise information that served to place these women onto a map of London (see Fig. 14, which uses these detailed spatial annotations to plot the women's locations). Harris creates a guide with exacting detail about where to find these women on London's streets. Indeed, Matthew Sangster recognises the cartographical importance of *Harris's List* by placing the 1788 edition in conversation with Richard Horwood's *PLAN of the Cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER* (1792–1799) (Fig. 15).⁵⁵⁰

Harris's List generates a mental map that exists in radical tension with other of the period's metropolitan cartographies. Many of these had pragmatic origins, such as W. Owen's *Book of Roads* (1797) and Carrington Bowles's *New and Enlarged Catalogue of Useful Maps, Charts, and Plans* (1784), popular road books that charted the city in terms of its coach routes.⁵⁵¹ But London's amusements and attractions had also been mapped. In *Langley and Belch's Companion to their New Map of London*, readers are informed, for example, that in January it was possible to visit 'Maillardet's Automatical Exhibition' on St Martin's-lane, Charing-cross, skate on the Canal and Serpentine river, or go to Exeter Change on the north

⁵⁵⁰ Matthew Sangster's project aligns several Romantic texts with Horwood's *Plan*, including *Harris's List*, and plots any locations mentioned/visited using annotated markers. Rather than engaging with geosurveillance as this chapter does, Sangster's work seeks to explore 'the ways that poets and novelists interacted with the city in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries both in literature and in life, in mapping their works but also locating the places in London where they stayed, or visited friends, where they worked, or caroused, or laughed'. See 'Mapping *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies* (1788), in *Romantic London*, <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/harris-list-1788/#14/51.5207/-0.1255>> [accessed 16 March 2018]; Matthew Sangster, 'A bit more about the Project', in *Romantic London*, <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/about-this-project/>> [accessed 16 March 2018], para. 1 of 3.

⁵⁵¹ W. Owen, *Owen's Book of Roads* (London: W. Owen, 1797); Carrington Bowles, *Carrington Bowles's New and Enlarged Catalogue of Useful Maps, Charts, and Plans* (London: 1784).

side of the Strand to see ‘Pidcock’s Exhibition of Wild Beasts’.⁵⁵² The metropolis was being configured as a place for travellers and visitors – a city in which ‘drolls’ could enjoy Camberwell or Peckham fairs, or visit Haymarket to see Week’s Museums (*Langley and Belch*, pp. 25, 20). David Hughson’s *Walks Through London* (1817) went out of its way, as it were, to present the city as a safe space for these visitors, offering handy maps of the labyrinthine back streets and alleys that led off the main drags, alongside a prefatory testimony that reassured readers London had been ‘entirely cleared of common prostitutes’.⁵⁵³ Hughson’s Walk 12 around Covent Garden (Fig. 16), for example, makes no mention of the women who feature in Harris’s extensive list. In contrast to the city mapped by Harris, the London presented by Hughson, Owen and Bowles is ordered, regulated, controlled.

For all that London was promoted as a safe and ordered space, the city remained notorious for high levels of prostitution.⁵⁵⁴ It was common knowledge that large numbers of ‘venomous *Vulvaria*’ (diseased prostitutes) operated in popular spots such as the ‘celebrated’ Vauxhall Gardens on the south bank of The Thames.⁵⁵⁵ The attraction’s proprietors, by contrast, maintained that the Gardens were an ‘elegant’ place to enjoy ‘ancient and modern pleasures’.⁵⁵⁶ Burlington Arcade, built in 1818, was comparably notorious for soliciting.⁵⁵⁷ Although privately policed by members of Lord George Cavendish’s ex-military regiment, and marketed as a place that would ‘give employment to industrious females’,⁵⁵⁸ the Arcade

⁵⁵² *Langley and Belch’s Companion to their New Map of London* (London: Langley and Belch, 1812), pp. 22, 23.

⁵⁵³ David Hughson, *Walks Through London* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1817), p. 2.

⁵⁵⁴ David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 191.

⁵⁵⁵ *A Merry Allegorico-Botanico-Badonical Piece: or, the Natural History of the Arbor Vitæ: or the Tree of Life* (London: Company of Gardeners, 1732), p. 6.

⁵⁵⁶ The Proprietors, *A Brief Historical and Descriptive Account of the Royal Gardens, Vauxhall* (London: Gye and Balne, 1822), p. 43.

⁵⁵⁷ Simon Jenkins, *Landlords to London: The Story of a Capital and Its Growth* (London: Faber and Faber, 2012), p. 113.

⁵⁵⁸ Sylvanus Urban, ‘Domestic Occurrences’, in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol. LXXXVII (London: Nichols, Son and Bentley, 1817), pp. 270–73, at p. 273.

became a byword for prostitution. An 1821 play inspired by Pierce Egan's *Life in London* declared in thinly disguised code that:

There's now plenty of fleecing [at the Arcade]. Certainly, and shepherdesses too, for that matter, all neat as imported from St George's Fields [home of The Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes].⁵⁵⁹

Even the 'gay Cyprians' in Egan's original *Life in London* were said to 'keep shops' just as those in the Arcade did (p. 173). Despite the efforts of Hughson and the proprietors of London's leading attractions to assert the city's 'vigilance' over its streets, the city was proliferating 'uncharted spaces' that risked making it appear 'unintelligible' – which is, of course, a key trope in the urban sublime of *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, as we will see.⁵⁶⁰ *Harris's List*, then, seems to offer a radically different map of London to that of Hughson, but in fact both cartographies work to organise the perceived chaos of the city: Hughson's by denying that prostitutes existed in the first place, and Harris's by making them visible as commodities. As Carol Houlihan Flynn suggests, such eighteenth-century guides to London's transgressive spaces 'classified and fixed [women] upon a cultural map of dangerous pleasures' (p. 40). Surveillance theorists Pete Fussey and Jon Coaffee have drawn attention to more recent migrations of bodies into cities and their shifting demographic; they note that 'epithets of degeneracy, disorder and disease' continue to be 'applied across entire geographies, affording prominence to the ecological heuristic of "dangerous spaces"' (p. 201). This discourse can be fed back into Harris's and Hughson's cartography, since here, at

⁵⁵⁹ Anonymous, *Tom & Jerry; or, Life in London* (London: John Lowndes, 1821), p. 9.

⁵⁶⁰ Pete Fussey and Jon Coaffee, 'Urban Spaces of Surveillance', in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirstie Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 201–08, at p. 201.

the nexus of mapped bodies and urban space, is precisely where Romantic-era texts intersect with new theories of panoptic surveillance.

Prostitutes became a primary target of utilitarian inspective force, and were subjected to the processes of ‘rendering, cataloguing and ordering’ discussed by Coaffee and Fussey (p. 201). It is important to recognise that Romantic-period guides such as Hughson’s *Walks Through London* and Harris’s *List* were both, in their own ways, catalysed by precisely this fascination with geosurveillant processes. We could go as far as to say that these two texts exist as two sides of the same coin, part of the same larger project – and both informed by similar anxieties about the dangerous bodies of prostitutes.

Prostitutes were widely represented as ‘*ennemie du corps social*’,⁵⁶¹ and ‘as threats in need of containment’.⁵⁶² The city zones they inhabited were situated as simultaneously risky and opaque. As Rendell argues, the disordered ‘social spaces of leisure, consumption, display and exchange’ in which these women existed, including Vauxhall Gardens, Burlington Arcade and Covent Garden, became threatening, infecting sites of concern: ‘public patriarchs seeking to control female occupation of the city, worried that their female property – mothers, wives and daughters – would be visually and sexually available to other men’.⁵⁶³ As a result prostitutes were targeted by pernicious geosurveillance that sought to bring their bodies into view – to monitor them. *The Gazetteer and Daily Advertiser*, for instance, tracked and reported prostitutes’ living and travel arrangements in an easily understandable code: ‘The two pigeons arrived from the *North* not being in full feather, will not show their *pretty* faces

⁵⁶¹ Social hygienist Foederé in 1820, quoted by Kathryn Norberg in, ‘From Courtesan to Prostitute: Mercenary Sex and Venereal Disease, 1730–1802’, in *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-century Britain and France*, ed. Linda E. Merians (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), pp. 34–50, at p. 46.

⁵⁶² Mia Fischer, ‘Under the Ban-Optic Gaze: Chelsea Manning and the State’s Surveillance of Transgender Bodies’, in *Expanding the Gaze: Gender and the Politics of Surveillance*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 185–212, at p. 188.

⁵⁶³ Jane Rendell, ‘“Serpentine Allurements”: disorderly bodies/disorderly spaces’, in *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories*, eds. Iain Borden and Jane Rendell (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 247–68, at p. 248.

out of Maddox-street till after the Queen's birth-day'.⁵⁶⁴ Rather than simply innocent advertising, the 'Cyprian Intelligence' column kept tabs on prostitutes – their liaisons, their whereabouts, even their predicted appearances. The women were victims of gendered geosurveillance: their precise location and their movements were revealed as a means of containing them. These women were subject to stringent monitoring precisely because of their perceived transgressions and the risk they posed to others. They were targeted by cartographic processes – categorising, classifying, observing, locating, mapping – that inherently disempowered them because such processes are tools for surveillance, knowledge and governance (Harley, p. 112).⁵⁶⁵

When these geosurveillant mechanisms are read back into the literature of the period, it becomes apparent that printed guides to London responded to the threat of risky bodies in the city. *Harris's List* contains the 'dangerous' bodies of the Cyprian Corps through geosurveillance. Indeed, by revealing the locations of the women on the lists, Harris does more than promote their services. His text is part of a network of publications that variously regulated and contained prostitutes by organising their movements that otherwise appeared unintelligible. For example, John Badcock's *The London Guide, and Stranger's Safeguard* demarcates areas of moral risk while at the same time containing that risk. More explicitly even than *Harris's List*, Badcock records the locations of prostitutes:

From *Aldgate Pump* to *Saint James's Street*, is one universal line of march for them, broken at intervals by short turns upon the heel; and having, on the right and on the left, houses of resort; brothels, bawdy-houses and bagnios, which it would be

⁵⁶⁴ 'News', *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 05 December 1781.

⁵⁶⁵ Nicole Kalms, 'Digital Technology and the Safety of Women and Girls in Urban Space: Personal Safety Apps or Crowd-Sourced Activism Tools?', in *Architecture and Feminisms: Ecologies, Economies, Technologies*, eds. Hélène Frichot, Catharina Gabrielsson and Helen Runting (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 112–21, at p. 119.

ridiculous to particularise. Another line extends along *Newgate Street*, into *Lincoln's Inn-Fields*, across *Covent Garden*, in various directions, through *Cranbourn Alley*, &c. into *Piccadilly* [...] The third day-promenade for the fair Cyprians, is in *Oxford Street*, and the streets and squares leading out of it. Descending from the parishes of *St. Ann's* and *Mary-le-bone*, and out of all the streets on that side, they penetrate to *Piccadilly* by *Bond Street*.⁵⁶⁶

The guide intentionally tracks the 'handsomest women' on their 'turn into the city [...] every day, and back again', and traces the streets, squares and shopping promenades the prostitutes occupy, all in view of protecting moral city-dwellers and visitors (p. 122). In its own words, it maps the locations of these women onto London's Streets with the aim of 'descant[ing] on the dangers to be apprehended from the loose women' (p. 120). It sets out to tackle the chaos of the city: it highlights a city conscious of geographies that should be avoided and thereby projects a city in control, but at the same time readers also get a thrill from knowing how dangerous it is.

Harris's List and *The London Guide* do not situate the city as a space free from prostitution to project a sense of order as Hughson's guide does. Instead, they internalise an awareness of the threat prostitutes seemed to pose during the Romantic era. Harris's and Badcock's texts mark Oxford Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields and Soho, among other areas, as spaces for the demi-monde, mapping the city as aware of its transgressive zones and showing organisation and control in the face of rapid expansion. The texts catalogue and expose the city's sites of transgression and restrict the 'chaos' within. Indeed, the exact information provided by the list and the guide make it possible to see where prostitution was most predominant, almost

⁵⁶⁶ John Badcock, *The London Guide, and Stranger's Safeguard Against the Cheats, Swindlers, and Pickpockets that Abound within the Bills of Mortality* (London: J. Bumpus, 1818), p. 122. Emphasis added.

confining it to one sector of London – the West End (see Fig. 14). The geolocation of prostitutes evident in the list and the guide (their spatial visibility), however, is often passed over by critics examining authors' fictional representations of the city.

5.3. Geosurveilling Women in Fiction: Egan's *Life in London* and De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*

Where *Harris's List* and *The London Guide* help us to see the involvement of Romantic non-fiction in the geosurveillance of risky bodies, Pierce Egan's *Life in London* and Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* illustrate how fictional texts could also map London's dangerous individuals. Egan and De Quincey respond, consciously or otherwise, to the era's fascination with mapping, and also internalise specific geosurveillant practices associated with that vogue, involving their characters in a range of spatial annotations that effectively plot the positions of prostitutes onto the city. *Life in London*, for instance, attends to the same purlieus of Covent Garden that concerned *Harris's List* and *The London Guide*. It follows prostitutes through Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane, marking off the city's transgressive sites. In a similar manner, *Confessions* follows its narrator through Oxford Street, mapping out areas where he has met street-walkers. Unlike *Life in London*, however, *Confessions* includes among its hallucinogenic rhapsodies what I argue are signs of resistance to such monitoring. The text mounts its own resistance to its relentlessly peripatetic narrator's attempts to intersect with the young prostitute Ann. More than its factual counterparts, *Confessions* seems to suggest the ways in which women were conscious of the geosurveillant gaze, and hints at the strategies they employed to evade it.

Gregory Dart argues that Egan's *Life in London* could be productively compared to the later work of Charles Dickens (though he qualifies this by suggesting Egan's work is 'hopelessly

simplistic and lacking in definition’).⁵⁶⁷ He suggests that we find in *Life in London* a ‘certain degree of indeterminacy’ and ‘vagueness’ to its social vision that provides stark contrast to that of *The Pickwick Papers* (1837). Tom’s and Jerry’s exploits focus on class society for comedic value – for the ‘Ups and Downs, Ins & Outs’ (frontispiece, *Life in London*) – rather than in the interests of ‘putting individuals in their place’, as Dickens’s novels often do (Dart, pp. 109, 113). What it undoubtedly lacks in literary polish, though, *Life in London* makes up for in the detailed cartographic picture it presents of the metropolis. In fact, so much detail is provided about the city that Sangster’s recent mapping project accurately plots the locations featured in the 35 plates of *Life in London* (Fig. 17).⁵⁶⁸ Egan’s novel follows the adventures of Corinthian Tom, his country cousin Jerry Hawthorne and their bawdy friend Bob Logic as they gad around the metropolis collecting humorous anecdotes. Chapter two of the second volume is particularly pertinent for my argument here because in the same manner as *Harris’s List* and *The London Guide*, Egan pinpoints the coordinates of the ‘flash mollishers’ (‘low prostitutes’) based in and around Covent Garden: his text participates in geosurveillance (*Life in London*, p. 171). *Life in London* traces the route Jerry, Tom and Bob take as they travel into an area they refer to as ‘the *Fields of Temptation*’, describing how the threesome self-confessedly ‘take notice’ of the characters who ‘appear prominent’ (pp. 171, 173). In a way that recalls the manoeuvres of *Harris’s List*, readers encounter an index of ‘gay Cyprians’ where ‘Brilliant Fanny’ and her counterpart ‘Fair Fanny’ are catalogued and recorded as regular visitants of Covent Garden Theatre (pp. 174–75). Alongside them is the equally ‘fair’ Maria, as well as ‘Pretty Ellen’ and ‘Black-eyed Jane’ (p. 176). Slightly further

⁵⁶⁷ Gregory Dart, *Metropolitan Art and Literature, 1810–1840: Cockney Adventures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁵⁶⁸ Matthew Sangster, ‘Mapping Pierce Egan’s *Life in London* (1821)’, in *Romantic London*, <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/life-in-london-map/#18/51.51253/-0.11731>> [accessed 23 March 2018].

along the group's trail, in all probability at Great Wild Street,⁵⁶⁹ 'Fat Bet', 'Gateway Peg' and 'Old Mother Brimstone' ('Brimmy') are listed as the Sluicery's representatives of 'the rapid degradations from virtue to vice' (p. 179). On the trio's 'route towards home', readers are again met with spatial annotations that disclose the locale of yet more 'fancy pieces' (p. 173). The Coffee-shop 'near the Olympic', at the junction of Drury Lane, Wych Street and Newcastle Street, lists 'Pretty Poll' and 'Mahogany Bet' as patrons (p. 181). In total, the short chapter documents the locations of at least 15 women,⁵⁷⁰ with careful mention of the trio's position in the city appended to descriptions of these 'wretched girls' (p. 177). The text engages in similar modes of geosurveillance, then, to the factual guides to London. It situates the women it details as 'risky' and thereby deserving of observation and record through its descriptions, referring to Gateway Peg, for instance, as a 'lump of infamy, disease and wretchedness' (p. 179). With their amusingly pithy, memorable nicknames and somewhat haunting histories and questionable sexual health the prostitutes are rendered a spectacle and cast as dangerous individuals who need to be monitored and recorded (Fischer, p. 188). Egan situates the Cyprians as 'object[s] of display', something Rendell explores, and makes their bodies 'the site of the rambler's desire and gaze'.⁵⁷¹ They are bodies to 'peep at' and 'take notice of' (*Life in London*, pp. 172–73).

The novel not only fixes such risky bodies to the same areas of the city as *Harris's List* and *The London Guide* (see Fig. 14), but also gestures at ways in which geosurveillant strategies had been internalised by the Georgian justice system. At Bow Street Magistrates, the final location of the evening, the trio relate the tale of 'an elegant but unfortunate young female',

⁵⁶⁹ *Life in London* does not give a definite location of the Sluicery where Tom and Jerry drink 'blue ruin' (gin), but Sangster suggests Wild Street, based on 'the general low reputation of the streets between Covent Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields'. See Sangster's detail for marker 4.

⁵⁷⁰ Fair Fanny (p. 174), Brilliant Fanny (p. 175), Fair Maria (p. 176), Pretty Ellen (p. 176), Black-eyed Jane (p. 176), Gateway Peg (p. 178), Old Mother Brimstone (p. 179), Fat Bet (p. 179), Kit Blarney (p. 180), Mahogany Bet (p. 181), Pretty Poll (p. 181), Squinting Nan (p. 182), Dirty Suke (p. 182), Frowsy Sall (p. 182), and 'an elegant but unfortunate young female' (p. 185).

⁵⁷¹ Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space & Architecture in Regency London* (London: Athlone Press, 2002), p. 40.

as told by the woman herself (p. 185). Forced into ‘the horrible life of a *street-walker*’ through poverty and taken to the magistrates for failing to pay her coach fare, the woman is obligated to map her own actions and movements around the city during her testimony (p. 185). She marks her first location at a house near Grosvenor-Square and traces her route to ‘an elegant mansion in Portland-Place’, before recording her movements through Lincoln’s Inn Fields until she reaches the site of her arrest (p. 185; Fig. 14). As Tony Henderson’s research on the geography of prostitution in London clarifies, such detailed records of movements and geographies were not uncommon in criminal cases. In fact, he is able to map specific locations where prostitutes met their clients between 1790 and 1829 by using samples from Old Bailey session papers.⁵⁷² It is compelling to also see the practice reflected in fiction of the era. Egan’s novel unwittingly responds to the geosurveillant frameworks that had begun to permeate society and which were evident in factual guides to the city.

Alongside the geosurveillant practices directed at Covent Garden’s prostitutes, *Life in London* also works to create a space in which the reader can also contribute to surveilling the bodies that have been indexed and located. Deborah Epstein Nord notes that the peripatetic trio in Egan’s narrative ‘remain observers’ who participate only briefly in city sprees before withdrawing, ‘looking in from the outside as an audience at a play, [or] a window-shopper on the boulevard’.⁵⁷³ At the same time, the ‘implied reader of *Life in London* is [also] invited to observe the urban scene vicariously and invisibly’ (p. 170). Egan successfully creates a sense of distance between the narrator and the prostitutes he monitors, an effect that Epstein Nord explores in detail through her focus on the novel’s cant: ‘The slang allows the narrator to describe fairly covertly a group of “Cyprians”, or prostitutes, but it also places psychological

⁵⁷² Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730–1830* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 52–75. See pages 54–56 for detailed maps plotting sites of first contact between prostitutes and their clients.

⁵⁷³ Deborah Epstein Nord, ‘The City as Theater: From Georgian to Early Victorian London’, *Victorian Studies*, 31.2 (1988), 159–88, p. 170.

distance between him and the low-life groups he brings into view' (p. 173). This distance that Epstein Nord identifies is valuable in that it is this space that allows the reader to become a casual observer, a voyeur. They, too, are invited to track, locate and map these 'females, who daily and nightly walk the streets of London' and to become involved in frameworks of geosurveillance (*Life in London*, p. 182). Similar to the distance that authorises keyhole testimony in Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents*, the detachment in *Life in London* permits and authorises surveillant modes.

As I have suggested, Romantic literature provides no shortage of examples of resilience from women towards the kind of geosurveillance I have been exploring. If we read into the text's negative spaces, De Quincey's *Confessions* presents a fascinating example. At its core, *Confessions* takes the form of a quest for the young prostitute Ann:

Oh noble minded Ann [...] for many weeks I had walked at nights with this poor friendless girl up and down Oxford Street, or had rested with her on streets or under the shelter of porticos (p. 22).

In Epstein Nord's terms, Ann becomes an 'emblem not only of what is of necessity lost in the city streets but also of the likely proximity of things that remain out of reach'.⁵⁷⁴ With the narrator's pursuit of the evasive 'street-walker', *Confessions* concerns itself with the very same issues of geolocation as the other texts considered so far in this chapter, and, of course, people have already noticed the prominence of geography in it. The psychogeographical contours of *Confessions*, for example, have been noted by numerous readers. Merlin Coverley, among many, situates De Quincey as an urban wanderer whose focus is fixed on

⁵⁷⁴ Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 5.

the ‘uniformly dark’ aspects of the city and its lowlifes.⁵⁷⁵ Salt’s geolocation project ‘Re-Mapping as Remembering: the Digital De Quincey’ also insists on the importance of precise locality in De Quincey’s work. But whereas others who have looked at geography in *Confessions* have done so under the rubric of psychogeography, I bring surveillance theory to bear on De Quincey’s urban topographies. The findings of recent research into the gendered politics of geosurveillance for the first time allow us to see *Confessions* as a text that shows controlling mechanisms in operation that seek to trace Ann, and which she resists with the help of a sorority of fellow street-walkers.

Confessions chronicles De Quincey’s passage through the same areas of London on which Hughson, Harris, Badcock and Egan all focus (see Fig. 14). Salt’s map of the scenes in *Confessions* makes manifest the exercise in literary mapping that De Quincey has himself carried out, showing us how the narrator wanders to different areas of Soho and its urban environs (Fig. 18). De Quincey attempts to triangulate Ann’s last-known movements through Soho Square (p. 23), Albemarle-street (p. 24), Swallow-street (p. 27), Piccadilly (p. 27), Golden-Square (p. 27), and Sherrard-Street (p. 27), repeatedly tracing the routes he used to walk with her:

Every night afterwards, [Ann] should wait for me, at six o’clock, near the bottom of *Great Titchfield-street*; which had formerly been our customary haven of rendezvous, to prevent our missing each other in the great Mediterranean of *Oxford-street* [...] I sought her daily, and waited for her every night, so long as I staid in London, at the corner of *Titchfield-street* (emphasis added, pp. 28, 34).

⁵⁷⁵ Merlin Coverley, *Psychogeography* (Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2010), pp. 13, 42.

De Quincey's elaborate descriptions identify the precise spaces where he used to meet Ann at bottoms and corners of specific streets, however, the text is unable to determine her 'live' location. We often assume that De Quincey's aim in his obsessive self-plotting is to achieve gothic effects – the sublime terror of being unable to find someone who may be just inches away: 'If she lived, doubtless we must have been sometimes in search of each other, at the very same moment, through the mighty labyrinths of London; perhaps, even within a few feet of each other' (pp. 34–35). I would argue that the text is equally preoccupied, however, with the question: where is Ann? It is a question we should take seriously, since it becomes clear that Ann does not wish to be found.

It never seems to occur to De Quincey's narrator that Ann may be evading him: 'I shed tears, and muse with myself at the mysterious dispensation which so suddenly and so critically separated us forever' (p. 24). In a sense at moments like these the text could be said to mark its own resistance to the narrator's attempts to trace the street walker. Ann does not give the narrator her surname – which would have been 'the surest means of tracing her hereafter' (p. 28). Unlike the women of *Life in London* who are assigned their monikers by their clients – for example, 'Dirty' Suke, 'Frowsy' Sall and 'Squinting' Nan (*Life in London*, pp. 175, 182) – the prostitutes in *Confessions* obscure their real names. De Quincey even notes that 'it is a general practice' of women in Ann's 'unhappy condition' to 'style themselves [...] simply by their Christian names' (*Confessions*, p. 28). Again, he does not appear to consider that her lack of surname could be part of a deliberately evasive strategy: 'she had either never told me, or (as a matter of no great interest) I had forgotten her surname' (p. 28).

Confessions further complicates De Quincey's view of Ann as 'lost' through its portrayal of the network of women who protect Ann's location:

I inquired for her of every one who was likely to know her [...] She had few acquaintance; most people, besides, thought that the earnestness of my inquiries arose from motives that moved their laughter, or their slight regard; and others, thinking I was in chase of a girl who had robbed me of some trifles, were naturally and excusably indisposed to give me any clue to her, if, indeed, they had any to give (p. 34).

In fact, the only person who ‘must know Anne by sight’ does not provide any information on her whereabouts after De Quincey’s departure: ‘I have never heard a syllable about her’ (p. 34). De Quincey’s narrator is rightly suspicious that Ann’s acquaintances know more about her whereabouts than they are willing to reveal but goes no further in these speculations. From the perspective of surveillance studies, it perhaps becomes clearer why Ann’s sisters refuse to give up her location. Ann is able to obscure her whereabouts from De Quincey in a way that might seem surprising, given the visibility of prostitutes at this time. It is entirely possible that she met an untimely end due to the ‘violent cough and hoarseness’ that we know afflicted her, but if this were the case, why would her acquaintances not have given up this information (pp. 28, 34)?

It seems to me that De Quincey is describing, perhaps without realising it himself, the strategies that the prostitutes in *Confessions*, as targets of gendered geosurveillance, deploy to resist the narrator, De Quincey’s ‘dark interpreter’.⁵⁷⁶ The women in these gothic, labyrinthine territories are engaged in their own act of counter-mapping, evading De Quincey’s mapping eye, those far from innocent acts of observation that lie ‘beyond idle

⁵⁷⁶ Thomas De Quincey, ‘*Suspiria de Profundis*’, in *Suspiria de Profundis, with Other Essays* (London: William Heineman, 1891), pp. 1–24, at p. 7.

curiosity'.⁵⁷⁷ Presumably, Ann knows better than De Quincey's questing avatar the paths, lanes, avenues, side-alleys, backstreets, byways, culverts, mews and passages that link together throughout the city. It is, then, her superior cartographic knowledge of London that allows her to evade her pursuer. Ann resists not only De Quincey, but other male mapping projects such as *Harris's List*. The reason Ann is such an unsettling presence in *Confessions* is because her real time location remains unknown – her coordinates always unfixed.

There is, of course, a speculative element to the above, but I would maintain that these are productive questions to pose. London's prostitutes, whether advertised in *Harris's List*, vilified in *The London Guide*, laughed at in *Life in London*, or pursued as Ann is in *Confessions*, found themselves exposed to geosurveillance and we have to wonder at how, if at all, they resisted. The prostitutes may be presented differently but each of these texts reflects a society that felt threatened by female sexuality and transgression and which (un)consciously employed geosurveillant modes as part of social control. These texts all become visible to us in new ways and make themselves related through geosurveillant modes.

⁵⁷⁷ David Lyon, *Surveillance Studies: An Overview* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2009), p. 13.

Conclusion: Geraldine's Sisters

Harriet Freke (pronounced /Fr i: k/), the cross-dressing, proto-feminist friend of Lady Delacour in Maria Edgeworth's novel *Belinda* (1801), is a woman who wants to be seen. As the fashionable Lady Delacour remarks:

She struck me the first time I met her, as being downright ugly; but there was a wild oddity in her countenance which made one stare at her.⁵⁷⁸

Freke 'was delighted to be stared at – especially by me', continues Lady Delacour, 'so we were mutually agreeable to each other – I as starrer, and she as staree' (p. 43).

It is a critical orthodoxy to recognise that the transgressive Harriet Freke craves such visibility;⁵⁷⁹ she is a bluestocking who desires attention, 'always at ease; and never more so than in male attire' (*Belinda*, p. 47). In Amanda Vickery's words, her very ambition is 'to be odd', to be noticed.⁵⁸⁰ What if, however, Harriet is actually a victim, the target of strategies geared towards rendering women transparent at precisely the same time as encouraging them to place value on such enhanced visibility? Rather than merely satirising Wollstonecraftian feminism,⁵⁸¹ Edgeworth's text, it seems to me, also absorbs and reflects wider debates about

⁵⁷⁸ Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda*, ed. Kathryn J. Kirkpatrick (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008 [Originally published 1801]), p. 43.

⁵⁷⁹ Katherine Montwieler, 'Reading Disease: The Corrupting Performance of Edgeworth's *Belinda*', *Women's Writing*, 12.3 (2005), 347–368, p. 357; Andrew McInnes, *Mary Wollstonecraft's Ghost: The Fate of the Female Philosopher in the Romantic Period* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), p. 87; Deborah Weiss, *The Female Philosopher and Her Afterlives: Mary Wollstonecraft, the British Novel, and the Transformations of Feminism, 1796–1811* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 200.

⁵⁸⁰ Amanda Vickery, 'Not Just A Pretty Face', 08 March 2008, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/mar/08/art>> [accessed 02 June 2018], para. 23 of 30.

⁵⁸¹ Another standard reading: see, for example, Colin B. Atkinson and Jo Atkinson, 'Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda*, and Women's Rights', *Éire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies*, 19.4 (1984), 94–118, pp. 109–10.

women and transparency. *Belinda* is part of the cultural processing of surveillance that this thesis has explored.

Darryl Jones suggests that Lady Delacour is sexually curious about Harriet and sees the pair's interaction, in Edgeworth's hands, as 'one of the period's most sustained attacks on lesbianism'.⁵⁸² But the visual relations that operate in the relationship, and which are supposed to pertain only to female sexuality, are perhaps more complex than Jones allows. Lady Delacour's remarks, though played for laughs, hint darkly at the lateral surveillance experienced by Harriet in the novel. Harriet's is a non-conforming body that has been made spectacle. She is to all intents and purposes the 'freak' of the novel⁵⁸³ – the 'man-woman' who terrifies Juba, the figure whose 'bold masculine arms' both startle and excite Lady Delacour (pp. 219, 49). For Alan Richardson, she is 'a self-serving, "Amazonian" transvestite',⁵⁸⁴ and for Patricia Comitini a woman of 'overly stimulated passions'.⁵⁸⁵ She is both Sapphic lover⁵⁸⁶ (Anne K. Mellor and Ula E. Klein) and hermaphrodite (Susan C. Greenfield).⁵⁸⁷ Critics and readers alike seem to feel compelled to figure out who, or indeed what, she is. In that respect, I want to suggest, Harriet, with her uncomforming, transgressively uncategorisable body is sister to Coleridge's Geraldine.

⁵⁸² Darryl Jones, 'Frekes, Monsters and the Ladies: Attitudes to Female Sexuality in the 1790s', *Literature & History*, 4.2 (1995), 1–24, p. 1.

⁵⁸³ In the early nineteenth century her surname – Freke – most likely refers to a caprice of nature, as opposed to the implied connections to monstrosity and 'freak of nature' in today's parlance, however there is some debate among critics over this. Emma Donoghue suggests that Edgeworth chose the surname Freke 'as a pun on 'freak' since Harriet is an exception to every 'natural' characteristic of womanhood', while Tita Chico and Anne K. Mellor disagree and suggest that connotations of 'monstrosity' were not available until later in the nineteenth century: Emma Donoghue, *Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture 1668–1801* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), pp. 100–03; Tita Chico, *Designing Women: The Dressing Room in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), p. 224; Anne K. Mellor, *Romanticism & Gender* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁵⁸⁴ Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, & Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice 1780–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 168.

⁵⁸⁵ Patricia Comitini, *Vocational Philanthropy and British Women's Writing, 1790–1810: Wollstonecraft, More, Edgeworth, Wordsworth* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 123.

⁵⁸⁶ Anne K. Mellor, 'The Debate on the Rights of Woman: Wollstonecraft's influence on the Women Writers of her day', in *Called to Civil Existence: Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. Enit Karafili Steiner (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014), pp. 1–24, at p. 17; Ula E. Klein, 'Bosom Friends and the Sapphic Breasts of *Belinda*', *ABO*, 3.2 (2013), 1–13.

⁵⁸⁷ Susan C. Greenfield, *Mothering Daughters: Novels and the Politics of Family Romance, Frances Burney to Jane Austen* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), p. 186.

For all the critical interest in Harriet Freke, no one has asked whether she is a legitimate target of surveillance. Just as Geraldine, Byron's Sardanapalus and Smith's Mrs Derville encounter a surveillant machinery that is set up to 'solve' them, so Harriet finds herself the target of communal interrogation that works to render her transparent: 'What is that?', 'it cannot be a woman!', 'what is the meaning of all this?', 'who the devil are you?'.⁵⁸⁸ Harriet Freke joins her sisters in 'Christabel', *What Is She?*, and *The Chapter of Accidents* in contravening boundaries at the same time as attracting intrusive and pernicious peer-to-peer surveillance.

Perhaps Harriet is a lesbian, as Emma Donoghue argues (pp. 100–03), or maybe she is hermaphroditic. What seems safe to say is that she is a sexualised, or rather self-sexualising, figure, and that like the prostitutes in Badcock's *London Guide* and Harris's *List* she threatens existing orders. Critical interpretations of the past couple of decades have spotlighted Harriet's erotic associations in the context of the social risk she represents.⁵⁸⁹

What I hope the research in this thesis now enables us to do is to layer these readings with more complexity and to see the mechanisms of power behind the gaze she attracts. Just as urban communities presented prostitutes as dangerous, unpredictable, diseased bodies who posed a threat to morality, so, too, *Belinda's* characters represent Harriet Freke as a threat to female sensibility (particularly to Belinda's).⁵⁹⁰ On the face of it, then, Harriet seems to confirm the dangers of what Susan B. Egenolf calls 'unchecked female desire' and 'the

⁵⁸⁸ *Belinda*, pp. 249, 250, 45.

⁵⁸⁹ See Klein. See also Jillian Heydt-Stevenson, 'Sexualities', in *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in the Romantic Period*, ed. Devoney Looser (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 198–212, at p. 207.

⁵⁹⁰ In Alison Harvey's view, Edgeworth makes clear that Belinda should not behave as Harriet does if she is to marry successfully: West Indian Obeah and English 'Obee': Race, Femininity, and Questions of Colonial Consolidation in Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda*, in *New Essays on Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Julie Nash (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 1–30, at p. 1.

possibility of female desire fulfilled by other women'.⁵⁹¹ But a more urgent question that can be discerned behind the novel's attempts to neutralise this threat concerns the way in which Harriet – like Badcock's, Harris's and Egan's prostitutes, along with other '*ennemie du corps social*' – is targeted by a surveilling gaze that seeks to bring her behaviour within normative parameters (Norberg, p. 69).

Harriet, then, in the discourse of surveillance theory has been 'selected and sorted'. Her overdimensioned performance of masculinity, her opaque figure and overt sexuality invite lateral surveillance, making her the 'staree', unable to return the gaze she is subject to (p. 43). She is the object of an asymmetric viewing paradigm that has rendered her both significant and dangerous. She is the victim of modes of watching that go 'well beyond idle curiosity' (Lyon, *Surveillance Studies: An Overview*, p. 13). Harriet Freke's experience resonates with that of other fictional women of the period. Much like Lee's, Smith's, Austen's and Baillie's female protagonists, she is exposed to modalities of gendered surveillance precisely because she activates male anxieties of control. As we have seen, in Chapter 1 Cecilia and Sophia prompt the concerns of their patriarchs due to their unorthodox amorous activities, and in Chapter 4, Fanny Price, Mary Crawford, Mrs Charville and Mary Charville activate tensions in the insular household sphere and appear to collude with the architectural structures that ostensibly constrain them. So, too, Harriet Freke elicits the 'scrutinizing eye' of others because she challenges the expectations of patriarchal society concerning the nature and extent of women's visibility (*Belinda*, p. 342). Harriet and the women from across this thesis's chapters may have 'transgressed' in different ways but they are all cast as socially significant figures who warrant appraisal for perceived transgression and potential disobedience. Part bluestocking, part lesbian, and perhaps even part woman, Harriet pushes

⁵⁹¹ Susan B. Egenolf, *The Art of Political Fiction in Hamilton, Edgeworth, and Owenson* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), p. 91. See also Lisa L. Moore, *Dangerous Intimacies: Toward a Sapphic History of the British Novel* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 77.

against her community's 'sense of propriety' and becomes a threat the novel must deal with (p. 58).

As readers, we are encouraged to feel that we must know who Harriet really is – what Harriet is – where Harriet is. When one evening she ambushes Lady Delacour and Colonel Lawless while disguised as a man, she is exposed by the pair – 'Who am I! only a Freke!' – tracked and geolocated like the prostitutes on Harris's list (p. 46). Spatial annotations create order amid the chaos she creates during this episode, tracing her movements from the House Commons to her sister's house, through 'Sloane-street, and quite out of town', along to 'a lone, odd looking house', 'into a dark passage' and on into Knightsbridge, before arriving at Grosvenor Place (pp. 46–48). Harriet Freke is 'farce or freak', in Lady Delacour's words (p. 46), both a prank and physically unnerving. Samuel Johnson describes a 'freak' as a whimsy, as well as logs its meaning of caprice.⁵⁹² And, indeed, there is a ludic quality to Harriet. She pranks the ludicrous qualities pinned onto her. She is not visible in the way people want, as a woman, but rather as something else – hermaphrodite, lesbian or cross-dresser. At the same time, she is physically unusual and unnerving, accounting for the corporeal abnormalities that the term 'freak' was beginning to register.⁵⁹³ She is the victim of surveillant discipline, made super-visible as part of a concerted strategy of containment aimed not just at transgressive characters in *Belinda*, but at Harriet's sisters in the literature of the period – and indeed at their flesh-and-blood counterparts. 'Man-woman' to Byron's 'man-queen', Harriet is described as 'downright ugly' in an effort to disempower her (*Sardanapalus*, I. i. 7; *Belinda*, p. 219). Just as Lee's use of the term 'slut' to reduce feisty heroines like Bridget, Harriet Freke is, as Catherine Toal suggests, reduced by the 'lavish excesses of caricature' to a 'mere

⁵⁹² Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 9th edn., Vol. I (London: J. Johnson, 1806), np.

⁵⁹³ 'Freak' was not used in the sense of 'alarming' or 'monstrous', as in today's parlance, but people appeared out of the ordinary through a freak of nature. See 'Memoirs of the Celebrated Dwarf, Joseph Boruwloski, a Polish Gentleman; containing a faithful and curious account of his Birth, Education, Marriage, Travels, and Voyages', in *The Scots Magazine*, Vol. L (Edinburgh, 1788), pp. 336–38, at p. 336.

collection of signifiers'.⁵⁹⁴ Harriet's confusing image, similar to those ambiguous bodies we have seen in works by Shelley, Byron and Coleridge, is a physical pathology that represents a social transgression – one that serves to remind Edgeworth's female readers of the necessity of self-monitoring their behaviour (soveillance) as a way to avoid 'crossing the line' and ending up, like Harriet, the subject of a critical communal gaze.

What has emerged over the course of this thesis is evidence of a culture that recognised its own registration of a remarkably complex specular gaze – a culture that rendered women's bodies significant on multiple levels: as 'spectacles' to be stared at; scrutinised and contained; sexualised. Edgeworth's work, like the plays of Lee and Smith along with Egan's and De Quincey's popular fiction, both reflects women's everyday experiences of gendered surveillance at the same time as interrogating the lens itself through which society inspected transgressive women. Equally, Shelley's depiction of hermaphroditic experience in *The Witch of Atlas*, Byron's in *Sardanapalus* and Coleridge's in 'Christabel' help us to recognise the complex, gendered surveillance that is represented in other texts, including Edgeworth's *Belinda*. Prostitutes, housewives, courting adolescents, medical subjects and emigrants – all of these Romantic women, this transparent sorority, are pushed above 'the fair threshold of visibility'⁵⁹⁵ and made available to the reading public. And all of them, as I have suggested, with greater or lesser success, attempt to build resilience towards these intrusive surveillant strategies.

All of the women discussed in this thesis, then, may be considered Geraldine's sisters. Whether sexually active figures such as Cecilia, Sophia Mortimer and Bridget, or sexually indeterminate bodies like Geraldine and Harriet, these women were coded to audiences as dangerous. As women in the home – wives, sisters, children and wards – they challenged

⁵⁹⁴ Catherine Toal, 'Control Experiment: Edgeworth's Critique of Rousseau's Educational Theory', in *An Uncomfortable Authority: Maria Edgeworth and Her Contexts*, eds. Heidi Kaufman and Chris Fauske (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 212–31, at p. 225.

⁵⁹⁵ Steeves and Bailey, p. 76.

nervous patriarchs; beyond the domestic sphere, roaming prostitutes unsettled urban communities; or uncharted strangers such as Mrs Derville threatened the sanctity of Britain's shores themselves. Romantic texts were involved in making these women transparent – visible and 'safe' – and engaged consciously or otherwise in modes of surveillance from slut-shaming, soveillance and coveillance to lateral, archio- and geo- surveillance. Whether we examine sexual, medical, legal, domestic, architectural, urban or geographical terrains, again and again we encounter rubrics of invigilation as issues of visibility, privacy, transparency and surveillance intersect with more familiar Romantic concerns.

My work has considered the many ways in which Romantic texts appear to fall in with wider paradigms of surveillance directed at marginal groups, but its methodology is also adjusted to the simultaneous efforts of Romantic writing to enact its own strategies of resilience. These acts of resistance are found in unexpected places – in plays about the evasive actions of emigrants and sexually active women; in satirical poems by divorced ladies; and in the walking guides and tourist maps of London that locate the positions of prostitutes. A larger picture emerges in which women were clearly often aware of the manner in which they were being scrutinised and put into operation various ploys, ruses and feints to resist the surveillant techniques directed at them.

The complexity of Romantic literature's registration of gendered surveillance requires and deserves further study. We still need a fuller description of the inspective culture in which women found themselves between 1780 and 1836, and whose mechanisms helped to shape the surveillance of women in succeeding eras, including our own. Romanticism is not a homogenous phenomenon; it is varied, and it is in tension with itself, and these contradictions and discontinuities apply to surveillance as they do to other areas of the culture. Some Romantic texts are sensitive and sympathetic to surveillance while others are plainly not. Sophia Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents*, for instance, is interested in the well-off Cecilia's

autonomy, but indifferent or even hostile towards the servant Bridget's. There, class and other prejudices are at work and interoperate with the play's surveillant mechanisms. So, too, Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* is fascinated by how spatial alterations made to the manor house by Edmund and his siblings, catalysed by the appearance of Mary Crawford, threaten wider power dynamics and specifically Sir Thomas's own inspective regime, but ultimately the novel works to reaffirm familiar structures of patriarchal control. By contrast, Joanna Baillie's *The Alienated Manor* allows the strong-headed Mrs Charville to succeed in her challenge to her husband's gendered archio-surveillance. Despite such tensions, then, Romanticism offers us a key message: surveillance, in all its forms, was experienced distinctly and differently by women than men. Targeted, asymmetric and often isolating, surveillance made women increasingly transparent at the same time as it offered incentives for Geraldine and her sisters to submit to its inspective modalities. If the texts considered in this thesis teach us anything, it is that as descendants and inheritors of Romanticism's Geraldines, Harriet Frekes and Bridgets, we should be more sceptical of today's expanding regimes of hyper-visibility, and not permit them to go unchallenged. In an era in which we are becoming increasingly aware of the complex and varied strategies through which women are exposed, or are encouraged to expose themselves, historically tested modes of resistance offer potentially powerful means of combatting the asymmetries and power imbalances of gendered surveillance.

Illustrations

Introduction



Figure 1. Johannes Vermeer, *A Girl Reading a Letter by an Open Window* (*Brieflezend Meisje bij het Venster*), c. 1657–1659, oil on canvas, 83 cm × 64.5 cm, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (Old Masters Picture Gallery), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.



Figure 2. Gerard Dou, *Man Smoking a Pipe* (Self Portrait), c. 1650, oil on panel, 48cm × 37cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Photo removed

Figure 3. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden's (SKD) 1:1 reconstruction of Vermeer's 'A Girl Reading a Letter by an Open Window', produced by the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts for 'The Young Vermeer', 2010, in *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister*, previously available at: www.skd.museum/en/special-exhibitions/archive/the-young-vermeer [accessed 22 October 2015], photo © Thomas Scheufler.



Figure 4. Johannes Vermeer, *The Little Street (Het Straatje)*, c. 1657–1661, 53.3 cm × 44 cm, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Chapter 1



Figure 5. James Gillray, *Sir Richard Worse-than-Sly, exposing his wife's bottom.—O fye!*, originally published by William Humphrey, 14 March 1782, hand-coloured etching, 335 mm × 230 mm, © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Chapter 2

Photo removed

Figure 6. *Sleeping Hermaphroditus*, Imperial Age Roman copy of the Hellenistic original, Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Photo © Liêm Phó Nhom.

Chapter 3



Figure 7. James Gillray, *Independence*, originally published by Hannah Humphrey, 09 June 1799, hand-coloured etching, 349 mm × 249 mm, © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 8. Anonymous, 'No. 4 – Out-door, or Carriage Dress', 1808, engraving, in *La Belle Assemblée* (London: J. Bell, 1808), pp. 138.



Figure 9. ‘Costume Parisienne: Turban à la Gulnaire. Corset et jupon à la Lisbeth’, in *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 11 February 1798, engraving, 181 mm × 116 mm (Paris: Pierre de la Mésangère).

Chapter 4

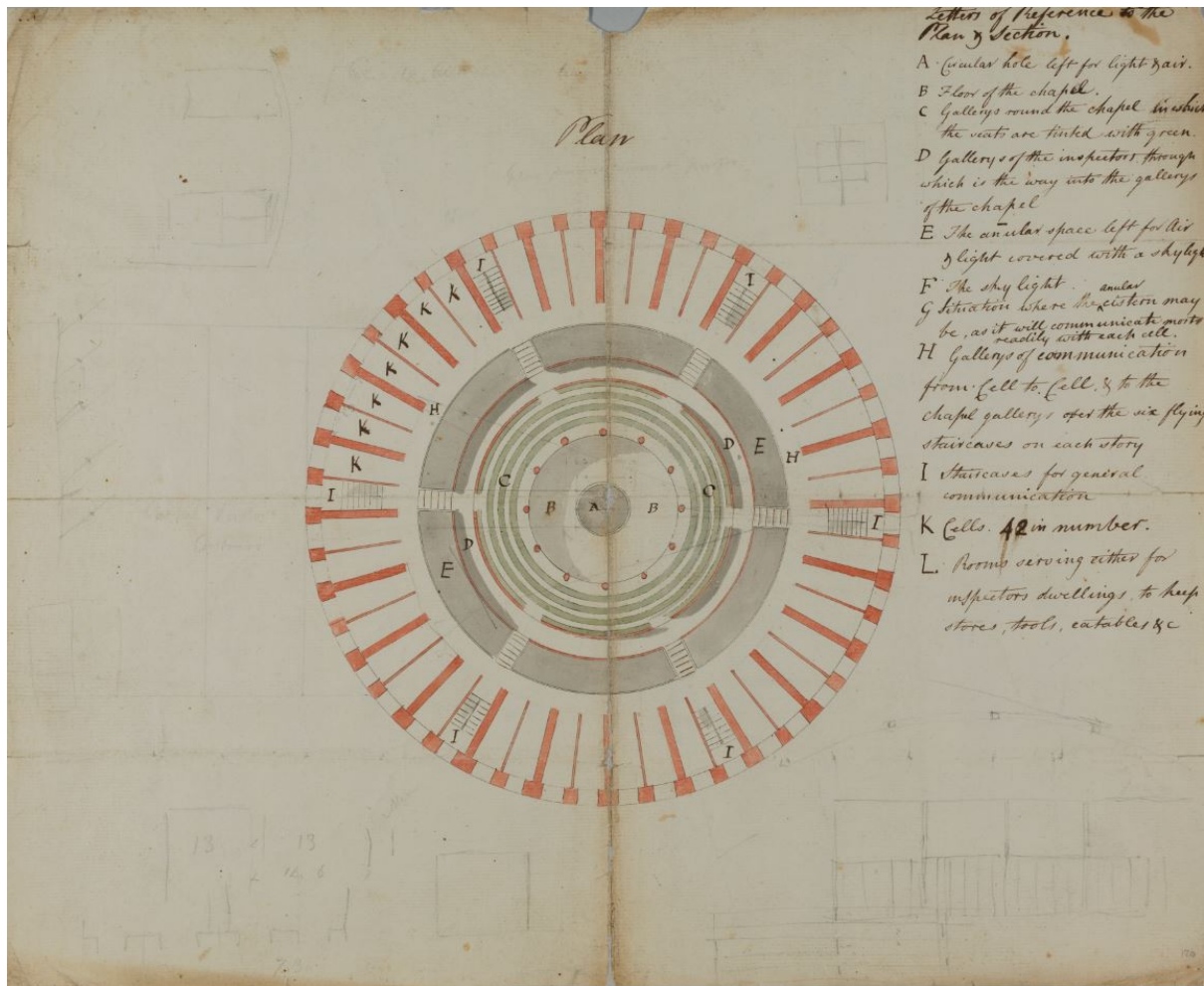


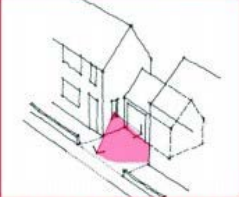
Figure 10. Willey Reveley, *Plan of Houses of Inspection*, c. 1791, pencil, pen and ink and watercolour sketch on paper, inscribed with manuscript notes, 330 mm × 202 mm, Bentham Collection UCL, UC 119, fol. 121, Courtesy UCL Special Collections, image captured by UCL Creative Media Services

Chapter 4 Natural Surveillance

It is important to maximise the potential for natural surveillance within a development. Natural surveillance not only reduces the opportunities for crime but it also reduces the fear of crime, as users tend to feel more at ease. This can help to promote activity on routes and contributes to creating a sense of place and community. The City Council will encourage architects, designers and developers to be imaginative in how they approach providing opportunities for natural surveillance within the design of their schemes.

The City Council in determining planning applications will seek the provision of the following methods in order to maximise natural surveillance:

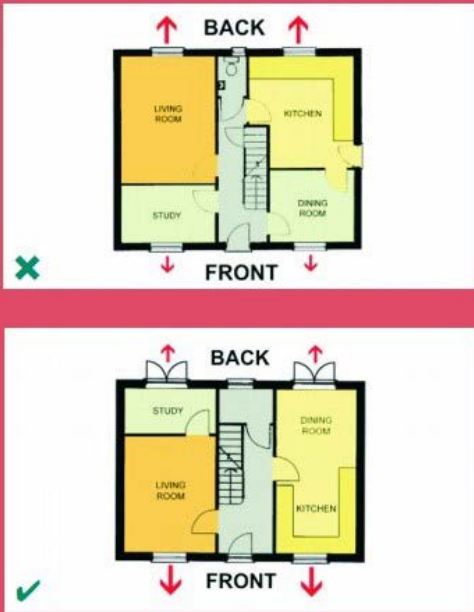
A Windows in side gables




Where there are entrances to parking courts, cul-de-sacs or off-street parking at the side of properties, side gable windows to habitable rooms at ground floor level shall be provided.

B Habitable rooms to the front

Internal layout should ensure that the opportunities for natural surveillance are maximised by ensuring that main habitable rooms are located to the front of the property. This common house type can be laid out internally in different ways. The preferred internal layout as shown below will be encouraged.




C Easy to maintain low or visually permeable boundary treatments



These railings separating the park from the main road and housing opposite, allows for natural surveillance into and out of the park.

D Car Parking in visible locations

Mews style flats, with garages to the ground floor like these pictured, create blank facades and do not, on their own, provide adequate surveillance. They can be used successfully if they are used sparingly and benefit from direct natural surveillance from other property types with habitable room windows to the ground floor.



Designing Safer Places 9

Figure 11. *Designing Safer Places, Planning Policy Approach* (Gloucester City Council, 2008),

<http://www.gloucester.gov.uk/resident/Documents/Planning%20and%20Building%20Control/DSP%20IA%200808.pdf> [accessed 01 December 2017], p. 9.

Chapter 5



Figure 12. Anna Letitia Barbauld and Joseph Ellis, *A New Map of the Land of Matrimony* drawn from the latest surveys, copperplate engraving, 36 cm × 28.5 cm (London: J. Johnson, 1772).



Figure 13. 'Frontispiece', in *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies, or Man of Pleasure's Kalender for the Year 1793* (London: H. Ranger, 1793).



Figure 14. Lucy E. Thompson, Map of London 1814. Locations plotted onto *The Stranger's Guide Through the Streets of London and Westminster: A New and Correct Plan of London* (London: William Darton, 1814).

Key:



Addresses of the women mentioned in the 1793 edition of *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies*



Locations of prostitutes mentioned in John Badcock's *The London Guide, and Stranger's Safeguard*



Places that Corinthian Tom, Jerry and Bob Logic visit during Chapter 2 (Vol. II) of Pierce Egan's *Life in London*



Places that the 'unfortunate young female' travels to in Pierce Egan's *Life in London*



The location of *Shakespeare's Head Tavern*, where Jack Harris was head waiter

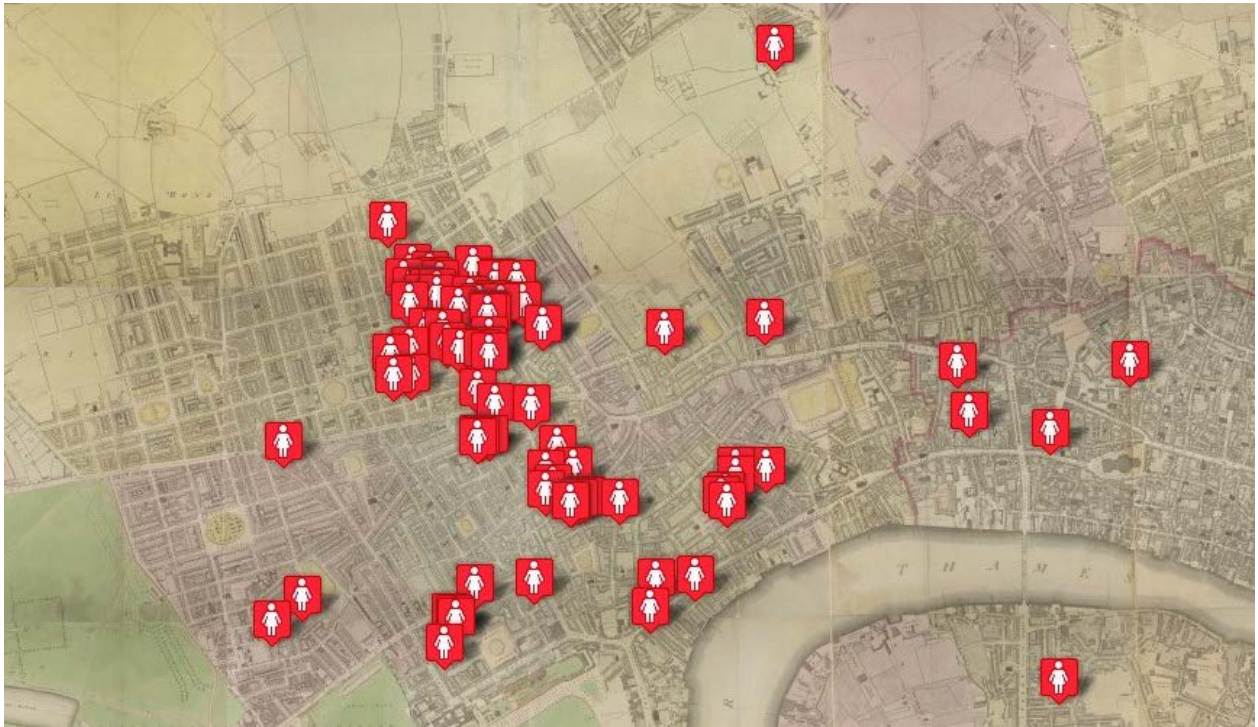


Figure 15. Screenshot of Matthew Sangster's map, taken from 'Mapping *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies* (1788), in *Romantic London*, <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/harris-list-1788/#14/51.5207/-0.1255>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

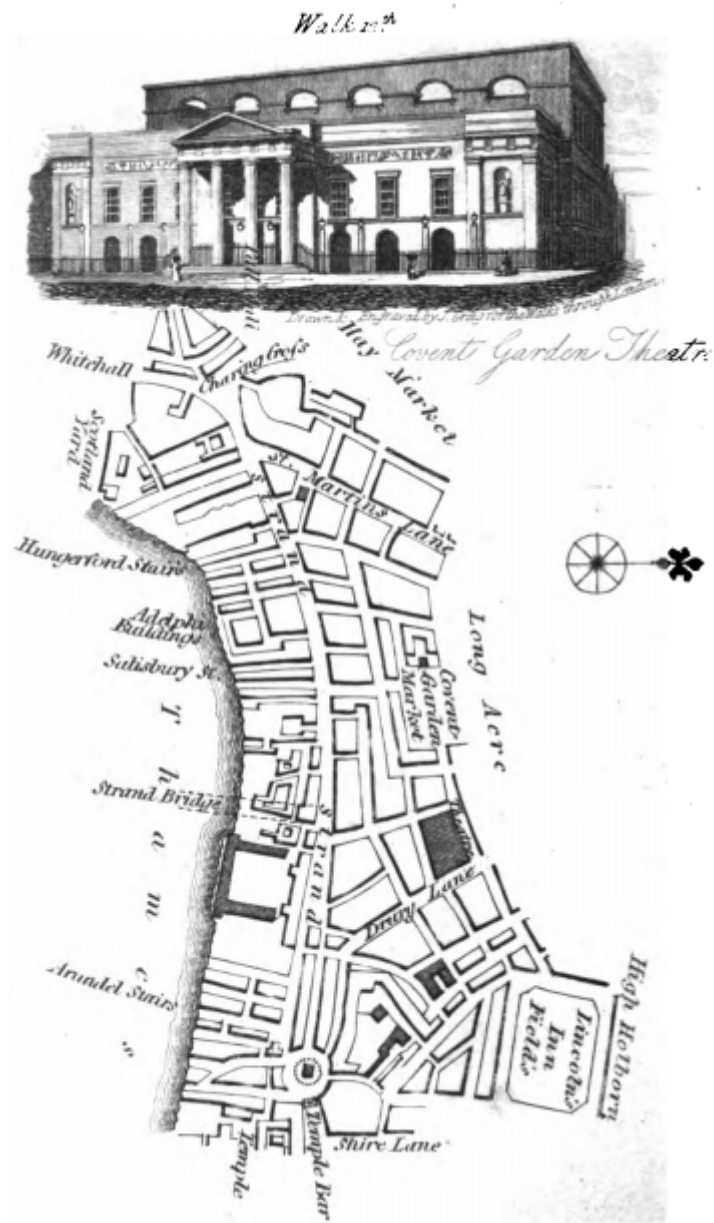


Figure 16. David Hughson, 'Walk 12: Covent Garden Theatre', in *Walks Through London* (Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1817).

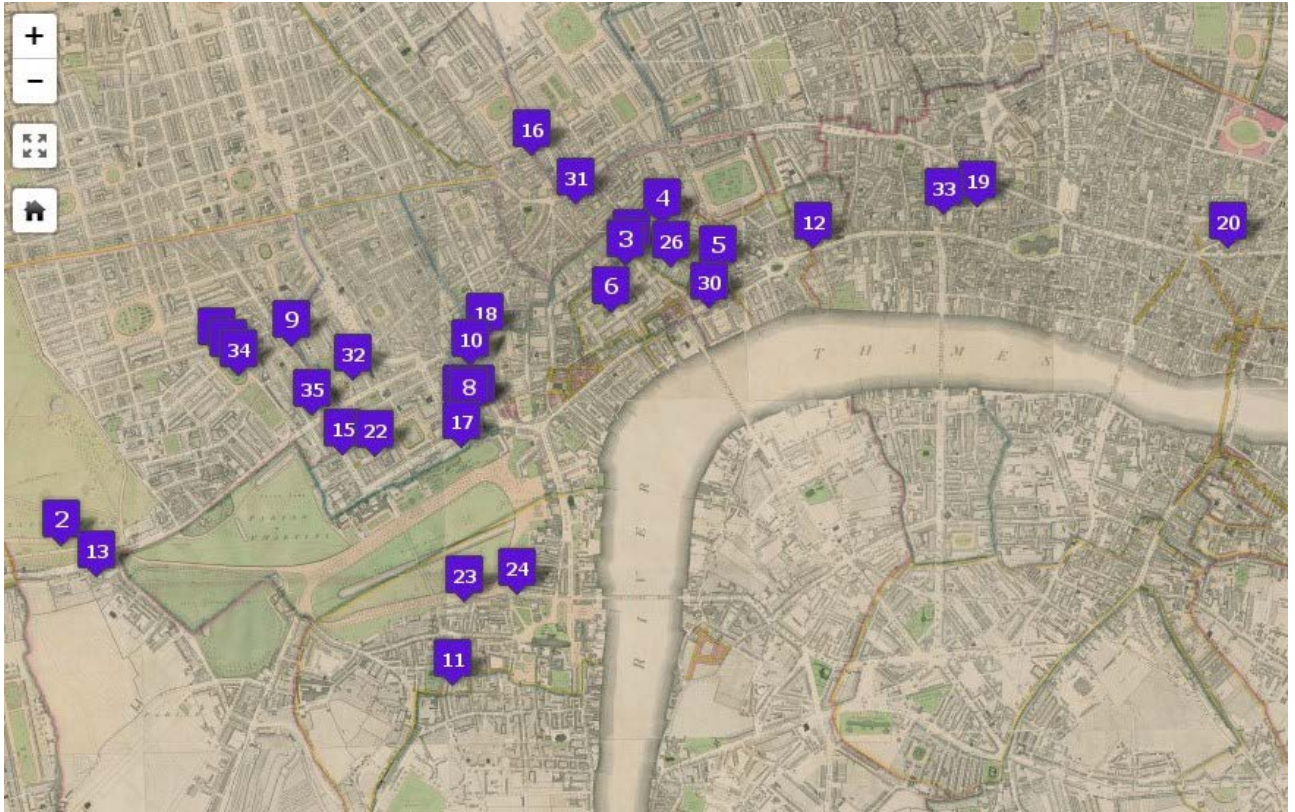


Figure 17. Screenshot of Matthew Sangster’s map, taken from ‘Mapping Pierce Egan’s *Life in London*, in *Romantic London* (1821), <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/life-in-london-map/#18/51.51253/-0.11731>> [accessed 23 March 2018].

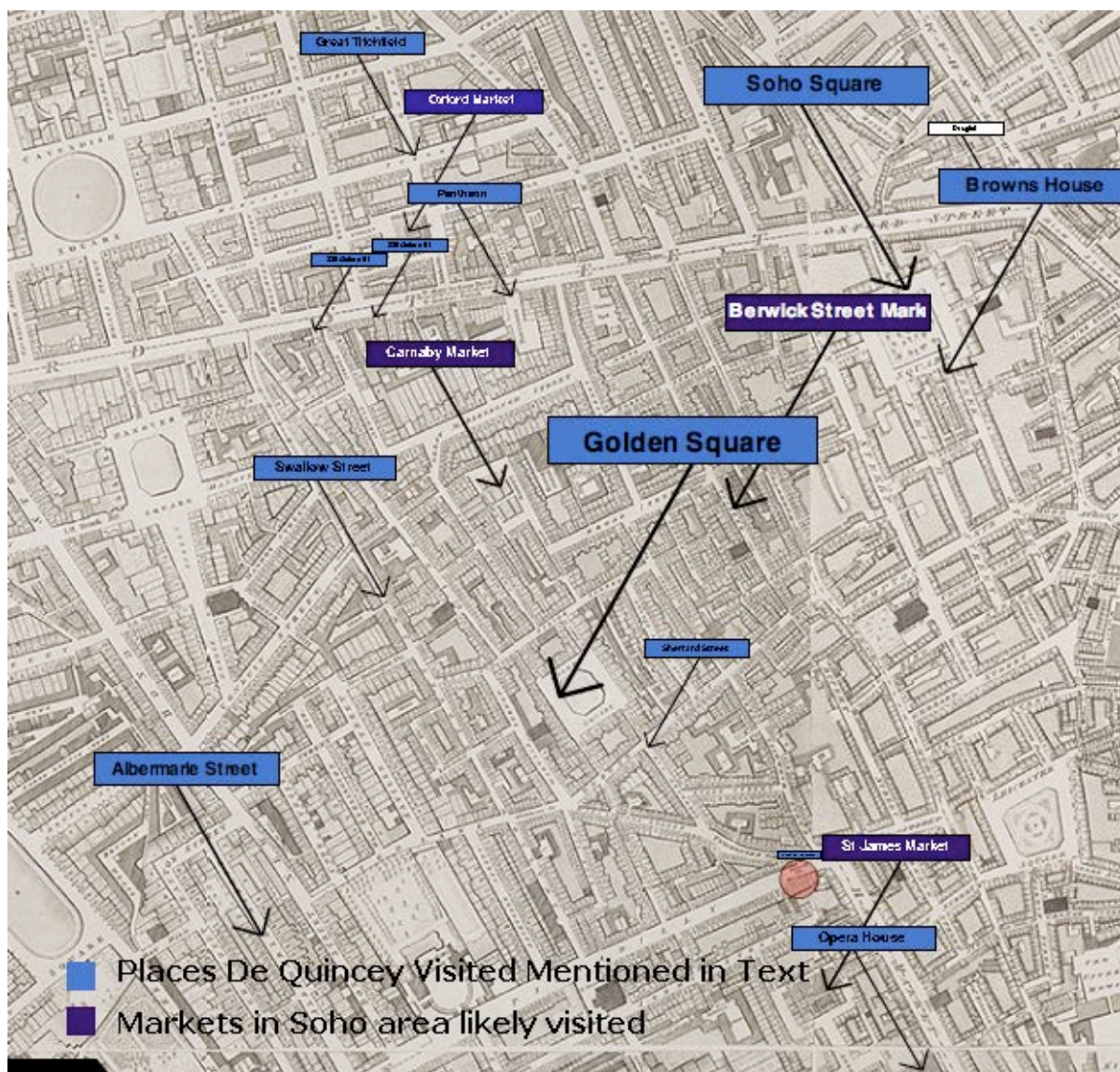


Figure 18. Joel E. Salt, *Map of London with Annotations from De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, in 'Re-Mapping as Remembering: the Digital De Quincey', <<http://drc.usask.ca/projects/eng803/joel/dequincey/dequincey.html>> [accessed 14 March 2018].

Bibliography

Abu-Laban, Yasmeen, 'Gendering Surveillance Studies: The Empirical and Normative Promise of Feminist Methodology', *Surveillance & Society*, 13.1 (2015), 44–56.

Adams, Tim, 'How the internet created an age of rage', 24 July 2011, in *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2011/jul/24/internet-anonymity-trolling-tim-adams> [accessed 02 July 2016].

Adburgham, Alison, *Women in Print: Writing Women and Women's Magazines from the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1972).

Adburgham, Alison, *Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814 to 1840* (London: Faber and Faber, 2012).

'Advertisements and Notices', *Morning Post*, 17 October 1810, pp. 1.

'A Freeholder', *Letter of a Freeholder to Mr Jones, Member of Parliament for the Borough of Denbigh on the Subject of his Motion against French Emigrants* (London: Wright, 1798).

Akin, James, *Facts Connected with the Life of James Carey, whose eccentric habits caused a post-mortem examination by Gentlemen of the Faculty; to determine whether he was Hermaphroditic: with Lithographed Drawings, made at their request* (Philadelphia, 1839).

Alexander, Neal, 'Senses of Place', in *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, ed. Robert T. Tally Jr. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 39–49.

Alger, J. G., 'The British Colony in Paris 1792–93', in *The English Historical Review*, eds. S. R. Gardiner and Reginald L. Poole, Vol. XIII (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898), pp. 672–94.

Alien Act, 33 Geo. II, c. 4.

'Alienate, v.', in *Oxford English Dictionary* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/4995>> [accessed 31 October 2017].

Alliston, April, 'Introduction', in *The Recess*, ed. April Alliston (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000), pp. ix–xliv.

Alliston, April, 'Lee, Sophia Priscilla', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16311>> [accessed 26 July 2016].

Allonville, Armand François, *Mémoires: Secret de 1770 á 1830* (Paris: Werdet, 1841 [Originally published 1794]).

A Merry Allegorico-Botanico-Badinical Piece: or, the Natural History of the Arbor Vitæ: or the Tree of Life (London: Company of Gardeners, 1732).

Amy-Chinn, Dee, 'Doing epistemic (in)justice to Semena', *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics*, 6.3 (2011), 311–26.

Andrejevic, Mark, 'The Work of Watching One Another: Lateral Surveillance, Risk and Governance', *Surveillance & Society*, 2.4 (2005), 479–97.

Andrejevic, Mark, 'Foreword', in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. ix–xviii.

Anniston, Jennifer, 'For the Record', 07 July 2016, in *Huffington Post*,
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/for-the-record_us_57855586e4b03fc3ee4e626f [accessed 05 January 2017].

Anonymous, *Anecdotes, Bon Mots, Traits, Stratagems and Biographical Sketches of the most Remarkable Highwaymen, Swindlers and other daring Adventurers* (London: D. Brewman, 1797).

Anonymous, *An Historical Miscellany of the Curiosities and Rarities in Nature and Art*, Vol. II (London: Champante and Whitrow, c. 1794).

Anonymous, 'CHRISTABEL; KUBLA KHAN, A VISION; THE PAINS OF SLEEP,—BY S. T. COLERIDGE, ESQ.', 26 May 1816, *Champion*, pp. 166–67, reprinted in *The Romantics Reviewed, Part A: The Lake Poets*, ed. Donald H. Reiman, 2 vols., Vol. I (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1972), pp. 268.

Anonymous, *Christabess. A Right Woeful Poem, Translated from the Doggerel by Sir Vinegar Sponge* (London: J. Duncombe, 1816).

Anonymous, *Edwin's Jests, Humours, Frolicks and Bonmots* (London: J. Roach, 1794).

Anonymous, 'No. 4 – Out-door, or Carriage Dress', 1808, engraving, in *La Belle Assemblée* (London: J. Bell, 1808), p. 138.

Anonymous, 'Review of Literature: *The History of the Reign of George the Third from the Conclusion of the seventeenth session of the sixteenth Parliament, in 1790, to the end of the sixth session of the seventeenth Parliament, in 1796*. By Robert Macfarlane', in *The Monthly Mirror: Reflecting Men and Manners*, Vol. V (London: J. Wright, 1798), pp. 28–29.

Anonymous, *Satan's Harvest Home: Or, the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Procuring, Pimping, Sodomy and the Game at Flatts* (London, 1749).

Anonymous, 'State of Public Affairs, in September 1803', in *Monthly Magazine*, Vol. XVI (London: Richard Phillips, 1803), pp. 274–77.

Anonymous, *The Cuckold's Chronicle: being select trials for adultery, incest, imbecility, ravishment, &c*, Vol. I (Boston, 1798).

Anonymous, 'The English Theatre: Haymarket', *Westminster Magazine*, 08 August 1780, pp. 409–10.

Anonymous, *The Wig: A Burlesque-Satirical Poem* (London: W. Flexney, 1765).

Anonymous, *Tom & Jerry; or, Life in London* (London: John Lowndes, 1821).

Armstrong, David, 'The Rise of Surveillance Medicine', *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 17.3 (1995), 393–404.

Arnaud, George, *A Dissertation on Hermaphrodites* (London: A. Miller, 1750).

'Art V: *The Young Philosopher*, A Novel by Charlotte Smith', *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, Vol. I (London: J. Whittle, 1799), pp. 187–90.

Arvidsson, Viktor and Anna Foka, 'Digital Gender: Perspective, Phenomenon, Practice', *First Monday*, 20.4 (2015), <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5210/fm.v20i4.5930>> [accessed 07 March 2016].

Ash, John, *New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language*, Vol. II (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775).

A Society for Promoting a Reform of Manners, *The Eleventh Black List*, 1706, Houghton Library, Harvard University (ref: hyde_eb65_a100_b675b_v5_no43), <<http://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/30527567?buttons=y>> [accessed 11 May 2016].

Associated Press, ‘Everyone is under surveillance now, says whistleblower Edward Snowden’, 03 May 2014, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/03/everyone-is-under-surveillance-now-says-whistleblower-edward-snowden>> [accessed 28 April 2018].

Atkinson, Colin B. and Jo Atkinson, ‘Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda*, and Women’s Rights’, *Éire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies*, 19.4 (1984), 94–118.

Auerbach, Nina, *Our Vampires, Our Selves* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Austen, Jane, *Mansfield Park* (London: Penguin, 2014 [Originally published 1814]).

Badcock, John, *The London Guide, and Stranger’s Safeguard Against the Cheats, Swindlers, and Pickpockets that Abound within the Bills of Mortality* (London: J. Bumpus, 1818).

Badcock, John, *Slang: A Dictionary* (London: T. Hughes, 1823).

Bailey, Anthony, *A View of Delft: Vermeer Then and Now* (London: Pimlico, 2002).

Baillie, Joanna, ‘The Alienated Manor’, in *Dramas*, Vol. I (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1836), pp. 123–249.

Baillie, Joanna, *Dramas*, Vol. I (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1836).

Baillie, Joanna, *The Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, ed. Judith Bailey Slagle, Vol. 1 (Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999).

- Bailey Slagle, Judith, *Joanna Baillie, A Literary Life* (Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002).
- Baker, William, *Critical Companion to Jane Austen: A Literary Reference to her Life and Work* (New York: Infobase, 2008).
- Ball, Charles, *An Historical Account of Winchester, with Descriptive Walks* (Winchester: James Roberts, 1818).
- Ball, Kirstie, Nicola Green, Hille Koskela and David J. Phillips, 'Surveillance Studies Needs Gender and Sexuality', *Surveillance & Society*, 6.4 (2009), 352–55.
- Balzac, Honoré de, *Cousin Pons*, trans. Ellen Marriage (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1913).
- Barbault, Anna Letitia and Joseph Ellis, *A New Map of the Land of Matrimony drawn from the latest surveys*, copperplate engraving, 36 cm × 28.5 cm (London: J. Johnson, 1772).
- Barker, Hannah, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Barrell, John, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Bartky, Sandra Lee, 'Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power', in *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance, and Behavior*, ed. Rose Weitz (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 25–45.
- Bates, Laura, *Girl Up* (London and New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016).

- Bauer, Susanne and Jan Eric Olsén, 'Observing the Others, Watching Over Oneself: Themes of Medical Surveillance in Society', *Surveillance & Society*, 6.2 (2009), 116–27.
- BBC, 'David Cameron criticised over migrant 'swarm' language', 30 July 2015, in *BBC*, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-33716501>> [accessed 29 May 2017].
- Beer, John, 'Coleridge, Hazlitt and 'Christabel'', *Review of English Studies*, 37.145 (1986), 40–54.
- Beigel, Hugo, 'Illegitimacy', in *The Encyclopædia of Sexual Behaviour*, eds. Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel, Vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1961), pp. 503–14.
- Bell, Mary Ann, 'Newest London and Parisian Fashions for January', in *The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons*, Vol. VI (London: J. Bell, 1829), pp. 7–12.
- Benis, Toby R., *Romanticism on the Road: The Marginal Gains of Wordsworth's Homeless* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).
- Benis, Toby R., *Romantic Diasporas: French Émigrés, British Convicts, and Jews* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Bentham, Jeremy, *The Panopticon Writings* (London and New York: Verso, 1995).
- Bernbaum, Ernest, *The Drama of Sensibility: A Sketch of the History of English Sentimental Comedy and Domestic Tragedy, 1696–1780* (Boston and London: Ginn and Company, 1915).
- Black, Alistair, 'The Victorian Information Society: Surveillance, Bureaucracy, and Public Librarianship in 19th-Century Britain', *The Information Society*, 17.1 (2001), 63–80.
- Black, Jeff J. S., *Rousseau's Critique of Science: A Commentary on Discourse on Sciences and the Arts* (New York and Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2009).

- Black, Jeremy, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987).
- Blaha, Jason, 'Holly Holm Showing Signs Of Anabolic Abuse During The Ronda Rousey Fight?', in *YouTube*, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3TB40XkRuzM>> [accessed 05 January 2017].
- Blake, William, 'Jerusalem', in *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 144–258.
- Blake, William, 'Of the Gates', in *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 268.
- Blakely, S. H., 'John Howard Payne's "Thespian Mirror", New York's First Theatrical Magazine', *Studies in Philology*, 46.4 (1949), 577–602.
- Blank, Antje, 'Things as they were: The Gothic of Real Life in Charlotte Smith's *The Emigrants* and *The Banished Man*', *Women's Writing*, 16.1 (2009), 78–93.
- Blume, Anna, 'Mesh: The Tale of the Hermaphrodite', *LITR*, 4 (2005), <<http://www.litr.org/journal/4/mesh-the-tale-of-the-hermaphrodite>> [accessed 10 October 2016].
- Boaden, James, *Memoires of Mrs. Siddons, Interspersed with Anecdotes of Authors and Actors* (Philadelphia and New York: H. C. Carey, I. Lea, I. Littell, G. & C. Carvill, 1827).
- Bode, Christoph and Jacqueline Labbe (eds.), *Romantic Localities: Europe Writes Place* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).

Bogard, William, 'Stimulation and Post-Panopticism', in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirstie Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 30–37.

Bowles, Carrington, *Carrington Bowles's New and Enlarged Catalogue of Useful Maps, Charts, and Plans* (London: 1784).

Bowman, Paul, *Culture and the Media* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Braithwaite, John, *Crime, Shame and Reintegration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Braun, Emil, *Handbook for the Ruins and Museums of Rome* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1855).

Braverman, Irus, 'Zooveillance: Foucault Goes to the Zoo', *Surveillance & Society*, 10.2 (2012), 119–33.

Bregman, Mark, 'Can We Control Our Digital Identities', 03 November 2014, in *Dark Reading*, <<http://www.darkreading.com/identity-and-access-management/can-we-control-our-digital-identities/d/d-id/1127620>> [accessed 27 July 2017].

Bria, Francesca and Elettra Bianchi Dennerlein, 'Digital Identity Ecosystems in the Context of Big Data and Mass Surveillance', 18 September 2015, in *Nesta*, <<http://www.nesta.org.uk/blog/digital-identity-ecosystems-context-big-data-and-mass-surveillance>> [accessed 27 July 2017].

Brighenti, Andrea, 'Visibility: A Category for the Social Sciences', *Current Sociology*, 55.3 (2007), 323–42.

Brighenti, Andrea, 'Artveillance: At the Crossroads of Art and Surveillance', *Surveillance & Society*, 7.2 (2010), 137–48.

British Critic, 'Art III. A Journey from London to the Isle of Wight', in *The British Critic*, Vol. XVII (London: F. and C. Rivington, 1801), pp. 580–90.

British Library, 'Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies, an 18th century guide to prostitutes', *British Library Collections Online*, <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/harriss-list-of-covent-garden-ladies-an-18th-century-guide-to-prostitutes>> [accessed 18 January 2018].

British Library, 'Map of the Land of Matrimony', in *British Library*, <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/map-of-the-land-of-matrimony>> [accessed 13 February 2018].

'British Parliament', *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 29 May 1800.

Brown, Richard, *Domestic Architecture: Containing a History of the Science, and the Principles of Designing Public Buildings, Private Dwelling-Houses, Country Mansions, and Suburban Villas* (London: George Virtue, 1841).

Browne, Simone, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015).

Bumfiddle, 'News', *Public Advertiser*, 11 October 1776.

Bumfiddle, 'News', *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post*, 28–30 October 1776.

Bunt, T. G., *Crocker's Elements of Land-Surveying* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1841).

Burford, E. J., *Wits, Wenchers and Wantons: London's Low Life – Covent Garden in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Robert Hale, 1986).

Burgess, Mrs, *The Oaks; or The Beauties of Canterbury, a Comedy* (Canterbury: Simmons and Kirkby, 1780).

Burke, Edmund, 'Three Letters to a Member of Parliament on the Proposals for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France', in *The Works of Edmund Burke*, 12 vols., Vol. 5 (London: J. C. Nimmo, 1887), pp. 233–508.

Burkeman, Oliver, 'Facebook and Twitter: the art of unfriending or unfollowing people', 14 September 2012, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2012/sep/14/unfollow-unfriend-on-facebook-twitter>> [accessed 07 June 2017].

Burney, Charles, 'Advice to the Herald', in *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney, 1782–1783*, eds. Lars E. Troide and Stewart J. Cooke, Vol. V (Quebec and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 2012), pp. 38–39.

Burney, Frances, *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney: 1787*, ed. Stewart Cooke, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon, 2011).

Burns, Anne, 'Self(ie)-Discipline: Social Regulation as Enacted Through the Discussion of Photographic Practice', *International Journal of Communication*, 9 (2015), 1716–733.

Burroughs, Catherine, 'British Women Playwrights and the Staging of Female Sexual Initiation: Sophia Lee's *The Chapter of Accidents* (1780)', *Romanticism and Sexuality*, 23 (2001), <<http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/005983ar>> [accessed 27 March 2016].

- Burroughs, Catherine, “‘A reasonable woman’s desire’”: The Private Theatrical and Joanna Baillie’s *The Tryal*’, in *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist: Critical Essays*, ed. Thomas C. Crochunis (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 187–205.
- Burroughs, Catherine, ‘The Erotics of Home: Staging Sexual Fantasy in British Women’s Drama’, in *Women’s Romantic Theatre and Drama: History, Agency, and Performativity*, ed. Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Keir Elam (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), pp. 103–22.
- Burwick, Frederick, ‘Joanna Baillie, Matthew Baillie, and the Pathology of the Passions’, in *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist: Critical Essays*, ed. Thomas C. Crochunis (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 48–68.
- Busst, A. J. L., ‘The Image of the Androgyne in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Romantic Mythologies*, ed. Ian Fletcher (London: Routledge, 1967), pp. 1–95.
- Butler, Judith, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Gender* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
- Butler, Marilyn, ‘John Bull’s Other Kingdom: Byron’s Intellectual Comedy’, *Studies in Romanticism*, 31.3 (1992), 281–94.
- B.W., ‘News’, *London Chronicle*, 30 November – 03 December 1776.
- Byron, Lord, *Sardanapalus: A Tragedy* (London: John Murray, 1823).
- Byron, Lord, ‘Granta. A Medley’, in *The Works of George Byron*, Vol. 7 (London: John Murray, 1832), pp. 44–48.
- Cameron, David, ‘Calais migrant crisis: UK-French centre to tackle traffickers’, *ITV News*, 30 July 2015, <<http://www.itv.com/news/update/2015-07-30/pm-a-swarm-of-migrants-want-to-come-to-britain/>> [accessed 29 May 2017].

Campbell, George, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 2 vols., Vol. I (London: W. Strahan, T. Cadell and W. Creech, 1776).

‘Cantstopper’, ‘Holly Holm Confirmed Steroid User’, 17 November 2015, in *Reddit*, <https://www.reddit.com/r/videos/comments/3t7668/holly_holm_confirmed_steroid_user/> [accessed 05 January 2017].

Cappon, Lester Jesse, ‘Geographers and Map-makers, British and American, from about 1760 to 1789’, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 81 (1971), 243–71.

Caquard, Sébastien and William Cartwright, ‘Narrative Cartography: From Mapping Stories to the Narrative of Maps and Mapping’, *The Cartographic Journal*, 51.2 (2014), 101–06.

Carpenter, Kirsty, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789–1802* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 1999).

Cary, John, *Cary’s New Itinerary: or, an Accurate Delineation of the Great Roads, both Direct and Cross, throughout England and Wales*, 2nd edn. (London, 1802).

Causser, Tim, ‘New Material to Transcribe: Panopticon’, 18 December 2013, in *University College London*, <<https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/transcribe-bentham/2013/12/18/new-material-to-transcribe-panopticon/>> [accessed 27 October 2017].

Chan, Mary M., ‘Vision and Visibility: Jane Austen’s Observers’ (unpublished master’s thesis, McMaster University, 2002).

Chertsey Museum, ‘Vanity Fair: Fashions of the 19th Century’, in *Chertsey Museum*, <<http://chertseymuseum.org/vanityfair>> [accessed 15 March 2017].

Chico, Tita, *Designing Women: The Dressing Room in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005).

‘Chit Chat of the Day: or, polite small-talk’, *Independent Chronicle*, 02–05 March 1770.

‘Classified Ads’, *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 29 December 1770.

‘Classified Ads’, *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 04 March 1782.

Cleland, John, *Genuine Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Maria Brown*, Vol. I (London: I. Allcock, 1766).

Cleminson, Richard and Francisco Vázquez García, ‘The Hermaphrodite, Fecundity and Military Efficiency: Dangerous Subjects in the Emerging Liberal Order of Nineteenth-Century Spain’, in *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present*, eds. Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 70–86.

Clune-Taylor, Catherine, ‘From Intersex to DSD: The Disciplining of Sex Development’, *PhaenEx*, 5.2 (2010), 152–78.

Coffee-house Lounger, ‘News’, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 30 December 1784.

Coke, David and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011).

Coleridge, Henry Nelson, ‘Coleridge’s Poetical Works’, in *London Quarterly Review*, Vol. LII (New York: Theodore Foster, 1834), pp. 1–19.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, *Conciones ad Populum: or, Addresses to the People* (n. pub., 1795).

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907 [Originally published 1817]).

- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 'Christabel', in *Selected Poetry*, ed. H. J. Jackson (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 68–86.
- Colman, George, *Prose on Several Occasions*, Vol. I (London: T. Cadell, 1787).
- Colón, Christine A., *Joanna Baillie and the Art of Moral Influence* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009).
- Colwell, Frederic S., *Rivermen: A Romantic Iconography of the River and the Source* (Kingston and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
- Comitini, Patricia, *Vocational Philanthropy and British Women's Writing, 1790–1810: Wollstonecraft, More, Edgeworth, Wordsworth* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016).
- Conway, Stephen (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham: January 1809 to December 1816*, Vol. 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- Cooky, Cheryl and Shari L. Dworkin, 'Policing the Boundaries of Sex: A Critical Examination of Gender Verification and the Caster Semenya Controversy', *The Journal of Sex Research*, 50.2 (2013), 103–11.
- Cooper, David, 'Digital Literary Cartographies: Mapping British Romanticism', in *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, ed. Robert T. Tally Jr. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 135–47.
- Cooper, Melinda, 'Monstrous Progeny: The Teratological Tradition in Science and Literature', in *Frankenstein's Science: Experimentation and Discovery in Romantic Culture, 1780–1830*, eds. Christa Knellwolf and Jane Goodall (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 87–98.

‘Coquine’, in *Le Trésor de la Langue Française Informatisé*,
 <<http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/coquin>> [accessed 19 February 2016].

Corones, Anthony and Susan Hardy, ‘En-Gendered Surveillance: Women on the Edge of a Watched Cervix’, *Surveillance & Society*, 6.4 (2009), 388–97.

‘Costume Parisienne: Turban à la Gulnaire. Corset et jupon à la Lisbeth’, in *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 11 February 1798, engraving, 181mm × 116 mm (Paris: Pierre de la Mésangère).

Coverley, Merlin, *Psychogeography* (Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2010).

Cowan, Karen Jane, ‘Domestic Disruptions: Strategies of Resistance in Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* and Fay Weldon’s *The Heart of the Country*’ (unpublished master’s thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1993).

Cox, James E., *The Rise of Sentimental Comedy* (Folcroft: Folcroft Press, 1926).

Cozens, Paul, ‘Crime Prevention through Environmental Design’, in *Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis*, eds. Richard Wortley and Lorraine Mazerolle (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 153–72.

Craciun, Adriana, ‘Citizens of the World: Émigrés, Romantic Cosmopolitanism and Charlotte Smith’, in *Nineteenth-Century Worlds: Global Formations Past and Present*, eds. Keith Hanley and Greg Kucich (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 97–115.

Crampton, Jeremy W., *Mapping: A Critical Introduction to Cartography and GIS* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

- Crawford, Dan, 'Social Control Within Architecture', June 2010, in *Cargo Collective*, <<http://cargocollective.com/dancrawfordarchitecture/Social-Control-Within-Architecture>> [accessed 03 October 2017].
- Cresswell, Tim, 'Towards *Topopoetics*: Space, Place and the Poem', in *Place, Space and Hermeneutics*, ed. Bruce B. Janz (New York: Springer, 2017), pp. 319–31.
- Cressy, David, *Literacy & the Social Order: Reading & Writing in Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
- 'Criminal conversation, n.', in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/44425?redirectedFrom=criminal+conversation#eid138738211>> [accessed 14 May 2016].
- Crocker, Abraham, *Elements of Land-Surveying* (London: Richard Phillips, 1809).
- Crocker, Abraham, *Elements of Land-Surveying* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1813).
- Cronin, Richard, 'Shelley's "Witch of Atlas"', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 26 (1977), 88–100.
- Curran, Stuart, 'Charlotte Smith and British Romanticism', *South Central Review*, 11.2 (1994), 66–78.
- Dabhoiwala, Faramerz, 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1996), 201–13.
- da Costa, Palmira Fontes, 'Anatomical Expertise and the Hermaphroditic Body', *Spontaneous Generations*, 1.1 (2007), 78–85.

Dale, Jack, 'The Extent of Online Misogyny', 26 May 2016, in *Demos*, <<http://www.demos.co.uk/blog/misogyny-online/>> [accessed 28 May 2016].

Damon, S. Foster, *A Blake Dictionary: The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake*, 3rd edn. (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2013).

Dandeker, Christopher, *Surveillance, Power, and Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

Dart, Gregory, *Metropolitan Art and Literature, 1810–1840: Cockney Adventures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Davenport, Hester, *The Prince's Mistress, Perdita: A Life of Mary Robinson* (Stroud: The History Press, 2006).

Davidson, Arnold I., 'Introduction', in *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974–1975*, trans. Graham Burchell, eds. Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni (London and New York: Verso, 2003), pp. xvii–xxvi.

Deane, Nichola, 'Reading Romantic Letters: Charlotte Smith at the Huntington', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 66.3 (2003), 393–410.

de Hart, Scott Douglas, *Shelley Unbound: Discovering Frankenstein's True Creator* (Port Townsend: Feral House, 2013).

Deleuze, Gilles, 'Postscript on the Societies of Control', *October*, 59 (1992), 3–7.

Delson, Abe, 'The Function of Geraldine in *Christabel*: A Critical Perspective and Interpretation', *English Studies*, 61.2 (1980), 130–41.

de Plume, Daisy, 'SheMan Beauty', 28 June 2012, in *THATlou Blog*, <<http://thatlou.com/blog/2012/06/27/sheman-beauty/>> [accessed 11 October 2016].

De Quincey, Thomas, *Confessions of An English Opium-Eater*, ed. Robert Morrison (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013 [Originally published 1821]).

De Quincey, Thomas, 'Suspiria de Profundis', in *Suspiria de Profundis, with Other Essays* (London: William Heineman, 1891), pp. 1–24.

Designing Safer Places, Planning Policy Approach (Gloucester City Council, 2008),
 <<http://www.gloucester.gov.uk/resident/Documents/Planning%20and%20Building%20Control/DSP%20IA%200808.pdf>> [accessed 01 December 2017].

Despotopoulou, Anna, 'Fanny's Gaze and the Construction of Feminine Space in "Mansfield Park"', *The Modern Language Review*, 99.3 (2004), 569–83.

Dickie, Simon, 'Joseph Andrews and the Great Laughter Debate', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 34 (2005), 271–332.

Diderot, Denis, *The Paradox of Acting*, trans. Walter Herries Pollock (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883).

Diogo, Gustavo Velho, 'Google Earth, Surveillance, and the Power of Digital Cartography', 07 October 2016, in *Institute of Network Culture*,
 <<http://networkcultures.org/longform/2016/10/07/google-earth-surveillance-and-the-power-of-digital-cartography/>> [accessed 01 February 2018].

'distinguishedturd', 'Can you tell if Semenya is a man or a woman?', September 2016, in *Reddit*,
 <https://www.reddit.com/r/olympics/comments/4yi6rt/can_you_tell_if_caster_semenya_is_a_man_or_a_woman/> [accessed 11 October 2016].

'Domestic Literary Intelligence', in *The Port Folio*, Vol. III (Philadelphia: Harrison Hall, 1817), pp. 350–51.

Donath, Judith, 'Signals in Social Supernets', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13 (2008), 231–51.

Donkin, Ellen, *Getting into the Act: Women Playwrights in London 1776–1829* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

Donkin, Richard Pye, *The Trial, and the Whole of the Evidence, between the Right. Hon. Sir Richard Worsley, Bart, Plaintiff, and George Maurice Bissett, Esq., Defendant, for the Criminal Conversation with the Plaintiff's Wife* (London: G. Kearsley, 1782).

Donoghue, Emma, *Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture 1668–1801* (London: HarperCollins, 1995).

Dou, Gerard, *Man Smoking a Pipe* (Self Portrait), c. 1650, oil on panel, 48 cm × 37 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Douglas, Peter, 'Dissing the Dutch: All's Fair in Love and War', in *New Netherland Institute*, 1–22, <<http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/>> [accessed 10 March 2016].

'dpy87', 'Can you tell if Semenya is a man or a woman?', September 2016, in *Reddit*, <https://www.reddit.com/r/olympics/comments/4yi6rt/can_you_tell_if_caster_semenya_is_a_man_or_a_woman/> [accessed 11 October 2016].

Dreger, Alice, *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex* (Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1998).

Dubrofsky, Rachel E., 'A Vernacular of Surveillance: Taylor Swift and Miley Cyrus Perform White Authenticity', *Surveillance & Society*, 14.2 (2016), 184–96.

Dubrofsky, Rachel. E. and Shoshana Amielle Magnet, 'Feminist Surveillance Studies: Critical Interventions', in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and

- Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 1–17.
- Duckworth, Alistair M., *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971).
- Duffy Jr., Joseph M., 'Moral Integrity and Moral Anarchy in *Mansfield Park*', *ELH*, 23.1 (1956), 71–91.
- Dupaty, Charles, *Sentimental Letters on Italy: Written in French by President Dupaty, in 1785*, trans. J. Poloveri, Vol. I (London: J. Bew, 1788).
- Durey, Michael, 'William Wickham, the Christ Church Connection and the Rise and Fall of the Security Service in Britain, 1793–1801', *English Historical Review*, 121 (2006), 714–45.
- Durey, Michael, *William Wickham, Master Spy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).
- Earle, Alice Morse, *Curious Punishments of Bygone Days* (Bedford, Massachusetts: Applewood Books, 1995 [Originally published by Herbert S. Stone & Company, 1896]).
- 'Eavesdrop, v.', in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/59159?rskey=qB1An7&result=2#eid> [accessed 09 January 2018].
- Edgeworth, Maria, 'The Absentee', in *Tales of Fashionable Life*, Vol. II (Philadelphia and Trenton: E. Littell, 1823), pp. 249–466.
- Edgeworth, Maria, *Belinda*, ed. Kathryn J. Kirkpatrick (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008 [Originally published 1801]).

‘Editorials’, *The Times*, 23 January 1818.

Edmundson, Melissa, ‘A Space for Fanny: The Significance of her Rooms in *Mansfield Park*’, *Persuasions*, 23.1 (2002), <<http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/online/vol23no1/edmundson.html>> [accessed 25 November 2017].

Edwards, Elizabeth, ‘‘A Galaxy of the Blended Lights’’: The Reception of Thomas Pennant’, in *Enlightenment Travel and British Identities: Thomas Pennant’s Tours in Scotland and Wales*, eds. Mary-Ann Constantine and Nigel Leask (London: Anthem Press, 2017), pp. 141–59.

Egan, Pierce, *Life in London; or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorne, Esq. and his Elegant Friend Corinthian Tom, Accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in their Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1822).

Egenolf, Susan B., *The Art of Political Fiction in Hamilton, Edgeworth, and Owenson* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

Eisenberger, Niomi. I., Matthew D. Lieberman and Kipling D. Williams, ‘Does Rejection Hurt? An fMRI Study of Social Exclusion’, *Science*, 302 (2003), 290–92.

Ellis, Albert, ‘Coitus’, in *The Encyclopædia of Sexual Behaviour*, eds. Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel, Vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1961), pp. 284–92.

Elwood, Anne Katherine, *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England* (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber and Company, 1845).

Epstein Nord, Deborah, ‘The City as Theater: From Georgian to Early Victorian London’, *Victorian Studies*, 31.2 (1988), 159–88.

Epstein Nord, Deborah, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995).

Fabian, Jenny, 'Coleridge – The Muse and the Albatross', 2011, in *London Grip*, <http://londongrip.co.uk/2010/09/literature-coleridge-the-muse-and-the-albatross/> [accessed 11 February 2017].

'Fashions', *Bury and Norwich Post: Or, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, and Ely Advertiser*, 05 October 1808.

'Fashions for October 1808', in *La Belle Assemblée, being Bell's court and fashionable magazine, addressed particularly to the Ladies*, Vol. V (London: J. Bell, 1808), pp. 137–41.

'Fashions for the present Month', *The Cambrian, and general weekly advertiser for the principality of Wales*, 08 October 1808, pp. 4.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne, 'The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough', *The Sciences*, (1993), 20–25.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

Ferguson, George, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Fidler, David P. (ed.), *The Snowden Reader* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

Fielding, Henry, 'The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews, and his friend Mr. Abraham Adams', in *The Works of Henry Fielding*, 2nd edn., ed. Thomas Roscoe (London: Henry Washbourne, 1841), pp. 279–373.

Fightstate, 'Serious Rumors Are Circulating Holly Holm Was On Steroids Because of This Image', in *Fightstate*, <<http://fightstate.com/serious-rumors-are-circulating-holly-holm-was-on-steroids-because-of-this-image/>> [accessed 05 January 2017].

Fischer, Mia, 'Under the Ban-Optic Gaze: Chelsea Manning and the State's Surveillance of Transgender Bodies', in *Expanding the Gaze: Gender and the Politics of Surveillance*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 185–212.

Fiske, John, 'Surveilling the City: Whiteness, the Black Man and Democratic Totalitarianism', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 15.2 (1998), 67–88.

Flanders, Judith, *The Making of Home* (London: Atlantic Books, 2014).

Fletcher, Daniel, 'The Spectre of Female Otherness is Haunting Athletics', 21 September 2016, in *Transformation*, <<https://www.opendemocracy.net/transformation/daniel-fletcher/spectre-of-female-otherness-is-haunting-athletics>> [accessed 11 October 2016].

Fletcher, Loraine, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

Fletcher, Loraine, 'Introduction', in *Emmeline*, ed. Loraine Fletcher (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2003), pp. 9–35.

FlexiSPY, 'Features', in *FlexiSPY*, <<https://www.flexispy.com/en/mobile-and-cell-phone-spy-features.htm>> [accessed 23 April 2018].

Flynn, Carol Houlihan, 'Where the Wild Things Are: Guides to London's Transgressive Spaces', in *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Eighteenth-century Society: Essays from the DeBartolo Conference*, eds. Regina Hewitt and Pat Rogers (Lewisburg: Bucknell University press, 2002), pp. 27–50.

Foucault, Michel, *Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-Century French Hermaphrodite*, trans. Richard McDougall (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London and New York: Penguin, 1975).

Foucault, Michel, 'Space, Knowledge, and Power', in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, trans. Robert Hurley, ed. James D. Faubion, Vol. 3 (London: Penguin, 1994), pp. 349–64.

Foucault, Michel, 'Truth and Juridical Forms', in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, trans. Robert Hurley, ed. James D. Faubion, Vol. 3 (London: Penguin, 1994), pp. 1–89.

Foucault, Michel, 'About the Concept of the "Dangerous Individual" in Nineteenth-Century Legal Psychiatry', in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, trans. Robert Hurley, ed. James D. Faubion, Vol. 3, (London and New York: Penguin, 1994), pp. 176–200.

Foucault, Michel, *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974–1975*, trans. Graham Burchell, eds. Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni (London and New York: Verso, 2003).

Fox, Charles James, 'On the order of the day for going into a committee on the Alien bill being read', in *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, Vol. XXX (1792–1794) (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Browne, 1817), pp. 190–94.

‘Frontispiece’, in *Harris’s List of Covent Garden Ladies, or Man of Pleasure’s Kalender for the Year 1793* (London: H. Ranger, 1793).

Fuchs, Thomas, ‘The Phenomenology of Shame, Guilt and the Body in Body Dysmorphic Disorder and Depression’, *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 33.2 (2003), 223–43.

Furlong, Gillian, *Treasures from UCL* (London: UCL Press, 2015).

Fussey, Pete and Jon Coaffee, ‘Urban Spaces of Surveillance’, in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirstie Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 201–08.

Fu, Xiongjun, Ting Li, Shengqi Qian, Jiayun Chang and Min Xie, ‘Electronic Countermeasures Against Reconnaissance Satellites’, in *Information Technology*, eds. Yi Wan, Liangshan Shao, Lipo Wang, Jinguang Sun, Jingchang Nan and Quanguai Zhang (London: Taylor & Francis, 2015), pp. 199–203.

‘Game of Romps: Rules for Christmas Gambols’, in *The Sporting Magazine, or Calendar of the Transactions of the Turf, the Chace and every other Diversion interesting to the Man of Pleasure, Enterprize and Spirit*, Vol. IX (London, 1797), pp. 152.

Gardiner, Becky, Mahana Mansfield, Ian Anderson, Josh Holder, Daan Louter and Monica Ulmanu, ‘The Dark Side of Guardian Comments’, 12 April 2016, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/apr/12/the-dark-side-of-guardian-comments>> [accessed 16 May 2016].

Garnai, Amy, *Revolutionary Imaginings in the 1790s: Charlotte Smith, Mary Robinson, Elizabeth Inchbald* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

- Garnai, Amy, 'The Alien Act and Negative Cosmopolitanism in The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer', in *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism*, ed. Jacqueline Labbe (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 101–12.
- Gay, John, *The Beggar's Opera and Polly*, ed. Hal Gladfelder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013 [Originally published 1728]).
- Gaylin, Ann, *Eavesdropping in the Novel from Austen to Proust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- 'Gaze, *n.* *Draft Additions October 2001*', in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/77224?rskey=9wa45V&result=1#eid>> [accessed 11 October 2017].
- Gazi, Jeeshan, 'Soiveillance: Self-Consciousness and the Social Network in Hideaki Anno's *Love & Pop*', *Surveillance & Society*, 16.1 (2018), 84–111.
- Geckle, George L., '13. P.P., Character and Morality in *Measure for Measure*', in *Measure for Measure: Shakespeare: The Critical Tradition*, ed. George L. Geckle (London and New York: The Athalone Press, 2001), pp. 60–63.
- George, Mary Dorothy, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. 7: Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, 1793–1800* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1978).
- Giddens, Anthony, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985).
- Gilbert, Ruth, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites: Sex and Other Stories* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

Gillray, James, *Sir Richard Worse-than-Sly, exposing his wife's bottom.—O fye!*, originally published by William Humphrey, 14 March 1782, hand-coloured etching, 335 mm × 230 mm, © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Gillray, James, *Independence*, originally published by Hannah Humphrey, 09 June 1799, hand-coloured etching, 349 mm × 249 mm, © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Gilroy, Amanda, 'Introduction', in *Romantic Geographies: Discourse of Travel, 1775–1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 1–18.

Gladfelder, Hal, *Criminality and Narrative in Eighteenth-Century England: Beyond the Law* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Godwin, William, *Things as They Are or the Adventures of Caleb Williams*, ed. Maurice Hindle (London: Penguin, 2005 [Originally published 1794]).

Goldsmith, Oliver, 'An Essay on the Theatre; or, a Comparison between Sentimental and Laughing Comedy', *Westminster Magazine*, January 1773, 398–402.

Goodman, Dena, 'Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime', *History and Theory*, 31.1 (1992), 1–20.

Grabo, Carl, *The Meaning of the Witch of Atlas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935).

Green, Katy, 'In these walls, secrets hide', *The English Home*, <http://www.theenglishhome.co.uk/in_these_walls_secrets_hide_1_2294265/> [accessed 31 October 2017].

Greenfield, Susan C., *Mothering Daughters: Novels and the Politics of Family Romance, Frances Burney to Jane Austen* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002).

Greig, Hannah and Giorgio Riello, 'Eighteenth-Century Interiors—Redesigning the Georgian: Introduction', *Journal of Design History*, 20.4 (2007), 273–89.

Griffin, Andrew, 'Everyone Who Can See Your Entire Internet History, Including The Taxman, DWP and Food Standards Agency', 24 November 2016, in *Independent*, <<https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/news/investigatory-powers-bill-act-snoopers-charter-browsing-history-what-does-it-mean-a7436251.html>> [accessed 27 April 2018].

Grose, Francis, *Lexicon Balatronicum: A Dictionary of Buckish Slang*, *University Wit and Pickpocket Eloquence* (London: C. Chappel, 1811).

Grossberg, Benjamin Scott, 'Making Christabel: Sexual Transgression and its Implications in Coleridge's "Christabel"', *Journal of Homosexuality*, 41.2 (2001), 145–65.

Groves, Robert, 'From Statue to Story: Ovid's Metamorphosis of Hermaphroditus', *Classical World*, 109.3 (2016), 321–56.

Guest, Harriet and Judith Stanton, 'Charlotte Smith to Thomas Cadell, Sr., and Harriet Lee: Two New Letters', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 57 (2008), 32–41.

Guest, Harriet, 'Suspicious Minds: Spies and Surveillance in Charlotte Smith's Novels of the 1790s', in *Land, Nation and Culture, 1740–1840*, eds. Peter de Bolla, Nigel Leask and David Simpson (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 169–87.

Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).

Haggerty, George E., 'Keyhole Testimony: Witnessing Sodomy in the Eighteenth Century', *The Eighteenth Century*, 44.2 (2003), 167–82.

Haggerty, Kevin D. and Richard V. Ericson *Policing the Risk Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Haggerty, Kevin D. and Richard V. Ericson, 'The Surveillant Assemblage', *British Journal of Sociology*, 51.4 (2000), 605–22.

Haggerty, Kevin D. and Richard V. Ericson, 'The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility', in *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility*, eds. Richard V. Ericson and Kevin D. Haggerty (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 3–25.

Haggerty, Kevin D., 'Tear down the walls: on demolishing the panopticon', in *Theorizing Surveillance: The Panopticon and Beyond*, ed. David Lyon (Portland: Willan Publishing, 2006), pp. 23–45.

Hagner, Michael, 'Enlightened Monsters', in *The Sciences of Enlightened Europe*, eds. William Clark, Jan Golinski and Simon Schaffer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 175–217.

Hague, William, 'Data Snooping', *The Andrew Marr Show – BBC*, 09 June 2013, <<https://www.theguardian.com/uk/video/2013/jun/09/data-snooping-law-abiding-citizens-nothing-fear-hague-video>> [accessed 28 February 2017].

Haines, Leslie, "'Being sexless, wilt thou be": Nineteenth-Century British Poetry and the Challenge of the Androgynous Mind' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Auburn University, Alabama).

Hall, Rachel, *The Transparent Traveler: The Performance and Culture of Airport Security* (Durham and New York: Duke University Press, 2015).

Hall, Rachel, 'Terror and the Female Grotesque: Introducing Full-Body Scanners to U.S. Airports', in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 127–49.

Hamilton, William Rowan, 'From W. R. Hamilton to his sister Eliza: Edgeworthstown, March 19, 1828', in *Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton*, ed. Robert Perceval Graves, Vol. I (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1882), pp. 291–92.

Hammer, Raphaël P. and Claudine Burton-Jeangros, 'Tensions Around Risks in Pregnancy: A Typology of Women's Experiences of Surveillance Medicine', *Social Science & Medicine*, 93 (2013), 55–63.

Hardaker, Clare, 'What is turning so many young men into internet trolls?', 03 August 2013, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2013/aug/03/how-to-stop-trolls-social-media>> [accessed 16 May 2016].

Hargreaves, Tracy, *Androgyny in Modern Literature* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Harley, J. Brian, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Harris, Catherine, Lucy Jackson, Aneta Piekut and Gill Valentine, 'Attitudes towards the 'stranger': negotiating encounters with difference in the UK and Poland', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 18.1 (2017), 16–33.

Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies, or Man of Pleasure's Kalender for the Year 1793 (London: H. Ranger, 1793).

- Hart, Simon, 'Caster Semenya 'is a hermaphrodite', tests show', 11 September 2009, in *Telegraph*, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/othersports/athletics/6170229/Caster-Semenya-is-a-hermaphrodite-tests-show.html>> [accessed 24 October 2016].
- Harvard Law Review Association, 'Shame, Stigma, and Crime: Evaluating the Efficacy of Shaming Sanctions in Criminal Law', *Harvard Law Review*, 116.7 (2003), 2186–207.
- Harvey, Alison, West Indian Obeah and English 'Obee': Race, Femininity, and Questions of Colonial Consolidation in Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda*', in *New Essays on Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Julie Nash (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 1–30.
- Hasinoff, Amy Adele, *Sexting Panic: Rethinking Criminalization, Privacy, and Consent* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015).
- Hazlitt, William, 'Christabel;—Kubla Khan, a Vision; The Pains of Sleep. By S. T. Coleridge, Esq.—1816. Murray', 02 June 1816, in *Examiner*, reprinted in *The Romantics Reviewed, Part A: The Lake Poets*, ed. Donald H. Reiman, 2 vols., Vol. II, (New York: Garland, 1972), pp. 530–31.
- Henderson, Tony, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730–1830* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Hern, Alex, 'Fitness tracking app Strava gives away location of secret US army bases', 28 January 2018, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/28/fitness-tracking-app-gives-away-location-of-secret-us-army-bases>> [accessed 02 February 2018].
- Hertel, Christiane, *Vermeer: Reception and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Hervey, Elizabeth, *The Mourtray Family*, Vol. II (London: R. Faulder, 1800).

Hewitt, Regina, 'Improving the Law: Property Rights and Self-Possession in Joanna Baillie's "The Alienated Manor"', *The Wordsworth Circle*, 38.1 (2007), 50–55.

Hewitt, Regina, 'Utopianism and Joanna Baillie: Joanna Baillie's Ecotopian Comedies', in *Romantic Circles Praxis: Utopianism and Joanna Baillie*, ed. Regina Hewitt, <<http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/utopia/hewitt/hewitt.html>> [accessed 22 September 2017].

Heyl, Christoph, 'The Metamorphosis of the Mask in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century London', in *Masquerade and Identities: Essays on Gender, Sexuality and Marginality*, ed. Efrat Tseëlon (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 114–34.

Heynen, Robert and Emily van der Meulen, 'Gendered Visions: Reimagining Surveillance Studies', in *Expanding the Gaze: Gender and the Politics of Surveillance*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 3–32.

Heydt-Stevenson, Jillian, 'Sexualities', in *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in the Romantic Period*, ed. Devoney Looser (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 198–212.

Hier, Sean P., 'Probing the Surveillant Assemblage: On the Dialectics of Surveillance Practices as Processes of Social Control', *Surveillance & Society*, 1.3 (2003), 399–411.

Hier, Sean P. and Josh Greenberg, *The Surveillance Studies Reader* (New York: Open University Press, 2007).

- Hier, Sean P. and Josh Greenberg, 'The Politics of Surveillance: Power, Paradigms, and the Field of Visibility', in *Surveillance: Power, Problems, and Politics*, eds. Sean P. Hier and Josh Greenberg (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), pp. 14–32.
- Higgs, Edward, 'The Rise of the Information State: The Development of Central State Surveillance of the Citizen in England, 1500–2000', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 14.2 (2001), 175–97.
- History of Parliament Trust, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1790–1820*, ed. R. G. Thorne, 5 vols., Vol. IV (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986).
- Hobsbawm, Eric J., *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Hoeverler, Diane, "'Humanizing the Heart," or Romantic Drama and the Civilizing Process', *European Romantic Review*, 14.1 (2003), 1–5.
- Hoeverler, Diane, 'Shelley and Androgyny: Teaching "The Witch of Atlas"', in *Approaches to Teaching Shelley's Poetry*, ed. Spencer Hall (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1990), pp. 93–95.
- Home, Everard, *An Account of the Dissection of an Hermaphroditic Dog: to which are prefixed some observations on hermaphrodites in general* (London, 1799).
- Horová, Mirka, 'The Dynamics of Desire: Constructs of Identity in Byron's *Sardanapalus*', *Litteraria Pragensia*, 20.39 (2010), 92–98.
- Hughson, David, *Walks Through London* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1817).
- Hughson, David, 'Walk 12: Covent Garden Theatre', in *Walks Through London* (Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1817).

- Hurwood, Bernhardt, *The Golden Age of Erotica* (Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, 1965).
- Hynes, Peter, 'Sophia Lee and the *Genre Sérieux*', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33.1 (2009), 37–47, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-0208.2009.00209.x>> [accessed 26 July 2016].
- Inchbald, Elizabeth, *Nature and Art* (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2009 [Originally published 1796]).
- International Olympic Committee, 'IOC Consensus Meeting on Sex Reassignment and Hyperandrogenism November 2015', in *Olympics*, <<https://www.olympic.org/>> [accessed 12 October 2016].
- Isaac, Megan Lynn, 'Sophia Lee and the Gothic Female Community', *Studies in the Novel*, 28.2 (1996), 200–18.
- Jacobs, Katrien, *Netporn: DIY Webculture and Sexual Politics* (Toronto and Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007).
- Jaffe, Eric, 'Why Love Literally Hurts: Psychologists have Discovered a Neural Link between Social and Physical Pain', *Observer*, 26.2 (2013), <<http://www.psychologicalscience.org/observer/why-love-literally-hurts>> [accessed 28 February 2017].
- James, Charles, *A New and Enlarged Military Dictionary, Or, Alphabetical Explanation of Technical Terms* (London: T. Egerton, 1802).
- Jamieson, J., *Jamieson's Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, ed. John Johnston (Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1808).
- Jamieson, John, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Company, 1818).

- Janson, Jonathan, 'Little Street: Hotspots', in *Essential Vermeer*,
 <http://www.essentialvermeer.com/catalogue/little_street.html#.Wnyq4-jFLIV>
 [accessed 28 February 2017].
- Jarvis, Robin, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997).
- Jenkins, Simon, *Landlords to London: The Story of a Capital and Its Growth* (London: Faber and Faber, 2012).
- Johnston, Freya, 'Public and Private Space in Jane Austen', *English*, 46 (1997), 193–212.
- Johnson, Samuel, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 9th edn., Vol. I (London: J. Johnson, 1806).
- Jones, Ann Rosalind and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Jones, Darryl, 'Frekes, Monsters and the Ladies: Attitudes to Female Sexuality in the 1790s', *Literature & History*, 4.2 (1995), 1–24.
- Jones, Gwyneth, *The Grasshopper's Child* (TJoy Books, 2015).
- Jones, Helen, 'Visible Rights: Watching Out for Women', *Surveillance & Society*, 2.4 (2005), 589–93.
- Jones, Stephen, *Sheridan Improved: A General Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language* (London: Vernor and Hood, 1798).
- Judson, Barbara, 'Tragicomedy, Bisexuality, and Byronism; or, Jokes and their Relation to Sardanapalus', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 45.3 (2003), 245–61.

Jusczyk, Tad, 'Consider the Corridor: Lessons from Architectural History', 23 February 2011, in *Shepley Bulfinch*, <<http://insight.shepleybulfinch.com/2011/02/consider-the-corridor-lessons-from-architectural-history/>> [accessed 20 October 2015].

Kagawa, P. Keiko, 'Jane Austen, The Architect: (Re)Building Spaces at *Mansfield Park*', *Women's Studies*, 35.2 (2006), 125–43.

Kahan, Dan M., 'Social Influence, Social Meaning, and Deterrence', *Virginia Law Review*, 83.2 (1997), 349–95.

Kaldenbach, Kees, 'The Genesis of the Wall Chart: Johannes Vermeer and the Delft School, A Chart of Homes of Delft Artists and Patrons in the Seventeenth Century', *Visual Resources*, 18.3 (2002), 185–96.

Kalms, Nicole, 'Digital Technology and the Safety of Women and Girls in Urban Space: Personal Safety Apps or Crowd-Sourced Activism Tools?', in *Architecture and Feminisms: Ecologies, Economies, Technologies*, eds. H  l  ne Frichot, Catharina Gabri  lsson and Helen Runting (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 112–21.

Kent Council, *Design for Crime Prevention: A Kent Design Guide for Developers, Designers & Planners*, <<https://www.kent.police.uk/getmedia/42fbe650-d9d3-4025-8883-8c3f58041fe2/7-principals-of-design-kdi.pdf>> [accessed 13 February 2018].

Kessel, Anna, 'Caster Semenya wins 800m gold but cannot escape gender controversy', 19 August 2009, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2009/aug/19/caster-semenya-800m-world-athletics-championships-gender>> [accessed 25 October 2016].

- King, Peter, 'Newspaper Reporting and Attitudes to Crime and Justice in Late-Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth-Century London', *Continuity and Change*, 22.1 (2007), 73–112.
- King, William, *Political and Literary Anecdotes of his Own Times* (London: John Murray, 1818).
- Klein, Norman M., *The Vatican to Vegas: A History of Special Effects* (New York and London: The New Press, 2004).
- Klein, Ula E., 'Bosom Friends and the Sapphic Breasts of *Belinda*', *ABO*, 3.2 (2013), 1–13.
- Knight, Roger, *Britain Against Napoleon: The Organization of Victory, 1793–1815* (London: Penguin, 2013).
- Knox-Shaw, Peter, 'Coleridge, Erasmus Darwin, and the Naturalizing of Deceit in *Christabel*', *Review of English Studies*, 67.279 (2016), 316–33.
- Koda, Harold and Andrew Bolton, *Dangerous Liaisons: Fashion and Furniture in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).
- Koenig-Woodyard, Chris, 'A Hypertext History of the Transmission of Coleridge's "Christabel," 1800–1816', *Romanticism on the Net*, 10 (1998), <<https://dx.doi.org/10.7202/005806ar>> [accessed 08 January 2017].
- Koenig-Woodyard, Chris, 'sex—text: "Christabel" and the *Christabelliads*', *Romanticism on the Net*, 15 (1999), <<https://dx.doi.org/10.7202/005869ar>> [accessed 08 January 2017].
- Koskela, Hille, "'You shouldn't wear that body": The problematic of surveillance and gender', in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirstie Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 49–56.

- Kreissl, Reinhard, Clive Norris, Marija Krlic, Leroy Groves and Anthony Amicelle, 'Surveillance: Preventing and detecting crime and terrorism', in *Surveillance in Europe*, eds. David Wright and Reinhard Kreissl (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 150–210.
- Kroener, Inga and Daniel Neyland, 'New technologies, security and surveillance', in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirsty Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 141–48.
- Kruger, Erin, 'Image and Exposure: Envisioning Genetics as a Forensic-Surveillance Matrix', *Surveillance & Society*, 11.3 (2013), 237–51.
- Kruks, Sonia, *Retrieving Experience: Subjectivity and Recognition in Feminist Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001).
- Labbe, Jacqueline, *Charlotte Smith: Romanticism, Poetry and the Culture of Gender* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003).
- Lacan, Jacques, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book XI*, trans. Alan Sheridan, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998).
- Langley and Belch's Companion to their New Map of London* (London: Langley and Belch, 1812).
- Larwood, Jacob, *The Story of London Parks* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1874).
- Leadbetter, Gregory, 'Coleridge's Lizards in Malta and Sicily: Geraldine under the sun', *Wordsworth Circle*, 43.2 (2012), 90–95.
- Lebowitz, Leslie and Susan Roth, "'I Felt Like a Slut': The Cultural Context and Women's Response to Being Raped', *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 7.3 (1994), 363–90.

Lee, Sophia, *The Chapter of Accidents: A Comedy in Five Acts*, 4th edn. (London: T. Cadell, 1782).

Lee, Sophia, *The Life of a Lover, in a Series of Letters*, 6 vols., Vol. 1 (London: G. & J. Robinson, 1804).

Lehleiter, Christine, 'Inheriting the Future, Generating the Past: Heritage, Pedigree and Lineage in German Literature and Thought Around 1800' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Indiana University: Indiana, 2007).

Lehman, Amy, *Victorian Women and the Theatre of France: Mediums, Spiritualists and Mesmerism in Performance* (Jefferson and London: McFarland & Company, 2009).

Leigh Hunt's London Journal, Vol. 1–61 (London: Sparrow & Company, 1834).

Lenk, Christiane, 'Audibility Is a Trap: Aural Panopticon in *The Lives of Others* (2006)', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century: An Introduction*, eds. Florence Feiereisen and Alexandra Merley Hill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 125–40.

Le Sage, Alain-René, *Le Diable Boiteux: or, the Devil Upon Two Sticks*, trans. Anon (Glasgow, 1760).

Levinson, Marjorie, 'Fundamental Tensions', interviewed by D. B. Ruderman, in *Romantic Circles*, March 2017, <<https://www.rc.umd.edu/pedagogies/commons/contemporary/pedagogies.commons.2016.contemporary.levinson.html>> [accessed 10 April 2018].

Lianos, Michalis, 'Social Control After Foucault', *Surveillance & Society*, 1.3 (2003), 412–30.

Lightfoot, Geoffrey and Tomasz Piotr Wisniewski, 'Information Asymmetry and Power in a Surveillance Society', *Information and Organization*, 24 (2014), 214–35.

Living Phenomenon, Advertisement, c. 1750,

<https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-ocm99882490e&terms=living%20phenomenon&pageTerms=living%20phenomenon&pageId=eebo-ocm99882490e-195988-1> [accessed 11 November 2016].

Lloyd, Sarah, 'Amour in the Shrubbery: Reading the Detail of English Adultery Trial Publications of the 1780s', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39.4 (2006), 421–42.

Locke, John L., *Eavesdropping: An Intimate History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Lockwood, Thomas, 'The Modern Husband: Introduction', in *Henry Fielding: Plays, 1732–1734*, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 181–208.

Longman, Jeré, 'Understanding the Controversy Over Caster Semenya', 18 August 2016, in *New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com> [accessed 11 October 2016].

Low, Betty-Bright P., 'Of Muslins and Merveilleuses: Excerpts from the Letters of Josephine du Pont and Margaret Manigault', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 9 (1974), 29–75.

Lubey, Kathleen, 'Making Pornography, 1749–1968: The History of *The History of the Human Heart*', *ELH*, 82.3 (2015), 897–935.

Luebering, J. E. (ed.), *English Literature from the Restoration through the Romantic Period* (New York: Britannica, 2011).

Lupton, Deborah, *Digital Sociology* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).

Lyon, David, *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

- Lyon, David, *Surveillance as Social Sorting: Privacy, Risk and Digital Discrimination*, ed. David Lyon (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).
- Lyon, David, *Surveillance Society: Monitoring Everyday Life* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2005).
- Lyon, David, '9/11, Synopticon, and Scopophilia: Watching and being Watched', in *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility*, eds. Kevin D. Haggerty and Richard V. Ericson (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 35–54.
- Lyon, David, 'Surveillance, Power and Everyday Life', in *The Oxford Handbook of Information and Communication Technologies*, eds. Robin Mansell, Chrisanthi Avgerou, Danny Quah and Roger Silverstone (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 449–72.
- Lyon, David, *Surveillance Studies: An Overview* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2009).
- Lyon, David, *Surveillance After Snowden* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015).
- Lyon, David, *The Culture of Surveillance: Watching as a Way of Life* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018).
- Lyon, David and Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Surveillance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).
- Macaulay, Catharine, *Letters on Education: With Observations on Religious, and Metaphysical Subjects* (London: C. Dilly, 1790).
- Mackay, Finn, *Radical Feminism: Feminist Activism in Movement* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

MacLeod, Catriona, *Embodying Ambiguity: Androgyny and Aesthetics from Winckelmann to Keller* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998).

Madden, Mary and Lee Rainie, 'Americans' Attitudes About Privacy, Security and Surveillance', 20 May 2015, in *Pew Research Center*, <<http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/05/20/americans-attitudes-about-privacy-security-and-surveillance/>> [accessed 01 June 2016].

Madeley, June M., 'Transnational Transformations: A Gender Analysis of Japanese Manga Featuring Unexpected Bodily Transformations', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 45.4 (2012), 789–806.

Magnet, Shoshana, 'Foreword', in *Expanding the Gaze: Gender and the Politics of Surveillance*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. vii–x.

Mahon, P. A. O., 'Médecine Legale; i.e. Legal Medicine and Medical Police', in *The Monthly Review*, Vol. 38 (London: T. Becket, 1802), pp. 507–14.

Mak, Geertje, *Doubting Sex: Inscriptions, Bodies and Selves in Nineteenth-Century Hermaphrodite Case Histories* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2012).

Malina, Bruce, 'Does Porneia Mean Fornication?', *Novum Testamentum*, 14.1 (1972), 10–17.

'Malkin, n. 1.a', in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/112962?redirectedFrom=malkin#eid>> [accessed 12 June 2016].

Mangiavellano, Daniel R., 'Habit and Reimagining Female Identity in Mansfield Park', *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal*, 36 (2014), 89–99.

Mann, Steve, Jason Nolan and Barry Wellman, 'Sousveillance: Inventing and Using Wearable Computing Devices for Data Collection in Surveillance Environments', *Surveillance & Society*, 1.3 (2003), 331–55.

Mann, Steve, "'Sousveillance" and "Coveillance"', in *Wearcam.org*, 2002,

http://wearcam.org/sousveillance_and_coveillance.htm [accessed 29 May 2016].

Marggraf Turley, Richard, Jayne Archer and Howard Thomas, 'Keats, 'To Autumn', and the New Men of Winchester', *The Review of English Studies*, 63.262 (2012), 797–817.

Marggraf Turley, Richard, 'Curtainless rooms & slant rhymes', 18 October 2014, in *Richard Marggraf Turley Personal Blog*, www.richardmarggraforturley.com [accessed 28 February 2017].

Marggraf Turley, Richard, 'Objects of Suspicion: Keats, 'To Autumn' and the Psychology of Surveillance', in *John Keats and the Medical Imagination*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 173–206.

Marggraf Turley, Richard (ed.), *Keats's Places* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

Marshall, Thomas Gisborne, *Catalogue of Five Hundred Celebrated Authors of Great Britain* (London: R. Faulder, 1788).

Marten, John, *A Treatise of All the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease in Both Sexes*, 5th edn. (London: S. Crouch, 1737 [Originally published 1708]).

Marwick, Alice E., 'The Public Domain: Social Surveillance in Everyday Life', *Surveillance & Society*, 9.4 (2012), 378–93.

- Marx, Gary T., *Undercover: Police Surveillance in America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988).
- Marx, Gary T., *Windows into the Soul: Surveillance and Society in an Age of High Technology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).
- Marx, Gary T. and Valerie Steeves, 'From the Beginning: Children as Subjects and Agents of Surveillance', *Surveillance & Society*, 7.3/4 (2010), 192–230.
- Mathias, Thomas J., *The Pursuits of Literature*, 7th edn. (London: T. Beckett, 1798).
- Mathieson, Thomas, 'The Viewer Society: Michel Foucault's 'Panopticon' Revisited', *Theoretical Criminology*, 1.2 (1997), 215–34.
- McInnes, Andrew, *Mary Wollstonecraft's Ghost: The Fate of the Female Philosopher in the Romantic Period* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).
- McRae, Donald, 'The return of Caster Semenya: Olympic favourite and ticking timebomb', 29 July 2016, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/jul/29/the-return-of-caster-semenya-olympic-favourite-and-ticking-timebomb>> [accessed 11 October 2016].
- Mee, Jon, *Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation: Poetics and the Policing of Culture in the Romantic Period* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Mee, Jon, 'The Novel Wars 1790–1804', in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English: English and British Fiction 1750–1820*, eds. Peter Garside and Karen O'Brien, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 199–215.
- Meikle, Graham, *Social Media: Communication, Sharing, and Visibility* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016).

- Mellor, Anne K., *Romanticism & Gender* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).
- Mellor, Anne K., 'Am I Not a Woman, and a Sister?': Slavery, Romanticism and Gender', in *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture, 1780–1834*, eds. Alan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh (Bloomington: Indiana University press, 1996), 311–29.
- Mellor, Anne K., 'The Debate on the Rights of Woman: Wollstonecraft's influence on the Women Writers of her day', in *Called to Civil Existence: Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. Enit Karafili Steiner (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014), pp. 1–24.
- 'Memoirs of the Celebrated Dwarf, Joseph Boruwloski, a Polish Gentleman; containing a faithful and curious account of his Birth, Education, Marriage, Travels, and Voyages', in *The Scots Magazine*, Vol. L (Edinburgh, 1788), pp. 336–38.
- Mendelsohn, Daniel, 'Mighty Hermaphrodite', 07 November 2002, in *The New York Review of Books*, <<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2002/11/07/mighty-hermaphrodite/>> [accessed 11 October 2016].
- Moir, David Macbeth, 'Christabel, Part Third', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 05 June 1819, pp. 286–91.
- Monmonier, Mark, *Spying with Maps: Surveillance Technologies and the Future of Privacy* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2002).
- Montwieler, Katherine, 'Reading Disease: The Corrupting Performance of Edgeworth's *Belinda*', *Women's Writing*, 12.3 (2005), 347–68.
- Moore, John, *View of Society and Manners in Italy: With Anecdotes Relating to Some Eminent Characters*, Vol. II (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1781).

- Moore, Lisa L., *Dangerous Intimacies: Toward a Sapphic History of the British Novel* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997).
- Moran, Seán, 'Surveillance Ethics', in *Philosophy Now*, 110 (2015), <https://philosophynow.org/issues/110/Surveillance_Ethics> [accessed 02 May 2016].
- Morieux, Renaud, *The Channel: England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- Morrison, Andrew P., *The Culture of Shame* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998).
- Mudge, Bradford K., *The Whore's Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684–1830* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Mulvey, Laura, *Visual and Other Pleasures*, 2nd edn. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Murray, Douglas, 'Spectatorship in *Mansfield Park*: Looking and Overlooking', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 52.1 (1997), 1–26.
- Nair, Vineeth, 'Continuum First Draft', 14 February 2011, in *Amazon Studios*, <<https://studios.amazon.com/projects/3766>> [accessed 07 November 2016].
- Nair, Vineeth and Satyaranjan Bisoi, 'Coming Soon: Continuum', 2013, in *Striptease*, <<http://www.stripteasethemag.com/coming-soon-continuum/>> [accessed 18 October 2016].
- Neal, John, 'London Forty Years Ago', in *The Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Science, Art, and Politics*, Vol. XVII (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866), pp. 224–36.

Nestor, 'News', *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 19 January 1770.

Nethercot, Arthur H., 'Coleridge's "Christabel" and Lefanu's "Carmilla"', *Modern Philology*, 47.1 (1949), 32–38.

Nevitt Jr., H. Rodney, 'Vermeer on the Question of Love', in *The Cambridge Companion to Vermeer*, ed. Wayne E. Franits (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 89–110.

Newman, Graeme, *The Punishment Response*, 2nd edn. (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2008).

'Newest London and Parisian Fashions for May', in *The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons*, Vol. VI (London: J. Bell, 1829), pp. 104–08.

'News', *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 05 December 1781.

'News', *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 02 March 1782.

'News', *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 09 October 1796.

'News', *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, 30 April 1799.

'News', *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, 10 May 1799.

'News', *Aberdeen Journal*, 11 August 1800.

'News', *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 20 September 1800.

'News', *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, 29 September 1801.

'News', *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 May 1802.

'News', *The Times*, 24 January 1821.

'News', *The Times*, 11 December 1863.

- Nicholson, Linda, 'Interpreting Gender', *Signs*, 20.1 (1994), 79–105.
- Nicoll, Allardyce, *A History of English Drama, 1660–1900; Late Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750–1800*, VI vols., Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).
- Norberg, Kathryn, 'From Courtesan to Prostitute: Mercenary Sex and Venereal Disease, 1730– 1802', in *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-century Britain and France*, ed. Linda E. Merians (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), pp. 34– 50.
- Nordius, Janina, 'A Tale of Other Places: Sophia Lee's "The Recess" and Colonial Gothic', *Studies in the Novel*, 34.2 (2002), 162–76.
- Nussbaum, Felicity, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).
- Nyong'o, Tavia, 'The Unforgivable Transgression of Being Caster Semenya', *Women & Performance*, 20.1 (2010), 95–100.
- O'Connell Higgins, Gina, *Resilient Adults: Overcoming a Cruel Past* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1994).
- Ogden, Jane, 'Psychosocial Theory and the Creation of the Risky Self', *Social Science and Medicine*, 40.3 (1995), 409–15.
- O'Keefe, John, *Peeping Tom of Coventry* (Belfast: James Magee, 1785).
- O'Keefe, John, *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keefe*, Vol. II (London: Henry Colburn, 1826).
- Olsson, Ulf, *Silence and Subject in Modern Literature: Spoken Violence* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Osberg, Molly, 'Is the World Ready for a Black, Queer, Intersex Olympian?', 11 August 2016, in *Fusion*, <<http://fusion.net/story/335424/caster-semenya-olympics-intersex-runner/>> [accessed 11 October 2016].

Owen, W., *Owen's Book of Roads* (London: W. Owen, 1797).

Padmarani, Dronamraju, 'Geraldine in S. T. Coleridge's *Christabel*', in *Recritiquing S. T. Coleridge*, eds. Amar Nath Prasad and S. John Peter Joseph (New Delhi: Scrup & Sons, 2007), pp. 128–38.

Paglia, Camille, *Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Pallares-Burke, Maria Lúcia G., 'An Androgynous Observer in the Eighteenth Century Press: *La Spectatrice*, 1728–29', *Women's History Review*, 3.3 (1994), 411–35.

Palmer, Joseph, *Four Months Tour Through France*, Vol. I (Dublin: S. Price & Co., 1776).

Parry, Susan, 'Coleridge's CHRISTABEL', *The Explicator*, 58.3 (2000), 133–35.

Parsons, James, *A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites* (London: J. Walthoe, 1741).

Payne, John Howard, *The Thespian Mirror*, 22 March 1806, No. XIII.

Pelletier, Louise, 'The Space of Fiction: On the Cultural Relevance of Architecture', in *The Cultural Role of Architecture: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, eds. Paul Emmons, Jane Lomholt and John Shannon Hendrix (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 58–67.

Person, Leland S. Jr., 'Playing House: Jane Austen's Fabulous Space', *Philological Quarterly*, 59.1 (1980), 62–75.

Pevsner, Nikolaus, *Pevsner: The Complete Broadcast Talks – Architecture and Art on Radio and Television, 1945–1977*, ed. Stephen Games (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016).

Pindar, Peter, *The Lousiad: A Heroi-Comic Poem*, 7th edn. (Paris: Parsons and Galignani, 1804 [Originally published 1787]).

Pinter-Wollman, Noa, Stephen M. Fiore and Guy Theraulaz, ‘The Impact of Architecture on Collective Behaviour’, *Nature Ecology & Evolution*, 1.5 (2017), <<https://dx.doi.org/10.1038/s41559-017-0111>> [accessed 27 September 2017].

Pix, Mary, *The Spanish Wives: A Farce* (London: R. Wellington, 1696).

Poitras, Laura and Jacob Applebaum, ‘Edward Snowden Interview: The NSA and Its Willing Helpers’, 08 July 2013, in *Der Spiegel*, <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/interview-with-whistleblower-edward-snowden-on-global-spying-a-910006.html>> [accessed 12 April 2018].

Polidori, John, *The Diary of Dr. John William Polidori, 1816: Relating to Byron, Shelley etc.*, ed. William Michael Rossetti (London: Elkin Mathews, 1911).

P.P., ‘Remarks’, in *The Chapter of Accidents: A Comedy, by Miss Lee*, ed. William Oxberry (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1823), pp. iii–vii.

Pratt, Kathryn, ‘Charlotte Smith’s Melancholia on Page and Stage’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 41.3 (2001), 563–81.

Preves, Sharon E., ‘Unruly Bodies: Intersex Variations of Sex Development’, in *Introducing the New Sexuality Studies*, eds. Nancy L. Fischer and Steven Seidman (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 115–23.

Preziosi, Donald, *Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).

Probert, Rebecca, *Marriage Law and Practice in the Long Eighteenth Century: A Reassessment* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Pushpin, 'News', *London Chronicle*, 16–19 November 1776.

'Quinsy, n.', in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/156685?redirectedFrom=quinzy#eid>> [accessed 17 June 2017].

Rainie, Lee and Barry Wellman, *Networked: The New Social Operating System* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 2012).

Razac, Olivier, *Avec Foucault, Après Foucault: Disséquer la société de contrôle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008).

Reeve, Clara, *The Two Mentors: A Modern Story*, 3rd edn. (London: J. Mawman, 1803 [Originally published 1783]).

Reid, Christopher, *Imprison'd Wranglers: The Rhetorical Culture of the House of Commons 1760–1800* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Reid, Christopher, 'The Power of Political Oratory', 12 March 2012, in *Queen Mary University of London News*, <<http://www.qmul.ac.uk/research/news/features/65541.html>> [accessed 18 April 2017].

Reiman, Donald, *The Romantics Reviewed, Part A: The Lake Poets*, ed. Donald H. Reiman, 2 vols., Vol. I (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1972).

- Reis, Elizabeth, 'Impossible Hermaphrodites: Intersex in America, 1620–1960', *The Journal of American History*, 92.2 (2005), 411–41.
- Reis, Elizabeth, *Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
- Rendell, Jane, 'Displaying Sexuality: Gendered Identities and the Early-Nineteenth Century Street', in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity, and Control in Public Space*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 75–91.
- Rendell, Jane, "'Serpentine Allurements": disorderly bodies/disorderly spaces', in *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories*, eds. Iain Borden and Jane Rendell (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 247–68.
- Rendell, Jane, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space & Architecture in Regency London* (London: Athlone Press, 2002).
- Reveley, Willey, *Plan of Houses of Inspection*, c. 1791, pencil, pen and ink and watercolour sketch on paper, inscribed with manuscript notes, 330 mm × 202 mm, Bentham Collection UCL, UC 119, fol. 121, Courtesy UCL Special Collections, image captured by UCL Creative Media Services.
- 'Review of Maps and Charts', in *The Critical Review, or, Annals of Literature*, Vol. XXXI (London: S. Hamilton, 1801), pp. 577–84.
- Reynolds, John, *Recollections of Windsor Prison: Containing Sketches of Its History and Discipline* (Boston: A. Wright, 1834).
- Ribeiro, Aileen, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750 to 1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

- Richardson, Alan, *Literature, Education, & Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice 1780–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Richardson, Samuel, *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*, ed. Thomas Keymer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Roe, Nicholas, *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- Rogers, Katherine M., ‘Inhibitions on Eighteenth-Century Women Novelists: Elizabeth Inchbald and Charlotte Smith’, *American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 11.1 (1977), 63–78.
- Rogness, Kate Zittlow, ‘The Personal is not Political: A public argument for privatizing women’s sexuality’, in *Disturbing Argument*, ed. Catherine H. Palczewski (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 123–28.
- Rojek, Chris, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).
- Rose, Jane E., ‘Conduct Books for Women, 1830–1860’, in *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995), pp. 37–58.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Discourse on the Origin and the Foundations of Inequality Among Men*, trans. Maurice Cranston (London and New York: Penguin, 1984 [Originally published in 1754]).
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, ed./trans. Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Routh, James, ‘Parallels in Coleridge, Keats, and Rossetti’, *Modern Language Notes*, 25.2 (1910), 33–37.

Rubenhold, Hallie, *The Covent Garden Ladies: Pimp General Jack & The Extraordinary Story of Harris's List* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005).

Rubenhold, Hallie, *The Scandalous Lady W* (London: Vintage, 2015).

Rule, James B., *Private Lives, Public Surveillance* (London: Allen Lane, 1973).

Saglia, Diego, '“This Village Wonder”: Charlotte Smith's “What Is She?” and the Ideological Comedy of Curiosity', in *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism*, ed. Jacqueline Labbe (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 145–58.

Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994).

Salt, Joel E., 'Re-mapping as Remembering: the Digital De Quincey', in *The Geography of London's Imaginary Spaces in the Eighteenth Century*, <<http://drc.usask.ca/projects/eng803/joel/dequincey/dequincey.html>> [accessed 14 March 2018].

Salt, Joel E., *Map of London with Annotations from De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, in 'Re-Mapping as Remembering: the Digital De Quincey', <<http://drc.usask.ca/projects/eng803/joel/dequincey/dequincey.html>> [accessed 14 March 2018].

Sangster, Matthew, 'Mapping *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies* (1788), in *Romantic London*, <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/harris-list-1788/#14/51.5207/-0.1255>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

Sangster, Matthew, 'A bit more about the Project', in *Romantic London*, <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/about-this-project/>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

- Sangster, Matthew, 'Mapping Pierce Egan's *Life in London* (1821)', in *Romantic London*, <<http://www.romanticlondon.org/life-in-london-map/#18/51.51253/-0.11731>> [accessed 23 March 2018].
- Sax, Leonard, 'How Common is Intersex? A Response to Anne Fausto-Sterling', *The Journal of Sex Research*, 39.3 (2002), 174–78.
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich, 'Idee zu einem Katechismus der Vernunft für edle Frauen', in *Athenaeum: Eine Zeitschrift*, eds. August Wilhelm Schlegel and Friedrich Schlegel, Vol. 1 (Berlin: Friedrich Beiweg, 1798), pp. 109–11.
- Schneider, M. Lucy, 'The Little White Attic and the East Room: Their Function in "Mansfield Park"', *Modern Philology*, 63.3 (1966), 227–35.
- Schneider, Norbert, *Vermeer: The Complete Paintings* (Cologne and London: Taschen, 2004).
- Schultz, Jamie, "'Intersex' athlete Caster Semenya rightly free to run at Rio', 19 August 2016, in *New Scientist*, <<https://www.newscientist.com/article/2101769-intersex-athlete-caster-semenya-rightly-free-to-run-at-rio/>> [accessed 20 August 2016].
- Scott, John, *Paris Revisited, in 1815*, 2nd edn. (London: Longman & Co., 1816).
- Scott, Kristin, *The Digital City and Mediated Urban Ecologies* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- Scott, Richard (ed.), *The Complete American Letter-Writer, and Best Companion for the Young Man of Business* (New York: Richard Scott, 1807).
- Semple, Janet, *Bentham's Prison: A Study of the Panopticon Penitentiary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

- Seward, Anna, 'Llangollen Vale, Inscribed to the Right Honourable Lady Eleanor Butler, and Miss Ponsonby', in *The Collected Poems of Anna Seward*, ed. Lisa L. Moore, Vol. I (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 149–54.
- Sewell, Graham, 'Organization, Employees and Surveillance', in *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, eds. Kirstie Ball, Kevin Haggerty and David Lyon (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 303–12.
- Sha, Richard C., *Perverse Romanticism: Aesthetics and Sexuality in Britain, 1750–1832* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
- Shaeffer, Claire B., *Couture Sewing Techniques* (Newtown: Taunton Press, 1993).
- Sharpstein, Dan, 'Caster Semenya Gender Results – South African Runner is a Hermaphrodite', in *BetUS*, <<http://www.betus.com.pa/sports-betting/other/articles/caster-semenya-gender-results-south-african-runner-is-a-hermaphrodite>> [accessed 12 October 2016].
- Sheldrake, Philip, 'McVeillance, Coveillance, and Socioveillance in the Context of Social Business', 21 October 2014, in *Influence*, <<http://influence.cipr.co.uk/2014/10/21/mcveillance-coveillance-socioveillance-context-social-business/>> [accessed 02 June 2017].
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 'Studies for Epipsychidion and Cancelled Passages', in *Epipsychidion*, ed. Henry Buxton Forman (London: C and J Ollier, 1821).
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, *Essays from Abroad, Translations and Fragments*, ed. Mary Shelley (London: Edward Moxon, 1845).

Shelley, Percy, 'The Witch of Atlas', in *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. William Michael Rosetti, Vol. II (London: E. Moxon, Son & Co., 1870 [originally published 1824]).

Shelley, Percy Bysshe, *Notes on Sculptures in Rome and Florence*, ed. Harry Buxton Forman (London, 1879).

Shelley, Percy Bysshe, '23 March 1819', in *Peacock's Memoirs of Shelley, with Shelley's Letters to Peacock*, ed. by H. F. B. Brett-Smith (London: Henry Frowde, 1909), pp. 176–85.

Shelley, Mary, *The Life and Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, ed. Florence A. Thomas Marshall, Vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1889).

Shelley, Mary, *The Journals of Mary Shelley, 1814–1844*, eds. Paula R. Feldman and Diana Scott Kilvert, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

Shephard, Nicole, 'Big Data and Sexual Surveillance', December 2016, *APC Issue Papers*, 1– 17.

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, *A Trip to Scarborough* (London: G. Wilkie, 1781).

Shoemaker, Robert B., 'Print and the Female Voice: Representations of Women's Crime in London, 1690–1735', *Gender & History*, 22.1 (2010), 75–91.

Sibbald, James, *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry; from the Thirteenth Century to the Union of the Crowns, to which is added a Glossary*, Vol. IV (Edinburgh: J. Sibbald, 1802).

Siegfried, Susan L., 'The Visual Culture of Fashion and the Classical Ideal in Post-Revolutionary France', *The Art Bulletin*, 97.1 (2015), 77–99.

Simon, Bart, 'The Return of Panopticism: Supervision, Subjection and the New Surveillance', *Surveillance & Society*, 3.1 (2005), 1–20.

Simpson, David, *Romanticism and the Question of the Stranger* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

Skinner, John, 'Exploring Space: The Constellations of *Mansfield Park*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 4.2 (1992), 125–48.

Sleeping Hermaphroditus, Imperial Age Roman copy of the Hellenistic original, Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Photo © Liêm Phó Nhòm.

'Slut, *n.* 2.a.', in *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/182346?rskey=0S1LmU&result=1#eid>> [accessed 26 July 2016].

'Slut', in *Dictionary.com*, Random House Inc., <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/slut>> [accessed 26 July 2016].

Sorenson, Janet, 'Vulgar Tongues: Canting Dictionaries and the Language of the People in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37.3 (2004), 435–54.

Souter, Kay, 'Mansfield Park and the Family: Love, Hate, and Sibling Relations', in *Approaches to Teaching Austen's Mansfield Park*, eds. Marcia McClintock Folsom and John Wiltshire (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2014), pp. 105–15.

South Oxfordshire District Council, *South Oxfordshire Design Guide*, 2016, in *South Oxfordshire District Council*, <<http://www.southoxon.gov.uk/services-and-advice/planning-and-building/conservation-and-design/design/design-guide>> [accessed 04 October 2017].

- Smith, Andrea, 'Not-Seeing: State Surveillance, Settler Colonialism, and Gender Violence', in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, eds. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 21–38.
- Smith, Charlotte, *Desmond*, 3 vols., Vol. I (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1792).
- Smith, Charlotte, *The Emigrants* (London: T. Cadell, 1793).
- Smith, Charlotte, *The Banished Man*, IV vols., Vol. I (London: T. Cadell, 1794).
- Smith, Charlotte, *Marchmont*, Vol. II of IV (London: Sampson Low, 1796).
- Smith, Charlotte, *Marchmont*, Vol. IV of IV (London: Sampson Low, 1796).
- Smith, Charlotte, *What Is She?: A Comedy in Five Acts* (London: T. N. Longman, 1798).
- Smith, Charlotte, *The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer: The Hungarian*, Vol. IV (London: T. N. Longman, 1802).
- Smith, Charlotte, *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, ed. Judith Phillips Stanton (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003).
- Smith, Roger, 'Social Work, Risk, Power', *Sociological Research Online*, 15.1 (2010), <<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/15/1/4.html>> [accessed 14 November 2016].
- Snow, Edward A., *A Study of Vermeer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).
- Sparrow, Elizabeth, 'The Alien Office, 1792–1806', *The Historical Journal*, 33.2 (1990), 361–84.
- Spatz, Jonas, 'The Mystery of Eros: Sexual Initiation in Coleridge's "Christabel"', *PMLA*, 90.1 (1975), 107–16.
- Sperry, Stuart M., *Shelley's Major Verse: The Narrative and Dramatic Poetry* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 'The Young Vermeer', 2010, in *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister*, previously available at <www.skd.museum/en/special-exhibitions/archive/the-young-vermeer> [accessed 28 February 2017].

Staves, Susan, 'British Seduced Maidens', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 14.2 (1980), 109–34.

Staves, Susan, *A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain, 1660–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Steadman, Philip, '*Girl Reading a Letter*': *Vermeer's Camera: Uncovering the Truth Behind the Masterpieces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Steadman, Philip, 'The Contradictions of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon Penitentiary', *Journal of Bentham Studies*, 9 (2007), 1–31.

Steadman, Philip, *Building Types and Built Forms* (Leicester: Troubador, 2014).

Steeves, Valerie and Jane Bailey, 'Living in the Mirror: Understanding Young Women's Experiences with social Networking', in *Expanding the Gaze*, eds. Emily van der Meulen and Robert Heynen (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 56–83.

Steinbrügge, Lieselotte, *The Moral Sex: Woman's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Stewart, Emily, 'The Privacy Question Mark Zuckerberg Keeps Dodging', 11 April 2018, in *Vox*, <<https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/4/11/17225518/mark-zuckerberg-testimony-facebook-privacy-settings-sharing>> [accessed 28 April 2018].

Stillinger, Jack, *Coleridge and Textual Instability: The Multiple Versions of the Major Works* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Ston Easton, 'History of Ston Easton Park', in *Ston Easton*,
 <<http://www.stoneaston.co.uk/about-us>> [accessed 06 November 2017].

Straus, Doris, 'Fashion, The High Life, and "The Duties of Married Females": 19th Century Fashion-Plate Magazines', 25 September 2014, in *New York Public Library Blog*,
 <<https://www.nypl.org/blog/2014/09/25/19th-century-fashion-plate-magazines>>
 [accessed 28 March 2017].

Stuart, Shea, "'A Walking Ought": Displacement and the Public Sphere in *Mansfield Park*', in *Everyday Revolutions: Eighteenth-Century Women Transforming Public and Private*, eds. Diane E. Boyd and Marta Kvande (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 205–18.

Sturken, Marita and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Sulleyman, Aatif, 'How to see who is stalking you on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and Snapchat', 06 April 2017, in *Independent*, <<http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/features/facebook-stalking-how-to-see-who-friends-instagram-twitter-snapchat-photos-linkedin-a7670786.html>> [accessed 05 June 2017].

Tamaki, Saitō, *Beautiful Fighting Girl*, trans. J. Keith Vincent and Dawn Lawson (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

Tanenbaum, Leora, *Slut! Growing up Female with a Bad Reputation* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000).

Tanenbaum, Leora, 'The Truth About Slut-Shaming', 15 April 2015, in *Huffington Post*,
 <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/leora-tanenbaum/the-truth-about-slut-shaming_b_7054162.html> [accessed 02 May 2016].

Tanquary, Kate, 'Gender Constructs and Creation: From *Frankenstein* to *The Witch of Atlas*',
The Common Room, 11.1 (2008),

http://departments.knox.edu/engdept/commonroom/Volume_Eleven/number_one/Tanqueray/index.html> [accessed 26 October 2016].

Temple, Nicolas, 'Prologue: Cultivating Architecture', in *The Cultural Role of Architecture: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, eds. Paul Emmons, Jane Lomholt and John Shannon Hendrix (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), pp. xix–xxviii.

'The Hidden Symbolism of Fruit in Western painting', in *History of Painters*,
<http://www.historyofpainters.com/fruit.htm>> [accessed 28 February 2017].

Thelwall, John, *Political Lectures, Containing the Lecture on Spies and Informers and Prosecutions for Political Opinion*, Vol. I (London, 1795).

The New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 35 (London: H. Colburn, 1832).

The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803, Vol. XXX (1792–1794) (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Browne, 1817).

The Proprietors, *A Brief Historical and Descriptive Account of the Royal Gardens, Vauxhall* (London: Gye and Balne, 1822).

Thomas, Nicholas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (London: Penguin, 2003).

Thompson, Courtney, 'Questions of Genre: Picturing the Hermaphrodite in Eighteenth-Century France and England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 49.3 (2016), 391–413.

Thompson, Lucy E., 'Vermeer's Curtain: Privacy, Slut-Shaming and Surveillance in 'A Girl Reading a Letter'', *Surveillance & Society*, 15.2 (2017), 326–41.

Thompson, Lucy E., Map of London 1814. Locations plotted onto *The Stranger's Guide Through the Streets of London and Westminster: A New and Correct Plan of London* (London: William Darton, 1814).

Thug Life Videos, 'Have Steroids Caused UFC's Holly Holm To Grow a Mini-Penis?!', in *Thug Life Videos*, <<http://thuglifevideos.com/holly-holm-steroids/>> [accessed 05 January 2017].

Tien, Lee, 'Architectural Regulation and the Evolution of Social Norms', *Yale Journal of Law and Technology*, 1.7 (2005), 1–22.

Timm, Trevor, 'The government just admitted it will use smart home devices for spying', 09 February 2016, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/feb/09/internet-of-things-smart-devices-spying-surveillance-us-government>> [accessed 03 October 2017].

Toal, Catherine, 'Control Experiment: Edgeworth's Critique of Rousseau's Educational Theory', in *An Uncomfortable Authority: Maria Edgeworth and Her Contexts*, eds. Heidi Kaufman and Chris Fauske (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 212–31.

Total Pro Sports, 'Holly Holm Steroid Rumors Surface After Photo Shows Bigger Than Normal Vagina Area (Video)', in *Total Pro Sports*, <<http://www.totalprosports.com/2015/11/19/holly-holm-steroid-rumors-surface-after-photo-shows-bigger-than-normal-vagina-area-vid>> [accessed 05 January 2017].

'Trial of Elizabeth Burroughs, Bryan Carney, Theft', September 1736, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <www.oldbaileyonline.org> [accessed 26 July 2016] (t17360908-59).

‘Trial of John Simmons’, 30 May 1745, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <www.oldbaileyonline.org> [accessed 26 July 2016] (t17450530-14).

‘Trial of Patrick Welch and Ellen Lyons’, 15 September 1825, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <www.oldbaileyonline.org> [accessed 26 July 2016], (t18250915-42).

Trials for Adultery, or the History of Divorces, Vol. I (London: S. Bladon, 1781).

Trials for Adultery, or the History of Divorces, Vol III. (London: S. Bladon, 1779).

Trials for Adultery, or the History of Divorces, Vol. V (London: S. Bladon, 1780).

Trials for Adultery, or the History of Divorces, Vol. VII (London: S. Bladon, 1781).

Trottier, Daniel, ‘Mutual Transparency or Mundane Transgressions? Institutional Creeping on Facebook’, *Surveillance & Society*, 9.1/2 (2011), 17–30.

Turner, David M., *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660–1740* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Universal Dictionary of Knowledge, Vol. VII (Perth: C. Mitchel and Co., 1798).

Urban, Sylvanus, ‘Obituary of Remarkable Persons; with Biographical Anecdotes’, in *The Gentleman’s Magazine: and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1799*, Vol. LXIX (London: John Nichols, 1799), pp. 620–30.

Urban, Sylvanus, ‘Domestic Occurrences’, in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol. LXXXVII (London: Nichols, Son and Bentley, 1817), pp. 270–73.

Utz, Sonja, ‘Social Network Site Use among Dutch Students: Effects of Time and Platform’, in *Networked Sociability and Individualism: Technology for Personal and Professional Relationships*, ed. Francesca Comunello (Hershey, Pennsylvania: IGI Global, 2012), pp. 103–25.

- Vacherie, M., *An Account of the Famous Hermaphrodite, Or Parisian Boy-Girl Aged, Michael-Anne Drouart* (London: Same Johnson and William Smith, 1750).
- Valenti, Jessica, *He's a Stud, She's a Slut, and 49 Other Double Standards Every Woman Should Know* (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008).
- Van der Vlist, Fernando N., 'Counter-Mapping Surveillance: A Critical Cartography of Mass Surveillance Technology After Snowden', *Surveillance & Society*, 15.1 (2017), 137–57.
- Vareschi, Mark, 'Surveillance Studies and Literature of the Long 18th Century', *Literature Compass*, 15.2 (2018), 1–7, <<https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12435>> [accessed 10 April 2018].
- Vaz, Paulo and Fernanda Bruno, 'Types of Self-Surveillance: from abnormality to individuals 'at risk'', *Surveillance & Society*, 1.3 (2003), 272–91.
- Vermeer, Johannes, *A Girl Reading a Letter by an Open Window (Brieflezend Meisje bij het Venster)*, c. 1657–1659, oil on canvas, 83 cm × 64.5 cm, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (Old Masters Picture Gallery), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.
- Vermeer, Johannes, *The Little Street (Het Straatje)*, c. 1657–1661, 53.3 cm × 44 cm, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Venette, Nicholas, *The Mysteries of Conjugal Love Reveal'd [Tableau de l'amour conjugal]*, 2nd edn. (London, 1707).
- Vickery, Amanda, 'Not Just A Pretty Face', 08 March 2008, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/mar/08/art>> [accessed 02 June 2018].
- Vickery, Amanda, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

Vilain, Eric, John C. Ackermann, Erica A. Eugster, Vincent R. Harley, Yves Morel, Jean D. Wilson and Olaf Hiort, 'We use to call them Hermaphrodites', *Genetics in Medicine*, 9.2 (2007), 65–66.

Vincent, David, 'Surveillance, Privacy and History', 01 October 2013, in *Policy Papers*, <<http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/surveillance-privacy-and-history>> [accessed 10 April 2018].

Vincent, David, *I Hope I Don't Intrude: Privacy and its Dilemmas in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Vetter, Grant, *The Architecture of Control: A Contribution to the Critique of the Science of Apparatuses* (Winchester and Washington: Zero Books, 2012).

Volz, Jessica A., *Visuality in the Novels of Austen, Radcliffe, Edgeworth and Burney* (London: Anthem Press, 2017).

Wagenknecht, Edward, *Cavalcade of the Novel* (New York: Holt, 1954).

Walker, John, *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language*, 3rd edn. (Dublin: P. Wogan, 1798).

Wall, Cynthia, 'Gendering Rooms: Domestic Architecture and Literary Acts', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 5.4 (1993), 349–72.

Wallace, Jennifer, *Shelley and Greece: Rethinking Romantic Hellenism* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997).

Warner, Michael, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002).

- Webb, Lewis Mark, 'Shame transfigured: Slut-shaming from Rome to cyberspace', *First Monday*, 20.4 (2015), <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5210/fm.v20i4.5464>> [accessed 10 March 2016].
- Weber, Max, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson, ed. Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1947).
- Weber, Max, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978 [Originally published in German in 1922]).
- Weiss, Deborah, *The Female Philosopher and Her Afterlives: Mary Wollstonecraft, the British Novel, and the Transformations of Feminism, 1796–1811* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- Werrett, Simon, 'Potemkin and the Panopticon: Samuel Bentham and the Architecture of Absolutism in Eighteenth Century Russia', *Journal of Bentham Studies*, 2 (1999), 1–25.
- Westin, Alan F., *Privacy and Freedom* (London: The Bodley Head, 1970).
- White, Emily, *Fast Girls: Teenage Tribes and the Myth of the Slut* (New York: Berkeley Books, 2003).
- Whitson, Jennifer R., 'Gaming the Quantified Self', *Surveillance & Society*, 11.1/2 (2013), 163–76.
- Williams, James W., 'Law, Surveillance, and Financial Markets', *Surveillance & Society*, 13.2 (2015), 306–09.
- Williams, William Frederick, *Fitzmaurice: A Novel*, Vol. I (London: J. Murray and S. Highly, 1800).

- Wiltshire, John, 'De-Colonising *Mansfield Park*', *Essays in Criticism*, 53.4 (2003), 303–22.
- Wise, Daniel, *The Young Lady's Counsellor: or Outlines and Illustrations of the Sphere, Duties, and the Dangers of Young Women* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1851).
- Wolfson, Susan J., "'Their She Condition': Cross-Dressing and the Politics of Gender in *Don Juan*", *ELH*, 54.3 (1987), 585–617.
- Wolin, Steven J. and Sybil Wolin, *The Resilient Self: How Survivors of Troubled Families Rise Above Adversity* (New York and London: Random House, 1993).
- Wonkam, Ambroise, Karen Fieggen and Raj Ramesar, 'Beyond the Caster Semenya Controversy: The Case of the Use of Genetics for Gender Testing in Sport', *Journal of Genetic Counseling*, 19.6 (2010), 545–48.
- Wood, Loftus, *Cases, Medical, Chirurgical, and Anatomical, with Observations* (London: J. Murray, 1788).
- Wootton, Sarah, *Byronic Heroes in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing and Screen Adaption* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- Worrall, David, *Radical Culture: Discourse, Resistance and Surveillance, 1790–1820* (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992).
- Worsley, Seymour, *An Epistle from L_Y W____Y to S_R R____D W____Y*, 2nd edn. (London: P. Wright, 1782).
- Wrigley, E. A., 'The Growth of Population in Eighteenth-Century England: A Conundrum Resolved', *Past and Present*, 98 (1983), 121–50.

Wyszynski, Keath, 'PRISM, Tempora, XKeyscore: What is it?', 2014, *Articles Informer*, <<https://articles.informer.com/prism-tempora-xkeyscore-what-is-it.html>> [accessed 28 February 2017].

'xxxamazexxx', 'Holly Holm? Or should it just be given that UFC=juicy?', 17 November 2015, in *Reddit*, <https://www.reddit.com/r/nattyorjuice/comments/3t7iqj/holly_holm_or_should_it_just_be_given_that/> [accessed 05 January 2017].

Yadron, Danny, 'Why is everyone covering up their laptop cameras?', 06 June 2016, in *The Guardian*, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/06/surveillance-camera-laptop-smartphone-cover-tape>> [accessed 28 April 2018].

Yildiz, Bulent O., 'Diagnosis of Hyperandrogenism: Clinical Criteria', *Best Practice & Research Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism*, 20.2 (2006), 167–76.

Ylivuori, Soile, 'Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, 59.1 (2016), 71–97.

Ziegenrucker, Emil, 'Joanna Baillie's "Plays on the Passions"' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Rostock University, Germany, 1909).

Zimmerman, Sarah M., 'Smith, Charlotte (1749–1806)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25790>> [accessed 08 March 2017].

Zimmerman, Sarah M., 'Varieties of Privacy in Charlotte Smith's Poetry', *European Romantic Review*, 18.4 (2007), 483–502.