

A LADY NOVELIST AND THE LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK TRADE:
CHARLOTTE SMITH'S LETTERS TO PUBLISHER THOMAS CADELL, SR., 1786-94

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ABSTRACT

EMILY MARIE BREWER: A Lady Novelist and the
Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade:
Charlotte Smith's Letters to Publisher Thomas Cadell, Sr., 1786-94
(Under the direction of Jeanne Moskal)

As a struggling single mother separated from her dissolute husband, the poet Charlotte Smith (1749-1806) began writing novels as a way to make money for her family. The exploding book market of late eighteenth-century Britain teemed with booksellers and publishers—some anxious to hustle works to press, some seeking quality works to build their reputation—and Smith entered this male-centric realm with naïveté, shaky confidence, and growing desperation. Guided by a literary mentor to the reputable London publishing firm of Thomas Cadell, Sr., Smith entered a business relationship that would see her through the publication and later editions of two translated novels, three original novels, the two-volume poem *The Emigrants*, and a subscription and an expanded edition of her celebrated poetry and essay collection, *Elegiac Sonnets*. Most of the letters Smith wrote to Cadell have never been published; the majority of them were discovered just as Judith Phillips Stanton was taking her *Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith* (2003) to press. This scholarly edition includes every known letter that Smith wrote to Cadell before his retirement, when his son and assistant redubbed it Cadell & Davies. Compiled from university, public, and private libraries in Britain, the U.S., and New Zealand, these annotated letters offer an intimate portrait of Smith as entrepreneurial

author, desperate businesswoman, and careworn single mother of nine children in an era of revolutionary (and counter-revolutionary) fervor, Empire building, and abolitionism.

To the memory of Howard R. Guest

and to

Ed Wilson, my first guide to the Romantic Period and treasured friend;
Dorothy Wehrle Guest Dixon, my Anglo- and bibliophile grandmother and penpal;
Charles Brewer, my father, who taught me to look at the details;
Patrick McDonough, my husband, whose love and support made it possible;
and Dylan, my beloved son, who has enriched my life beyond expression.

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This project is the culmination of a long graduate school career, through which I have been supported, buoyed, and encouraged by mentors, friends, and family.

As an undergraduate English major at Wake Forest, I had the great privilege to study British Romanticism with Edwin G. Wilson. He guided his undergraduates on a journey of the imagination. We peered into Wordsworth's own dorm room at King's College—feeling a kinship with the wine-drunk young poet-to-be as he toasted the memory of Milton—and we gazed with him at the daffodils. We did not yet know what it was to be old, but Wordsworth, as Dr. Wilson taught him, instructed us to live life fully enough to create memories that could replenish us later. We revisited our own memories of childhood innocence through Blake and were enchanted by that poet's vision of his brother's soul ascending to heaven and “clapping its hands for joy”—all the while baffled by his visionary poetry. We met Christabel and the ancient mariner and wondered how Coleridge might have ended “Kubla Khan” (deciding, though, that the fragment is best as is). We turned Keats's urn in our hands and soared with the song of his nightingale. I was so powerfully drawn to the Romantic poets—and to Wordsworth, in particular—that I saved up for and finally enrolled in the two-week Wordsworth Summer Conference in Grasmere in 2000. When I returned to Wake Forest to pursue my MA in English, I fell under the sway of the Anglo-Saxon poets and the medieval romances and

entered UNC in 2003 as a medievalist. It did not take long for me to return to my first real home in literature. Therefore, I thank Ed Wilson for being the pied piper who led me down this path, and for his abiding mentorship, encouragement, and friendship all of these years.

From Gillian Overing and Gale Sigal at Wake Forest, I learned scholarly discipline. Although I did not become a medievalist, I have used the skills I learned in their classes in all of my doctoral studies.

I owe a tremendous debt to my director, Jeanne Moskal, who has modeled thoughtful teaching, exacting editorship, and compassionate mentorship these past nine years. She evidently saw promise in me from the time I enrolled in her Mary Shelley seminar in 2004, and my work with her in various capacities since, as a graduate assistant, as her assistant editor at the *Keats-Shelley Journal*, and as a dissertation student, has enriched me personally and professionally. It was she who introduced me to Charlotte Smith and to the women writers of the Romantic period, she who journeyed with me on the Napoleonic War-era ships of my original dissertation project, and she who pointed a path to finishing the degree when those ships were lodged in shoals. Jeanne believed I would be the right person for this project and she connected me with Judith Stanton.

Alongside Ed Wilson, Gillian Overing, Gale Sigal, and Jeanne Moskal, Judith Stanton has a fixed place in the pantheon my graduate school career. As the Introduction to this project elucidates, she played the most critical role in this dissertation project. She generously shared of her time, expertise, resources—and, most crucially, the letters themselves—and provided support and encouragement

along the way. Judith has incredible perspicacity, and from her I learned not just how to begin this project, but how to feel my way into it. Her thoughtful, wise, and comprehensive feedback on an earlier draft of this project demonstrated her twenty-five years' experience with Charlotte Smith's correspondence, and Charlotte Smith—and I—owe her an enormous debt.

That I had the opportunity to complete my doctorate I owe to the support and love of my husband, Patrick McDonough. After Dylan was born, and with the challenges of new motherhood, my dream of getting my Ph.D. started fading, but Patrick stoked the flame for me until I was ready to reclaim it for myself, and then he assumed additional financial, household, and childcare responsibilities to see it through. We both worked extraordinarily hard to keep my enhanced work schedule from affecting Dylan, and as our child is now a happy, well-adjusted, and extremely verbal new three-year-old, I think we succeeded.

I wish also to acknowledge the influence of my grandmother, Dorothy Wehrle Guest Dixon, who has always shared her own passion for books and reading with me. On visits to her in Charleston, WV, I would spend hours perusing the many books on her shelves and snuggle in her lap as she read Uncle Noggleman stories. One of the most memorable Christmas gifts I ever received was a cassette tape she sent of her and my grandfather, Howard Guest, reading stories. In 2000, not long after he died, I invited her to meet me in England to attend the Wordsworth Summer Conference. To my delight, she signed on, expanded the itinerary, and invited my parents and cousin to join us for the pre-Conference touring. The month we spent together there cemented the special connection we'd always shared. Since that time,

we have regularly exchanged written letters. In the era of instantaneous communication, I treasure these letters more than any others, and as I edited an edition of hand-written letters, I have thought about those that I write and receive in new ways.

My parents, Charles and Susan Brewer, have shared their own gifts with me—an attention to detail, a curiosity about the world, and an understanding of the value of education—and for all of those things I am enormously grateful.

For their camaraderie during my graduate school career, I wish to thank in particular Marc Cohen—a true friend and bridge-builder—, Sarah Hallenbeck, Lauren Cameron, Laura Smith Gillis, and Sarah Shaw, and also Cindy Current, Al Miller, Jennifer Larson, Sarah Lindsay, Erin Branch, Leslie Davison, Cheryl Thayer, Amanda Page, and Sarah Ficke. This dissertation was written with a toddler boy afoot, and I thank the following long-time friends for keeping me grounded as a scholar-mother: Melissa Magee-Kakouras, Heather Tipton, Julie Wilson, Megan Jarrell, and Erin Carrier. A special thank you goes to those caregivers whose loving attention to Dylan allowed me to mentally escape into the world of eighteenth-century letters: Christy Smith, Elysse Thebner, Becca Egner, Sehwa Oh, and Sadie Bauer.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- CLCS* *Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, ed. Judith Phillips Stanton
(Bloomington: U of Indiana P, 2003)
- DNB* *Dictionary of National Biography*
- ESRO East Sussex Record Office

INTRODUCTION

Gathering into one collection all known letters of late eighteenth-century poet and novelist Charlotte Smith to her publisher Thomas Cadell, Sr.—from libraries, museums, and record offices across the U.S. and the U.K.—has felt like a service to the battered author whose desperate personal circumstances had compelled her to write for profit. Her poverty spurred her prolific output, which in a 23-year career amounted to 63 volumes (many quite long) of poetry, novels, and children’s books. That Smith made the contributions she did to literary form and revolutionary discourse—that she inspired William Wordsworth, no less—is astounding given the duress under which she wrote. Her letters to her publisher from 1786 to 1794 record a period in her life equally fruitful and frustrating, which these letters document with immediacy, candor, and often discomfiting detail.

These 121 letters have journeyed far in space and time to arrive in this collection. Smith penned them from the variety of homes she lived in during this itinerant period in her life: in villages in Sussex, near the healing waters of Bath, from hotel rooms in London, or from drawing rooms at friends’ estates. For years they amassed at Cadell’s shop on the Strand in London, where they were meticulously filed and stored. Upon Cadell’s retirement in 1794, the letters passed into the hands of Thomas Cadell, Jr., and assistant William Davies, who renamed the firm Cadell & Davies. Upon Davies’s death, Cadell, Jr., relocated the shop—and its

paper collection—to his London home, as the firm’s reputation declined. Upon his own death, the collected papers, manuscripts, and copyrights of the Cadell and Cadell & Davies imprints had to find new keepers. In 1845, the London publishing house of Longmans agreed to purchase them. Sometime subsequently, Longmans sold off envelopes stuffed with the assorted letters, receipts, and papers in its holdings. The agents who bought them sold them to wealthy collectors of literary history and ephemera, who themselves subsequently donated their letter collections to museums or libraries (some of which were later transferred to record offices). The originals of the letters collected in this dissertation-edition hail from libraries and collections in the U.K., U.S., and New Zealand. Since in some of the letters in this dissertation, Smith refers to other letters we do not have, it is likely that there are undiscovered stragglers tucked away in small or private collections.

In bringing these far-flung letters back together again, I have occasionally thought about the macabre dispersal of medieval saint Catherine of Siena. While an undergraduate studying abroad in Italy, I encountered Catherine’s severed head and thumb at one church’s reliquary in Siena and her left foot at another in Venice. Her poor corpse seemingly had been divvied across the country. With an imagination soaked in *Wuthering Heights*, I feared this Catherine’s restless spirit. Smith’s letters are certainly not her body parts, but they are physical remnants of her belabored existence, and, since the physical letters themselves will likely never again be housed together, the reunion of their contents in this collection should not only provide fodder for Smithians, Romanticists, literary historians, and historians of the book and book trade, but also, I hope, evince respect for the memory of Smith.

Most immediately, this project completes—or, at the very least, complements—the extraordinary work of Judith Phillips Stanton, whose 2003 publication of *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith* (CLCS; see Image 1) has for the last decade emboldened Smithians to stake claims about the author’s struggles and triumphs grounded in her own descriptions. To Stanton’s long disappointment, the majority of Smith’s letters to Cadell eluded her when she was preparing her collection (as I discuss in greater detail below), and so this project should rightly be read alongside her own.

By publishing the 95 hitherto unpublished letters Smith wrote to Cadell, this project punctuates the work of Smith recovery to which Stanton’s work so strongly contributed. From where we stand today, it is astounding to think that when Stanton began in 1987 seeking a publisher for her proposed edition of letters, she approached—and was refused by—Oxford University Press. That was before Stuart Curran’s 1993 declaration that Smith was “the first poet in England whom in retrospect we would call Romantic.”¹ That declaration catapulted Smith into the critical stratosphere and inaugurated the recovery work that followed. By 1996, Smith could be read in an undergraduate survey course, thanks to the publication of Anne K. Mellor and Richard E. Matlak’s revisionist anthology, *British Literature 1780-1830*, which reprinted works of Smith, Mary Hays, Frances Burney, Clara Reeve, Anna Letitia Barbauld, Maria Edgeworth, and Felicia Hemans, alongside Romanticism’s long-sacrosanct “Big Six” and the familiar male prose writers.

¹ Stuart Curran, ed., Introduction, *The Poems of Charlotte Smith*, ed. Curren (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), p. ix. See also his “Charlotte Smith and British Romanticism,” *South Central Review* 11.2 (1994): 64-78.

Stanton's *Collected Letters*, therefore, was welcomed in the new terrain tilled by feminist critics who worked to restore to these professional eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women authors the fame they enjoyed in their lifetimes. Smith's popularization of the sonnet form and its impact on Wordsworth had been established well before 2011, when Jacqueline M. Labbe rocketed Smith further into critical importance in her book *Writing Romanticism: Charlotte Smith and William Wordsworth*, in which she asserted that, together, Smith and Wordsworth's poetry set "the tone of the age" and that theirs was "perhaps the most creative [textual] partnership of the many that flourished within the period" (3-4).² Smith's attention to the themes of place, history, memory, and subjectivity were themes that Wordsworth made the basis for a poetics that bears his name. Suddenly, the author once downplayed by Victorian critics as a minor poet must be considered as foundational in shaping the sensibility and poetic voice of a literary movement. Smith, we can safely say, has been "recovered," and these letters fill a gaping hole in her published correspondence.

Charlotte Smith

With hands sometimes crippled by rheumatoid arthritis, Smith nonetheless kept churning out letters to her primary publisher, in largely legible script that when shaky or uncharacteristically sloppy betrayed physical pain or a mind racked with worry. In content, they are mostly artless. Most cobble together words of thanks and apology, a request of one kind or another, and usually an update on her

² Jacqueline M. Labbe, *Writing Romanticism: Charlotte Smith and William Wordsworth, 1784-1807* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

writing progress—whether the number of pages written or volumes submitted. Often she gives Cadell notice of banking transactions she has made drawing on her line-of-credit with him, and from time-to-time provides statements—or asks questions about—her account with him. She sometimes asks him questions about the technical aspects of book production, advertising, and pricing, and gives him names of subscribers for an upcoming subscription edition. With startling frequency, she sends him proposals for new books—with the concomitant negotiations regarding the price per volume and requests for advances. She also makes occasional attempts to sell the copyright of previously-published works, since only recently had English copyright law begun to make such sales possible and advantageous. Her letters to Cadell are peppered with asides and often rambling updates about her financial and domestic crises *du jour*: stories of her children's struggles, of her own battles with the Trustees, and those with her husband. Because she moves around so frequently, she occasionally provides her current address and several times implores him not to reveal her whereabouts to her husband or to the creditors who followed her. Together these letters paint the picture of an author honestly skating on the brink of financial ruin and despair.

As this summary illustrates, the Smith we meet in these letters is full of paradoxes: married, yet separated; respectful of her publisher, yet believing herself deserving of special treatment; confident of her abilities and popularity with the reading public, yet uncertain; financially independent, yet unable to support her children with the money she was receiving from her personal marriage settlements; a businesswoman, yet a full-time mother. How she arrived at this state when these

letters begin in 1786 is a sad, but familiar, story to scholars of eighteenth-century British literature. Her woeful personal narrative—rehearsed and paraded in her prefaces, veiled autobiographical characters, and in her letters—brought her as much popular fame then as critical fame now.

Born into the landed gentry, Smith seemed destined to lead a comfortable life, yet the death of her mother when Smith was only three charted a whole different trajectory. Her mourning father left her and her siblings in the care of their maternal aunt and traveled the continent and gambled away his fortune. Eventually he needed to marry an heiress to stay afloat, and when he did, the pert, teenaged Charlotte needed to be married off. Her father and aunt quickly identified a bachelor, encouraged an engagement, and saw her a bride at age 15. Too young to fairly vet suitors herself and too naïve to anticipate the challenges ahead, young Charlotte fell under the charms of Benjamin Smith, and, by 16, was a new mother. Having been raised to be socially accomplished—dancing, drawing, and writing poetry by age seven—Charlotte lacked practical, domestic skills, such as cooking, plain sewing, and bookkeeping that might have assisted her in running a growing household.³

In breeding and temperament, she was ill-suited to marry the handsome but irresponsible merchant's son. Benjamin's father, Richard Smith, had made his wealth as a Barbadoian landowner, sugar exporter, and director of the East India Company, and he hoped that marriage would settle his restless son. Having moved his family from Barbados to London, the gruff and earnest self-made Richard had

³ See Loraine Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography*, pp. 12-13.

little tolerance for the leisured pursuits of the gentry, and, while he eyed his genteel daughter-in-law warily at first, he came to respect and admire Smith's tenacity, resourcefulness, and business sense. During his lifetime, Richard provided his son's growing family with various homes, an allowance, and the hope that Benjamin would learn and eventually take over the family business. His death in 1776 dealt a heavy blow to the family. With his last will and testament, he intended for his £36,000 estate to continue providing. That unwieldy, 19-page will, which made provisions for the maintenance, education, and launching of Charlotte and Benjamin's children, turned out to be a morass of a document. Written without a lawyer's help, the will contained codicils that contradicted directions in the will proper, and it confused and stymied the Trustees who assumed the reins after Benjamin was sent to debtors' prison in 1784. Smith reviled "the Trustees" as a collective, especially since most were themselves related to Richard and were not disinterested parties in his will's distribution. Eventually, the will became fodder for Chancery. Whether or not the case inspired the *Jarndyce v. Jarndyce* case in Charles Dickens's *Bleak House*, as Smith biographer Loraine Fletcher has suggested, the results were similar: Richard Smith's estate was tied up for decades and, after Chancery, was reduced to £4,000.⁴

Without Richard's money, Benjamin and Charlotte's tenuous financial situation deteriorated: debts mounted and duns hounded the rest of their lives. Two years before the letters in this collection pick up, Benjamin had left King's Bench

⁴ See Judith Stanton, *CLCS*, p. xxix, and Loraine Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography* (New York: Palgrave, 1998), p. 338.

Prison and had exiled himself and his family to Normandy in order to evade creditors. There, Charlotte gave birth to her twelfth and final child, and, catalyzed by the need to make money, started translating a French novel, thus beginning a career as a professional author. Soon thereafter, she separated from Benjamin. Until the end of her life, she believed that her circumstances would improve and that her children would get their rightful inheritance. She viewed novel writing as a stop-gap measure to financially tide the family over until that time. In these letters, she refers to her novels as commodities—not as works of art—and this characterization gives further proof of the fact that she considered herself first and foremost a poet, and did not enjoy novel writing. She resented her condition—“to live only to write & write only to live”—and by the end of her life, she bitterly characterized her arranged marriage to Benjamin: “I was sold a legal prostitute in my early youth.”⁵

In 1786, when these letters begin, Smith, a newly single mother, had already published several editions of her celebrated poetry collection, *Elegiac Sonnets*, with London publisher James Dodsley. She had also by this point already published her first translated novel, *Manon L'Escaut*, with the more established and respected publisher, Thomas Cadell, who, in the earliest letters here, has just agreed to publish a second translated novel.⁶ These collected letters map the course of Smith's business relationship with Cadell from 1786 until the time of his retirement in 1794.

⁵ Charlotte Smith to Dr. Thomas Shirley (22 Aug. 1789) and Charlotte Smith to Sarah Rose (15 June 1804). See Stanton, *CLCS*, pp. 23 and 625.

⁶ For the rocky publication history of *Manon L'Escaut*, see Michael Gamer's Introduction to the novel, *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, Vol. 1 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2005), pp. xxix-xxxiii.

In her negotiations with Cadell, Smith found herself in a precarious place. She was separated from her husband, but her situation was tenuous. She almost certainly would have divorced him if she could have, but divorce in England would not be legalized until 1857; in the 1780s, only the couples that could afford to seek a private act of Parliament could divorce. Thus, unable to divorce Benjamin, Charlotte's identity as a (legally) married woman was still subsumed under that of him; in the eyes of the law and the courts, she had no legal existence of her own. Technically, she owned nothing—not her home, her clothing, her books, nor her children—and she could not give away anything or even bequeath anything in a will without his consent. There was no such thing as marital rape, and wife beating was allowed, so Smith had no legal recourse in the abuse she suffered. Therefore, while Smith represented herself in her correspondence with Cadell, there was always the tacit understanding that should Benjamin attempt to claim what was legally his, he could do so.

Since Smith was the parent who lived with, raised, and educated her and Benjamin's children, the financial downturn triggered by his improvident ways emboldened her to turn her writing into profit. This was why she turned to novel writing. The expanded reading public and the affordable cost of books in the mid- to late eighteenth century had opened the profession up to a number of women authors, many of whom turned to writing to make a living, and Smith—along with Frances Burney and Ann Radcliffe—became among the best paid women novelists. As Isobel Grundy reminds us, middle-class women in need of a salary at that time had few options—teaching, sewing, micro-level retail sales, prostitution, or

authorship—and the mushrooming rates of literacy and book production made the latter an attractive possibility.⁷ Smith was paradigmatic of a certain kind of woman novelist of the period who, faced with financial ruin due the death or improvidence of her husband or father, sought to profit from the produce of her pen. Some of these women had children to support—like Smith—and some did not, but Smith’s story is instructive for understanding those of others like her, including Eliza Fenwick, Sarah Scott, Charlotte Lennox, Lady Mary Walker, Eliza Parsons, Ann Yearsley, Elizabeth Inchbald, Mary Robinson, Elizabeth Gooch, Anne Burke, Barbara Hofland, Selina Davenport, and probably more.⁸ There are no other collected letters from a lady novelist to a publisher from this time period. Smith’s only true female peers—Burney and Radcliffe—had male family members attending to business matters on their behalf. These evocative letters, therefore, offer singular insight into the kinds of dilemmas that women writers faced in the late eighteenth century.

In these letters, Smith consistently paints a picture of herself as a victimized heroine whom circumstances have unfairly punished. Two decades ago, Sarah M. Zimmerman argued that Smith used letter writing to court sympathy from correspondents who could help her financially or legally.⁹ Situated on the brink of personal financial disaster, Smith, Zimmerman argues, cunningly crafted her

⁷ Isobel Grundy, “Women and print: readers, writers and the market,” *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. 5: 1695-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), p. 149.

⁸ For biographical sketches of these women, see their entries in The Orlando Project, produced by The University of Alberta in Canada: <http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/orlando/>. My thanks to Judith Stanton and Isobel Grundy for generating this list.

⁹ Sarah M. Zimmerman, “Charlotte Smith’s Letters and the Practice of Self-Presentation,” *Princeton U Library Chronicle* 53 (1991): 50-77.

persona in her letters as much as in her published work. Zimmerman made that claim even before most of the letters in this collection had been discovered, and a study of this collection's letters to Cadell largely confirms it. The Smith that emanates from these letters—some quickly scribbled as she raced to meet the postal deadline, some with belabored, shaky script betraying painful arthritis in her hands—would not appear to have the time, nor the mental and physical energy, for performative gestures of the sort Zimmerman describes. As the victim-persona assumed in her letters to Cadell suggests, Smith must have thoroughly internalized this identity. Her artfulness with him is more transparent when she is subtly goading her favorite publisher to keep her on his payroll by mentioning conversations with or offers from other (rival) publishers; she needed him to believe that she was in demand.

Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Since 1767, Cadell had run his shop in the Strand, "Opposite Catherine-Street," as his imprint announced for many years.¹⁰ The Strand was a long street that ran alongside the Thames, with Charing Cross on one side and Drury Lane on the other. It was a hotspot for publishing in the second half of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. Many booksellers and printers also stationed themselves on Paternoster Row, at St Paul's Churchyard, on Fleet Street,

¹⁰ See Catherine Dille, "Cadell, Thomas, the elder (1742–1802)," *Oxford DNB*.

and on Ludgate Hill.¹¹ Cadell's business was well-known among his peers and, from Smith's letters, it is abundantly clear that she respected him above the other publishers she worked with. Only two of Cadell's reply letters to Smith have survived—or at least have been identified—(see Appendix A-1 and -2), but it is possible to reconstruct his perspective, at least in part, from a study of Smith's responses to his letters and from a synthesis of knowledge about his firm and those of his peers in the fascinating world of the late eighteenth-century London book trade.

Cadell ran one of the most important and reputable publishing firms in late eighteenth-century London. He had apprenticed with eminent London bookseller and publisher Andrew Millar.¹² Millar had been a leading figure in the trade. With an entrepreneurial spirit, he enlisted help in identifying promising authors and works, whose copyrights he bought up. He was also one of the first publishers to pay promising authors in advance for unwritten work, and was known for paying his authors generously: £600 to Henry Fielding for *Tom Jones* (1749), and £4000 to David Hume for *History of England* (1754-62), for instance. He instituted the practice of biennial prepublication sales of his works to the London trade, demonstrating a business savvy that would contribute to the transformation of the retail trade. After apprenticing Cadell, Millar took him on as partner in 1765, and, after his retirement in 1767, turned the reins over to Cadell. Cadell ran the

¹¹ James Raven, *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England, 1750-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1992), p. 43.

¹² See Hugh Amory, "Millar, Andrew (1705-68)," *Oxford DNB*.

established shop on the Strand for 26 years. Like Millar before him, Cadell earned a reputation for paying his authors generously and treating them kindly. He partnered with William Strahan for a time, and later with Strahan's son Andrew.¹³

During his career, Cadell published works by some of the leading writers of the age, including author and critic Samuel Johnson (political tracts); jurist Sir William Blackstone (*Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 1765-69); Scottish novelist Henry MacKenzie (*The Man of Feeling*, 1771); historian Edward Gibbon (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 1776-88); and historian-anthropologist William Robertson (*The History of America*, 1777). Other authors whose works Cadell published included David Hume, Adam Smith, Robert Burns, and Tobias Smollett, as well as a number of female authors, including Frances Brooke, Frances Burney, Catharine Macaulay, Hannah More, and, of course, Smith herself. Cadell published most of Smith's early works before he went into retirement in 1794, refusing only the novel *Desmond*, perhaps because of the novel's radical political views or perhaps from fatigue of Smith's demands for concessions.¹⁴

At the height of his career, he teamed up with other booksellers and printers in prosecuting Scottish and Irish printers in a battle over copyright infringement.

¹³ London compositor and printer William Strahan (1715-85) expanded his printing business by buying copyrights from authors, or shares in copyrights from their booksellers. His correspondence demonstrates his close personal friendship with such eighteenth-century lights as David Hume, Benjamin Franklin, and Samuel Johnson, and business connections with Tobias Smollett, Adam Smith, Edward Gibbon, Henry Fielding, and Oliver Goldsmith. After Andrew Millar's death in 1768, he invested more heavily in London trade sales and soon thereafter partnered with Cadell. His son Andrew Strahan (1750-1831) inherited his father's business, which was worth a lot of money thanks, in part, to his father's extensive copyright holdings. See Patricia Hernlund, "Strahan, William," in the Oxford *DNB*.

¹⁴ For a discussion of this debate, see Jacqueline M. Labbe, "Gentility in Distress: A New Letter by Charlotte Smith (1749-1806)," *Wordsworth Circle* 35.2 (2004): 91-93.

(As I discuss in detail below, the instability of copyright legislation at this time opened the door to a swift business in the pirating of works originally published in London.) Cadell also joined a coalition of 35 other leading booksellers of the day in publishing Samuel Johnson's *Works of the English Poets*. Clearly Cadell was popular among his professional peers and even helped found a booksellers' dining club that met monthly on the Strand.

When he retired, Cadell turned over his business to his long-time assistant, William Davies, and to his son, William Cadell, Jr.¹⁵ They redubbed it Cadell & Davies. Beginning in 1794, Smith began addressing her letters to "Gentlemen."¹⁶ It is believed that Davies in fact managed the business alone until 1813, when incapacitated by illness. During Davies's tenure at the head of the firm, Cadell & Davies competed alongside such publishing powerhouses as Longmans and John Murray II. From 1813 to his death in 1836, Cadell the younger ran the business out of his house in Charlotte Street on Fitzroy Square. Although the Cadell & Davies firm sought to uphold the firm's good reputation among authors, the expense of several large projects strained its finances, and that reputation suffered. None of Cadell's children followed him into the family business, which was sold to Longmans after his death.

The scope of this dissertation ends with the retirement of the elder Cadell, but future scholarship might investigate Smith's relationship with the new firm,

¹⁵ For a biographical sketch of Cadell before and after his retirement, see the entry on him in the Biographical Notes in Appendix H.

¹⁶ See letters to William Davies and Thomas Cadell, Jr., in Stanton, *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*.

Cadell & Davies (i.e., 1794-97). With that firm, Smith wrote and published *The Banished Man* (1794), *Rural Walks: in dialogues intended for the use of young persons* (1795)—and its sequel, *Rambles Farther* (1796)—as well as an eighth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*, and her four-volume novel *The Young Philosopher* (1798). An edition of select correspondence from Cadell & Davies came out in 1938.¹⁷ While that edition does not contain any letters to Smith, the Beineke Rare Book and Manuscript Library has two dozen such letters, and perhaps there are others scattered in libraries and collections around the world.¹⁸ Smith contracted with six other publishers in her career; however, very few of her letters to other publishers remain, thus making this collection unique.

An Unconventional Author-Publisher Relationship

On top of the usual slate of duties of late eighteenth-century London publishers, which I describe below, Cadell assumed a great deal more by agreeing to continue working with Smith. It is unlikely that he was often called upon to perform the kind of author-management that the letters in this collection tell us that Smith required. These letters begin in 1786, a signal year for Smith who had just separated from Benjamin Smith and had settled at Woolbeding House, near Midhurst in Sussex. As head-of-household, she turned her writing hobby into her livelihood to

¹⁷ See Theodore Besterman, *The Publishing Firm of Cadell & Davies: Select Correspondence and Accounts, 1793-1836* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1938), pp. xiii-xiv; hereafter, Besterman.

¹⁸ Diane Ducharme (Archivist, Beineke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale U.), “Cadell & Davies and Charlotte Smith correspondence,” Message to Emily M. Brewer (7 June 2012), E-mail. These letters are catalogued under GEN MSS 510. To search them in the Beineke’s holdings, go to <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/beinecke.cadell>.

support herself and her nine children. She was always drawing on Cadell's firm for advance payments, which she used to pay the bills and the hounding creditors that she alludes to in her letters. Toward this end, Smith used Cadell as her personal bank—a practice, as I elaborate later, that was not altogether uncommon—but the evidence from these letters suggests that she abused this privilege. The amount of bookkeeping responsibilities he incurred by agreeing to publish her works must have been staggering.

In these letters, Smith troubles Cadell with all matters of personal and professional problems and dilemmas: from her illnesses, to one daughter's marriage prospects, to her sons' schooling and career mishaps, to her battles with the Trustees of her father-in-law's estate, and more. In fear of Benjamin's looming return—and his repossession of her earnings, which as a *femme covert* she legally owed him—she sometimes asked Cadell either to not reveal her whereabouts if asked by her husband or creditors or to address letters to a pseudonym.

The presumptuous, entitled posture Smith assumes in her letters suggests that she did not understand—or at least not accept—the fact that, as a woman she did not have the legal right to make the kinds of requests she did to her publishers and patrons. She saw herself as an intellectual and legal equal to her male correspondents and made the assumption that she had full and equal rights. Unlike Mary Wollstonecraft, who campaigned to broaden the rights of women, Smith just assumed those rights. Smith seemed also to have believed that because she had been dealt a bad hand that those around her should necessarily make concessions for her, bend the rules, deal with her as they would another gentleman. She continually

asked for more than Cadell expected. Her tone-deafness on this point must have been for him baffling and ruffling. She may have been an educated gentlewoman, but she was still just a woman, and her repeated, explicit, increasingly acerbic descriptions of her domestic situation no doubt confused and dislocated all of her male correspondents, but particularly Cadell, whom she met in a professional context. Indeed, as heinously as Benjamin Smith behaved—abusing, gambling, fleeing from duns, and womanizing—he broke the law only when he failed to pay his debts. Therefore, each time Smith asked Cadell to withhold financial or other information from her husband, she placed Cadell in a precarious position. She pushed the boundaries of the publisher/author roles, and we can guess that Cadell must have dreaded receiving her letters. He could not even escape her problems on vacation. Her letters followed him to summer seaside escapes in Margate and Yarmouth.

One way to assess the nature of Smith and Cadell's relationship would be to study his letters to her. While there appears to be a lacuna of his letters, the two that have been discovered—and which are included in Appendix A—demonstrate such formality and professionalism in language and tone that they implicitly (and perhaps haughtily) model for Smith the preferred, proper distance the two parties should maintain. One such letter was his response to Smith's offer to sell him the copyright of *Emmeline*. He did not see a personal advantage to the purchase, having just advanced her £60 on the novel's third edition, so he tersely declared, "In all matters of business, it is right to be explicit, and I will therefore make no apology for

the above explanation.”¹⁹ A second chance letter, dated 13 April 1790, is a draft-reply to Smith’s request for (another) £100.²⁰ In this letter, Cadell expresses his shock and dismay, no doubt at what he saw as a bold and inappropriate request: “Your Letter . . . gave me infinite concern,” he wrote. “Your further demands . . . are beyond what I can express, as a debt of 250£ is certainly more than in prudence I ought to advance.” From incredulity at her bold request, Cadell’s letter then candidly expresses his fear of financial loss: “consider Dear Madam, that in case any accident should prevent your finishing the project in 3 [volumes] I must inevitably lose the greatest part if not the whole of the money.” Then, he admits his fear that this money would merely be a stop-gap measure, and “that in a few months the same kind of application may be necessary.” After apologizing for his “explicit” reaction, he assures her, “it ever was and still is my earnest desire to relieve your mind from distress, and I am now equally ready to stand forth if I can do so with safety.” As this last line illustrates, Cadell did treat his authors with respect and generosity—none more so than Smith—and he earned the good reputation he had among authors.

Recent studies on two of Cadell’s peer publishing houses assist us in trying to reconstruct his perspective more fully. There has been no history written of Cadell’s firm—only a 1938 history-and-letters edition of his successors, Cadell & Davies—so it is not easy to compare his relationship with Smith with that of other authors he published. However, Asa Briggs’s comprehensive history of the publishing powerhouse Longmans not only situates Longmans in the economic, technological,

¹⁹ Thomas Cadell Sr. to Charlotte Smith [?Dec. 1788]: ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/16. See Appendix A-1.

²⁰ Thomas Cadell Sr. to Charlotte Smith [Apr. 1790]: ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/46. See Appendix A-2.

and political context of mid- to late eighteenth-century publishing, but it also helps bring to life the publishers with whom Smith worked and whom she mentions in her letters.²¹ The second peer-level publishing firm that has received critical attention recently is that of John Murray. Murray became a bookseller (to use the contemporary title) in 1768, and by the time of his death in 1793 had become the leading publisher of belles-lettres.²² The timeline of Murray's career overlaps Cadell's almost perfectly, and therefore a helpful resource for my project has been William Zachs's history, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* (1998). Additionally, the edition of letters by Murray's successor and son, John Murray II, to the poet Lord Byron offers a fascinating counterpoint to the Cadell/Smith dynamic.²³ Murray's and Byron's letters to one another record an 11-year publisher-author relationship that their editor, Andrew Nicholson, calls "unique in the annals of publishing" (xvii). Those letters, which began in 1811—only 17 years after the letters in my project end—demonstrate a relationship far different from that between Cadell and Smith. The mutual "goodwill, trust and understanding" Murray and Byron shared for the majority of their connection gleam from the letters. Murray took a fatherly interest in Byron's career, recommending publications to him, sending Byron manuscripts and presents while he was abroad, even the hygiene products Byron requested. Their correspondence was at times literary, playful, teasing, anecdotal, and "only hesitatingly argumentative" (xix).

²¹ Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and their Books 1724-1990: Longevity in Publishing* (London and New Castle, DE: The British Library and Oak Knoll P, 2008); hereafter, *A History of Longmans*.

²² William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth Century London Book Trade* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998); hereafter, Zachs, 63-76.

²³ Andrew Nicholson, ed., *The Letters of John Murray to Lord Byron* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2007).

It would be unfair to use the Murray-Byron relationship as a basis on which to judge the Cadell-Smith relationship, given Smith's and Byron's differences in gender, class, and audience and differences in Cadell's and Murray the younger's age, reputation, and customs. However, Murray and Byron's relationship as demonstrated by their letters puts in sharp relief the businesslike nature of Smith's and Cadell's relationship. On the heels of Nicholson's edition came Humphry Carpenter's *The Seven Lives of John Murray: The Story of a Publishing Dynasty, 1768-2002*, which suggests what could have come of Cadell's firm had he, like Murray, had a long succession of descendants to assume the reins.²⁴ Unfortunately for the elder Cadell, his firm went into a slow decline upon his retirement. That Carpenter so recently produced a biography of one of Britain's great publishing houses does, however, demonstrate the currency of studies of the book trade, to which my project contributes.

With the background these studies provide, I asked of the letters in this collection what they tell us about Cadell's relationship with Smith, and how their connection was ordinary—and how unorthodox. While the above-mentioned editions and studies offer some ways to approach that question, there is no perfect basis for comparison. There is no other edition of letters from a late eighteenth-century woman writer to her publisher. The 12 volumes of Frances Burney's letters contain only one letter to *Evelina*-publisher, Thomas Lowndes; Burney's father

²⁴ Humphrey Carpenter, *The Seven Lives of John Murray: The Story of a Publishing Dynasty, 1768-2002*, ed. Candida Brazil and James Hamilton (London: John Murray, 2008).

made the arrangements for the publication of her early novels.²⁵ What has been established is that Smith was paid generously for the time. Neither Burney nor Ann Radcliffe wrote novels out of financial necessity, and both had male agents to represent them in business matters. Smith's personal circumstances, combined with her incredible talent and resourcefulness, make her relationship with Cadell extraordinary, and her letters to him singular.

Cadell, Smith, and the Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade

As a leading London publisher, Cadell was a busy man with a full plate of responsibilities related to author management, technical production, peer alliances, and retail. He read authors' manuscripts (or, in the case of established authors, their proposals), assessed the quality and profitability of these manuscripts (established authors were better bets than unknown ones), made offers, negotiated purchases, and, sometimes, the copyright (the legal status of which I discuss later in this Introduction). He corresponded with authors about matters relating to content, style, printing, advertising, and publication, and met with many of them frequently. He affixed a price to publications, confirmed his books' imprint identity, advertised new publications, and paid printers and engravers. He distributed book copies wholesale to local and provincial booksellers and also sold books to retail customers directly from his shop. For some jobs, he or his assistant, William Davies, procured

²⁵ See Catherine M. Parisian, "Intersections in Book History, Bibliography, and Literary Interpretation: Three Episodes in the Publication History of Frances Burney's *Cecilia*," in *Producing the Eighteenth-Century Book: Writers and Publishers in England, 1650-1800*, ed. Laura L. Runge and Pat Rogers (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2009): 135-62.

the paper and organized the printing, distribution, and advertising, each stage of which incurred debts—to stationers, printers, binders, engravers, and others, whose accounts he had to monitor, along with that of the authors.²⁶ He needed to maintain a strong distribution network of booksellers so that his authors' books would be available widely. Likewise, he had to maintain professional relationships with theater managers and newspaper and periodical publishers.

Due to the heavy expenses he faced, he staggered his payment to authors: some money upon receipt of the manuscript and the rest a month after publication (when profits from the sales come in). When an author was publishing a work by subscription, Cadell assumed different responsibilities. He had to advertise the proposed work in newspapers and circulate proposals, which, when successful, attracted the interest of (usually, wealthy) subscribers, who were agreeing to purchase the work or even to pay part in advance. Then Cadell had to collect and keep track of the subscribers' names (which would be published in the work in question), as well as their payments. The banking aspect of his job alone would have been dizzying. He also entered into partnerships with other publishers, sharing production costs and distribution duties for especially important publications.²⁷

²⁶ For more on the cost of paper, which was taxed, see Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, pp. 92-94.

²⁷ My characterization of Cadell's job description in this paragraph and the next depends largely on Zachs, pp. 63-69. Because Cadell's business was larger and more established, he had more money in the bank than did Murray, who withheld payment to authors until three months after publication.

Print Culture and Literature

The many allusions in these letters to the process of print production will be of interest to historians of the book and those interested in the eighteenth-century book trade. A lot of recent scholarly work has focused on the physical production of the book in the literary marketplace, what George Justice helpfully calls a look at the “microeconomics” of the marketplace, as opposed to the “macroeconomics” of the general economic and political milieu.²⁸ These studies signal a major shift in focus from the generation of critics following Ian Watt, whose 1957 study, *The Rise of the Novel*, implored scholars to consider the reading public and the social conditions and literary practices that nurtured the emergence of the novel as a popular form. More readers, with more leisure time and spending money, spurred the growth of the novel, Watt suggested. Michael McKeon’s *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (1987), Nancy Armstrong’s *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (1987), J. Hunter’s *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (1990), and Lennard J. Davis’s *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (1996) continued Watt’s work and broadened our understanding of the readership of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century novels.

Two recent studies have transformed our understanding of the eighteenth-century text by considering the economics of the physical production, distribution, and sale of books that operated within an environment of an emerging interest in literary property and copyright. In his *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*

²⁸ I depend on George Justice’s review of the critical movement from cultural to economic studies for the characterization sketched in this paragraph. See Justice, *The Manufacturers of Literature: Writing and the Literary Marketplace in Eighteenth-Century England* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2002), pp. 144-48.

(2007), William St Clair marshals empirical evidence he laboriously extracted from archives about book prices, print runs, and intellectual property considerations to effectively and convincingly shift the focus from the consumers of texts to the producers of texts. In the same year, historian James Raven published his sweeping study, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850*, which performs similar work over a longer stretch of time. Both studies stitch together the hitherto mostly disparate work of literary, cultural, and legal scholars, and book and intellectual historians to reshape the field and our understanding of historic texts. The 1,000-page *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 5 (1695-1830) builds upon this new focus, incorporating essays from Raven and other experts in the field of the history of printing and publishing.²⁹ Published in 2009, it addresses the economic, legal, and cultural contexts of book production, as well as the technologies and aesthetics of book production, the trade markets in London, the provinces, Ireland, and Scotland, and much more. My project benefits from the (re)focus of all of these recent works—and contributes to it.

In the growing and changing print marketplace of late eighteenth-century Britain, Cadell benefitted from having apprenticed with and then having taken over the shop of an established bookseller. During the whole of Smith's career, the publishing industry was in a state of flux, and Cadell was an anchor. Responding to the explosion of cheap printing and new readers, a tangle of related occupations cropped up during Cadell's career, and it is difficult today to understand them all.

²⁹ Michael F. Suarez, S. J., and Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009).

For much of his career, Cadell himself was called a “bookseller,” but by the end of the eighteenth century, the term “publisher” was emerging to denote those who commissioned and distributed new works. A 1785 guide to the publishing realm listed thirty-two different occupations, with 650 businesses active in metropolitan London.³⁰ During these decades, the stationers’ trade, which had previously worked in printing, publishing, and bookselling, abandoned the technical functions and focused on the commercial dealing in paper and writing materials. Working alongside publishers, a host of specialized trades appeared, including printers, engravers, bookbinders, papermakers, cardmakers, boardmakers, typefounders, and warehousemen, as well as sellers of maps, music, and prints. Booksellers, who sold books out of stores and catalogs, depended on newsagents and newspaper proprietors to advertise books. With the first circulating libraries, new owners assumed an important role in the publishing ecosystem by judging which books to purchase for their libraries’ readership.

Copyright Debate and Pirating

Smith began writing her novels at a time when the legal struggle to define and protect copyright was still in its infancy. Her letters to Cadell demonstrate the currency of these issues in Smith’s life: she chronicles her frustration with the pirating of her novels by Irish booksellers and she dangles the copyright of her earlier works to try to lure Cadell to buy a commodity valuable only to a bookseller

³⁰ See the discussion of John Pendred’s guide, *The London and Country Printers, Booksellers and Stationers Vade Mecum* (1785), in John Brewer and Iain McCalman, “Publishing,” *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age*, ed. McCalman (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), p. 198.

who sees a readership for reprints and new editions. Smith's pirating woes and copyright salesmanship would have been concerns for most authors of the day as late eighteenth-century British writers pioneered the role of professional writers.

In the early eighteenth century, British authors' primary economic relationships were still with their patrons—not booksellers. However, with his famous 1754 letter rejecting Lord Chesterfield's deferred offer of patronage for his *Dictionary*, Samuel Johnson boldly declared that the modern author could live off the profits of his writing and not depend on patronage. Writing, therefore, became a profession. Whether or not Smith herself would have characterized herself as a professional writer—as opposed to a tradesperson—is up for debate. Since enacting the world's first copyright statute in 1710, Britain had established the author as a legally empowered party in the marketplace, but it took Johnson's declaration to establish the author as professional in practice.³¹

Over the course of the eighteenth century, lawyers for booksellers wrangled over what they called “the question of literary property.” The London booksellers—the ascendants in the trade since the founding of the Stationers' Company in the fifteenth century—lobbied to maintain perpetual copyright of authors' works. Booksellers argued that once an author transferred a piece of property to them (in this case, a piece of writing), they had a common-law right (as opposed to a statutory right) to that property forever. Booksellers outside of London—in the provinces and in Scotland—challenged this assertion as they jockeyed to gain

³¹ My understanding of the history of copyright law in Britain comes from Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993). In this paragraph and in the next, I refer to material from his chapter on “The Question of Literary Property,” pp. 1-8.

traction in the realm of publishing and lucrative reprinting. Between 1760 and 1774, booksellers' lawyers battled in two landmark cases, the second of which—the signal *Donaldson v. Beckett* decision—reaffirmed the original 1710 copyright statute. Beginning in 1774, living authors kept the copyright to their works for 14 years (and dead authors, for 21 years). During the process of this legal struggle, a society-wide debate ensued, and this process bolstered the view of authors as the proprietors of their works. Such discourse also contributed to the idea of a literary canon and a reading public.³²

Given the monetary need that prompted her to write and publish, Smith was attuned to the value of the copyright of her works. In numerous letters, she dangles the sale of the copyright of various works in front of Cadell, hoping to extract every last pound for her literary property. She begins testing the waters just as her first novel is published. In a 1788 letter, she asks Cadell, almost off-handedly, if he would purchase the copyright of *Emmeline* (“which will undoubtedly continue for some time productive”), and, as if implicitly acknowledging that her question comes too prematurely, continues, “Or if that does not suit you whether you will purchase another Novel call'd Ethelinde.” She reminds him in a June 1789 letter that she feels herself empowered to sell the copyright to *Emmeline*, an issue ostensibly addressed in a previous, unfound letter that evidently ruffled Cadell: “You could hardly suppose that I meant to do what would not only be dishonourable but dishonest in

³² “Copyright,” *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture 1776-1832*, p. 467. For a thorough examination of the eighteenth-century reading public, see William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2004) and Jon P. Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1987). For a study of the publishing world in France during this era, see Robert Darnton, *Revolution in Print: the Press in France, 1775-1800* (Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1989).

regard to Emmeline. I know that you have paid me the profit of the 3rd Edition—and that you have my receipt for it. But . . . I should consider myself at liberty to dispose of the copy right of any future Editions either of that or of the Sonnets to any person who thought it worth their while to purchase such right” (Letter 45). Clearly, the fact that her maiden novel had gone through three editions in its first year emboldened her to write so matter-of-factly about her “liberty.” Then, in the next year, she once again offers the copyright for sale after proposing a new work for him to purchase: “I will sell, for what ever they may be now worth the copy rights of Emmeline & the Sonnets—I am so extremely harassed that unless I can get out of it, I must lose my Life; & therefore every thing else becomes indifferent to me” (Letter 46).

Smith, ever anxious to extract more money from her published works, was keenly attuned to the sale-ability of her works, a point that must be considered alongside any assessment of the value of the copyright of her works. She shepherded her *Sonnets* through eight editions over her lifetime, and saw several novels through second or third editions. Increasingly, she was “in fashion” and aware of it, even pondering in a 1790 letter to Cadell whether her “fashion” would outlast a relocation to the Continent for several years (a move she considered but did not make).³³ As Mark Rose reminds us, “the name of the author . . . becomes a kind of brand name, a recognizable sign that the cultural commodity will be of a certain kind and quality,” and Smith knew her name—and the pitiable and

³³ See Letter 45.

intriguing life story behind that name—would sell.³⁴ Sarah Zimmerman’s observation that Smith cunningly crafted a persona through her letters was furthered by Labbe, who established that Smith assumed this persona also in her prefaces, poetry, prose works, and novel characterizations and plot lines.³⁵ In the era of the sentimental novel, Smith the letter writer presented herself as a sympathetic heroine: a gentlewoman victimized by a dissolute husband whose emotional and physical abuse and financial recklessness society excused and which pressed her into a writing career in order to feed and educate her many children.³⁶ She began crafting this persona in her earliest published work and continued crafting it throughout her career. Several essayists in Pickering & Chatto’s *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism* (2008) explore this fact from different angles. Kerri Andrews, building on Labbe, points to Smith’s self-identification in the first edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* as “Charlotte Smith of Bignor Park, in Sussex,” the childhood home she had no claim to anymore and was certainly not living in, but which resonated with respectability. In explaining Smith’s choice, Andrews argues that “when [Smith’s] current social position did not match that which she imagined she ought to occupy (through both birth and her literary activities), [she] manipulated the reality to construct a more appropriate identity with which the public was to be

³⁴ See Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993), 1.

³⁵ Jacqueline M. Labbe, *Charlotte Smith: Romanticism, Poetry, and the Culture of Gender* (New York: Manchester UP, 2003).

³⁶ Zimmerman, “Charlotte Smith’s Letters and the Practice of Self-Presentation,” pp. 59-61.

presented.”³⁷ Examining Smith’s oeuvre more broadly alongside the literary community forged by her many readers, Stephen C. Behrendt writes that Smith skillfully “*mythologized* her own physical and psychological experience [both] in [her] poems” and also in “the often intensely personal pleading prefaces to her novels,” thus fashioning a myth that helped her readers view her compassionately.³⁸ Finally, Louise Duckling, who writes about Smith’s critical reception, concludes, “Smith was a brilliant self-promoter and exploited the marketing potential of her miserable life, casting herself as the ‘tragic heroine’ in the theatrical performance that was her career.”³⁹ Indeed, pointing to Smith’s last published sonnet, Duckling adds, “Smith turned her misfortunes into an asset by recreating herself in the public sphere as a consumer product”; she crafted a self-image “not as an influential innovator or leading poet, but as an idealized specimen of womanly excellence, a suffering paragon of wife, gentlewoman and ‘mother-martyr’.”⁴⁰

Given the shifting landscape for authors, and, too, given Smith’s particular disadvantage as a female author, single mother, and breadwinner, her clunky navigation of her role, and her missteps and overreaches with Cadell—which this introduction has chronicled—seem somewhat less egregious.

³⁷ Kerri Andrews, “‘Herself . . . fills the foreground’: Negotiating Autobiography in the *Elegiac Sonnets* and *The Emigrants*” in *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism*, ed. Jacqueline M. Labbe (London: Pickering & Chatto: 2008): 13-27, p. 13. See also Labbe, *Charlotte Smith: Romanticism, poetry and the culture of gender* (New York: Manchester UP, 2003).

³⁸ Stephen C. Behrendt, “Charlotte Smith, Women Poets and the Culture of Celebrity” in *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism: 189-202*, esp. p. 189; emphasis added.

³⁹ Louise Duckling, “‘Tell my name to distant ages’: The Literary Fate of Charlotte Smith” in *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism: 203-17*, esp. p. 203.

⁴⁰ Duckling, 204.

Letters' Contribution to Smith Biography

Both Stanton's *Collected Letters* and the letters to Cadell in this dissertation offer any future Smith biographer a trove of material not fully available to Loraine Fletcher when she was preparing her critical biography (published in 1998).⁴¹ Fletcher, who had did not have access to the then still-hidden 95 letters in the ESRO Collection, characterizes Smith's relationship with Cadell in surface terms: "She was very close to Cadell Senior in some ways, and treated him like an elder brother, confiding her anxieties and attacking him when he slighted her" (208). Smith's collected letters to Cadell extend and sharpen our understanding of the author-publisher relationship that made possible Smith's growth as a professional novelist. This Introduction has alluded to many of the issues these letters raise. A future Smith biographer would need to study how Smith comported herself in her relationship with Cadell to glean insight into her character as author and businesswoman, mother, and spouse; to assess her level of desperation; and to understand her compromised position as a woman representing herself in the masculine realm of publishing.

What is surprisingly absent from these letters to her publisher is insight into the art of novel writing. When I first started to transcribe these letters, I hoped to uncover hidden gems that would offer new perspectives on her characters, plot devices, and politics. While she writes to Cadell with book proposals, she describes her proposed projects only cursorily, then, having secured his agreement to publish

⁴¹ The two Smith biographies that preceded Fletcher's were early studies: Florence May Anna Hilbish, *Charlotte Smith, Poet and Novelist (1749-1806)* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1941), and Catherine Dorset, "Charlotte Smith" in *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, by Sir Walter Scott, 4:20-58 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1834).

the proposed work, she proceeds quickly, sending him periodic updates about her progress. All of her questions to Cadell are about practical matters largely related to the printing and distribution of the books, the money she believes she has earned, and requests for new books—in English, French, and Latin—that she has seen advertised in periodicals. While these requests demonstrate Smith’s currency with the publications of the day—a fact already clear from the novels and poems themselves—the fact that she simply asks for them and does not state why she wants them serves as another lost opportunity to peer into the mind of the author. Smith does make occasional reference in her letters to her prefaces and dedications—the aspects of novel-writing that engaged with nonfictional personages important to her—but she makes no references at all to the fictional characters or plots she crafted. Recently, Jennie Batchelor pointed out that Smith’s repeated reminder to her readers in letters, novels and prefaces that writing was work—and menial and debasing work, at that—discomfited some contemporary critics who found her views on authorship to be “distasteful, unladylike, and unprofessional” (68).⁴² The lack of references to the novel-writing process in her letters to Cadell bolsters Batchelor’s observation. Smith may have felt that expending extra energy corresponding about the writing process would be unpaid labor.

The closest these letters get to addressing the craft of novel writing is when Smith negotiates with Cadell to extend the proposed length of what would end up being her longest novel, *Ethelinde*. The summer 1789 letters that chart the

⁴² Jennie Batchelor, *Women’s work: Labour, gender, authorship, 1750-1830* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2010).

expansion of this novel are interesting both for what they tell us about the creation of this novel and for the chutzpah Smith displays in challenging Cadell and their original agreement. That May she wrote him to report that she was finishing up Volume 3 and could see that the “story will not be concluded in three volumes unless greatly shorten’d in its most interesting passages” (Letter 33). She presented Cadell with a choice: “Shall I carry it on to another Volume at the risk of being very late in the Season?—Or conclude it in three to be ready immediately—The former will of course be most advantageous to me; but I wish to hear immediately from you which will be most consonant to your wishes & to my agreement with you.” Even this rare glimpse into the writing process is still subordinated to commercial considerations. Smith does not seem overly attached to either outcome, except for the fact that extending the number of volumes would mean increasing her pay. By late June, she announced to him that four volumes would be insufficient and that she was beginning a fifth. By the first of August, she was nearing the end of Volume 5 and wanted Cadell to green light a sixth volume. We do not have his response, but it was clearly negative because the five-volume novel was published in November. Despite losing that last hoped-for volume, Smith demonstrated in these letters a level of self-assurance as a writer that came from the commercial success of her first novel, *Emmeline*.⁴³

What might also be surprising is that although several of the novels Smith was writing during the timeframe of these letters engage on some level with revolutionary discourse, Smith never wrote directly about politics with Cadell. The

⁴³ See also Stuart Curran’s introduction to *Ethelinde, or the Recluse of the Lake* (1789), Vol. 3, *Works of Charlotte Smith*, 14 vols., gen. ed. Curran (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), pp. vii-viii.

paper war in England in the 1790s over the natural rights of mankind and whether England should reform its government and social system was possible only with the participation of radical and conservative publishers. Cadell distanced himself from controversy. His relationship with Smith ended because he was retiring from publishing—and thus was certainly not looking to court controversy. Smith had been demonstrating her currency with contemporary political events in several works she published during the course of her connection with Cadell, such as the novels *Celestina* and *Desmond*, and in her poem *The Emigrants*; therefore, the almost total absence of allusions to this part of her life in her letters to her primary publisher is worth noting. In the one exception—a letter she wrote in September 1791—she abruptly announced that she had an opportunity to go to Paris and that she would be leaving that very evening. Dashing off a letter before departing into revolutionary France, she proposed a new novel for Cadell’s consideration: “The Novel which I have begun is meant to convey in the form of Letters & under the illusion of a Love story, the present state of France not however at all in the style of Miss Williams” (Letter 67). The proposed novel would become *Desmond*—her first overtly political novel, and one that Cadell in the end would not publish—and although it would benefit from on-the-ground observations she would be making in Paris, she took pains to assure her publisher that it would not be styled like the pro-Revolutionary Helen Maria Williams’s recent *Letters from France*. She listed several names of important people to whom she carried letters of introduction and then put the ball in Cadell’s court, giving him a return address in Paris should he decide to agree to purchase the proposed novel.

Since we can now definitively say that she did not use her private correspondence as a place in which to work out her response to the weighty issues of the day, the question is, why not? Some might argue that she did not want to attract unwanted attention at a time when William Pitt's government was cracking down on seditious writing out of fear of a revolution in England. I think, however, that Smith postured herself in her letters to Cadell as a businesswoman, and that she did not view her correspondence to him as a place to ponder issues or to solicit feedback on content. Rather, she used her letters to give him updates, ask him questions or to make requests for things she needed—advances on payments, banking and postal favors, etc.—and everything else somehow described the financial and domestic crises that made those requests necessary.

A future biography might also address the question of Smith's deceptiveness, most blatant when in 1790 she forged Cadell's imprint in a mock title page to a (nonexistent) tell-all pamphlet meant to shame her husband and the Trustees into providing for her children. From my study of her letters, I believe that Smith's awareness of her power as a best-selling author bolstered her by supplying her with the sympathetic interest of her numerous and diverse readers. Whereas in reality she was an impoverished single mother who had few legal rights and was mostly powerless in her relations with the Trustees of her father-in-law's estate, in the publishing realm, her words moved the hearts of a vast readership and emboldened her to believe that she had greater power than she really did. In explaining Smith's lapse of judgment in implicating the respectable Cadell in her scheme, some might argue that her depression had numbed her sensitivity on this point. There is support

for that argument. However, any possible mental illness is not needed to explain Smith's manipulative work here. She surveyed her position in relation to the men whom she blamed for her poverty and, desperate to provide for her children, played the one card she had that trumped theirs: access to a printer, and publishing savvy.

As much as these letters suggest details about Smith's personal life and professional identity, they also offer a fascinating glimpse into the perspective of a British mother in an age of Empire building and Revolution. With an expanding Empire and in its wars against Revolutionary France, Britain called upon its women to send their sons to serve in one of its colonial outposts or to join the Royal Navy or Army. During the course of these letters, Smith saw her two eldest sons move to India to pursue careers with the East India Company. While those sons dutifully sent their mother money home, this beneficence came at a cost: she would never see them again. She sacrificed a third son, Charles, to the Army. He required her financial support to be outfitted for a military career, only to suffer an injury that would require a partial leg amputation and necessitate a return home and the hiring of a servant for his care. A fourth son, Lionel, declined a spot at Oxford in order to enlist in the Army to assume Charles's position. In the latter letters in this collection, Smith conveys her disappointment that she would be losing yet another son to the vagaries of war when she had hoped he would instead go into the church.

The travails of two of Smith's daughters fill these letters, too. With so many young British men doing the deeds of Empire on foreign shores, young British women were not guaranteed a mate. Smith's eldest, Charlotte Mary, never married, but a promising courtship with a wealthy suitor raised her mother's hopes of one

child's financial emancipation. The letters Smith wrote to Cadell during this episode record the economic strain she felt as she tried to "keep up appearances" in order to give Charlotte Mary the best chance she could. A second daughter, Smith's beloved Anna Augusta, did marry—but not to a British man. Augusta's French husband had been ousted from Revolutionary France and had emigrated to Britain.

Unfortunately, Augusta suffered from consumption, had a complicated pregnancy, and lost her newborn son when he was only three days old; her own death would follow just outside the scope of these letters. In her letters to Cadell, Smith alludes to the expensive doctors she hired to attend to her daughter during this exhausting time. Thus, these letters add to our understanding of Smith as a mother of children coming of age in a time of war and empire.

During the years contained in these letters, English society began grappling with the ethical implications of the slave trade that peopled Britain's Caribbean colonies with free labor for its sugar plantations (just as it had peopled the cotton plantations of colonial America). Smith's friendship with abolitionists, such as William Cowper—as alluded to in these letters—was complicated by the fact that she personally profited from the Mapps and Gays sugar plantations purchased by her father-in-law's trust. The several references in these letters to these plantations—and to the anticipated "arrival of the sugars"—implicate her in the trade even as she supported the abolitionist cause. Given her sometimes contradictory roles in Empire-building, revolutionary discourse, Establishment causes, the slave trade, and abolitionism, Smith was very much a product of her era.

These letters add color and detail to our knowledge of her participation in the political movements of her day.

The discovery of new letters—such as the bulk of the ones that comprise this dissertation—can complicate answers to existing questions, while inevitably inviting new questions for future scholars. Any future biographer will be able to hold up these letters to judge how the voice inside them measures up against the reputation their author has amassed in the great realm of critical attention she has received in the past few decades. Having spent so much time with these letters, I conclude that I probably would have responded to Smith much as Cadell seemingly did: with respect for an entrepreneurial new novelist, with pity for an honest-working, suffering fellow human being, and with growing exasperation with the fusillade of requests for sometimes morally and legally compromising requests for favors that filled the pages of her letters.

Letters' Provenance

When the firm of Cadell & Davies was liquidated in 1845 and the publishing house of Longmans purchased the firm's imprints and papers, included among those papers were the letters Smith had written to the elder Cadell from 1786 to 1794. At some point, Longmans sold off the Smith letters, and, unfortunately, no bill of sale exists in the Longmans archives, which are now housed in the Special Collections of Reading University.⁴⁴ It is possible that any bill of sale was consumed by flames in

⁴⁴ There are, however, records of the sale of the Cadell & Davies papers to Longmans dating back to 1845-46.

one of the two fires that hit Longmans—the first in 1861 and the second during the WWII Blitz. Whenever the sale occurred, the letters were likely advertised in a sales catalogue marketed to collectors. Sometime after 1905, the bulk of these letters—more than 90 of the 121 total that have been identified—were purchased by Charles Thomas-Stanford (1858-1932; see Image 2). He was an adventurer, an antiquarian, and the last occupant of Preston Manor, an historic home on the outskirts of Brighton and Hove.⁴⁵ Thomas-Stanford had been wealthy even before marrying the heiress of the Stanford Estate, Ellen Stanford, in 1897, and he channeled a lot of money into the acquisition of letters, books, and other material pertinent to the history of Sussex.⁴⁶ These letters from Sussex-native Smith to her London publisher would have come under his radar. Since neither a bill of sale nor a receipt has been found, we cannot know precisely when Thomas-Stanford brought these letters to Preston Manor, but it was likely between 1905 and 1913. The letters remained there for the better part of a century, when they were moved to the East Sussex Record Office (ESRO) in Brighton.

While the letters were still housed at the Preston Manor Museum, they did attract some notice. In 1956, a little-known, early Smith scholar named Maida Butler published a three-page article in the regional *Sussex County Magazine* titled, “Mrs. Smith and Mr. Cadell,” citing what seemed to be a small collection of letters “that

⁴⁵ Sussex is one of the southernmost parliamentary divisions of Britain, which includes Brighton, Beachy Head, and Hastings on the coast, Chichester, Horsham, and Worthing, and 20 rural districts.

⁴⁶ My thanks to ESRO archivist, Andrew Bennett, for this history of Charles Thomas-Stanton. Bennett, “Charlotte Smith,” Message to Emily M. Brewer (26 Apr. 2012), E-mail.

have just come to light.”⁴⁷ Butler, however, did not say where the letters were housed. In describing Smith’s relationship to Cadell, Butler concludes in her small summary that even as we pity Smith, we should pity “poor Thomas Cadell,” who was called upon by Smith to perform many roles beyond that of publisher. Butler’s intriguing article did not escape the notice of Stanton when she was compiling letters for her *Collected Letters*, itself the culmination of 25 years of travel, sleuthing, and archival work. At that time, the Preston Manor Museum did not employ modern archival standards and had only a volunteer curator, so its collection was largely invisible. Therefore, it is understandable that when Stanton was rounding up letters for her edition, she had not heard of this small museum and consequently never thought to check there. It was not until several years after Stanton published the *Collected Letters* that she by chance read another scholar’s citation of the “Maida Butler letters,” which pointed to the collection at Preston Manor Museum. By that time, however, the letters had been transferred to the ESRO, where they remain today. Stanton immediately ordered photocopies of these 95 letters and quickly alerted Stuart Curran, the general editor of the Pickering and Chatto 14-volume *Works of Charlotte Smith*, which was at that time in production. The individual volume editors made use of these letters in their scholarly introductions, including Stanton herself in introducing her edition of *Emmeline*.⁴⁸ Therefore, snippets of

⁴⁷ Maida Butler, “Mrs. Smith and Mr. Cadell,” *The Sussex County Magazine* 30 (1956), pp. 330-34.

⁴⁸ Stanton recounts the narrative of producing her *Collected Letters* in “Recovering Charlotte Smith’s Letters: A History, with Lessons,” in Jacqueline M. Labbe, *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008), pp. 159-73.

some of the letters in this project have been quoted and analyzed in those volumes, tantalizing readers who wanted to consult the record themselves.

Thus, while these letters have not been published before, ghostly echoes of their existence have been haunting Smith scholarship for a long time. As recently as 2008, independent British scholar Gillian T. Anderton wrote and privately published a digital essay titled, “An Analysis of the Preston Manor Letters: An unpublished collection of letters by Charlotte Turner Smith to her publishers Cadell and Davies, 1786 to 1794.” This short and little-known piece again hints at the treasures within these hitherto unpublished letters.

As this history dating back to Maida Butler’s 1956 article suggests, it has been a continual source of frustration to Stanton and other Smith scholars that these letters have never been published. Stanton purchased copies of these letters from ESRO and hoped to one day make an edition herself. By winter 2011-12, they were in a box collecting dust in her closet. As she confided to my director, Jeanne Moskal, Stanton feared these letters never would be published. Moskal proposed that I produce this edition, and Stanton generously shared with me the letters and the research she had accumulated. It has felt as if Charlotte Smith found me, and it has been a tremendous honor to complete the work Stanton began so many years ago and to bring these letters to the light of print.

Almost thirty of the letters in this edition were previously published—most of them in Stanton’s *Collected Letters*—and they hail from a variety of collections. In my quest to identify the full provenance of the 95 letters in the ESRO collection, I tried attacking the problem from the back door by inquiring into the provenance of

the other large collections of Smith letters. Perhaps, I reasoned, they had been sold by Longmans to a single distributor and then divided up and sold to collectors. After conversations with curators and archivists at the Huntington Library, Princeton University's Robert H. Taylor Collection of English and American Literature, and Yale's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, I found only loose or dead ends to my quest. In each case, there is a record of acquisition date (1925, 1974, and 1939, respectively), but each of those libraries named a different—or an unknown—source for its collection.⁴⁹ Therefore, the complete history of these letters' transmission will not likely ever be known.

My edition of letters includes every one of the known letters Smith wrote to Cadell. In addition to those from ESRO, the Huntington, Princeton University, and the Beinecke, these letters come from twelve other archives in the U.S. and U.K., each holding between one and three letters. These collections include Harvard University's Houghton Library; Boston Public Library; Yale University; Yale University's Osborn Collection; Princeton University's General Manuscripts; Princeton University's Hannay Collection; University of Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania State University; the Bodleian; and Dunedin Public Library in New Zealand. A complete, chronological listing of the letters, including the date and holding library of each, follows in the next section.

⁴⁹ My thanks to Mary Robertson, the William A Moffett Curator of Medieval & British Historical Manuscripts at The Huntington, and to Ellen Doon, archivist at the Beinecke, for their help. Robertson, "Charlotte Smith," Message to Emily M. Brewer (2 May 2012), E-mail; and Doon, "Charlotte Smith," Message to Emily M. Brewer (8 May 2012), E-mail.

NOTES ON CONTEXT

Currency

During Smith's lifetime, British currency was not decimalized and was counted in pounds sterling (£), shillings (s.), and pence—or pennies—(d.). Monetary figures listed in letters to and from Cadell's firm contain three numbers, representing these three denominations. Smith also refers several times to guinea coins (so-called because made of gold from the Guinea coast of Africa). During the period of these letters, a guinea was valued at 21 shillings. Thus,

One pound (£1) = 20 shillings, or 240 pennies.

One shilling (1s) = 12 pennies (12d).

One guinea = £1 1s.

Converting this currency in a way that makes sense to a twenty-first century American is an inexact science. Cadell paid Smith £50 per 280 pages of handwritten script (comprising one volume of a multi-volume novel). To break that rate down in a way they would not, he paid approximately £1 for every 5.6 typescript pages, or £0.178 per page, which is almost 43 pence per page.¹ To convert that figure to today's rates, we can refer to the U.K.'s Retail Price Index (RPI), which measures the cost in a given period of the goods and services purchased by a typical consumer in a base period. Forty-three pence in 1789 would have had a purchasing power equivalent to the purchasing power of £17.30 in 2010 (or, \$27.23).² Therefore,

¹ Smith refers to the 280-page number in several letters, including in Letter 112.

² For RPI conversions, see MeasuringWorth, www.measuringworth.com. For GBP-to-USD conversions, see The Money converter, www.themoneyconverter.com. Accessed 19 Apr. 2012.

when thinking about Smith's per volume rate, we might think of how much we can buy with approximately \$7,624.

In her first fourteen years writing poetry, novels, and children's books, Smith estimated that she earned £3,000 (and, after nineteen years, £4,500 or £5,000), an estimate substantiated by her correspondence.³ Using the same formula as used above, we could say that Smith earned an equivalent in today's dollars of \$457,440 during those first fourteen years, or, \$32,674 per year, on average. After leaving Benjamin Smith, Charlotte had to support their nine living children through their coming of age and beyond. While translating monetary figures from one time period to another can only offer a hazy estimate, still, we can only shudder to think of raising such a large family on less than \$32,000 a year.

The Banking System and the Book Trade

At this time, the banking system in London was growing rapidly, while the banking system in the provinces—including Sussex, where Smith spent much of her time—was growing much more slowly and was rudimentary by comparison. The Bank of England did not have branches outside of London until 1826.⁴

Businessmen in the book trades had lots of up-front costs—and a delayed income stream. Income from book production and sales lagged for months since booksellers found it good practice to offer books to retail customers on ledger

³ Judith Phillips Stanton, "Charlotte Smith's 'Literary Business': Income, Patronage, and Indigence" in *The Age of Johnson* 1 (1987): 375-401, esp. pp. 376 and 394.

⁴ Michael F. Suarez, S. J., "Introduction," *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 5, 1695-1830, ed. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), pp. 25-26.

credit. The typical retail billing cycle ended around Christmas, just as rents were due, and so there was usually a flush of money coming in then as customers settled their accounts.⁵ Just as booksellers extended credit to their customers, so did compositors and printers (and sometimes papermakers) to the booksellers. Booksellers would settle their accounts with the craftsmen months after the service was provided. All stakeholders in book production depended on that tipping point when income from book sales shifted from covering costs to yielding true profits. That point depended on factors such as the number of books sold to the public at full price (versus the discount wholesale rate reserved for the trade).⁶ On average, the retail price of a book was five times its production cost (though the account ledgers of the first John Murray suggest he marked his prices eight times production cost).⁷ If a book did not reap in the hoped-for profits, however, it was the bookseller who stood to lose. For all of these reasons, print-runs in the late eighteenth century were relatively small. It was easy enough to produce a second edition if sales were swift.

As this sketch demonstrates, a bookseller like Cadell played a financial juggling game, balancing money he owed to craftsmen, advertisers, and authors and money he expected to receive from sales. For this reason, Cadell and other booksellers would often act as informal banks. Records show that Cadell's mentor, William Strahan, and his partner, William Bowyer the younger, regularly accepted

⁵ Suarez, p. 28.

⁶ Suarez, p. 29.

⁷ James Raven, "The book as a commodity," *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 5, 1695-1830, pp. 100, 103.

deposits, made investments, and offered other banking services for their clients and friends.⁸ It is fair to assume that Cadell continued the practices of his mentor.

In many of the letters in this collection, Smith asks Cadell to “accept a bill” for various amounts. As this language demonstrates, Smith would borrow money from merchants and bankers against the sum owed to her by Cadell (or later Cadell & Davies) for completed work. Smith used Cadell (or Cadell & Davies) like a bank, drawing on the firm for various amounts. The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale has many of her receipts in its archives.⁹

The Post Office

An improved and expanded transportation network made the speedy delivery of Smith’s letters possible. A postal service had existed in Britain for the 150 years preceding the beginning of these letters, but it was in 1784 that real improvements in extent of service and speed of delivery were introduced. With these changes, mail was no longer delivered by mounted post boys, but by horse-drawn coaches, which could travel more swiftly over newly-built turnpikes that connected the provinces to London. By 1786, a route that once had taken 36 hours, for instance, took only 16 hours.¹⁰ The system of mail coaches, contemporary

⁸ Suarez, p. 31. See also John Smail, “Credit, Risk, and Honor in Eighteenth-Century Commerce,” *J of British Studies* 44.3 (2005): 439-56.

⁹ See Stanton, *Collected Letters*, p. 131, n1.

¹⁰ “Origins of the First Mail Coach,” The British Postal Museum & Archive. Web. <http://postalheritage.org.uk/page/mail-coaches>. Accessed 19 Oct. 2012.

illustrations of which are iconic, actually lasted only a little more than sixty years and disappeared soon after Queen Victoria came to power.

Sprinkled throughout these letters are references to the “coach” or the “stage” by which Smith hopes to send or receive letters or parcels (see Image 6). Technically speaking, mail coaches were a luxury service because their primary purpose was to deliver mail and, thus, they traveled quickly and directly. The mail coaches carrying mail to areas outside London left the Post Office Headquarters in Lombard Street nightly at 8 p.m. sharp, traveling at night because roads were less congested then.¹¹ Stage coaches, by contrast, carried mail and passengers, so they would make stops for passengers’ convenience that would slow down the delivery. In sitting down to compose a letter, Smith seemingly was always aware of when the daily coach was scheduled to arrive, and where it would deliver and pick up the mails. She makes frequent mention of them—“this Day’s Coach,” “tomorrows coach,” “Wednesdays coach,” “the Chichester coach,” and “the Western Stage” (Letters 80, 6, 37, 19, 77, respectively)—and even once instructs Cadell to send his reply by the Petworth Coach leaving the White Fetter Lane posting stop in London and to have it delivered to her brother’s home in Fittleworth, because “We have no Coach come nearer” (Letter 92). In another letter, she requests that Cadell send any letters or packets he has for by stage coach, “as the last cost me four and ten pence, & by the stage it is only a shilling” (Letter 78). As this last example reminds us, in late eighteenth-century Britain, it was the receiver—not the sender—who paid the postage.

¹¹ Paul Ailey, “Mail coaches” in “Bishop’s Stortford and Thorley: A History and Guide.” Web. 2004. <http://www.stortfordhistory.co.uk/guide9/mailcoaches.html>. Accessed 20 Oct. 2012.

The system for paying postage was somewhat arcane, and a perfect understanding of this complicated system is not necessary to understanding these letters. It is pertinent to know, however, that Clerks of the Roads and Members of Parliament could “frank” letters and newspapers, which means they could send them for free.¹² However, Smith alludes to this system in several letters, mentioning whether or not she has been able to “procure a frank.” In one letter, for instance, Smith writes, “As I have a frank I write to repeat my thanks for your kindness” (Letter 78)—implying that a (rare) access to free postage has freed her to write. In another, she apologizes that “this paquet is too heavy for a frank” (Letter 82). In the summer of 1790, when Cadell was vacationing away from London in the seaside town of Margate, Smith addressed the envelope to Cadell’s shop address in London, but wrote in the letter “I conclude this Letter will follow you to Margate—Therefore I will try to get it frank’d at least part of the way” (Letter 53). And, at least in one instance, she tells Cadell that her attorney, Charles Bicknell, will have a frank in the coming days and that he would be sending her a report of his meeting with Cadell (Letter 50). The late eighteenth century also witnessed the initial, regional trials of the Penny Post that would become U.K.-wide in 1840. In the latter letters, Smith makes some allusions to it.

Finally, it is helpful to remember that while Smith moved around almost constantly during the period of this project, settling in sometimes relatively remote villages in Sussex, Cadell steadily maintained his centrally-located shop on the Strand in London. Therefore, Smith was able to use Cadell’s shop as a mail receiving

¹² Suarez, pp. 15-16.

and distribution center. When her elder sons were working in India and sending her checks and letters from there, they would send them to Cadell for him to direct to their mother's current location. Other friends and supporters of Smith likewise addressed letters and parcels to Cadell's shop for him to forward. In many cases, Smith would anticipate these deliveries and write to Cadell to remind him to look for them and to provide him with the current location to which to forward them.

TEXTUAL PRINCIPLES

1. Holograph Letters

The holograph letters I transcribed from the letters held by the East Sussex Record Office are largely clear and readable. When Smith's usual clarity and elegance slipped, there is almost always internal evidence in the letter to suggest that she was writing under duress: acute economic stress, illness or physical limitation, or speedily trying to make the day's post. Unfortunately, typed transcriptions cannot convey the kinds of immediacy and distress that her handwriting conveys.

All modern editors of early correspondence must choose whether to make a diplomatic edition, a normalized edition, or some combination of the two. A diplomatic edition perfectly preserves every peculiarity of the author's original text—from spelling, punctuation and capitalizations, to abbreviations, superscripts, cross-outs and outdated orthographic practices. Normalized editions render the text into a form easier for the modern reader to read, modernizing spelling and punctuation, among other edits. I chose a middle-ground, for several reasons. First, Smith had written her letters as ephemera: quick, regular updates, intended for a sole reader—Thomas Cadell, Sr.—and discarded. She was usually rushing to meet a post deadline and was limited by the size of the letter sheet. If she had foreseen that her letters would be published, she likely would have placed more care into her presentation. Secondly, I wanted to maintain the textual principles employed by Judith Philips Stanton in her *Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, so that the letters published here for the first time would complement that collection.

In my edition, I silently added paragraph breaks where a change of subject justified one, even though the holograph letters often look like unbroken lines of text. And, although Smith rarely used indentions, I added them to the paragraphs to make them uniform and easier to read. I also modernized punctuation when quirks of eighteenth-century custom or Smith's own usage impede the modern reader. Her use of semi-colons, for instance, can be maddening for us today, so I edited every one. Smith often ended sentences with a long dash, and, if the sentence ended at the end of a line, she often did not use end punctuation at all. In my edits, I converted some of these end-punctuation long dashes to periods if it aided understanding, except never in instances wherein the long dash conveyed something of her emotional stress. I retained Smith's quirky spellings of "beleiving," "proffit," and "ballance," for instance, and, unless her spelling rendered a word inscrutable, I retained her spellings and did not add the fussy and intrusive editor's acknowledgement that a word is misspelled: [*sic*]. My edition retains every crossed-out word (e.g., "on my ~~account~~ behalf") and every underscore (e.g., "what may be in your hands"); I did not transcribe carets, but, rather, have normalized the text she added.

In places where unclear handwriting or fuzzy copy obscured a word, I attempted an educated guess, which I placed inside angle brackets (e.g., "I own I <assumed> it would place you"). I retained all of Smith's abbreviations and superscripts (e.g., "I am Sir your ob^t & oblig'd Sev^t"), only supplying the missing letters in square brackets when I thought some readers might pause (e.g., "the pay[men]^t"), or when she left out the 'e' in the surname of William Davies, a frequent

reference in these letters. I deleted all periods that she placed under superscripts, because they are unnecessary, make the page messier, and because Stanton removed them for her edition. For instance, where Smith would write, “Jan.^y 3.rd 1787,” I give “Jan^y 3rd 1787.”

2. Copies and Printed Sources

Of the 121 letters in this project, 28 were published previously. I included them here in order to have a comprehensive collection of all known correspondence between Smith and the firm of Thomas Cadell, Sr. Judith Stanton previously published 23 of these letters in her *Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith* (Letters 5, 9, 12, 25, 54, 55, 63, 64, 67, 72, 75, 89, 90, 104, 105, 111, 115-121). The other six have appeared in journals: in articles by Richard C. Taylor in *Modern Philology* (Letters 56, 90, 99); by Jacqueline M. Labbe in *The Wordsworth Circle* (Letter 68); and by Harriet Guest and Stanton in both *The Keats-Shelley Journal* (Letter 67) and *Women's Writing* (Letter 50).

The Appendix contains four letters, none of which have been published previously. Among them are the two extant letters Cadell drafted to Smith that were tucked in among the stack of letters stored in the Petworth House Archives and later moved to the ESRO. Additionally, there is a short letter in the Appendix that Smith received from the proprietors of the *European Magazine*, which was likewise in the ESRO stash. Finally, there is a letter that William Hayley sent to Cadell, commiserating about Smith's abuse of his generosity. Since we lack many letters from Cadell, Hayley's letter offers a backdoor glimpse into his perspective. Stanton

had discovered this 1793 letter during a research visit to the Cowper and Newton Museum in Olney, U.K.

In order to incorporate these 28 previously-published letters into my project, I first copied them as transcribed by Stanton, Guest, Labbe and Taylor. Lacking access to the originals of all but two (scans of which Dunedin Library in New Zealand supplied), I preserved the transcriptions as published and the editing rubric those authors already employed. To these letters, I applied the same normalizing practices that I did with the holograph letters.

3. Dates

For letters that Smith did not date herself, I tried to supply a date based on internal and external evidence. A former (volunteer) archivist for the Preston Manor Museum had previously assigned possible dates to the undated Smith letters in the collection that is now housed in the ESRO. In numerous instances, I was able to correct or fine-tune these suggested dates because of the greater body of material I had to work with. Dates not provided by Smith herself are placed in square brackets.

4. Headings and Postscripts to Letters

I have divided the letters into seven discrete sections, categorized by year. Ahead of each section I summarize and contextualize the letters as a group. Ahead of each letter I name the addressee (e.g., “To Thomas Cadell, Sr.” or “To William Davies”—Cadell’s assistant). When Smith did not name her addressee in the letter or

on the envelope, then I place his name in square brackets (e.g., “[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]”).

For each letter, before Smith’s greeting, I supply the location and the date of the letter, if she did not do so herself. When she did not date her letters I assigned one and placed that information within square brackets. Sometimes Smith identified her location above the greeting of the letter. Sometimes, as the image below illustrates, a location is stamped on the envelope (here, PETWORTH). When a letter lacked both, I either used internal evidence to assign a location, or, if a location could not be determined, I left one out. I moved all of this information flush left and onto one line in order to make this collection uniform and clear.



The address and postal markings from a letter Smith sent Cadell on 9 Mar. 1794 (Letter 99)

After each letter, I identify that letter’s current location information (current as of Summer 2012). If I discovered the letter in an article or a book, I give due credit to the source. If I was able to track down the provenance of the letter, I gave that information as well. Finally, I transcribe the address and postal information

from the envelope (if there is one). Sometimes the postal markings include the post city name in all caps (e.g., “BRIGHTHELMSTONE”—which was Brighton), followed by the date stamped in a circle, with a two-letter abbreviation for the month. For example, the date “13 JA [17]91” represents “13 Jan. 1791.”

The majority of the letters come from the East Sussex Record Office (ESRO), which acquired them from the Preston Manor Museum. At Preston Manor, Thomas-Stanford’s entire 3,000-piece collection had been organized and numbered by a previous curator, and the 98 Charlotte Smith letters were identified as “L/AE/1-98.” When the ESRO accepted them into its archives, it modified this numbering system to BH/P/L/AE/1-98, the identifications used in this dissertation. The “BH” reference derives from the ESRO’s system of identifying records that were allocated from the Brighton/Hove City Council, and the “P” signifies that they came from Preston Manor.¹

5. Annotation

In my annotation, I attempted to identify every person, title, place, and obscure term Smith mentions, illuminate the personal, historical, and literary allusions Smith makes, and point to other letters within the collection pertinent to the letter at hand. Despite my best efforts, the identity of some people have been lost to history, especially various tradesmen to whom she owed money and some of the subscribers she lists. Those figures who loom large in her circle of family, friends,

¹ Andrew Bennett, “Charlotte Smith,” Message to Emily M. Brewer (27 Apr. 2012), E-mail.

and connections I have described in greater detail in the Biographical Notes, located in the Appendix.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF LETTERS

Part I. (1786-87)					
Letter Number	Date	Location	Addressee	Library or Collection	Pg.
Letter 1	20 Dec. 1786	Woolbeding	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	69
Letter 2	03 Jan. 1787	Woolbeding	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	71
Letter 3	14 Jan. 1787	Godalming	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	73
Letter 4	09 Feb. 1787	[London]	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	74
Letter 5	03 June 1787	Woolbeding	Cadell, Sr.	U Penn	75
Letter 6	17 June 1787	Woolbeding	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	77
Letter 7	15 Aug. 1787	Wyke	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	79
Letter 8	22 Sept. 1787	Wyke	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	81

Part II. (1788)					
Letter Number	Date	Location	Addressee	Library or Collection	Pg.
Letter 9	14 Jan. 1788	Wyke	Cadell, Sr.	Princeton	88
Letter 10	7 Feb. 1788	?London	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	90
Letter 11	18 Feb. 1788	London	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	91
Letter 12	Winter 1788	London	Cadell, Sr.	Bodleian	93
Letter 13	3 Apr. 1788	Chichester	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	94
Letter 14	7 Apr. 1788	Chichester	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	96
Letter 15	Spring 1788	?	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	98
Letter 16	15 Apr. 1788	Chichester	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	99
Letter 17	16 Apr. 1788	Chichester	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	101
Letter 18	9 Sept. 1788	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	102
Letter 19	[?16 or earlier, Dec. 1789]	[?London]	Davies	ESRO	103
Letter 20	17 Dec. 1788	Wyke	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	105
Letter 21	19 Dec. 1788	Wyke	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	107
Letter 22	29 Dec. 1788	Wyke	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	108

Part III. (1789)					
Letter Number	Date	Location	Addressee	Library or Collection	Pg.
Letter 23	13 Jan. 1789	London	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	114
Letter 24	27 Jan. 1789	London	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	115
Letter 25	3 Feb. 1789	[London]	Cadell, Sr.	Huntington Library	116
Letter 26	6 Mar. 1789	London	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	117
Letter 27	9 May 1789	London	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	118
Letter 28	?May 1789	[London]	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	121
Letter 29	[June 1789]	[?Brighton]	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	122
Letter 30	3 June 1789	Brighthelmstone	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	123
Letter 31	11 June 1789	Brighthelmstone	[Davies]	ESRO	124
Letter 32	23 June 1789	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	125
Letter 33	28 June 1789	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	127
Letter 34	7 July 1789	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	129
Letter 35	1 Aug. 1789	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	131
Letter 36	28 Aug. 1789	Brighthelmstone	[Davies]	ESRO	135
Letter 37	22 Sept. 1789	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	138
Letter 38	13 Oct. 1789	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	139
Letter 39	3 Nov. 1789	Brighthelmstone	Davies	ESRO	141
Letter 40	3 Nov. 1789	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	142
Letter 41	9 Nov. 1789	Chichester	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	144
Letter 42	15 Nov. 1789	Fittleworth	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	145
Letter 43	11 Dec. 1789	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	147
Letter 44	[? Dec. 1789]	?	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	148

Part IV. (1790)					
Letter Number	Date	Location	Addressee	Library or Collection	Pg.
Letter 45	2 Jan. 1790	Brighton	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	153
Letter 46	5 Feb. 1790	New Hall	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	155
Letter 47	19 Feb. 1790	London	Davies	ESRO	157
Letter 48	8 Mar. 1790	Brighton	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	158
Letter 49	11 Apr. 1790	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	160
Letter 50	13 Apr. 1790	Brighthelmstone	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	163
Letter 51	c. 16 Apr. 1790	[?Brighton]	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	166

Letter 52	19 Apr. 1790	Brighton	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	168
Letter 53	13 July 1790	Brighton	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	169
Letter 54	22 Aug. 1790	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	Princeton U. Library	170
Letter 55	8 Sept. 1790	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	Houghton Library	172
Letter 56	28 Sept. 1790	Brighton	[Cadell, Sr.]	Dunedin Library	174
Letter 57	9 Oct. 1790	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	176
Letter 58	22 Dec. [?1790]	Petworth	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	177

Part V. (1791-92)					
Letter Number	Date	Location	Addressee	Library or Collection	Pg.
Letter 59	7 Jan. 1791	[Brighton]	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	185
Letter 60	12 Jan. 1791	Brighton	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	187
Letter 61	21 Jan. 1791	[London]	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	188
Letter 62	12 Feb. 1791	London	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	189
Letter 63	[8 May 1791]	[London]	[Cadell, Sr.]	Boston Public Library	190
Letter 64	8 June 1791	[London]	Davies	Yale U. Library	191
Letter 65	27 July 1791	London	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	192
Letter 66	5 Aug. 1791	London	Davies	ESRO	194
Letter 67	7 Sept. 1791	Brighton	Cadell, Sr.	British Library	195
Letter 68	25 Oct. 1791	Brighthelmstone	Cadell, Sr.	U. of Sussex Library	197
Letter 69	4 Feb. 1792	London	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	199
Letter 70	25 Mar. 1792	New Hall	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	200
Letter 71	6 Apr. 1792	Brumpton	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	201
Letter 72	[Apr. or May 1792]	[London]	Cadell, Sr.	Princeton U.	202
Letter 73	27 July 1792	[?London]	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	204
Letter 74	3 Oct. 1792	[?London]	[Davies]	ESRO	205
Letter 75	[ca. 16 Dec. 1792]	[?Brighton]	[Cadell, Sr.]	Princeton U. Library	206

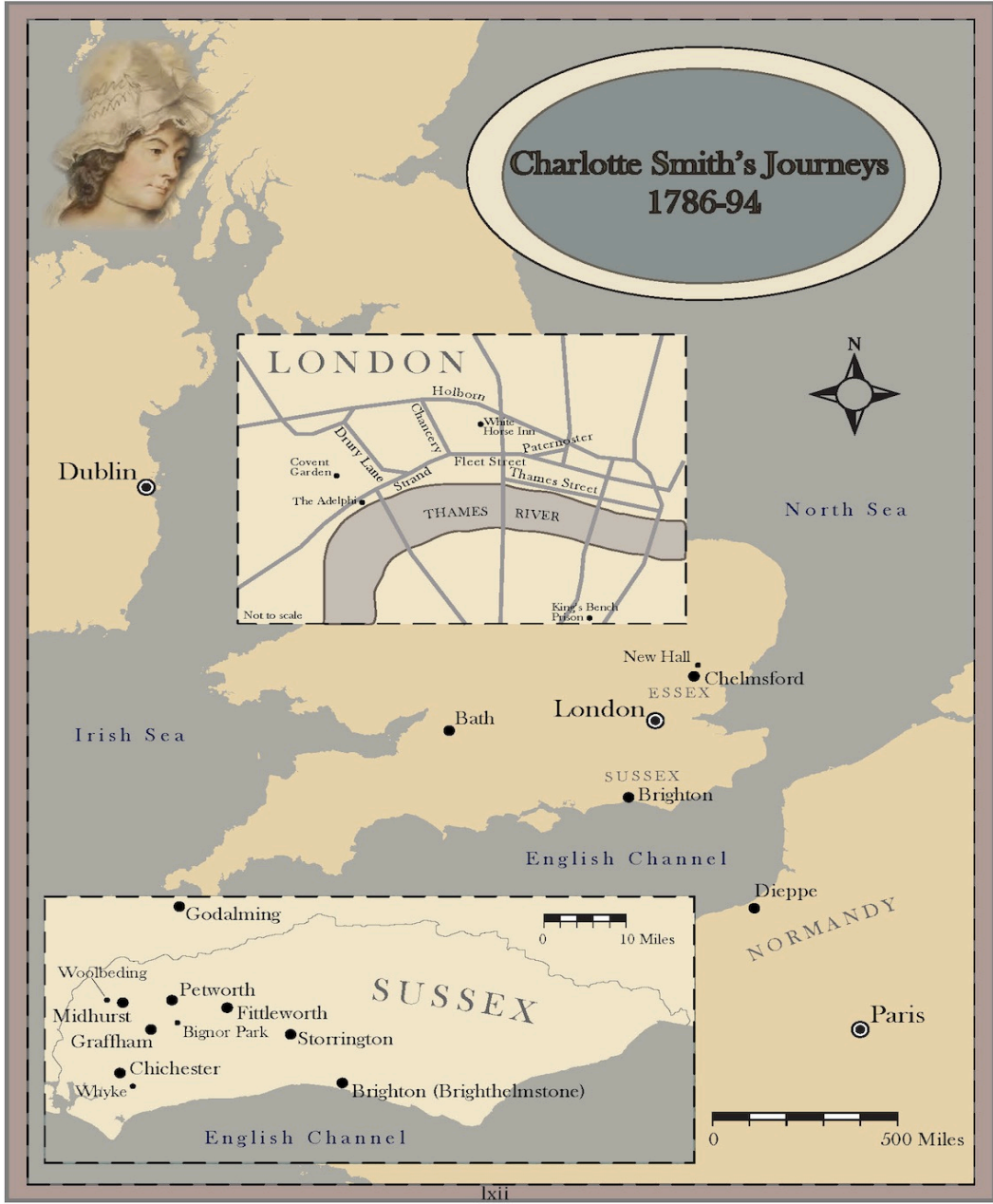
Part VI. (1793)					
Letter Number	Date	Location	Addressee	Library or Collection	Pg.
Letter 76	2 Apr. 1793	[?Brighton]	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	217
Letter 77	14 Apr. 1793	[Brighton]	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	219

Letter 78	18 Apr. 1793	Brighton	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	220
Letter 79	13 May 1793	Brighton	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	222
Letter 80	19 May 1793	[?Brighton]	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	223
Letter 81	21 May 1793	[?Brighton]	Davies	ESRO	224
Letter 82	26 May 1793	[?Brighton]	[Davies]	ESRO	225
Letter 83	[?1] June [1793]	Brighton	Davies	ESRO	226
Letter 84	4 June 1793	[?Brighton]	[Davies]	ESRO	227
Letter 85	2 July 1793	Petworth	Davies	ESRO	228
Letter 86	[?]June/July 1793]	[London]	Davies	ESRO	229
Letter 87	11 July 1793	?	[Davies]	ESRO	230
Letter 88	15 July [1793]	[London]	Davies	ESRO	231
Letter 89	13 Nov. 1793	Storrington	[Davies]	Bodleian	232
Letter 90	16 Dec. 1793	Storrington	[Cadell, Sr.]	Penn State U.	233

Part VII. (1794)					
Letter Number	Date	Location	Addressee	Library or Collection	Pg.
Letter 91	3 Jan. 1794	Storrington	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	241
Letter 92	13 Jan. 1794	Storrington	Davies	ESRO	242
Letter 93	14 Jan. 1794	Storrington	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	244
Letter 94	26 Jan. 1794	Petworth	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	246
Letter 95	26 Jan. 1794	Storrington	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	248
Letter 96	12 Feb. 1794	Midhurst	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	250
Letter 97	23 Feb. 1794	Storrington	[Cadell, Sr.]	ESRO	251
Letter 98	4 Mar. 1794	Storrington	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	253
Letter 99	9 Mar. 1794	Storrington	Cadell, Sr.	Dunedin Public Library	255
Letter 100	12 Mar. 1794	Storrington	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	258
Letter 101	13 Mar. 1794	"on the road"	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	259
Letter 102	16 Mar. 1794	Storrington	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	260
Letter 103	26 Mar. 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	263
Letter 104	31 Mar. 1794	Bath	Cadell, Jr.	Princeton U. Library	265
Letter 105	4 Apr. 1794	Bath	Davies	Princeton U. Library	266
Letter 106	17 Apr. 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	267
Letter 107	18 Apr. 1794	Bath	Davies	ESRO	269

Letter 108	28 Apr. 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	271
Letter 109	30 Apr. 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	272
Letter 110	4 May 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	274
Letter 111	9 May 1794	Bath	Davies	Huntington Library	276
Letter 112	11 May 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	277
Letter 113	14 May 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	279
Letter 114	20 May 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	ESRO	280
Letter 115	11 June 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	Yale U.	281
Letter 116	22 June 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	Yale U.	282
Letter 117	25 June 1794	Bath	Davies	Yale U. Osborn Collection	284
Letter 118	8 July 1794	Bath	Cadell, Jr. and Davies	Yale U. Osborn Collection	286
Letter 119	18 July 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	Yale U.	287
Letter 120	22 July 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	Yale U.	289
Letter 121	30 July 1794	Bath	Cadell, Sr.	Yale U.	291

Letters in Appendix					
Letter Number	Date	Location	Addressor/ Addressee	Library or Collection	Pg.
Appendix A-1	18 Dec. 1788	London	Cadell, Sr. to Smith	ESRO	293
Appendix A-2	13 Apr. 1790	London	Cadell, Sr. to Smith	ESRO	293
Appendix A-3	12 Apr. 1793	Eartham	Hayley to Cadell, Sr.	Aylesbury Record Office	294
Appendix A-4	7 Mar. 1794	London	Sewell to Smith	ESRO	295



PART I: 1786-87

“Unknown as I am to you”

-Letter 1

As these letters begin, Smith makes repeated mention of “Mr. Hayley” (see Image 7). William Hayley’s villa in Eartham (see Image 8) is only an hour-and-a-half’s walk to Smith’s paternal estate at Bignor Park. Thus, the geographic setting of Hayley’s home would have reminded Smith of her genteel childhood. In addition to providing a touchstone to her happier past, Hayley became Smith’s greatest literary mentor. It was he who first encouraged her work and who pointed her to Cadell. Earlier that decade, Hayley had contracted Cadell to publish his successful poem, *The Triumphs of Temper* (1781), and in 1786, Hayley provided the ingénue Smith with an introduction to Cadell, his recommendation, and some guidance through the publication process.

In her earliest (extant) letters to Cadell, Smith negotiates the sale and fine-tunes the publication details of two French works that she adapted and translated into English. A number of British women novelists made their living translating works from the Continent. These translations helped Smith make the transition from a published poet to a published novelist. Smith’s facility with the French language aided her during the rough winter of 1784 when she was marooned in

Normandy. Her dissolute husband had exiled himself there after his release from debtors' prison, and while there she had entertained herself and others by translating French works.¹ Already fluent in French, Smith likely grew more proficient during this period as she picked up idiomatic French from native speakers, thus helping to make her translations more nuanced.

Any correspondence to Cadell preceding this collection might have chronicled the troubled publication history of her first translation: that of the Abbé Prévost's 1731 short novel, *L'Histoire du Chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut*. Since no letters to or from Cadell before 1786 have been found, the story we have comes from the memoir of Smith's life that her sister, Catherine Dorset, published more than 20 years after Smith's death.² According to this memoir, Smith offered this translation to Cadell in 1785, and he agreed to publish it as *Manon L'Escaut: or, The Fatal Attachment*. However, after eminent literary critic George Steevens both chided Smith for the book's immoral story about two cohabitating lovers and also pointed to two other preexisting English translations of the same work, Cadell supposedly feared for his reputation, and Smith withdrew hers from publication.³ Soon thereafter, the novel appeared anonymously in a two-volume book and in the June 1786 *Gentleman's Magazine*.

¹ See Cheryl Turner, *Living by the Pen*, pp. 122-23, for a discussion of other contemporary women who made translations, and Jennie Batchelor, *Women's Work: Labour, Gender, Authorship, 1750-1830* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2010).

² See Catherine Dorset, "Charlotte Smith," in Walter Scott, *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1827), Vol. 4, pp. 20-71.

³ The fullest treatment of this novel's history is Michael Gamer's Introduction to the Pickering Master's *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, Vol. 1, ed. Gamer: *Manon L'Escaut: or, The Fatal Attachment* (1786) and *The Romance of Real Life* (1787) (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), pp. xxix-xxxvii. Hereafter, references to this edition will be cited as Gamer.

The letters collected in this dissertation begin as Smith is starting the publication process of a second translation project. In writing *The Romance of Real Life*, Smith drew from two different French compilations of legal case histories, both called *Causes Célèbres et Intéressants* [*Celebrated and Interesting Cases*], one by François Gayot de Pitaval (published 1735-44) and a later one by François Richer (published 1772-88). In this second translation project, Smith adapted legal histories into narratives of romantic fiction, selecting only those cases that showcased the victimization of women in the legal process. In repackaging Pitaval's and Richer's works, Smith wielded greater freedom and originality, and Cadell published her three-volume novel in 1787. In her preface, Smith concedes that this work was a kind "from which little fame can arise to its author," but admits her hope to be a published author of this genre. She also conveys her hope that a collection of stories based on "authenticated facts" can offer "an interesting lesson of morality."⁴ Clearly, she learned her lesson after the failure of *Manon L'Escaut*. Smith's *Romance of Real Life* garnered universal critical praise and earned her £330.⁵ The pirated editions that appeared soon after in Ireland and America underscore the limits of British copyright law and the lost income opportunities this weakness created.⁶

In these letters and those in subsequent sections, Smith refers to new editions of her successful *Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays*. Smith had originally

⁴ Charlotte Smith, "Preface," *The Romance of Real Life*, 3 vols. (London: T. Cadell, 1787), in Gamer, ed., p. 129.

⁵ Gamer, p. 125.

⁶ See my Introduction for a history of copyright in eighteenth-century Britain and its impact on Smith.

contracted with London bookseller James Dodsley to publish the first two editions in 1784 and the second two editions in 1786. After she established a connection with Cadell with her translations and with her first novel, *Emmeline*, she contracted with him to publish all subsequent editions of the *Sonnets*. With most new editions, Smith added new poems, thus prompting her to shepherd each edition through the proofing and printing process. In 1787, they began planning the collection's fifth edition—and first subscription edition—which would come out in 1789. The popularity of subscription publishing signaled a shift in the funding of published works from commissioning and controlling noble and courtly patrons to interested supporters and readers who ordered copies up front and who agreed to help promote the work.⁷

Some of the letters Smith wrote in 1786-87 also allude to a three-act Comedy that she wrote and wanted to have staged. Perhaps it was an early draft of the play *What Is She?*, which would be published anonymously in 1799 and which had a short run on stage at the Covent Garden Theatre.⁸ She returns repeatedly in the years of my project to the subject of writing a play. A letter outside this dissertation's collection illustrates her opinions on contemporary drama: "a winter or two more will eradicate the very last remains of real & rational comedy. And that farce, inferior even to pantomime & buffoonery (at which I own I cannot laugh), will

⁷ David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 71-74.

⁸ See Diego Saglia, "'This village wonder': Charlotte Smith's 'What Is She?' and the Ideological Comedy of Curiosity," in *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism*, p. 146.

wholly usurp the Stage.”⁹ Perhaps her delay in finishing and publishing her play was owing on some level to the disdain she had for the farcical dramas that were growing in fashion. Nonetheless, she felt that a play would bring her a steady source of sorely-needed income and thus she held onto this idea for years to come. She requested Cadell’s help in gaining audience with a theater manager, and it was prudent to seek his help. The press and the theater in the late eighteenth century were mutually dependent, since newspapers and periodicals would praise some plays over others, and some performers and theater managers over others.¹⁰ Those who published plays, therefore, had connections to the press and to the theater, both of which would have been invaluable to an aspiring playwright like Smith.

While the years 1786-87 were important to Smith’s evolution as a professional author and novelist, they also marked a major turning point in her personal life. Six months before her first (extant) letter to Cadell, Smith’s 16-year-old son, Brathwaite, had died after a sudden illness. On 15 April 1787, two months after the publication of *The Romance of Real Life*, Smith separated from her husband and made the transition to her new identity as a separated wife and single mother. All of the children chose to live with their mother. At that point, her nine living children included George (age 2); Harriet (age 5); Lionel (age 10); Lucy (age 11); Augusta (age 13); Charles Dyer (age 14); Nicholas (age 16); Charlotte Mary (age 18);

⁹ Charlotte Smith to an unnamed recipient (Feb. 10, ?1788), in Stanton, ed., *CLCS*, p. 15. In his preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1798 and 1802), William Wordsworth also disparaged the “theatrical exhibitions of the country,” which, along with literature, he argued, “have conformed themselves” to the “craving for extraordinary incident.” Britains’ powers of discrimination, he charged, were reduced “to a stage of almost savage torpor.” See Anne K. Mellor and Richard E. Matlak, *British Literature 1780-1830* (Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle), pp. 575-76.

¹⁰ See Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, p. 77.

and William (age 19). Of these, the four daughters and her toddler son were likely at home full time. Lionel and Charles Dyer were away at school at Winchester College. The older sons were preparing to launch careers in the civil service in India. As Loraine Fletcher writes in her biography of Smith, the children “were a formidable charge on her earning ability, especially as she intended to continue their educations as ladies and gentlemen” (88).

Letter 1
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Woolbeding House near Midhurst¹
Dec^r 20th 1786

Sir,

I have from day to day delay'd sending up the Translations from Les causes celebrés of Guyot de Pitaval, and Richard, beleiving I should be in Town myself, and have it in my power to wait on you with them; I now find that I cannot (on account of my Boys being at home for the Holydays, and for other reasons) leave this place till the 5th or 6th of January. But as you may possibly prefer having the work in question immediatly, I will send up the manuscript which has been long finish'd and fairly transcribed on hearing from you that you wish me to do so, rather than delay it till my journey to Town takes place. I am glad of an opportunity to make this enquiry, as it gives me occasion at the same time to assure you of my lively sense of your very liberal and obliging behaviour in regard to this matter, to which M^r Hayley fail'd not to do justice. Unknown as I am to you, I can only impute it to your attention to his opinion and recommendation, and to your own candour and liberality. I trust that I shall not be oblig'd to intrude on you, for payment, much, if at all, before the usual time, and I hope that the Books will not disappoint the expectations which M^r Hayley's idea of them may have rais'd.

The Preface is yet to [be] writ[ten]. The reasons M^r Hayley² has given, oblige me to release him from his very friendly offer of doing it for me. But as I think Jacques has told me on other occasions that the Preface is always printed last, the other Manuscript need not remain longer in my hands on that account.

What I have done are Eleven Causes—and as near as I can guess they will make four hundred and fifty pages of Letter press, or thereabouts—which I apprehend will be contain'd in three small volumes, about the size of *Tristram Shandy*—or *Lady MW Montague's Letters*,³ which was the size originally propos'd by M^r Hayley—and such as I suppose he spoke of to you. If however you think that more will be requisite to such Volumes than the quantity I have named, you have only to say so, and I will add another Cause (as I beg you will beleive that my wish is, to make not only the quality but the quantity adequate to your expectations, and to the liberal price you have offer'd).

¹ Woolbeding is a village in West Sussex, one mile northwest of Midhurst. See the map. After returning to England from Normandy, Smith and her children settled at the colonnaded, seventeenth-century Woolbeding Hall in 1785. After living here, Smith decided to leave Benjamin Smith. See "Woolbeding," *Oxford Guide to Literary Britain & Ireland*.

² Smith's friend and literary champion, William Hayley. See Biographical Notes.

³ Laurence Sterne's novel *Tristram Shandy* (1759-67) appeared in nine volumes. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) wrote her *Turkish Embassy Letters*, which were published just after her death, while stationed in Istanbul with her British ambassador husband.

I have in my hands a Comedy of three acts with Songs, which I have reason to think would be well receiv'd on The Theatre—but of the Managers, I know nothing, and am discouraged from applying to them by various accounts I have receiv'd of their conduct towards dramatic Authors. The fear of ill success has prevented my naming this performance even to my best friends that I may at least escape the mortification incident to a failure at The Theatre, should it happen. But I am sure I may entrust you with my wishes to have it accepted by one of the Theatres.⁴

If you are known to the Managers or Proprietors of either, your assistance towards obtaining a reception, could hardly fail of procuring it—Your early answer to the questions I have herein troubled you with will very much oblige, Sir.

your most Ob^t humble Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

Courtesy of The Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton and Hove, Thomas-Stanford Collection on deposit at East Sussex Record Office. (Hereafter, ESRO). BH/P/L/AE/1.⁵ Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: MIDHURST: 22 DE [1786].

⁴ The play *What is She?*, which Longman and Rees published in 1799, has been attributed to Smith.

⁵ The majority of the letters in this dissertation are currently archived at the East Sussex Record Office (ESRO) in Lewes, U.K., a township just north of Brighton (where Charlotte Smith lived off and on from 1789-1795). The ESRO's identification system tags each of its Charlotte Smith letters "BH/P/L/AE/1-98." Subsequent letters from the Thomas-Stanford Collection will be identified "ESRO" along with its location tag.

Letter 2
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Woolbeding near Midhurst, Jan^y 3rd 1787

Sir

I am extremely oblig'd to you for your letter of the 1st Jan^y and in consequence of your most friendly offer of taking the Manuscript Play to M^r Harris,¹ I should have forwarded it to you by this conveyance—had I not (perhaps too impatiently) applied to a friend to speak to M^r Linley²—till I receive whose answer I cannot send it up—Not hearing from you, I apprehended you was in the Country, and might not return till next week for this is generally considered as part of the Xmas recess and as the Season is so far advanced, & I know the Managers have frequently refus'd plays merely because they could not get them up in time, I was anxious to get the matter put upon a certainty as early as possible—Since I have received your letter I repent of my precipitancy as I should have been extremely glad to have availd myself of your very obliging offer; and am sure that your name, would have given the attempt a value with M^r Harris, which it may not otherwise possess—

It is more than probable that I may still request of you this very great favor—for such I consider it. But I greatly fear that the lateness of the Season and the New pieces that are already in rehearsal will prevent my success—I mean in regard to its being received—Hitherto the Plays produced this Season do not I think seem likely to keep their places for the remainder. As soon as I hear from the gentleman to whom I have written, which will be probably by Sundays frost; I will again trouble you on this subject.

I now send the two first Volumes—of “The Romance of real life”—They will each contain five causes; and I think as they are now arranged, they will make 2 volumes considerably larger than the books I named—Of this you will be enabled to judge on casting your eye over them. The encreas'd size will make it necessary for me to add two more to the last Volume, which however shall be ready before these are out of the Press—indeed I hope in about a fortnight to wait on you myself with the residue; before which time I imagine it will not be wanted—Some of them have been corrected by M^r Hayley; others by M^r Sargent,³ + some have faild of any other correction than my own, for want of an opportunity to get at my friends—However I beleive they are tolerably correct; and that the Transcriber of most of them, has written them with fidelity—The two done by a female friend are perhaps less so; but M^r Sargent assures me that verbal errors will be corrected at the press; and the

¹ Thomas Harris (1742-1820) was Proprietor and Stage Manager of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, until 1778, when he acquired the King's Theatre.

² Thomas Linley the elder (1753-1795) managed Drury Lane Theatre in London from 1774.

³ John Sargent. See Biographical Notes.

painting, much better perform'd there, than I could do it—I have therefore given less attention to that object, than I should otherwise have done.

If these three volumes should answer the sanguine expectations form'd of their success by my Friends Mr Hayley and Mr Sargent, I may perhaps go on with the Recueil⁴ tho I think it likely that the Translators of French books who seem somewhat at a loss for Originals, will if the books sell, glean also in the field of the <Messieurs> Guyot de Pitaval and Richard; However I beleive there is enough for several performers; and some subjects that I shall by no means envy them—I cannot say that I prefer being engag'd in Translations at all; but as I can do them when surrounded with my children and amid the interruptions unavoidable in so large a family; when I could not possibly disengage my mind enough for original composition; it amuses, without fatiguing me; and is at least doing something—

Be so obliging as to acknowledge by the Post the receipt of the parcel containing the two first Volumes; and let me know wether you think them now, likely to make when printed, Books of the size you wish them to be?

I am, Sir

your most obed^t + oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

I hope to pass part of next week at Eartham⁵; but if you are so good as to write by an early post, how far the manuscript accompanying this, answers your expectation as to quantity, I shall be at home till Sunday and shall hear before I go—⁶

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/2. No address or postmark.

⁴ Collection or miscellany, i.e., the collection of French case histories titled *The Romance of Real Life*.

⁵ William Hayley's villa at Eartham, in West Sussex, became a retreat for writers, including Smith. The village of Eartham is eight miles northeast of Chichester. See the map.

⁶ As Letter 3 indicates, Cadell did not reply to this request.

Letter 3
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Godalming, Jan^y 14th 1787¹

Sir,

I had the pleasure of writing to you on Thursday sevenight and sending up the Two first Volumes of the “Romance of real Life”—Not having heard from you acknowledging the receipt, I should apprehend some <errors> in the delivery, did I not rather imagine you was out of Town—I am now on my way to London where I propose being tomorrow evening—Mean time I think it may be necessary to inform you that presuming on the indulgence M^r Hayley said you was willing to allow me, I have drawn on you for twenty pounds in favor of M^r W^m Tipper—but as I have asked it tomorrow the 15th and made it payable at a month, I hope it will not much encroach on the customary time of payment. This is in truth a liberty I should not have taken at all; and which I take now with infinite reluctance; But some very disagreeable and unforeseen circumstances have occasion’d my exceeding my income this year, in consequence of which I applied to my Trustees for a loan from my own Money, to which with the advice of their Counsel they at first consented; but when I was on the point of drawing on them for the Sum, and indeed had promis’d it to my Tradesmen with whom I meant to settle at Christmas; one of the Trustees from some strange caprice, demurr’d—and will not now consent till he has seen me and the other Trustees together and as he is a Man whose rank and power put him in a situation to be very useful to my family²; and as he is very nearly related to M^r Smith, I must not attempt to argue with him on this sudden alteration of his sentiments, by Letter; but hope on seeing him to prevail on him still to oblige me—I shall take the first moment after I have settled that business to wait on you—and probably to avail myself of your obliging offer relative to M^r Harris.³

I am Sir

your most hble & Ob^t Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/3. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark GODALMING. 15 JA [1787].

¹ Godalming, located in Surrey, is about halfway between Chichester and London. See the map.

² Likely John Robinson, the Trustee who was married to Richard Smith’s stepdaughter. Smith sparred with him for years, sensing that he actively worked to obstruct the inheritance her children were due. See Biographical Notes.

³ Cadell has offered to introduce Smith to London stage manager Thomas Harris, so that she can show him her play.

Letter 4
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[London, 9 Feb. 1787]

M^{rs} Smith¹ presents her compts. to M^r Cadell—Is infinitely oblig'd to him for his very friendly application to M^r Harris²—who is consequence of it, and of another of his acquaintance making the same request, was kind enough to see M^{rs} Smith this morning at her lodgings³—To him, she has deliver'd the manuscript, therefore does not trouble M^r Cadell with it; and has at present only to repeat her thanks, for his repeated attention on this business—Attention, for which she shall in every event consider herself, as particularly indebted to him—

Feb^y 9th 1787.⁴

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/4. No address or postmark.

¹ One of her elder daughters—likely Charlotte Mary—wrote this letter for Smith, as we can tell from the third-person voice.

² Thanks to Cadell's introduction, Smith has met with London theater manager Thomas Harris and has given him her three-act comedy.

³ This letter has no postmark, but we can surmise from this detail that she is in London. On a related note, the eighteenth-century home provided a venue for business dealings. See Jennifer Golightly, *The Family, Marriage, and Radicalism in British Women's Novels of the 1790s* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2012), pp. 25-28.

⁴ On the back of the folded letter, there is a note, probably penned by Cadell's assistant, saying, "Feb^y 9. 1787. / Mrs. Smith / abt her play."

Letter 5
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Woolbeding, 3 June 1787]

Sir,

Many of my friends and several persons of high fashion have express'd a wish that the Edition of Sonnets which I have some time meditated may be publish'd with plates by subscription.¹ And indeed I find the expence of good plates (and with no other should I be satisfied) is so great that I cannot otherwise engage in such a work without hazarding the profit of the Edition which at present I am so circumstanced as to be unable to do—With such illustrious Patronage² as has (unsolicited) been offer'd me, it would perhaps be a failure of my duty to my family and yielding to the suggestions of ill-placed pride if I refusd to take advantage of the offers of my friends and the good opinion of the public. I wrote to M^r Sargent³ while he was in Town on this business and requested the favor of him to see you upon it, Which I believe he did, but tho I have seen him once since his return into Sussex, we were so entirely occupied by the relation of other business which he was so good as to negociate for me that he did not tell me whether he had had any conversation with you and wether it would be agreeable to you to take in the subscriptions if the scheme is carried into execution.

I purpose to add other Sonnets and two or three longer poems, the whole forming a pocket volume, printed on fine paper with four or six plates At half a Guineau.⁴

M^r Gardner,⁵ who is known particularly to some of my friends, I mean also to engage to open a book for the subscription unless You object to any second place being named for that purpose.

As I intend keeping the subscription open till after Christmas, It will give time for the plates to be well executed and for the yet unprinted poems to appear in as correct a state as possible And will also give my friends opportunity to exert themselves for me with effect.

¹ The latest edition of sonnets (the 4th edition, published by James Dodsley in 1786) had contained thirty-six sonnets. This fifth edition she is proposing would be published by Cadell as a subscription edition in 1789, entitled, *Elegiac Sonnets, by Charlotte Smith. The Fifth Edition, with Additional Sonnets and Other Poems*.

² A number of nobility subscribed to this edition.

³ John Sargent, a mutual friend of Smith's and Hayley's. See Biographical Notes.

⁴ The edition would include an additional twelve sonnets, four other poems, and five engraved plates (three drawn by Richard Corbould and two by Thomas Stothard), engraved by John Milton, James Neagle, J. Thornthwaite, and James Heath.

⁵ Henry Lasher Gardner (d. 1808), bookseller, kept a shop opposite St. Clement's Church in the Strand.

I shall be greatly oblig'd to you to let me know wether you will allow me to name your house as the first where the subscriptions are to be paid. And any information you will give me as to the proper manner of conducting this matter will extremely oblige me.

By the time I have your answer, I hope to have seen M^r Hayley, without whose concurrence and assistance I do not mean finally to conclude on it. But a variety of untoward circumstances have prevented my reaching Eartham since his return.

I am, Sir,
your ob^t & oblig'd Ser^t,
Charlotte Smith

Woolbeding, June 3rd 1787

I beg to know whether a Manuscript which I wish to submit to your perusal in the course of a fortnight or three weeks should be forwarded to London?⁶ The first volume waits only the Transcriber and by that you will, I apprehend, be able to judge wether you will purchase the copy.

University of Pennsylvania MS. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: Place not clear. 5 JU [17]87. See CLCS, pp. 11-12.

⁶ In her footnote to this point, Stanton conjectured that Smith was referring to *The Romance of Real Life* (1787), marshalling evidence from a February 1788 letter to London publisher George Colman, in which she wrote, "seeing that Emmeline was only begun in September & in the press the middle of January following" (CLCS, p. 15). If she is indeed referring to *Emmeline* here, Smith must have misremembered—or misrepresented—the month she began it. In any case, the manuscript she is inviting Cadell to peruse here is not *The Romance of Real Life*, which these hitherto unpublished letters tell us has already been sent to the press.

Letter 6
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Woolbeding, 17 June 1787]

Sir

By tomorrows coach I shall send up the receipts signed—I have not yet seen the proposals, but having had many applications for them, will trouble you to send me down some by the earliest Coach after the receipt of this together with a set of “the Romance of Real life”—which I have not yet seen—I have the satisfaction of hearing a very good account of its being esteem’d, from some friends who have a large literary acquaintance; & hope the sale will answer the expectations form’d of it—In regard to the Novel of Manon L’Escout of which you were so obliging as to become the publisher, Jacques¹ informs me it has had but a very indifferent sale hitherto—I wish something could be done to get off the bulk of the remaining copies—as I have not yet receiv’d any thing for the trouble it cost me and particularly want the money at present.

As you are no stranger to the peculiarly distressing circumstances of my situation, I scruple not to tell you that my friends are very solicitous to place the money that may arise from the publication of the Sonnets² by subscription, in the stocks, for the benefit of my younger children who being born since their grandfather’s death have no provision under his will³—But M^r Smith either by himself, or by power of attorney (which he has left in the hands of a person who seems dispos’d to make no good use of it;) may take from you any Sum you may have receiv’d or will hereafter receive on this account; for as the Subscription is open and notorious you cannot by any means prevent his coming at the knowledge of its amount; and it may at any time be liable to him—For this reason some method must be thought of; by which, when it amounts to a Sum of any consequence, it must be paid into some persons hands and I must give you my receipt for it——I do not know that either himself or his attorney will take so cruel and unjust a measure; but, as I have much to fear from the present conduct of both, I am unwilling to leave any thing in their power—At your leisure I beg the favour of a line on this subject—and if not too much trouble, shall be much oblig’d to you to let me know what number of names you have yet receiv’d—

One of my friends informs me she has directed near fifty to be sent—And I have receiv’d assurances of the execution of the rest—Be so good as to send a parcel

¹ Printer Dennett Jacques. See Biographical Notes.

² Smith’s *Elegiac Sonnets*, as Romantic-period author Anna Laetitia Barbauld would later recall, “were universally admired” and “fixed at once [Smith’s] reputation as a poet of no mean class.” See Barbauld’s introduction to *The British Novelists* edition of *The Old Manor House* (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1810), vol. 36, p. iii. Smith published nine editions.

³ George, Harriet, and Lionel.

of the proposals to Edmund Boehm Esq^{re} Chatham Place⁴—To William Lucas Esq^{re}—Broad Street—And to M^r Horson—Exchange Alley Cornhill—To M^{rs} Reynolds—No 1. Quality Court Chancery Lane—And to M^{rs} Smith Islington⁵ (Upper Street near the Church)—M^r Golding Green Street Bedford Row—Edward Ind Esq^{re} Cambridge—The Rev^d Philip Griffin Warnford Hampshire (on the Gosport road)—And to send me two or three dozⁿ for this County⁶—I am Sir

your most ob^t & oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

Woolbeding—June 17th 1787.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/5. Address: Mr. Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: MIDHURST. 18 JU [17]87.

⁴ Attorney Edmund Boehm. See Biographical Notes.

⁵ Lucy Towers Smith was Smith's maternal aunt and also her widowed mother-in-law. With the exception of her and Edmund Boehm, the individuals listed here are not further identified and were not among the subscribers for the sixth, subscription edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

⁶ Woolbeding is in the county of Sussex.

Letter 7
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Wyke, Chichester, 15 Aug. 1787]

Sir

By my hav^g receiv'd no answer from M^r Robinson notwithstanding his promise to write to me¹, And from the extreme prejudice my Son² would have receiv'd by being kept longer at home I have been compelled to draw on you for the 2nd ten pounds g^s—which I hoped to have avoided—But it was not possible for me to do so, as I was advised to send the Boy to M^r Knox's at Turnbridge³, where entrance & many other expences immediately occur'd—& however I may distress and prejudice myself, I must endeavour to repair to the children as much as possible the disadvantage they labour under from their fathers indiscretion—& the dilatoriness to say no otherwise of the Gentleman without whose authority the other two Trustees, however willing to oblige me and <save> them, will not act. My son who is design'd for the Church⁴ and new in his fifteenth year has been cruelly neglected—& I have now kept him at home above a month in hopes that the Trustees would let me have a part of my own money to equip him for school—But after repeated application + long waiting I was oblig'd to have recourse to ~~my own~~ drawing on you; which nothing else should have drive me to.

Perhaps there never was a situation so hard as mine!—But I mean not to trouble you with fruitless complaints.

I understand that there are near an hundred names not yet sent in to you—I have got about twenty not mention'd in the last your Clerk sent. The[y] came principally from Winchester and I fancy money has been receiv'd by M^r Goddard⁵, who if he has not done it, will take the first convenient opportunity of forwarding it to you—I am with great esteem

¹ In *CLCS*, Stanton includes a letter to John Robinson dated 19 Sept. 1875. The letter to which Smith refers here must be missing. Robinson (1727-1802) was one of the trustees to Richard Smith's estate, so assigned because of his marriage to Mary Crowe, Richard Smith's stepdaughter. His indirect relationship to the estate made his trusteeship embittering to Smith.

² Charles Dyer Smith.

³ Tonbridge School was a public school for boys located in Tonbridge, Kent. Founded in 1553, it was one of the most expensive independent schools in Britain for training gentlemen. Vicesimus Knox (1752-1821) was an English essayist, minister, and the school's Head Master.

⁴ Charles Dyer Smith had been designated for the church. She later would lament not having the money to send him to Oxford, the omission making an ecclesiastical career impossible. Instead, then, of assuming the living of Islington that his grandfather's Trust owned and which was intended for one of the sons of Benjamin and Charlotte Smith, he ended up enlisting in the army and sustaining an injury to his leg.

⁵ The Reverend William Stanley Goddard (1757-1845) was at this time *hostiarius*, or second master, of Winchester College, where Smith's son Lionel was studying.

Sir
your oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Wyke Chichester⁶ – August 15th 1787.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/6. Address: Mr. Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: CHICHESTER. 17 AU [17]87.

⁶ Chichester is a cathedral city in West Sussex. Smith had attended school here at age six, and returned in 1787 after her separation. Wyke, located between Aldershot and Guildford, is not far from the Turner family's former estate, Stoke Place.

Letter 8
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Wyke Sept^r 22nd 1787.

Sir

Recent intelligence receiv'd from a friend at Rouen induces me to beleive M^r Smith is returned to England¹—I have not heard from him & his clandestine return bodes me I fear no good—Tho I cannot yet persuade myself he would attempt to take out of your hands any money hold on my account, yet M^r Sargent² whom I yesterday saw, as well as others of my friends are uneasy at it—& M^r Sargent in the absence of M^r Collins³ whom an heavy family misfortune has suddenly call'd to Winchester⁴, desires me to write to you to beg you will as soon as may be convenient pay all the remaining money in your hands, to Mess^{rs} Drummonds⁵, in the name of the Rev^d Thomas Collins⁶—& on your informing me of its amount you shall receive a receipt for the same.

The following persons have paid their subscriptions⁷ to M^r Hayley who sent the amount to me, which M^r Collins who has many other names + sums to add will pay in to the general account, as soon as his present distress will allow him to think of business. M^r Sargent has procured near an hundred whose names I have not yet seen; and M^{rs} Rose between eighty and an hundred, who are also yet unknown to me—You will be so good as to let your Clerk enter the following on the book—as paid to me—

R^t Hon^{ble} Lt Gen^l Burgoyne⁸

¹ Forever fleeing creditors, Benjamin Smith spent much time outside of England—sometimes in France before the Revolution and often thereafter in Scotland.

² John Sargent was a fellow Sussex native whom Smith knew in childhood. They resumed their acquaintance in 1785, and he introduced her to his friend, William Hayley, who would become her primary literary mentor. See Biographical Notes.

³ Mr. Collins was the caring father of Smith's unmarried friend, Charlotte Collins, of Graffham.

⁴ Mr. Collins's daughter has died.

⁵ A banking house.

⁶ Messrs. Drummond was and is an English private banking house, founded in 1717. The Rev. Thomas Collins of Winchester was a tutor.

⁷ Collecting subscriptions for the fifth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* required the coordinated work of several close friends and supporters, including Hayley, Mr. Collins, John Sargent, Sarah Rose, and John Warner.

⁸ The subscription list printed at the front of *Elegiac Sonnets* includes most all of the names Smith includes here, but with the following changes: a Colonel Baily and a Dr. Baily, but no "D. Bayley," the "Late Sir Richard Hoare, Bart.," Henry Hoare, Esq., Henry Hugh Hoare, Esq., and Charles Hoare, Esq., the "Late Jeremiah Meyer, Esq.," and a Miss Milner (but not M^{rs} Milton). Sir Richard Hoare was a banker and the Lord Mayor of London.

D. Bayley
 M^r William Guy
 Sir Richard Hoare 2
 Lady Hoare - 2
 <Orcolt> Hoare - 2 - These were sent by D^r Warner⁹
 Henry Hoare 2 - without any addition to their ~~Christian~~
 Henry Hugh Hoare 2 - names—
 Charles Hoare 2
 W^m Hayley Esq^{re}
 M^{rs} Hayley
 M^r Long
 Jeremiah Mayer Esq^{re}
 M^{rs} Milton
 George Romney Esq^{re}
 David Stevenson Esq^{re}
 D^r Sanden
 Charles Townsend Esq^{re}
 Rev^d D^r Warner

The whole number whose names I have an account of, inclusive of the above, is one hundred + seventy nine—I fancy I have besides them receiv'd from M^{rs} Goodenough¹⁰ & others, names (but not the money) which may not yet have been sent to you—If not too much trouble, will beg to have a list of those sent since the middle of July, when M^r Davies¹¹ forwarded one to me at Little Hampton¹²—(that is, if the encrease is considerable enough to make it worth while)—

I am truly sensible of all the trouble this business must give you; + of your wish to serve me in undertaking it—and am with great esteem—Sir

your much oblig'd & ob^t Ser^t
 Charlotte Smith

M^r Collins who has lost a daughter one of the most deserving Women on Earth & whose having left an infant family makes it yet more distressing, will not I fear be in a situation to attend to any thing very soon but of course Drummonds house with whom he has kept cash many years, will receive it—I hope + believe this is a needless precaution; but if any thing should happen from M^r Smith that should be the occasion of troubling you, even with a disagreeable dialogue with him on the

⁹ Dr. John Warner (1736-1800) befriended William Hayley in 1786 and likely met Smith through him. He had served as the chaplain to the British ambassador in Paris, Lord Gower, before the French Revolutionary Wars made it too dangerous.

¹⁰ Possibly Elizabeth Goodenough, who in 1772 married Samuel Goodenough, then a private tutor in Ealing, Middlesex.

¹¹ William Davies, Cadell's assistant.

¹² Littlehampton [*sic*], UK, is a seaside resort in West Sussex.

subject, I should blame myself for not doing what M^r Sargent + M^r Collins recommended to prevent it. In case of any application from him or his attorney M^r Browne¹³, you will be so good as to say that I have had the money, + you know no more about it. But I dare say you know much better than I do, what ans^r it is proper to give them—

I forgot to add that being much distress'd some weeks ago, in consequence of M^r Smiths having drawn for all my income that he could touch¹⁴, I drew on you for five G^s in fav^r of M^r John Weller—but a few days ago he had not sent the bill in—& I will endeavour to take it up next week, without its appearing in y^e compting house at all.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/7. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: CHICHESTER. 24 SE [17]87.

¹³ Mr. Browne is named in only one other surviving letter: that of Smith to her husband on 19 Feb. 1790, in which she referred to him as "yr friend" (*CLCS*, p. 25). Evidently, Browne was Benjamin Smith's lawyer.

¹⁴ As a *femme covert*, Smith was considered a single legal entity with her husband, and he could claim any property that was hers. She received interest payments twice a year from her marriage settlements, to which he claimed a share, and the income she was now earning for her published works was on his radar.

PART II: 1788

"It is extremely disagreeable to me to solicit this favor"

-Letter 13

In this year, Smith published her first novel: the four-volume *Emmeline, the Orphan of the Castle*. The initial print run of 1500 copies, priced 12 shillings a copy, sold out quickly. Cadell took notice. The anonymous reviewer for the June 1788 *Critical Review*, classifying the novel as part of "a new aera in novel-writing," compared *Emmeline* favorably with Frances Burney's highly-regarded second novel, *Cecilia* (1782): "We might . . . be censured as too easy flatterers, if we said, that this novel equals *Cecilia*; yet we may think it stands next to Miss Burney's works, with . . . little inferiority" (350). The reviewer for the September 1788 *Monthly Review* applauded the novel's "considerable degree of art": "the characters are natural," "the fable is uncommonly interesting," and "the moral is forcible and just" (242). And the reviewer for November 1788 *European Magazine* fawned about the "elegant and natural simplicity" of *Emmeline*, which, he claimed, endeavored to "instruct the mind and improve the heart" (348-49). Jane Austen and Walter Scott would later recall the impact of this novel on them, too.¹ Sensitive to the novel's demand, Cadell hastily ushered it through two more editions before the year's end and voluntarily paid

¹ Stanton, Introduction, *Emmeline*, Vol. 2, *Works of Charlotte Smith*, 14 vols., gen ed. Stuart Curran (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), p. xiv.

Smith even more than originally agreed: about 200 guineas for the first edition.

The success of *Emmeline* emboldened Smith. She must have been tempted to contact other publishers as she tried to assess her own value as a best-selling novelist. For her second novel, *Ethelinde*, Cadell had agreed to pay her the same rate he had paid Burney for *Cecilia*, and even paid her an advance on promised work. She must have felt under-compensated, because, in a 10 February 1788 letter outside of this collection, she confides to London theater manager George Colman that she has “a Novel [*Ethelinde*] absolutely pawned to Cadell of three Volumes.” As will become increasingly clear in her 1789 letters, Smith held up Burney (see Image 9) as her gold standard in the currency of thoughtful women novelists. She unsuccessfully tried to sell Cadell the copyright to *Emmeline*, seeking to milk her cash cow for all she could, but, failing that, did get him to agree to publish a subscription-funded, fifth edition of her *Elegiac Sonnets*, which, along with *Ethelinde*, would come out the following year. Publishing by subscription required her to publicize and collect support and monies—all of which a successful first novel made easier.

Smith’s domestic situation continued to deteriorate in 1788. Of the thirteen letters in this section, only three have been in print before, and the new letters flesh out our understanding of the tumult in Smith’s personal life that spurred her to market her works aggressively. In the 14 January 1788 letter printed here, she describes Benjamin Smith’s abusive nature with unsettling candor. On the lam from creditors, he hustled into her home, and, she reports, “treated me with more than his usual brutality.” It was within Benjamin’s legal rights as a husband to be brutal and to seize her receipts and manuscripts. Still, his threat to extract her earnings

from Cadell himself startled Smith so much that she felt compelled to warn her publisher that her husband had threatened to visit him. It is likely that Benjamin followed through on that threat—so pressed was he for money—and we can only speculate about that encounter. At the end of the year, Benjamin made another visit to her and stole part of her manuscript to *Ethelinde*, which she then had to reconstruct from memory.

Fortunately, she had male friends vouching for her this year—Dr. Warner, Mr. Clifford, William Hayley, John Sargent, Edmund Boehm—but with nine children aged three to 20, all with needs of their own, she had to enlist any help she could get. In these letters, she mentions the cost of the children’s school tuition, fees, and supplies; the expense of outfitting her son Nicholas to join Admiral Lord Hood on his flagship; and an unidentified illness—likely smallpox—that required two of her children to be inoculated. The hoped-for money from their grandfather’s estate increasingly seemed out of reach, and, for the first time, the Trustees raised the specter of Chancery. On top of it all, she briefly lost the use of her right hand—perhaps from the break-neck speed with which she was writing—which in hindsight provides a foreshadowing of the arthritic complaints that will debilitate her more in the coming years. Additionally, Smith’s ailing Aunt Lucy—also her father-in-law’s widow—required assistance this year, so Smith felt herself tugged in all directions.

In the course of managing all of these challenges, Smith made demands of Cadell that even she acknowledged were too much. In Letter 13, she confesses, “It is extremely disagreeable to me to solicit this favor”; and in Letter 16 writes, “I fear is

the case that this matter has been troublesome and inconvenient to you.” Her fear here portends the rupture in their relationship in a few years.

Letter 9
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Wyhe—14th Jan^y 1788

Sir,

The reluctance I ever feel to give you farther trouble—who have already had so much and who have voluntarily undertaken so much on my account—has prevented me mentioning my renew'd apprehensions ab^t M^r Smith's taking the residue of what may be in your hands on my ~~account~~ behalf. But now it becomes necessary for me to inform you that ab^t a month since, he wrote to me to say that, as he had taken his passage to Barbados¹, he beg'd to see his children before he went.

As I could not doubt an assertion so positive and so many of our joint friends to whom he had represented his sorrow at being parted from his "dear Wife and children" thought I ought to comply with this request, I not only assented to it, but instead of sending his children to meet him at the Inn as he suppos'd I should, I hired a post chaise and met him myself in Godalming², desirous not only to convince him I had no malice against him, but to conceal his journey from his numerous creditors in Hampshire and Sussex—concluding he would only stay a day or two and then return to sail for the West Indies.

But I soon found reason to repent my credulous folly. Tho my house is so small & I have eight children at home & am therefore forced to put a tent bed up in my little Book room, he took possession of it & treated me with more than his usual brutality—threatening to sell the furniture, the Books, and every necessary which I have twice saved from the rapacity of his Creditors. This is the situation I have been in for three weeks; yet I have borne it with patience in hopes of obtaining what I at length got him to do, a deed providing out of my fortune for his three Younger children³ born since the death of their Grandfather, who has given to the rest some provision. But within these two or three days a new fit of frenzy has seizd him: he has broke open all my drawers where my papers were, taken away several sign'd receipts for the Sonnets (Of which Heaven knows what use he may make) and foul copies⁴ of many things I am writing, all of which he has taken [away] with him; and he openly declared a resolution of demanding of you the money You hold of mine.

¹ Benjamin Smith, whose parents made their fortune and had their children in Barbados, was returning to his childhood home because his father's trust owned two sugar plantations there—Mapp's and Gay's. The sense in this line is that Benjamin has booked his passage.

² See the map.

³ Smith's youngest children—Lionel, Harriet, and George—were born after their grandfather died in 1776. Richard Smith had made provisions in his will for Charlotte and Benjamin's children, whose futures he worried about given Benjamin's profligacy. For years, Smith worried about the younger children and tried unsuccessfully to convince Benjamin to settle her own personal £7,000 fortune on them. Before she died, she did so herself.

⁴ Foul copies were the rough drafts, with erasures and corrections.

To day he is gone—to London, & there is reason to suppose may make immediate application to you. I now beleive him capable of any thing and therefore, relying entirely on you, beg the favor of you if you have any apprehensions of his having the power to take the money that you will be so good as to pay it into the hands of your own Banker or any confidential friend; and on your informing me that you have done so, I will instantly forward to you a receipt in full of all demands. And I am informed that on your producing Such receipt to M^r Smith he can have no power to molest or trouble you—I shall be extremely uneasy till I hear from you or M^r Davi[e]s⁵ on this matter As he appears careless of every thing & totally regardless of the infamy that must attend such an action. ~~And~~ From his own account he is connected with persons in Town, who are engaged in the desperation of gaming houses, and I know not what—& from such a Man so acquainted, I and my family have every thing to fear.

Conscious of having done for him more than any other person on Earth would have done and in this last instance shewn a foolish reliance on his word which I knew was worth nothing, I am now firmly resolved never again on any pretence whatever to see him & have no longer the least wish to keep terms with him, & I beg that if he calls at your shop as I find he has already done, you will give him no information whatever As to the Sonnets or any thing else.⁶

M^r Duer⁷, whom I have seen only for a moment, informs me that no receipts have been sent to Bull⁸ at Bath where during his (M^r Duers) stay he could have been of great use. He has however interested some friends there for me, and if you will be so good as to let some receipts be sent to Bull, much may yet be done for me.

I hope to hear from you by an early post and Am, Sir,

y^r oblig'd & ob^t hble Ser^t,
Charlotte Smith

General Manuscripts, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. No address or postmark. See CLCS, pp. 12-14.

⁵ William Davies, Cadell's assistant. See Biographical Notes.

⁶ Under British law, husbands had a right to everything their wives earned. The Married Women's Property Act that would reform this law would not be passed until 1870. Therefore, asking Cadell to withhold information from Benjamin Smith regarding her publications (and, thus, expected earnings) placed him in an awkward situation in 1788.

⁷ Rev. Roland Duer was a subscriber to the sixth, subscription edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*. In Letter 46, Smith identifies Mr. Duer as her friend and the brother-in-law of [Samuel] Rose (see Biographical Notes). In Letter 41, she directs Cadell to send "the Bill on M^r Duer" and datelines that letter "Feb^y 9th 10 Days Date, on Rev. Roland Duer, Chichester." Nothing further is known about him.

⁸ Bath bookseller Lewis Bull.

Letter 10
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[?London, 7 Feb. 1788]

Dear Sir

I am much oblig'd to you for your letter and for the friendly attention you have repeatedly shewn—I find Dr Warner¹ and Mr Clifford² have been with you <true> to my troublesome and unfortunate situation[.] And I most readily and thankfully acquiesce in the arrangement which you have together made³—Mr Ferrers⁴ I fancy waits till his arrival in London—If he calls on you to pay the money which I understand he has in his hands—be so good as to let it be sent to the excellent friends who have so kindly undertaken to receive it[.] That which is in the hands (as I apprehend) of Mess^{rs} Sargent, & Boehm⁵—& the produce of considerable efforts made by another friend⁶, which will not be paid till March—I shall likewise deposit with them. I cannot conclude without repeating my thanks for the trouble you have taken, + my concern that it has unavoidably been so much but I hope it will now be limited to Mr Davi[e]s's entering the names & to occasion information of the progress of the business—I write in very great haste—& Am Sir y^r much oblig'd + ob^t Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

7th Feb^y 1788.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/8. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. No postmark.

¹ Dr. John Warner (1736-1800), chaplain to the British ambassador in Paris, Lord Gower, was a friend and supporter of Smith's. He helped recruit subscribers for the fifth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*. For a fuller description of Warner, see Biographical Notes.

² William Morgan Clyfford of Perristone, near Rosee on Wye, was a counselor for Smith in regard to her father-in-law's estate, and a friend and champion. He was married to Smith's unmarried friend, Eliza Maria Clyfford. See Biographical Notes.

³ It seems likely that these friends have worked out an arrangement to shelter Smith's earnings from Benjamin. See Letter 9.

⁴ Possibly Rev. Edmund Ferrers, who was a subscriber to the fifth, subscription edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

⁵ John Sargent and Edmund Boehm. See Biographical Notes.

⁶ Smith may be referring to James Upton Tripp (the steward for Petworth House), or to Rev. Charles Dunster (the rector at Petworth).

Letter 11
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[36 Norton Street, London, 18 Feb. 1788]

Dear Sir,

I have been about ten times into the City in hopes of receiving upwards of two hundred pounds, which belongs to my children, but it is a dividend on a Bankrupt Estate & I am just as near it now as at first—A circumstance very distressing as I had made no provision for the disappointment and have eleven pounds to pay for College furniture & fees for my fourth Boy¹ who is just gone as the foundation at Winchester—My friend M^{rs} Goodenough² has between fifty & sixty pounds of mine in her hands which she has promis'd not to pay till the Sonnets are publish'd. It would however, at least part of it, be much more useful to me now—& if you will advance me twenty five, on a draft on her payable at a month, for which I will allow discount, the Sonnets will then be publish'd, & she will keep her word—The meaning was to keep the money out of the hands of Mr S³—but to reserve it for the Children, + as I need it merely for them, this method can certainly hurt nobody; if you can make it convenient; If not, I will try to get it done at a Bankers, tho I apprehend that method will not be so pleasant to her, as hav^g a draft in y^r hands__

If M^r Smith should apply to you for my present address, pray say that you know not where I am, as I have changed my lodgings + send for my Letters—Be so good also to keep from him as much as possible every thing that relates to any publications—I will make no more attempts, by sacrificing any hard earned money, (as I did almost all I got by Emmeline) to oblige and serve him.⁴

I have the pleasure to tell you I have the most flattering hopes given one by M^r Colman, that my Attempt at Comedy will succeed⁵—Unfortunately much of my time is now taken up in attending on a sick friend—The Widow of M^r Smiths Father; who is also my Aunt⁶—But I hope to go on proportionally farther when my oldest

¹ Lionel Smith.

² Possibly Elizabeth Goodenough, who in 1772 married Samuel Goodenough, then a private tutor in Ealing, Middlesex. Mrs. Goodenough was a subscriber to the fifth, subscription edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

³ Mr. (Benjamin) Smith.

⁴ From Smith's aside here, it appears that Benjamin successfully confiscated her earnings from *Emmeline*. This detail explains why she is so concerned in these early 1788 letters about establishing a system by which to creatively tie up her earnings so that he cannot touch them.

⁵ George Colman, the Elder, a playwright and the former manager of Covent Garden, read and responded encouragingly to an early draft of act one of Smith's play. For her reply letter to him dated 10 Feb. 1788, see Stanton, *CLCS*, pp. 14-16.

⁶ Lucy Towers Smith, Charlotte's maternal aunt and widow of her father-in-law.

girl comes up who writes for me⁷; & who with three little ones, I have not been able to send for for want of money waiting, in daily hopes of receiving what I now perhaps may not receive at all⁸—

I am Dear Sir

y^r ob & oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

36 Norton Street Feb^y 18 [1888]

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/9. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand. No postmark.⁹

⁷ Charlotte Mary often served as Smith's amanuensis.

⁸ I.e., the periodic dividend on the earnings on her father-in-law's estate.

⁹ Smith has hired a courier—or dispatched one of her sons—to deliver this letter from Norton Street in London, where she is staying with her friend Henrietta O'Neill, to Cadell's shop on the Strand.

Letter 12
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[London, winter-spring 1788]

D^r Sir,

I write with extreme difficulty having lost the use of my right hand.¹ Will you be so good as to send to day time enough for y^e Post a Guinea to Fry, Robinson, & Cs to supply my Son at Portsmouth² with his weekly allowance.

I am, d^r Sir,
your humble Ser^t,
C Smith

Norton St [London]
Saturday Morn

Bodleian (MS Montagu d. 10). No address or postmark. See CLCS, pp. 16-17.

¹ Stanton suggests that the speedy composition of *Emmeline* in four months distressed Smith's hand. See Stanton, Introduction, *Emmeline*, p. x.

² Nicholas Hankey Smith, then 16, was to arrive in India in Sept. 1790 to begin work as a writer and clerk in the East India Company. He was appointed to this position in 1788 and thus may still have been in England and stationed in Portsmouth. Fry, Robinson, & Cs are not listed in Kent's *London Directory* or similar sources.

Letter 13
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Chichester] April 3rd 1788

Sir

I wrote to you some time ago—& should have been much oblig'd by an answer to the questions I in that letter troubled you with—I am now compelled to repeat it; because I shall be oblig'd to draw on you for ten Guineas's, which I hope you will be enabled to answer, by having receivd as much as that since you paid the fifty pounds to M^r Clifford¹—Or if not that you will be so good as to advance it to me on account of the Novel, which Jacques² informs me he shall deliver to you towards the end of the week—

It is extremely disagreeable to me to solicit this favor, but M^r Robinson[,] Sir John Dyer & M^r Boehm oblige me to do it.³ After agreeing to continue quarterly to advance me the Sum allow'd out of £3000 of mine in their hands for the support of my three eldest Boys who are in England⁴—They have, in consequence of some disagreement between them and M^r Smith refused the draft I drew for my son Nicholas due y^e 2nd April according to that agreement. Lord Hood after ordering him to join the Southampton in the *Ambuscade*, ~~had~~ has allow'd him to remain in his own Ship as a mark of special favor[.]⁵ But I have twice fitted him out & together with Cloathes sent to him at Gibraltar before I knew of his return, it has cost me above forty Guinea's more than the Sum I re[ceive]^d for his last years allowance.⁶ Now that the Trustees stop that small assistance his whole expences, which in a Flag ship are particularly heavy fall upon me—& their returning the Bill I drew will both to my Son and myself be most distressing—I do not however doubt your readiness to oblige me in it & I will on receiving your ans^r take it up here by another drawn on you—As they (the Trustees as they are called) ~~having~~ have protested and retrieved it—Perhaps there never was an instance of treatment so infamous—Or of a Woman being left to keep eight Children on two fifths of her fortune⁷.

¹ See Letter 10, n1.

² Chichester-area printer Dennett Jacques. See Biographical Notes.

³ Trustees John Robinson, John Dyer, and Edmund Boehm. See Biographical Notes.

⁴ William Towers, Nicholas Hankey, and Charles Dyer.

⁵ In 1788, Britain was enjoying a period of peace between the American War for Independence and the upcoming French Revolutionary Wars. During both of those wars, British Admiral Lord Hood would distinguish himself, not least of which for having mentored Horatio Nelson. The HMS *Ambuscade* was a 32-gun, fifth-rate frigate of the Royal Navy, built in 1773.

⁶ Since joining the Navy would have been like an apprenticeship, Nicholas was expected to purchase his own supplies and clothes, which Charlotte had to underwrite.

⁷ The fortune she inherited from her family was valued at £7,000.

It is at present my resolution to print the circumstances in order to answer a question which has been repeatedly asked—"Why are you with five thousand pounds given on your marriage and two in reversion—left in this situation?"—They have now made me desperate, and I care not what I do to expose them—& beg an answer by the return of the Post—whether you will accept a Bill for 10 G^s—I have enough in your hands to answer it. Or will advance it—I apprehend that you will think it necessary to advertise the Novel forthwith, several of my friends being impatient for its appearance who mean to purchase directly it on its publication. Without meaning to dictate to you, I could wish the advertisement to be—simply thus—"The Orphan of the Castle—A Novel by Charlotte Smith"⁸—Jacques talks of delivering the Books to you on Saturday or Sooner—I apprehend therefore the advertisement cannot be too soon inserted—In hopes of a speedy answer

I am Sir y^r ob^t Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/10. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: CHICHESTER. 4 AP [1788].

⁸ The novel would finally be titled *Emmeline, the Orphan of the Castle*.

Letter 14
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Chichester, 7 Apr. 1788]

Sir

I am obliged to you for your early answer and the accommodation you so readily allow me—Since I wrote, M^r Boehm, not willing I beleive to be exhibited as the Oppressor of a Woman and her Children has directed his Clerk to inform me that he would pay the Bill for my Son¹—But that the Gentlemen (calling themselves Trustees will pay no more—I shall not therefore) immediately want ten G^s—And will do without it at least till the Novel is on Sale, which Jacques informs me to day will begin on Wednesday next—With Sir John Dyer, M^r Robinson and M^r Boehm, I fancy I must have the happiness of a chancery suit.²

I have about seven names to add to the subscription list³—At the slow progress of which I am not surprised as every body has kept back the subscription money since they suppos'd M^r Smith was here⁴—It is however in their hands—And will be paid probably in the course of this month—M^r Hayley wishes the subscription Books to be kept open longer, but I am myself desirous of closing them in June, and proceeding to deliver the Books as soon as the plates⁵ can be done. It is undoubtedly very fit that you should always retain in hand enough to pay the expences of the publication—The additional Sonnets &c will be ready long before the Engravers will finish the two plates that remain

M^r Hayley will probably talk with you farther on this subject—I shall be much oblig'd to you to let Jacques have for me Lewesdon Hill⁶, which has been much recommended to me. Jacques will either pay you for it or not; but he had better pay to avoid complicated & trifling accounts—I find M^r Smiths business was to <desire>

¹ To outfit Nicholas for Lord Hood's flagship.

² The backlog in the Court of Chancery meant that cases moved slowly. Early- to mid-nineteenth-century reforms temporarily relieved the backlog by 1850, but not in time to help the Richard Smith Estate, which was in the trusteeship of John Dyer, John Robinson, and Edmund Boehm (see Biographical Notes).

³ Smith was collecting subscriptions for the 1789 edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

⁴ It is interesting to note that the subscribers were in on the scheme to protect Smith's earnings—here, the subscription money—from Benjamin. It must have been humiliating to Smith to have to acknowledge publicly that she had no legal right to the profit she so clearly earned.

⁵ *Elegiac Sonnets*, fifth edition (1789), included five plates designed by Thomas Stothard (1755-1834) and engraved by James Neagle.

⁶ English poet The Rev. William Crowe (1745-1829) anonymously published the first edition of his poem *Lewesdon Hill* with Oxford's Clarendon Press in 1788.

you would try to procure the three act Comedy which I sent to Palmer⁷ + ab^t which he will give no answer; nor return it. As I have now a chance of making something of it, I wish it could be got—but I dare say I shall never see it again—Having written and sent repeatedly to Palmer to no purpose—I am Sir

y^r ob^t & oblig^d Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

7th April 1788

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/11. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: CHICHESTER. 7 AP [17]88.

⁷ Actor John Palmer had built the Royalty Theatre without a patent. It had opened (for a brief time) in June 1787. Smith must have been desperate to have solicited his assistance, either in staging her play at the Royalty or recommending it to Drury Lane's George Linley. Either way, it appears he never responded to her repeated requests.

Letter 15
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

[Spring 1788]

Sir

If this finds you at home, I trouble you to return me the two (I believe the 3 last) of the new Sonnets, with which I furnish'd you; as an accident by which I lost several other papers (by leaving a green wax candle on the table which lit again + consumed them) has destroy'd the only copies I had, so that I cannot make the alterations I wish without having them to copy.¹ These alterations are in only one instance material, but being suggested by a friend² on whose judgement I have much reliance, I think it better to make them, as I find the Sonnets are not finished—

Do you wish another preface?—

I am Sir y^r obd^t Ser^t
Ch Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/25. [1788] No address or postmark.

¹This account of the papers consumed by the candle reminds readers today of the physical environment in which eighteenth-century writers toiled.

² While she would have relied on the judgment of William Hayley, she is likely not referring to him here since she would have named him, given her and Cadell's mutual connection with Hayley. More likely, she is referring to John Sargent.

Letter 16
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Chichester] April 15th 1788

Sir

I have met your Letter on my way from home and sit down to answer it in great haste. I am sorry M^r Smith should think it necessary to interfere in what he has I conceive no business with¹—But I am so well convinced of the propriety of the dedication he objects to that to put an end to all farther delay I will immediately send it to all the daily papers & periodical publications[.] I apprehend that to Support his children and pay his debts is doing him more real kindness than attending to his caprice—If however he will prove to me that I have suffered nothing from the “the Proud Mans contumely on the oppressors wrong”²—& will publish his proofs in consideration of those personages, (who ever he conceives them to be,) I will embrace the opportunity which I have long waited for, & wished for. Of telling my story to the World, & publishing certain Letters from Great people and little people which shall substantiate and bring home every charge that may be suppos’d to exist in the obnoxious dedication or elsewhere³—Does he think I mean him by the proved han[d] or the Oppressor? & does he not know that I have suffer’d insult and injustice from others besides himself—Insult + oppression I am but little inclin’d to hear patiently—the less perhaps, because I receive from other persons eminent for goodness as well as high rank—such friendship and such regard as makes the contrast more bitterly insupportable.

I will speak plainly—I want nothing of M^r Robinson⁴[.] The only favor I ever asked of him when in the plentitude of his power—he promised me most solemnly—& broke his word—It was a small provision for my Brother⁵ who had

¹ Benjamin Smith has visited Cadell to intercede in the publication of Smith’s charged dedication to *Emmeline* (see Appendix C). This is a fascinating detail because in no subsequent letter is there so clear an allusion to a face-to-face meeting between Benjamin and Cadell. Clearly, both Smith and Cadell learned to avoid dealing with Benjamin in the publication process.

² An allusion to Hamlet’s famous soliloquy in *Hamlet* 3.1.73. In context: “For who would bear the whips and scorns of time, / Th’ oppressor’s wrong, the proud man’s contumely, / . . . / When he himself might his quietus make / With a bare bodkin?” (3.1.72-78). Smith quotes it in her dedication to her children at the front of *Emmeline* and would quote it again in her preface to *Desmond*, again only relying on her slightly imperfect memory of the original.

³ Smith’s desperation upon learning of Benjamin’s attempted interference has prompted her to threaten to publish proofs of the wrongs she has suffered at his hands—as well as letters of testament from her supporters. This was an empty threat; she never published anything of the kind. However, in 1790, she would take this threat one step further. (See Letter 50.) For Smith’s use of dedications and prefaces, see Jacqueline M. Labbe’s introduction to her *Charlotte Smith: Romanticism, poetry and the culture of gender* (New York: Manchester UP, 2003), pp. 1-63.

⁴ Trustee John Robinson. See Biographical Notes.

⁵ Nicholas Turner. See Biographical Notes.

been indiscreet & was <ruin'd>—But for whom thank God Lord Egremont⁶ has since provided. If therefore M^r Smith apprehends he may be offended I care not—He is a great Man, & feels nothing or he would not have suffer'd me to keep eight children for a twelvemonth, because he would not risk the loss of thirty seven pounds, twenty years hence—This cruelty has cancelld every former favor whether real or suppos'd—& I am very sure he cares as little for my publications as for my Letters, where I have so often + so vainly implored pity—And met only brutality. I beg you will not delay the publication another hour[.] It will make no manner of difference finally, for whether it is publish'd with the book or no, it shall go to the daily prints—I am determined—But if M^r Smith dislikes that his children should either be, or appear to be the objects of my attention he may always take those from me who will live with him—

Pray get a set of Emmeline very elegantly bound, & send them immediately thus addressed—To the Hon^{ble} M^{rs} O'Neill at Shanes Castle Ireland⁷—To be left at the Earl of Aylesbury Seymour Place—& forwarded immediately—They are not intended as a present as that would be impertinent—but he desires to have them early—I have ~~drawn~~ & will recommend them in Ireland. I have drawn on you for twelve Guinea's instead of ten[.] The approbation the Book meets with (particularly the address) makes me nothing doubt your speedy reimbursement—I have some copies for my eldest Son—for Charles & Nicholas as I suppose you knew—Therefore the dedication is already generally known—& to suppress it equally useless and impossible—I will in a few days write farther but beg + intreat you will not delay the Books a moment; & in indication of your publishing them without any alteration you are at liberty to shew M^r Smith this Letter—To whom surely you are not accountable—I am Sir y^r most hble + oblig'd Ser^t.

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/12. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: CHICHESTER. [15 AP 17]88.

⁶ George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont. See Biographical Notes.

⁷ Smith's friend Henrietta O'Neill. See Biographical Notes.

Letter 17
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Chichester, 16 Apr. 1788]

Sir

Since I wrote to you yesterday I have had a Letter from a friend whose advice I make it a rule to follow even against my own judgement. He has probably some reason which is unknown to me for wishing me to oblige M^r Smith in this respect. I will therefore consent to suppress the address—But the next thing will be insisting on a share of the profits. I know exactly the consequence of giving way; & by a fatal amenité of temper, am where, and what I am—But be it so—Do not shew this Letter to M^r Smith, but say that I have alter'd my mind, & tho I see nothing in the dedication which ought to offend him[,] make no point of it. but cannot answer that it will not get into the public prints—It certainly will as at least six copies are out—M^r Knox at Tunbridge¹ has seen one & two other friends of mine has the Book with the address which they particularly approved. The delay is above all other things vexatious to me—M^r Smiths smaller creditors worry me for money—And I have his whole family to help, the two younger of whom are now under inoculation²—This however name not to him M^r S for it will only open a new source of torment for me—He seems to wish either with or without me to drive me to desperation—I write both in ill health and in vexation; the latter of which will be much increas'd, if I find, as I fear is the case that this matter has been troublesome and inconvenient to you

I am Dear Sir

your oblig'd & Ob^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

16th April 1788

I suppose you know I have twelve copies—five for my Children—One for myself—And my Brother—One I sent to M^r Smith—another to an unfortunate friend who could not afford to buy it—& the rest go to India to my eldest Son—

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/13. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: CHICHESTER. 17 AP [17]88.

¹ See Letter 7, n3.

² The small pox inoculation was very new and still controversial, but it was supported by Lady Mary. Smith was ahead of her time in adopting this new health precaution for her children; she acknowledges that Benjamin would not support the decision if he knew about it.

Letter 18
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighthelmston Sept^r 9th 1788

Sir

I receiv'd your Letter yesterday. And lose no time in enclosing you a receipt for the amount of Monies r[eceive]^d on account of Emmeline. As I shall find perhaps some difficulty in getting a Bill paid at so long date as a month, I will at present [. . .]¹ which I have in a friends [. . .] hav^g business to do with a Gentleman in the Law who is here which relates to my childrens affairs; + partly by the repairs which my Landlord found it necessary to do to my Cottage & which by his hav^g pull^d down part of the stair case prevents my staying in it—My children will be here tomorrow & I shall continue here till I go into Essex the time of doing which, I wish so [. . .]²

[Written on envelope in a different hand:] Direct to M^{rs} Charlotte Smith New buildings West—Brighthelmston—

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/14. Letter Fragment. Address: [Cade]ll, Strand, London. Postmark: Illegible.

¹ Some text is cut off from the page here.

² The remainder of the letter is cut off.

Letter 19
To William Davies

[?London, ?16 or earlier, Dec. 1788]¹

Sir

I return you Book together with that I have kept—You will see a great number added, which you will be so good as to put to yours. I send also some loose Sheets which I have written in order to send to those friends who have been the most interested, that before the list is printed² they may see whether all are properly named—These loose sheets may possibly contain some, (so far as they go) which the Book does not—Have the goodness to compare them together & when you have compleated yours, send them down by the Chichester Coach, together with Porteous's Sermons³ & Gray's Letters⁴, which last are particularly necessary to me as something I am writing; And therefore I shall be glad to have them as soon as possible—I have been so extremely hurried that I found it impossible to procure time to call on M^r Cadell—Be so good as to say to him, that observing thus has been a small Sum received since he paid the fifty pounds to M^r Clifford⁵, & retained y^e money for expences, I have drawn on him for six pounds two shillings on that account; in fav^r of M^{rs} Footit no 11 Devonshire Street—As I fortunately did not want immediately all the Money he advanced on the other account, I sent it all but ten pounds, down to the Chichester bank, for being in a course of ill fortune I did not chuse to travel with it: & now upon collecting my bills I find what I retain'd too little to defray them + carry me home—M^r Boehm⁶ informed me that he had ten or twelve Guinea's which together with the names he w^d send to M^r Cadell—When he does so M^r Cadell will be so good either to keep it, or put it into the hands of the Banker who

¹ This letter requests copies of Thomas Gray's works, which she will acknowledge having received on 18 December (see Letter 21).

² I.e., the list of subscribers for the fifth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

³ Beilby Porteus (1731-1809) served as Bishop of Chester, then London. A leading abolitionist, he dedicated 26 years to challenging the Anglican Church's position on slavery and drawing attention to the plight of West Indian slaves; in his time he was almost as well known as William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson. His sermons were widely read. It is interesting that although Smith supported the abolitionist cause—which her interest in these sermons highlights—she was receiving financial support from the two Barbadoan plantations held by her father-in-law's trust, both of which used slaves. See Letter 27 and 37 for references to the imminently-expected arrival of "the sugars." For more information about Gay's Plantation, see Smith's 4 Aug. 1800 letter to William Prescod, detailing the vale of the plantation, including each of its "Negroes," whom she names (*CLCS*, pp. 352-54).

⁴ Thomas Gray's *Journal in the Lakes* was a series of letters to his friend Dr. Thomas Wharton published posthumously for the first time in 1775. Smith's second novel, *Ethelinde*, was set in part in Grasmere, and she needed Gray's travel descriptions.

⁵ See Biographical Notes.

⁶ Trustee Edmund Boehm. See Biographical Notes.

has receiv'd a considerable Sum already for the use of the Children—& to whom I will write to M^{rs} Goodenough to send an address for I do not know it—M^{rs} Olmius⁷ has likewise money to send; which, if I can possibly do without it may be applied in the same way.—I am Sir

your obed^t & oblig'd humble Ser^t
C Smith

When Jacques⁸ applies for the necessary papers for the Sonnets M^r Cadell will be so good as to deliver it, They will be completed for the press in the course of a fortnight. When M^r Carbould⁹ delivers proofs of the two engravings M^r Cadell will of course have the goodness to pay him.

Pray take care of the pieces of paper pinned into the book & return all together.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/40. Address: M^r Davies at M^r Cadells, Strand. No postmark.

⁷ See Biographical Notes.

⁸ Printer Dennett Jacques. See Biographical Notes.

⁹ Probably Richard Corbould, who would supply the drawings for the subscription eighth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* (1787).

Letter 20
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Wyke, Chichester, 17 Dec. 1788]

Sir

As in order to get thro the various difficulties attending my childrens affairs, as well as on other accounts, I find it necessary to settle myself in London, I intend removing my family thither almost immediately—& I hope when I am settled to prosecute with steadiness the plan you obligingly named to me of writing a comedy for the Hay Market Theatre¹. Every consideration of health & advantage urge me to lose no time in quitting this Place, which some unforeseen circumstances have render'd particularly unpleasant to me—But it will require money because I will leave no debts here unpaid & some there must ever be—I have been promis'd an advance by the Trustees, but week after week passes by, & I hear nothing from them—They are great Men and the public business I suppose occupies them. They consider not, that I am losing that time which ought to be employ'd for my family, in fruitless expectation.

My present purpose in addressing you is to know whether you will become the purchaser of the copy right of Emmeline (which will undoubtedly continue for some time productive,) and at what price?—Or if that does not suit you whether you will purchase another Novel call'd *Ethelinde*², which I am about, & which on condition of a certain advance of £60—I would engage to deliver by the 30th of March in three Volumes; Or if the volumes should be more, the price of course to me encreas'd—If this purchase should be agreeable to you I conclude you will agree for the best price usually given p/Volume—advancing the Sum before named—

As I wish very much to be at an immediate certainty in regard to my removal, I must entreat the favour of an answer by the return of the Post.

I do not by any means wish to appreciate my own works, & am persuaded that you need not any information of that sort to awaken your liberality but I do assure you, that had I been disposed to listen to offers from other quarters³, I might have made my own terms for the production in question, or for any other that I would have engaged for—; As during my stay in Town I was applied to by three Booksellers—I answerd all, that you had ever conducted yourself with so much liberality towards me; & I was so perfectly satisfied with your dealing, that I should certainly not engage with any other Person or listen to any proposals whatever—

I shall be glad to receive the Books from M^r Davies as soon as possible, & am
Sir

your most ob. & humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

¹ The third public theater to open in the West End, Haymarket Theatre opened in 1790.

² This is the first known letter in which Smith identifies the title of her second novel.

³ In her attempt to garner a larger advance on *Ethelinde*, Smith suggests to Cadell that she is in demand and could easily engage with another publisher.

Wyke Chichester—Dec^r 17th 1788.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/15. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: CHICHESTER. 18 DE [17]88.

Letter 21
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Wyke, 19 Dec. 1788]

Sir

I have this moment your favor of yesterdays date & I thank you for y^e readiness with which you accede to my proposal—That the advance of the money may as little incommode you as possible, I will make the draught when I have occasion for it, at two months & will delay drawing it as late as possible—Perhaps may be able to do without it for near a Month—I will deliver Ethelinde by the 30th of March on the terms your propose—& each volume to contain as many Pages as Emmeline does on an average. You will recollect, that y^e last is almost twice as thick as any other, or than it ought to be.

I fancy there is a little mistake ab^t y^e money advanced on y^e third Edition of Emmeline. The draught which M^r Hayley re^d of you, (& for which the hurry I was in on leaving London did not allow me to thank you in person) was for fifty pounds I drew afterwards for six pounds, some shillings¹ in fav^r of M^{rs} Footit. But it was only on the strength of observing that upwards of that Sum remaind in your hands on account of the Sonnets, besides that which you originally retain'd. I find M^r Boehm has since paid you ten G^s—which I, not knowing, drew on him for—If he should therefore send the Bill in to you, you will be so good as to pay it. I shall be in London as soon as I can get a ready furnish'd house to suit my purpose, for which I am now enquiring—I hope at all events to be there immediately after the Christmas week—I am Sir

your ob^t & oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Wyke: Dec^r 19th 1788

I purchas'd Cecilia² sometime ago & find it the fifth edition.³ I am far however from supposing that my Book can have equal success, well aware of its inferior merit. I understood however so long ago as when I was at New Hall, that above five hundred copies of the second Edition were sold. Of course, I concluded that by the Month of April it w^d be in a third, & I rather hoped from subsequent circumstances that it was rapidly advancing to that degree of success.

I re^d by the coach last night my last Book from M^r Davies, with Grays works.⁴

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/17. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: CHICHESTER. [19 DE 1788].

¹ In Letter 21 we learn that she drew £50 (instead of £60) at two months (instead of six weeks).

² Frances Burney's second novel, *Cecilia*, was published by T. Payne and Cadell in 1782.

³ Smith corrects Cadell's assertion in Letter 21 that *Cecilia* was in its fourth edition.

⁴ She requested these books in Letter 19.

Letter 22
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Wyke, 29 Dec. 1788]

Dear Sir

I have to day drawn in fav^r of the Bankers here, for fifty pounds instead of sixty, & at two months instead of six weeks—Which I hope will convince you that I mean not to exceed your kind acquiescence—as to the Novel of Ethelinde.—I hope to be in Town on this day <sevensnight> & to proceed to fulfil all of my engagements, as well as to put matters on such a footing with my childrens Trustees as may leave me more at liberty both in mind and money than I have long been—As I am almost too late for the Post I will now only add that I am ever

your oblig'd + ob^t Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

Wyke Dec^r 29th 1788.

If I should want the other ten it will not be for some time.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/18. No address or postmark.

PART III: 1789

"it is [for my children] I work"

-Letter 35

In 1789, Smith's personal finances continued to spiral downwards, compelling her to request unorthodox concessions from Cadell during the summer of 1789 that threatened their author-publisher relationship. In one of her longer letters to him (Letter 26), she confesses her distress "beyond all powers of endurance," her "perpetual fear of wanting money," the "torment of petty duns," the battering of her "faculties," and the impediment imposed by "domestic embarrassments." She despairs of finishing the comedy she began in 1786 in time for the upcoming season, complaining to Cadell that the genre "requires much more attention & contrivance than any other species of writing." In planning a way to finish *Ethelinde*—especially to find money to rent a home in Brighton for the summer—she requests Cadell to advance her 15 pounds. His reply—which we do not have—must have been frosty, because Smith's relationship with him began to deteriorate about that time. In her response to his refusal (Letter 27), she writes, "I am very sorry we do not seem likely to understand each other on the matter." In her subsequent letter to him (Letter 28), she recoils: "You will pardon me if I express some mortification, at the very cold refusal you have given me to an application

which it was indeed sufficiently mortifying to be compelled to make.” In mapping out the decline of their relationship, it is frustrating to have only her letters and not his. However, her letters adequately convey the creative accounting she employed to justify her requests for advances she acknowledges were not customary; she believed and argued the case that extraordinary personal and financial circumstances made her requests reasonable. Furthermore, she dangles in front of him the copyrights of *Emmeline* and *Elegiac Sonnets* and informs him in Letter 32 that she considers herself “at liberty to dispose” of said copyrights “to any person who thought it worth their while to purchase such right.” She recognized the value of her literary property and wanted to place her publisher on alert that she had the power and the right to hawk her property to the highest bidder.

Smarting from the dispute with Cadell, Smith opened up a correspondence in mid-June with rival publisher George Robinson, who would eventually publish her novel *Desmond* in 1792. In her initial letter to Robinson, Smith confides that Cadell “has not acted with kindness” in regard to her financial woes.¹ Cadell had returned a draft for fifteen guineas—unpaid—that she had sent to him, despite the rapid sales of *Emmeline* and the promise of *Ethelinde*. Of course, her expectations that Cadell would forward her monies not yet earned was both unrealistic and highhanded. She declares to Robinson that Cadell’s refusal “dissolves all obligations on [her] side to continue with him” and she in turn offers to Robinson the opportunity to purchase the copyright to *Ethelinde*, which she had just finished revising. However, even to Robinson, Smith acknowledges Cadell’s undeniable “respectability” and writes, “if I

¹ Charlotte Smith, “To George Robinson,” 18 June 1789, in *CLCS*, pp. 20-21.

am compelled to change, it must be only for a Gentleman of equal respectability,” which, by all accounts, Robinson was. The following week, she writes again to Cadell (Letter 33), decrying her own fatigue of her “perpetual solicitations for money” and declares she will “end them as shortly as [she] can . . . by disposing of all [her] literary property to the best bidder.” She does not disclose to Cadell that she has communicated with Robinson, but she puts Cadell on notice, punctuating that notice with an admission: “I am sick to death of the mortifications & disappointments I meet with. . . . If however we part here, I hope it will be as friends; for I am sensible that you have in many instances been obliging.” Several months later she wrote again to Robinson, characterizing her deteriorating relationship with Cadell.² She told Robinson she had “completed her last engagement with Mr Cadell” and found “irksome” the “scruple and hesitation” she sensed in him.

During the course of this quarrel with Cadell, Smith was writing her second novel, *Ethelinde, or the Recluse of the Lake*. She conceived of it in mid-December 1788 as a three-volume work, but by its publication in November 1789, it had mushroomed into a 1500-page, five-volume tome. She had made the case to Cadell for increasing it to six volumes, but as Stuart Curran observes in his Introduction to the Pickering & Chatto edition, “it is hard to imagine what more could have been wrung from this plot” (vii).

Despite the faults she found in Cadell, Smith could not afford to sever ties with him, though she did continue to remind him of the selling power of her reputation. In a late-August letter to him (Letter 36), she transcribed a conversation

² Charlotte Smith, “To George Robinson,” 28 Sept. 1789, in *CLCS*, p. 24.

she had had with the less reputable London publisher William Lane, who sought her out and offered to double what Cadell had agreed to pay her for the right to publish *Emmeline*. Smith never seriously considered Lane's offer, but she deployed it as proof to Cadell that her work was in demand. Cadell did not need convincing on that point. In addition to *Ethelinde*, this year saw the publication of the third edition of *Emmeline* and the fifth, subscription edition of the long-popular *Elegiac Sonnets*. Having gained so much traction in the literary marketplace, she must have felt that her star was rising.

Attempting to assess her own value as an author, Smith made repeated comparisons of herself to Frances Burney and to what Burney earned for *Cecilia*. For Smith, and certainly for most female novelists of the period, Burney was a touchstone. The sales of her three-volume *Evelina* (1778) made a name for Burney. Her subsequent novel, the five-volume *Cecilia* (1782), fetched Burney £250. That book, which Cadell published with Thomas Payne, pleased its readers and even got the notice of the Queen. Burney biographer Claire Harmon reports that the Queen read it, had it vetted by the bishop, and then offered it to her daughters, making *Cecilia* "the first novel ever to penetrate that far into the Royal Household."³ By selling the copyright, however, Burney lost profits from the many editions her book went through. Dr. Johnson calculated that the first edition of *Cecilia* (2,000 copies) reaped in £500 in profits alone. Naturally, Smith was attuned to the going rate of Burney's works.

³ Claire Harman, *Fanny Burney: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), p. 168.

These letters contain a number of practical questions for Cadell: Would he want Dennett Jacques to be his printer (Letter 24)? Should *Ethelinde* be forced into a shorter format, or could it be extended (Letter 27)? What would be the retail bookseller's profits on the *Sonnets* (Letter 27)?

During this year, Smith turned 40, and her children were growing up, too: William Towers turned 21; Charlotte Mary, 20; Nicholas Hankey, 18; Charles Dyer, 16; Augusta, 15; Lucy, 13; Lionel, 12; Harriet, 7; and George, 4. Besides her children, Smith's closest personal relationship might have been with her friend Henrietta O'Neill, with whom she sometimes stayed while in London. Several of the letters written in 1788 and 1789 are datelined Norton Street, where O'Neill lived.

Letter 23
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

42 Seymour Street, Portman Square [London], Jan^y 13th 1789

Sir,

I have drawn on you for ten pounds, at six weeks from yesterday in fav^r of Edmund Boehm Esq^{re}¹—This makes the sixty on account of Ethelinde which is rapidly advancing—The Sonnets should now be in the Press, but Jacques² tells me he cannot work till the weather changes. I am Sir

your ob^t & oblig'd Sev^t
Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/19. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand. No postmark.

¹ Trustee and in-law Edmund Boehm. See Biographical Notes.

² Printer Dennett Jacques. See Biographical Notes.

Letter 24
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Seymour Street, London, 27 Jan. 1789]

Sir

By the illness of M^r Duer I am disappointed receiving some Money which is in the Hands of M^r Rose¹—& which he was to send me this week. I cannot trouble him about it; tho the delay & the detention of M^r Robinson² at Lyon by illness, which prevents my receiving Money on my childrens account, extremely distresses me—As you inform me you have not so much in your hands as will answer the probable expence of the Sonnets (tho I hoped you had detain'd enough for every possible contingency,) I do not ask you to advance the small Sum I have immediate occasion for; but send you a draft on M^r Rose for it, only begging you to keep it till I hear from M^r Duer, & am enabled by the receipt of a much larger Sum to take it up—which I will either do, or get M^r Roses acceptance for it in the course of ten days.

If you oblige me in this matter you will have the goodness to send the money, carefully secured by the bearer.³

I am Sir y^r ob^t & oblig'd Ser^t Charlotte Smith

42 Seymour Street. Jan^y 27th 1789

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/20. Address: M^r Cadell. No postmark.

¹ In Letter 46, Smith identifies Mr. Duer as her friend and the brother-in-law of [Samuel] Rose, who is described in the Biographical Notes. In Letter 41, she directs Cadell to send “the Bill on M^r Duer” and datelines that letter “Feb^y 9th 10 Days Date, on Rev. Roland Duer, Chichester.”

² Trustee John Robinson. See Biographical Notes.

³ She is in London and is sending this letter by a carrier—or has dispatched one of her sons. She expects Cadell to gather together the money while the courier waits.

Letter 25
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[London] Feb^y 3rd 1789

Sir,

I troubled you last night with a draft, ab^t which I hardly knew what I wrote as I was at the moment much hurried. My Son¹ waits upon you with this, but if it is unpleasant or inconvenient to you to give me Cash for the Ballance of the draught, I will send it to Bankers who negotiate matters for Chichester Bank & repay you the five G^s. This however will be attended with some trouble, & therefore if you can oblige me, I conclude you will.

The first Volume of Ethelinde will in a week be transcribed for the Press. Do you wish to have it sent to the Printers before the whole is deliverd? & do you mean Jacques² should have it? He desired me to ask it of you, saying, that if you was so kind as to favour him with the business, he w^d execute it as to money & time of payment on the same terms as any other Printer. I told him I would mention it, but should not make myself a party in the matter ab^t which you will decide as best pleases you.

I am, Sir, your most ob^t & oblig'd Sert,
Charlotte Smith

Huntington MS (HM10802). Address: To Mr Cadell, Strand, Opposite the end of Catharine Street. No postmark. See CLCS, pp. 19-20.

¹ Nicholas, possibly, as he had not yet departed for India.

² Printer Dennett Jacques. See Biographical Notes.

Letter 26
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

[Norton Street¹, London, 6 Mar. 1789]

Dear Sir

The other plate is assuredly done² and one I enclose you as proof—I will write to M^r Corbould³ to know why it has not been delivered—I have marked the four that are for Sonnets—The fifth is for an Elegy which is among the new pieces—The pages I cannot well number as they do not depend on me—however if the directions I now trouble you with are not enough I will endeavour to make them more full—

I named the 25th or 30th as wishing to be able to give some decisive answer to the enquiries I am tormented with⁴—But Jacques tells me that he shall hardly be able to get his part done before the 30th because such very neat printing is required, And he must attend to it all himself—Which, together with the quantity to be done, for I do not think that less than sixteen hundred copies will be required, will certainly make the business longer about than I apprehended—I think however that we may safely name the first week in April to future enquirers.

I am D^r Sir

your ob^t & oblig'd Ser^t Charlotte Smith

Norton St March [0]6th 1789

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/21. No address or postmark.

¹ Smith's close friend Henrietta Boyle O'Neill (1758-93) lived at Norton Street, Portland Place, and Smith sometimes stayed with her while in London.

² Engraver Thomas Stothard produced plates for the subscription-funded fifth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* (1789).

³ Probably Richard Corbould, who would supply three drawings for the subscription eighth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* (1797).

⁴ Subscribers had been inquiring about the release date for the new *Elegiac Sonnets*.

Letter 27
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Norton Street [London], May 9th 1789

Dear Sir

I receiv'd by the hands of M^r Hayley the ten Guinea's left by M^r Lucas¹ together with the sketch you gave him of the account between us—It appears to be near the truth yet I own that I am dreadfully disappointed for I had reckon'd upon at least an hundred and fifty pounds in the course of the next three months: instead of which I have in fact nothing to receive, & the inflexibility of M^r Robinson² on the other hand, who tho he is sure of having money ~~in hand~~ as soon as the Sugars came in³, yet will not advance me a shilling for the support of the children or hear any thing that can be said by M^r Clifford⁴ or any other friend of mine on the subject: really distresses me beyond all powers of endurance—& while it keeps me in perpetual fear of wanting money, & exposes me to the torment of petty duns, it prevents my application to writing & really annihilates my faculties.

I have however by dint of early rising, so nearly finish'd the third Volume of *Ethelinde* that I see my story will not be concluded in three volumes unless greatly shorten'd in its most interesting passages—Shall I carry it on to another Volume at the risk of being very late in the Season?⁵—Or conclude it in three to be ready immediately—The former will of course be most advantageous to me; but I wish to hear immediately from you which will be most consonant to your wishes & to my agreement with you—If it is finish'd in three Volumes it will be ready in a week for the press—If in four it will be assuredly be another month before it is completed—⁶

The excessive but indescribable impediments which I have suffer'd in regard to writing thro domestic embarrassments of which those who know not my situation can have no idea have put it absolutely out of my power to go on with the

¹ William Lucas, Esq., was a subscriber to the fifth, subscription edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

² Trustee John Robinson. See Biographical Notes.

³ The Trust held two plantations in Barbados, which sent sugar to England. The money from the sale of the sugar went to the Trustees to distribute among the Trust's beneficiaries. Smith occasionally refers to the sugars coming in and the money she expects her children to net as a result (see also Letter 37). These earnings, however, were subject to shipping delays.

⁴ See Biographical Notes.

⁵ In numerous letters, Smith conveys her sensitivity to the timeliness of her publications' release. From her references to the "Season," we can surmise that the best time to publish was in the spring, so that readers could tote the new title along with them on their summer travels. For more references to the publishing season, see Letters 2, 78, 84, and 107.

⁶ Smith will revisit the question of the novel's number of volumes. In the end, however, it would be five volumes, and over 1500 pages: Smith's longest novel.

Comedy which I undertook with so much avidity on Mr Colmans⁷ encouragement, & which I beleive will succeed under his connections, if I can obtain time to finish it[.] I despair however of obtaining that time, so as to be able to complete it for this Season—because it requires much more attention & contrivance than any other species of writing. And as you are so flattering as to observe that I have some literary fame to lose, I must not, however convenient the profits (if the play succeeds,) might be to me wish an hasty and crude production—Perhaps after the trouble Mr Colman so kindly and readily took, in giving me his opinion on that portion of it which he saw; & great encouragement to proceed I ought not to leave London without saying to him why that trouble & that encouragement have not equated to its completion—

But perhaps this will be giving the unfinish'd thing more consequence than it deserves—Therefore I will not address myself immediately to him, but will be much oblig'd to you when you have an opportunity⁸ to say to him that I shall sit down to it as soon as I can obtain a little repose, if ever that may be; but that if I had sent it to him so hastily finish'd as it must have been had I done it during my stay in Town, it would probably have done no credit to the obliging & favourable judgement he form'd of my abilities—I should have been well pleased to have seen Mr Colman before I left London, but as I know nothing of the Etiquette & whether such a visit wd have been proper I did not ask Mr Hayley to accompany me thither as he would have done.⁹

As I have no house of my own now, (that which is altering for me not being to be finish'd till August) I have determined to go to Brighthelmston, which is at this season as cheap as any place & where I may have a lodging for a Guinea a week—which will contain the five children and three Servants whom I must this week convey thither—An heavy undertaking: which set about it how I will, will cost me ten guineas—I shall have besides my lodgings here to pay & other demands will sum very heavy—I must therefore ask you to make the thirty pounds you were to advance fifty—which will be about fifteen pounds clear advance according to the suppos'd statement—

C.S. C ^m —30__0__0	C.S. D ^r	110
D ^r —100__0__0		25
D ^r —100__0__0		21 expences on the
		14 Sonnets
<hr/>		25
230— —		

⁷ Playwright and former Covent Garden manager George Colman. See Letter 11 and its n4.

⁸ Smith's assumption that Cadell has opportunities to communicate with playwright George Colman is a reminder of the necessity of London publishers to maintain connections with playwrights and theater managers.

⁹ As a single woman, Smith hesitated to visit George Colman by herself, and here she acknowledges the questionable propriety of doing so without a male agent. This is another reminder of the extra layer of difficulties Smith faces as a businesswoman representing herself.

& to have $\frac{30}{225}$.

This I am persuaded you will do as it will enable me to get out of town—away from insupportable inconvenience and to work so much better at the conclusion of the Novel, as will undoubtedly make it answer better to us both—& if it is extended to four Volumes the advance will of course be included in the additional profits—

I cannot think of having given M^r Davies the trouble he has taken without making him some acknowledgement. I therefore beg he will consider ten copies of the Sonnets as his, & that he will when they are sold accept the produce as an inadequate acknowledgement that I am conscious of the great trouble the business has been to him.

I suppose that by degrees the super numerary Sonnets will all go off—M^r Gardner's¹⁰ 100—he will I suppose pay you far in the course of Trade—He wish'd to know what profit was to be allow'd to the Trade but I told him I knew nothing of the matter—If they have a tolerable sale it will prevent your being at all in advance—I am sorry to have troubled you with so long a Letter; but must beg a line or two in answer tomorrow, as I will if possible send my Children out of Town on Wednesday—I am Sir

your oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/22. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand. No postmark.

¹⁰ Henry Lasher Gardner (b. 1808), a bookseller in the Strand, opposite St. Clement's Church. (See Stanton, *CLCS*, p. 12 n5.)

Letter 28
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[London, ?May 1789]

D^r Sir

I am very sorry we do not seem likely to understand each other on the matter on which I wrote to you—However I must do as well as I can—& for the present relinquish all projects of a continental turn.¹ I shall leave London in about a fortnight and wish before that time to have an account made out of the expences of the Sonnets—That I may know what I am to expect on that head—The New Novel² will be ready before the 4th of June—but I mean not to sell the copy right but to publish it as Emmeline was publish'd—

If you had any idea of the pressing instances that have been made to me to print on my own account & the offers I have had from persons it is unnecessary to name, you would be convinced that I am not unmindful of your liberal conduct towards me hitherto—Since I am free to say that I might even now make terms which would not only replace your advance but secure me the accommodation I may perhaps want. But while I consider myself bound in honor a greater temptation will not influence me—I am D^r Sir

Y^r ob^t humble Ser^t Ch. Smith

Mr Gardner³ has sent for 50 copies more—you will however retain a sufficient supply in hand for the subscribers of good plates—I understand Mr Gardner wants them to night.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/24. Address: Mr Cadell. No postmark. Undated. Probably May 1789.

¹ Smith makes occasional mention in these letters—and in letters to others outside this collection—of hoping to locate to Continental Europe. In Letter 32, she repeats this hope: “if I were to go abroad as I have thoughts of doing . . .” While she will make a brief visit to France in 1791, she never does realize her dream of leaving England.

² *Ethelinde*.

³ In Letter 26, Smith writes that Mr. Gardner had requested 100 copies of *Elegiac Sonnets*, 5th ed. The sale must have been more swift than he had anticipated if he is requesting another 50 copies more so soon.

Letter 29
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

[?Brighton, June 1789]

Sir!—¹

You will pardon me if I express some mortification, at the very cold refusal you have given me to an application which it was indeed sufficiently mortifying to be compelled to make. As I told you I w^d draw upon you at two months if you would grant me this fav^r. Of course your plea of present disbursements rendering it inconvenient is evidently an excuse—In consequence of your refusal I must now instead of remaining here another month to complete the new work be in London this week to seek support for my family, & meet the Trustees—I am very sorry for this, as the weather makes me apprehend return of sickness for myself, & while my children are [home] from School it is particularly distressing to leave the House—A few months ago you assur'd me that you would be happy to shew me on every occasion that interest was not the sole motive of your wishing & continuance of the connection—Yet no sooner do I put those professions to the test in merely asking your name for two months (for the money must be repaid before then) than you refuse me—tho certainly you have never yet been a loser by me—

However Sir I am unfortunately in your power & claim I assuredly have now—What I ask'd for, was a favor & not a right—But perhaps there w^d have been as much policy as generosity in granting it. In regard to the new work² it is not for me that the press will ever stand still—I shall be able to correct it myself if I am in Town, but otherwise the business I must there be involved in, will not contribute much to my powers of attending to a work of Imagination—

Be so good as to let M^r Davies or M^r Lawless make the arguing for me which I name in the enclos'd³ as I find the Trustees are to meet on Tuesday, & I must since I cannot go on another week with^t money, attend their meeting, if I am able—

I am D^r Sir
your obed^t humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/23. No address or postmark. Undated. Probably June 1789.

¹ In only this letter to Cadell does Smith greet him with an exclamation point. Her surprise and mortification of his refusal of some request is palpable.

² I.e., *Ethelinde*.

³ No enclosure survives.

Letter 30
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

Brighthelmston, June 3rd 1789

D^r Sir

I have drawn on you for ten G^s in Jan^y of the Bankers here, at three days, which is, according to y^r account I have kept near two more than remains in y^r hands of the £50—However I am persuaded that trifle will make no difference between us; & I shall expect no more till I have it forthcoming. The calm I enjoy here enables me to work so rapidly, that I shall very soon get the last Volume of the New Novel¹ into Jacques hands—who has now three—I am so uncertain when I shall return to Chichester or whether I shall go back thither at all, that I trouble your people with the care of an heavy box of Books till I am settled—I am Dear Sir

y^r Ob^t Ser^t Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/26. No address or postmark.

¹ In Letter 27, Smith had promised to deliver the rest of *Ethelinde* to Cadell by 4 June.

Letter 31
[To William Davies]

[Brighton, 11 June 1789]

M^{rs} Smith will be oblig'd to M^r Davies to send the Packet he named (in a note receiv'd to day¹) to Brighthelmston by the stage—unless it will come cheaper by the Post—addressed to her at Brighthelmston by her Christian Name—

She begs M^r Davies will acquaint M^r Cadell that the parcel deliver'd at his shop by M^{rs} Crawford for Jacques contains almost the whole that is wanting of the work Ethelinde & that the four volumes will be del[ivere]^d the end of the week complete unless M^{rs} S. is ill again—(as she has been last week)—M^r Hayley is so very sanguine as to think it exceeds Emmeline greatly. But M^{rs} S[mith] without agreeing to that opinion entirely believes it will have nearly as much popularity—

She wishes therefore M^r Cadell to consider whether he will like to buy the work at £50 a volume, in case M^{rs} S[mith]'s situation, should render that the most accommodating to her, tho it will assuredly be not the most advantageous finally—It is possible that circumstances may arise to make what will in that case be coming to her, (deducting what M^r Cadell has allow'd in his account—)—A greater object to her now, than a larger sum will be hereafter.

At all events she wishes M^r Cadell would hurry Jacques, and propose his putting the third volume into other hands while he is doing the first & second²; because the fourth is now actually in M^r Hayleys hands for correction & therefore the work will wait for the printer—& it is desireable to have it publish'd before Parliament breaks up—

Brighton—
June 10th 1789

I have desired M^r Gardner³ to send the Monthly publications I take of him to come down with the pacquet from Alton—as both will come for a shilling—

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/27. Address: M^r Davies at M^r Cadells, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 11 JU [17]89.

¹ The third-person voice in this letter signals that one of Smith's elder daughters—Charlotte Mary, or Lucy, was writing on Smith's behalf.

² Long printing jobs often were divided and parceled out to different printers in order to speed publication along.

³ London bookseller Henry Lasher Gardner, whom Smith mentions in Letters 26 and 27.

Letter 32
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Brighton] June 23rd 1789

D^r Sir

I did by no means intend my Letter to be an angry one—That it was long was almost unavoidable. I certainly was hurt to find that you were apprehensive of losing by me; and in fact so situated in regard to the Trustees whose conduct towards my children is unpardonably cruel, that I was compelled to take some decisive measures for their present support having them all at home for the Holydays—. I have by this days post written to M^r Bicknell¹ in Chancery Lane to draw up on my behalf, such an assignment as may be necessary between us. The time of delivering the whole work² I cannot exactly <surmise>, but the fourth volume is done & the fifth in forwardness, so, that it will probably be in less than three weeks: and if you like to employ any other printer in order to expedite the work, which you have certainly a right to do, I will deliver any part that remains of it in my hands to you for that purpose.

You could hardly suppose that I meant to do what would not only be dishonourable but dishonest in regard to Emmeline. I know that you have paid me the profit of the 3rd Edition—and that you have my receipt for it. But—if I were to go abroad as I have had thoughts of doing, & indeed wish to do were it possible, I should consider myself at liberty to dispose of the copy right of any future Editions either of that or of the Sonnets to any person who thought it worth their while to purchase such right—

If you beleive that M^r Hayley ever said any thing to impress me with an idea of your being somewhat too hard in your dealing with Authors you injure him. That it has been repeatedly urged to me by others is true; but he has invariably said that your conduct towards me, has been liberal and handsome. Another literary friend took great pains to engage me to go to M^r Dilly³—But I answer'd him as I had done many applications from Kearsley⁴ & others, that I had no reason to beleive I should mend myself by a change: and that you had taken great pains about the Sonnets for which I was much oblig'd to you. I still think myself so, & should really have been concern'd if my situation had compelled me to have accepted the Offer which I now have—from a Man of great respectability⁵—who writes “that he will give me two

¹ Solicitor and in-law Charles Bicknell. See Biographical Notes.

² I.e., *Ethelinde*.

³ The Dilly brothers were substantial and well-known publishers whose shop was at Number 22 on the Poultry in London. It is unknown whether she was referring to Charles or to Edward Dilly.

⁴ George Kearsley (d. 1790) was a bookseller and publisher on Fleet Street.

⁵ Publisher George Robinson, who will publish *Desmond* (1792). She will reference him again in Letter 33. See Biographical Notes.

hundred & fifty pounds for the five Volumes & make an immediate payment to you of any money you may have advanced with Intst. The rest to be paid either one month after publication or if more accommodating to me, on delivery”—.

I shall by this days post thank him for his offer but inform him that since you originally engag'd for the work, & I have been on various occasions oblig'd to you, I must not suffer the little difficulty which arose partly from misapprehension, to part us. I do not know what profit is allow'd to the Trade therefore cannot tell the gross amount of y^e 100 Sonnets deliverd to M^r Gardner⁶—But I suppose the profit cannot exceed ten pounds & I know not how he can make out his Bill to be anything like half the remainder—As I owe him only for y^e monthly publications in Critical, Monthly & European for two years and a half, & a few other Books not ~~only~~ one of an high price. Per Contract he re[ceive]^d five or six subscriptions—(rather more I think)—Gardner does not love I beleive to part with money, for when I spoke to him on the subject of the Sonnets, he said he should settle with you—and I have in vain asked him for my account. He is connected with some friends of mine, & therefore I wish to remain on civil terms with him—But I also undoubtedly wish to have the account settled, and should indeed be glad of the ballance. I will write to him saying that I have desired you to adjust it for me, but I wish to see it before any discharge is given him for the Money due on account of the Sonnets.

Jacques has just now completed the 1st & 2nd Volumes of Ethelinde if you wish to hasten the publication had you not better have the 4th put into other hands?—it is ready at any time and the press will not stand still a moment for me—I w^d not apply to M^r Clifford⁷ ab^t this assignment, as it is out of his way, and he is I beleive in Herefordshire. I am D^r Sir y^r ob^t humble Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

[Post script on front of letter, upside down:]

I shall draw in the course of two or three days for the ten or twelve G^s which y^e ballance of the first hundred pounds; and Gardners Money will undoubtedly answer.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/28. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 24 JU [17]89.

⁶ Bookseller Henry Lasher Gardner.

⁷ Mr. Clyfford (which she always spells “Clifford”) was married to Smith’s friend Eliza Maria Clyfford. He represented Smith in various capacities from time to time. Smith’s reference to him here signals the trust she had in time. See also Letter 10.

Letter 33
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighthelmston June 28th 1789

Dr Sir.

I was much surprised to learn to day that you had refused a draft of fifteen pounds, drawn at a fortnight—I said in my last Letter to you, that I should apply for no more money till I had a right to it—I meant till the whole of *Ethelinde* was deliver'd—. This would have happen'd before that draft could have become due; And tho I know it is not customary to pay any thing till a month after publication—yet I thought so well of your liberality (whatever has been said to me in dispraise of it,) that I could not beleive especially on referring to your last Letter that you would therefore have hesitated—

As it is thus, and you seem so apprehensive of losing by me, (tho in the course of Trade you will receive Gardners money for the *Sonnets*¹ amounting after all deductions to more than double the fifteen Guineas)—I think it may be perhaps better for us both, to releive you from all apprehensions of that sort—I have determined in consequence of the story continuing very productive of affecting incident, to carry it on to five Volumes—which as four are finish'd, and the fifth in some forwardness I ~~should~~ shall have ready before the press was at work on the first three, is ready for the fifth—As I should find the money more useful to me now than a larger Sum hereafter in sundry payments—I will sell the five volumes for fifty pounds a volume—And if on these terms you will become a purchaser, They are yours—You making up the 75 pounds already advanced on that account, one hundred immediately; and agreeing to pay the rest to Bills which shall not become due till One month after publication— It is very irksome to me to repeat what I have already said—or to boast of the advantages which I know, any Novel of mine must have over the generality of such publication—To cut the matter short I know I can have these terms from a Gentleman² whose respectability in his line is second only to yours—(for there are persons who have applied to me whose names as publishers, no price should tempt me to put to a book of mine)—And this Gentleman will pay you the money you have advanced with interest from January—and purchase the five Volumes at fifty pounds for each & deducting the payment to you, pay me for the remainder on delivery of the Work—

You must imagine that these sort of Negotiations and perpetual solicitations for money, are extremely irksome to me, whose situation ought to have been so very different. I find them indeed so insupportable that I will end them as shortly as I can—by disposing of all my literary property to the best bidder—Allow me to remark that I never have had anything more than a sketch of any account between

¹ London bookseller Henry Lasher Gardner has money from sales of the fifth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

² Smith refers to London publisher George Robinson. See Biographical Notes.

us, tho I have sign'd without question or comment every receipt you have sent me— And I must also remind you that hitherto you have been by no means a loser by our connection—& that I have been accused of great improvidence in disposing of my labour to so little advantage—(Not merely by M^r Smith but) by friends who are more candid & disinterested judges—And who have repeatedly told me that I ought to publish on my own account as my name would carry every thing before it; I will mention the persons who were particularly of this opinion—M^{rs} Carter, M^{rs} Orde, Lady Beaumont, & M^{rs} Goodenough³—I am sick to death of the mortifications & disappointments I meet with, & must beg your an^r by the Posts return, that I may instantly decide—I send you back y^e draft return'd to me by M^r Taylor[,] M^r Boehms Clerk or Partner, if you accept my terms you will please to signify to him that it will be paid—If you do not, be so good as to return it again to me that I may lose no time in accepting the offers of those who have less fear of losing by me—I need not add that in the latter case nothing remains but that all accounts between us be made out & settled—You shall have for that purpose a copy of the sketch you sent me of the Sonnet account in which I beleive some articles are over rated from y^e hasty manner in which you drew up that account. I should like also to have a statement of the profits of Emmeline—You allow'd for 2/3^{ds} —of y^e profit on 4 vol.—130.—of Ethelinda there <were> to be 3 volumes you allow in the account above stated £100: when it was four (I Concluded I might reckon it at £130. fifteen you had advanced I drew for fifteen more & you return the draft—If however we part here, I hope it will be as friends; for I am still sensible that you have in many instances been obliging,⁴ & I remain Sir y^r ob^t Ser^t Charlotte Smith

[Postscript on the front, upside down:]

I must repeat that an an^r & a decisive one by the return of the post is absolutely necessary—CS.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/29. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 20 JU [17]89.

³ Mrs. Carter, the Dowager Lady Beaumont, and Mrs. Goodenough were all subscribers to the fifth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

⁴ These last five lines are scrunched up in the original, as Smith was quickly coming to the end of the page, a situation that helps explain the lack of clarity here.

Letter 34
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Brighton, 6 July 1789]

Dear Sir.

I have received the enclosed agreement from Mr Bicknell¹—Which I shall return to him signed tomorrow or Wednesday—it is not in one respect quite what I meant but I am persuaded that between us great exactness as to words is unnecessary; I believe I express'd—at least such was my intention that of the ballance due on the first hundred (which is not much) I should want for the present money; and the fifty at short dates. The remaining hundred which I must pay for my Childrens Schooling & other things remaining due at Chichester I will give drafts at long dates for, but it will be necessary for me to know at what dates—That you will answer depends on the delivery of *The Novel*²—But as it will in fact rest on y^e publication of it, according to the tenor of the instrument you are aware, that I must be certain when you mean to publish, before I can venture to give these drafts; for which as the persons to whom they will be made payable can get them discounted, they are impatient to receive them—

As to the delivery of the Book to Jacques I can only say that he is now in possession of four complete Volumes and that when the other Volume will be done, depends exactly on the quiet I obtain—when I can possess that I am certain of finishing, from twenty to thirty pages p^r day—So that of a Volume of which a third is done it is easy to believe that it will not be long in its conclusion—I think that I may safely say it will be deliver'd the end of this month—& what I would know is if I do, when you propose to publish it—

This information I should be glad to receive by the return of the Post—And also a sketch of what is the Amount of Gardners settlement and the ballance of the first hundred—I have drawn for £12—12 & to day at 6 days for £15—15— I am trying to get Money from the Trustees for the Children that I may leave y^e remaining fifty in your hands—but my success is very uncertain. I shall be much oblig'd to Mr Davies or Mr Lawless to send down hither the case of Books left at y^r House—They were carelessly and hastily packed and I fear may be rubbed in coming— Among them are I believe many loose papers, which I am sure will remain unbound if Mr Lawless will be so good as to open the Box & see that the Books are put close so as not to be spoiled in the carriage—I should be glad to have sent with them— Sonnets by y^e Rev^d W. L. Bowles³—and—Sonnets—with^t name of Author or publisher—Advertised in the cover of the *Monthly Review*⁴ for June—I am D^r Sir

¹ Attorney Charles Bicknell often worked with Smith. See Biographical Notes.

² I.e., *Ethelinde*.

³ William Lisle Bowles (1762-1850) was a clergyman who published a small quarto volume of poems, *Fourteen Sonnets*, in 1789. Along with Smith's own *Elegiac Sonnets*, Bowles's collection has been credited with reviving the sonnet form in English literature and with influencing the longer Romantic meditations on natural scenes. In the first chapter to *Biographia Literaria*, Samuel Taylor Coleridge

your ob^t humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

July 6th 1789

*ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/30. Address: To Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 7 JY
[17]89*

would testify to the impact these sonnets had on his poetic sensibility and practice. William Wordsworth and Robert Southey largely shared Coleridge's enthusiasm for Bowles's sonnets, which present a speaker using ordinary language to describe natural scenes that evoke the process of memory, meditation, and feeling.

⁴ For a discussion of the role of book reviews in the eighteenth century, see Antonia Forster, "Book Reviewing," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 5 (1695-1813), pp. 631-40.

Letter 35
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

Brighthelmston 1st August 1789

Dear Sir

I have receiv'd a Letter from M^r Bicknell to whom I wrote on the subject of completing the agreement between us, informing me that you were at or near Margate.¹ I have now got your address from M^r Davi[e]s, and tho very unwilling to trouble you at a time when you are undoubtedly desirous of escaping from all matters of business, I think it necessary to inform you that I have now finish'd the five Volumes of Ethelinde, except about sixty pages, but find that unless I shorten & weaken the conclusion extremely & indeed spoil the whole, I must either make this volume nearly as big again as the preceding four which contain from 260 to 280 pages each—(as was y^e Case with Emmeline in which from accumulation of matter and the necessity of disposing of all the principal characters towards the conclusion, the last volume is more than a third bigger than the rest) Or I must conclude the 5th volume at y^e end of y^e sixty pages I now have to write; and carry the remainder of the story on to a sixth Volume for which I have ample materials.

It is however necessary to know how far you may approve of this—& I shall not be more than three days in finishing the remainder of the 5th—I wish you have your advice² upon the subject as soon as possible—If the work is extended as I propose, it will nevertheless be finish'd much earlier, (including the printing) than you propose publishing—I should I own have some apprehensions of a Novel of such length becoming tedious. But I do not think there will in fact be more writing in it than in Cecilia & if I may beleive my present Critic's[,] the Story loses no part of its force by its extension—And the groups are such as it is impossible to delineate with effect, if space is not allow'd to make them stronger than mere sketches—³

Tho the additional fifty pounds will certainly be very acceptable to me at this period, that has had I assure you no influence in this enlargement. But, had it been possible without mutilating and enfeebling the whole, I should rather have concluded it in five Volumes of 280 pages each, or thereabouts & have applied immediately to the Comedy in which I made during the winter considerable progress & which M^r Colman gave me so much encouragement to finish⁴—But to spoil the labour of seven or eight months thro haste to enter on another work, will I think not be doing justice either to you, or myself—

¹ Having found out that Cadell was on vacation in the seaside town of Margate, she wrote to him there.

² Smith clearly means to say, "I wish to have your advice."

³ Cadell's reply does not exist, but he must have directed her to end the novel with the fifth volume.

⁴ Smith refers once again to the ill-fated comedy that she began in 1786. For more on George Colman, see the headnote to Part II.

I should be very glad if it was possible without incurring the hazard of much inconvenience to us both to have your wishes complied with in regard to M^r Smiths giving his discharge when ever our accounts are settled. But as he never has had hitherto any thing to do with the money while in your hands, which my pen has procured me, I wish, for reasons which will easily occur to you that he may never be made a party. I am persuaded that you run no manner of risk in proceeding to consider me only as responsible to you for money received. But if once you seem'd to consider my book money as his property I cannot tell what might be the consequence⁵—He has Creditors who might avail themselves of the circumstance, & compel him perhaps to call for all that has ever been in your hands in which tho it would be impossible for him to succeed, you must see that it would give great trouble & vexation—Whereas he now thinks that any receipt is quite sufficient for you & has no idea of any application. Let him not therefore be undeceived: and in order to prevent any possibility of risk as inconvenience to you, I will get from him as soon as I can, a proper paper relinquishing all claim to any past present or future money the produce of my pen—which M^r Bicknell shall draw up, and so word as to preclude any possibility of risk to you—I assure you the yoke is at present much too heavy for me & if it were once renderd more so by y^e certainty of his having the power to rob me; or rather his children (for it is for them I work, & not for myself who have an independence without it,) of what I can by writing obtain for them, I should throw away my pen for ever, & I am afraid accept in despair of an offer (which nothing but my duty to them prevents my now accepting)—of going to Italy with a Woman of Fashion my friend⁶—I do beseech you therefore to think no more of making him a party: especially as means can be found to secure you without it—

I propose going the beginning of next week to Chichester, where I have heavy bills to pay for y^e children—But what I propose is, if the Book⁷ is not deliv'd to Jacques by that time (I mean the five Vol.) to draw on you for ab^t £80 at six weeks or two Months and the Bankers at Chichester will discount such Bill knowing it to be good: so as to enable me to pay y^e demands upon me there—Since I had your account I have drawn for sixteen G^s so that according to that account supposing Ethelinde remains at 5 Vol: there is yet in my fav^r £120—Twenty I shall want at ten or fourteen days for my current expences. If you agree for the six volumes, I shall not want the remaining money till publication or if I do will draw at so long date that you shall not be call'd upon for the actual payment till then. You will be so good as to be early in saying whether the proposals here included are agreeable to you. If I can get a Frank I will enclose it for an early answer directed to Chichester where I shall probably be from Wednesday to Monday next & shall have all my furniture to remove and much fatigue to undergo—

⁵ Smith writes with uncharacteristic frankness about her husband's proprietary right to her literary property.

⁶ Likely Henrietta O'Neill. See Biographical Notes.

⁷ I.e., *Ethelinde*.

I think if you get the whole work out of the Printers hands, as I think you certainly will long before the Month of November, that the publication will answer earlier, however unusual it may be to put forth a book in early Autumn—My reasons for thinking so are that people have in the preceding Summer exhausted all the Novel[s] of the year—& are more idle than at any other time & the public bathing places certainly take off a great many which are at that season full—Add to which, my own friends who without vanity are extremely numerous, will undoubtedly buy the book, (at least great numbers of them will) whether they are in London or the Country: and if the Novel is indeed (as M^r Hayley and D^r Warner think it) superior to Emmeline—or if it is only equal, I will venture to say, that a few months will see it in a second Edition—

In looking over and comparing the two sketches of the account between us, neither of which however I consider as correct because you say that they are not so, there is a difference against me of fifteen pounds—Thus

Of the expences on the 5th Edition of the Sonnets as stated in the account given to M^r Hayley

Sewing in Boards 1500—suppose-----}	25 ..	0 ..	0
21 R ^{ms} Paper suppose-----	21 ..	0 ..	0
Paper, working plates, advertisem ^t and incidents-----	25 ..	0 ..	0
Printing-----	14 ..	0 ..	0
	85 ..	0 ..	0

In the 2nd account dated July 7th the expences of the Sonnets are laid at

£100—

As probably the accounts due to y^e Various persons employ'd, are ~~due~~ deliv^d by this time I wish you would be so obliging as to desire M^r Davies to inform me which of these statements is nearest the Truth—I should be glad to find it the former, for the Trustees are if possible more brutish than usual & after all my attendance last year, M^r Clifford and M^r Bicknell⁸ both think that nothing but Chancery will procure my children redress: a remedy worse almost than the disease—This throws entirely upon me the support of the eight children⁹—who have nothing to receive save twenty pounds each for y^e 3 eldest boys out of part of the inst^t of my fortune; & their schooling & expences amount to near three times that sum all which deficiency I am oblig'd to supply—

In expectation of an early answer I am Dear Sir

your ob^t & oblig'd humble Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

⁸ Attorneys William Clyfford and Charles Bicknell. See Biographical Notes.

⁹ In birth order: William Towers, Charlotte Mary, Nicholas Hankey, Charles Dyer, Augusta, Lucy, Lionel, Harriet, and George.

[Postscript on side of envelope:]

I am not able to procure a frank, & therefore beg you will direct to me—if you write between Wednesday & Monday to Chichester, distinguishing me however by that necessary addition My Christian name: added to be left at the Post Office till call'd for.—

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/31. No address or postmark.

Letter 36
[To ?William Davies]

Middle Street, Brighthelmstone, August 28th 1789

Sir

I have drawn for seven pound ten in fav^r of Richard <Sarass> or order— which with sixty pounds to the Bankers at Chichester at 6 weeks drawn three weeks ago—& twenty at the same date in fav^r of M^{rs} Philadelphia Russell, makes £87—10—0—according therefore to M^r Cadells last estimate of an account on the delivery of Ethelinde, (a parcel of which will be deliverd to you tomorrow for the Printer) I have yet twenty two pounds ten shillings in his hands—But according to his former estimate which made fifteen pounds more in my fav^r I have ab^t thirty seven pounds coming to me—I wish you'd ascertain which of these two calculates is near the truth, as, in consequence of my removal I have so many purchases of furniture &c to make that it would be extremely commode to have the latter found the true one—

I conclude M^r Cadell is hardly in Town this very hot weather. If he is however[,] be so good as to tell him that I was today much surpris'd by being call'd to a stranger in the parlour who thus saluted me—

“Madam—my name is Lane—I am inform'd you are writing another Novel”—¹

“Well Sir”—

“Madam—I hope my waiting on you is not improper—But Dealing in Novels is my forte; I came to enquire if you would sell it”—

“If I have any such intention Sir, I am & have been (as you must know;) long engaged to M^r Cadell”—

“Well Madam—but I assure you that you would do well not to bind yourself too much—for where M^r Cadell will give you one hundred pounds, I will give you two”—

“I have no reason Sir to complain of M^r Cadell”—

“Perhaps not Ma'am, but M^r Cadell has already made a great fortune; I have mine to make; and therefore could afford to give you more money a great deal—; a Novel of yours Madam would be worth any thing to me—Pray

¹ Smith transcribes for Davies and Cadell the dialogue she exchanged with publisher William Lane (see Biographical Notes) during his surprise visit. Interestingly, Smith's dialogue reads like one in a play. Smith wisely declined Lane's offer to become her publisher as Lane was infamous for hurrying manuscripts of women authors into print for a quick profit.

Ma'am if tis not impertinent are you under any absolute agreement with M^r Cadell?"

"I am Sir—I have not the least intention of entering into treaty with any other Bookseller"—

"But for any future production Madam? I am told that M^r Cadell gave you no more than sixty pounds for Emmeline"—

"That is ~~very~~ misinformation Sir—for y^e Copy right of Emmeline is still my own"—

After much very impertinent discourse on his part & something not very far from <shewing> that I thought it so in mine, M^r Lane departed: but in about half an hour sent me the enclosed letter—²

I answer'd that if he had any inclination to treat for an hundred copies of Emmeline, they were to be had at M^r Cadells—to whom alone I left the affair of publication & sale & that I believed the third Edition was ready but that I had nothing to do with y^e disposal of the books <nor> could receive any money or proposals from him—That I could only repeat that I had no thoughts either now or hereafter to quit M^r Cadell—whose name was respectable & whose dealings I had found equally fair & advantageous"³—So ends I hope all correspondence with M^r Lane, with whom I could not engage, much as I want money if he would treble his offers—Nor do I mention his visit to M^r Cadell by way of shewing that I have refus'd them, but merely that he may know exactly the state of this curious conversation—for I am told that M^r Lane scruples very little to talk of people he does not know & may perhaps relate what never pass'd—I have heard that he is a very unprincipled Man, & I am sure he is a very ill bred one—& I own the abruptness of his visit and address discomposed me a good deal—

If he really wants an hundred copies of Emmeline he will of course apply to y^r shop—but I rather apprehend that finding his first address fail, he thought to have had a sort of hold upon me, by treating for a quantity of books which he supposed I should eagerly entertain—I rather fancy that somebody told him I wanted money & should not be able to resist such an offer—

² The enclosed letter does not survive, but Smith transcribed this entire encounter—as well as Lane's follow-up letter—in a letter to William Hayley. As she tells Hayley, Lane wrote: "Madam— Understanding the Copyright of [Emmeline,] the Orphan of the Castle is yours, [I] wish to treat for 100 Copies of same, as in consequence of my extensive dealings & supplying all the libraries, can put them into extensive circulation & will deal on such terms as you will find advantageous & wait on you immediately as I leave the place at four o'Clock. Any future production in the novel way, flatter to be remembered, which will oblige." See Charlotte Smith, "To William Hayley," ca. August 1789, in *CLCS*, pp. 17-19.

³ It is unclear why there are closed quotation marks here.

I should be glad to hear from you ab^t the account as soon as you conveniently can—It relates (the difference relates) to y^r expences of printing the Sonnets—M^r Cadells first sketch made those expences £85, his last £100—But both were deliverd at a guess & not meant to be correct.

If there should be any money in hand on the Sonnets acc^t I sh^d also be glad to know, as my Boys returning to School⁴, my removing hither & several other circumstances contribute just now to make me very poor—

Ethelinde will be finish'd now in a very few days, as y^e Parcel y^e Coach delivers to you to day, includes all but ab^t sixty pages—I am Sir

your ob^t humble Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/32. No address or postmark.

⁴ Lionel and Charles Dyer were enrolled at Winchester College.

Letter 37
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Brighton, 22 Sept. 1789]

Dear Sir

I hoped to have heard from M^r Davies ab^t the Sonnets Account but I conclude you are yet absent from London.¹ As I imagine that there may have been as many sold as make ten pounds in my fav^r—even if the expences turn out what you stated them at £100, in your last Letter, instead of £85, as in your first, I have drawn in the course of last week few five G^s & shall tomorrow draw for five—being I think certain that in thus doing I cannot greatly trespass—& being in truth extremely distress'd for money—for whether it is that there are no Ships from Barbados or whether My children have no Sugar cane²; or whether from the mere inattention of the Clerks in M^r Boehms³ House, I know not: But I cannot get an ans^r to any application I have made nor do I even know whether they have paid the Bills I have drawn in discharge of my Boys schooling⁴—Ethelinde is now so nearly finished as to have only two chapters to do, which w^d have been concluded last week but I was confined to my bed by illness the greater part of it—By Wednesdays Coach the residue of the 5th + last Volume will be sent up, except those chapters which as M^r Hayley has not

[rest of letter missing]

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/33. Address: Mr Cadell, Broad-Stairs, Isle of Thanet, Kent. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE 22 SE [17]89.

¹ In Letter 36 (1 Aug. 1789), she acknowledged that Cadell was at that time in Margate, and in Letter 37 (28 Aug. 1789) concluded that Cadell is “hardly in Town this very hot weather.”

² Six years after his father’s death, Benjamin Smith purchased several sugar plantations in Barbados for his father’s trust. Smith alludes to the money she anticipates the sale of the sugar cane will bring to the trust, which, in turn, will benefit her children.

³ Trustee Edmund Boehm. See Biographical Notes.

⁴ The tuition for Winchester for Lionel and Charles Dyer.

Letter 38
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighthelmstone Oct^r 13th 1789

D^r Sir

Ethelinde is at length finishd. The three last Chapters which are all that remain to be deliverd to the printer, will be sent to your House in Town by Thursdays Coach: of which I shall send notice to Jacques¹ that he may fetch them—It will now be in good time to appear in November, & I most heartily hope will answer both our expectations—Perhaps it may be satisfactory to have of me a receipt for y^e amount of this purchase till we can close every account—If so, be so good as to send me such a receipt drawn up in any way satisfactory to yourself & I will return it signed. This is rather to adhere to form, than because it is necessary, as at present there is no reason at all to apprehend any trouble from y^e quarter whence you seem to suppose it may arise.

M^r Hayley informs me he has had a Letter from a Gentleman in Ireland—who is much among literary people there—This Gentleman informs him that Emmeline is now far advanced in a second Edition there—That it is very hard upon me to have lost all the advantage of its publication there²; & that understanding I am about another Work of the same kind, he is very desirous of procuring me the advantage of at least a first sale before the Irish Printers can pirate the work: & that therefore if I will send over to him fifty copies, a week before or at least some days before its publication here, he will engage to dispose of that number: being certain of their going off from the avidity with which Emmeline has been read; & the expectations her sister³ has of course raisd—I know not now, how this can be done with any advantage to me—But if it can I am persuaded you will allow it me & let me hear from you as soon as possible on y^e subject.

From the same quarter I learn that the new Edition of the Sonnets are much approved in Ireland—I hope therefore that the three dozⁿ sent over to M^r Jones (or Jackson I forget which) are disposed of, & that I have some money to come from that sale—if so, I shall be very glad to have it as I have got I know not what furniture to pay for for my House here; & fear my other finances will run terribly short between this and Christmas if I deduct from them the sum I want on that account—You will therefore I am persuaded accommodate me as much as you can if any Money on account of the Sonnets is or will certainly be in your hands—

In regard to my projected work, which I mention'd to you in a former Letter—it may perhaps follow too closely on Ethelinde; but as it will be quite of

¹ Printer Dennett Jacques. See Biographical Notes.

² Due to the instability of copyright law, Irish printers could publish pirated editions of British (and American) novels without compensating the authors.

³ I.e., *Ethelinde*.

another species & as I must write on, I have hopes that it will do me no harm⁴—It is however probable that you may not chuse to make two purchases so near together—& therefore we will say no more about it at present.—I shall be oblig'd by an early answer to the material parts of this Letter—And I am <with> many good wishes—

Sir your obed^t & oblig'd humble Sev^t
Charlotte Smith

What became of the great M^r Lanes proposal for an hundred copies of Emmeline?⁵

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/34. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 14 OC [17]89.

⁴ Cadell would publish her next novel, *Celestina* (1791). The letter she says she wrote him proposing this new novel apparently does not survive.

⁵ See Letter 36.

Letter 39
To William Davies

[Brighthelmstone, 3 Nov. 1789]

Sir

I beg if the draft for 5 G^s I drew three days since on M^r Cadell, is presented before he comes to Town that you will be so good as to let it be paid, & if so much is not due to me I will certainly take care to replace it—But I trust that since August last, when I had the last sketch of the account, as many of the Sonnets have been sold as will prevent any risk of my intruding on M^r Cadell if in addition to it, I should want another five Guinea's—But I will draw no farther till I hear from him to that effect. Jacques will now very soon finish the New Novel¹—So soon, that I apprehend you w^d do well to advertise that on such a day—it will be publish'd—This appears the more necessary as at this Season many of my particular friends who are very eager for it, are in the Country, and will be solicitous to have it immediately on publication. You will hear of Jacques to whom I write for that purpose, exactly when it will be ready—

I should suppose that as many copies as will ans^r the first sale, will undoubtedly be out of the hands of the various operators, on or before the 20th of this Month—

Has the 3rd Editⁿ of Emmeline ever been advertised or has it been kept back for this new Novel? I shall be very much oblig'd to you if you would an^r this question & let me know when Ethelinde will be out; & what sale y^e Sonnets have had of late as soon as possible—directed to me, under cover to my Brother the Rev^d Nicholas Turner at Fittleworth near Petworth as I have had a pleurisy² & am going thither for a few days (perhaps ten) for change from this very sharp air—

I am Sir

your ob^t & oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Brighthelmstone Nov^r 3rd 1789

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/35. Address: To M^r Davies, at M^r Cadells, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 7 NO [17]89.

¹ I.e., *Ethelinde*.

² Pleurisy is an inflammation of the membranes that surround the lungs, causing sharp pain during inhalation and exhalation. Smith's lungs were likely irritated by the fall chill in the coastal city of Brighton, and, thus, she was determined to visit her brother further inland.

Letter 40
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighthelmstone Nov^r 3rd 1789

D^r Sir

I hoped to have had some an^r to my Letter of above a month since, relative to the Irish matter, which rather presses, as I apprehend Ethelinde will be deliver'd to y^r shop in the course of a very few days¹, Jacques hav^g had by Sundays Post, my corrections of the last printed Sheet & the short dedication, which last alone remains to be printed—The moment it is out, a Copy will be sent off to Dublin, & The Edition pirated, will be ready within three weeks after yours is publish'd in London—Nothing therefore can obtain a sale for the fifty Copies which M^r Hayleys friend² offers to dispose of, but its being advertised at Dublin at the same time that it is advertised here—& whether you can continue to let me have any advantage from it, or do it on your own account, I think it w^d be better for us both to accept his offer—

I hear from Lady Crofton³, that the Sonnets have had much fame at Dublin, wherefore I conclude that you are secure of their amount on my behalf—I wish you had commission'd M^r Davies to inform me how that is, as I am so extremely distress'd for money that it w^d at this time be particularly useful to me—Beleiving that at all events you may have on this account to the amount of five G^s I shall draw tomorrow for that sum to pay my coal Merchant, & as M^r Hayley will be in Town in ab^t ten days, I will beg of him & M^r Clifford⁴ to look over & as far as may be, to settle the account between us.

I am now engaging in another work—which, as I apprehend you have enough of me for the present, I shall offer to M^r Robinson⁵ who I have reason to think will take it—& make from time to time such little advances as I am much afraid I shall want—Had matters in regard to M^r Colman been otherwise, I should have contented

¹ In Letter 38 (13 Oct. 1789), Smith asked Cadell if he would send 50 copies of *Ethelinde* to her bookseller friend in Ireland the week before the book's release so that she could reap some profit from her Irish readers before a pirated edition could come out. She awaits Cadell's response to this request, though she has miscalculated how long ago she made the request.

² Dublin antiquarian Joseph Cooper Walker. See Biographical Notes.

³ Smith's friend, Armida/Anne, Baroness Crofton of Mote (d. 1817) was one of her supporters and subscribers in Ireland. In a 1794 letter, Smith describes her as "a Woman of fashion and of course much known." Lady Crofton was the heiress of Thomas Croker, Esq., of Backweston, County Kildare, and was married to Sir Edward Crofton, Bart., County Roscommon. See Smith, "To Thomas Cadell, Jr., and William Davies," 8 Oct. 1794, in *CLCS*, p. 168 and p. 169 n1.

⁴ See Biographical Notes.

⁵ Smith informs Cadell that she is in talks with publisher George Robinson. While Cadell would publish *Celestina*, which Smith is currently working on, Robinson would publish her subsequent novel, *Desmond* (1792).

myself with my Theatrical attempt only.⁶ But as it is I must do something in order that my children may eat.—I am however well aware of the justice of the reasons you gave in your last letter for not wishing to engage again so immediately—& I should be very glad to be able to avoid the hazard of over writing myself. But while my childrens affairs remain as they do I must obey my poverty rather than my will—In expectation of an ans^r before Saturday if possible (as I am then going to stay with a friend in the Weald⁷ for a week or longer) I am Dear Sir
your ob^t & oblig^d Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

If you do not write before Sat^y direct after that time, to me, under cover to Miss Collins, Graffham near Midhurst.⁸

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/36. Address: To Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 4 NO [17]89.

⁶ Smith alludes to her 1788 exchange with playwright and former theater manager George Colman, who read an early draft of the first act of her comedy and kindly pointed out its weaknesses to her. See her letter to him dated 10 Feb. 1788 in *CLCS*, pp. 14-15.

⁷ The Weald is an area in South East England, crossing the counties of East and West Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, and Surrey.

⁸ Charlotte Collins (b. 1747), an unmarried friend of Smith's living in Graffham, Midhurst.

Letter 41
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Feb^y 9th 10 Days Date, on Rev. Rowland Duer, Chichester

Sir

I beg your pardon for not hav^g told you before, that the Bill on M^r Duer¹ must be sent to Fry & Robinson, Mildred Court, opposite the Mansion House—Who will send it to Chichester bank & give you I apprehend each for it either immediately, or on y^e return of the acceptance—I have been so harasss'd all this last week with variety of Torments & a violent cold, that I have had no time to attend to this—which I ought not to have neglected.

I can now hardly see & have only time to say to am quitting these lodgings for the less expensive & quieter lodgings, at No 36. Norton Street Portland Place²

I am Sir

your ob^t & oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

[Month cut off] 9th 1789.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/41. No address or postmark.

¹ Mr. Duer was also mentioned in Letters 9 and 24, but nothing more is known about him.

² I.e., London.

Letter 42
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Fittleworth¹ Nov^r 15th 1789

D^r Sir

I am much oblig'd by the contents of your Letter, rec^d here this ev^g—You quite mistook me if you thought I named my intention of offering a future work to M^r Robinson², because I was dissatisfied with you—It was merely because I concluded from your former Letter that you w^d rather not engage so immediately again & I feared that I should be under the necessity of writing rapidly for the support of the Children, in consequence of various disappointments & evasions on the part of the Trustees—I am well aware that it is very possible to over=write³ oneself, & I had much rather keep back what I now have in contemplation till next winter, if I can go on in the mean time—I have therefore made no agreement with M^r Robinson, & have gone no farther than to learn that he is willing and desirous to become the purchaser of any work I may have to dispose off—a knowledge which cannot affect my inclination to continue with you, as long as you are in the same mind: because it cannot obliterate the recollection of much trouble you took on account of the Sonnets: & many civilities receiv'd from you in the course of our transactions: of which had I been unmindful I might I beleive have long since have made what might have appeared a better bargain—

But I repeat, & without a compliment that I prefer the credit of your name; & do not by any means wish to carry mine to any other publisher while you are willing to purchase, what my circumstances rather than my inclination may compell me to compose—& I thought I so explaind myself in my last letter: at least I am sure I so meant it. I will try to get the promise or engagement you desire—

The Books for her Royal Highness I beg you will be so good as to have bound in the most elegant manner—When I saw her RH. she complaind that she had never receivd the Sonnets she had subscribed for—These must be sent. You do not say from what source the forty pounds comes for which you say I may draw—But I conclude it is from the Sonnets, as you speak of M^r Gardner. I shall not I beleive want more than twenty immediately, I mean within this week: & of that, ten pounds or thereabouts is to M^r Crawford⁴ at the circulating Library: ~~who will probably~~ at Brighthelmston—I have been so ill with a pleurisy that I would very willingly avoid being in London this month—

¹ Seeking relief for her pleurisy, Smith visits her brother, Nicholas Turner, in the Chichester village of Fittleworth.

² In Letter 40, Smith told Cadell she would be offering her next work to [George] Robinson.

³ *Sic.*

⁴ Andrew Crawford (d. 1800) became the postmaster of Brighthelmstone (Brighton) in 1784, and, in 1788, opened Crawford's Lending Library.

Mr Clifford⁵ is at present engaged in some business with the Trustees for me, which makes me unwilling to trouble him just now about the account between us; but if Mr Davies will be so good as to get it made out as far as may be, it may I believe be very easily settled either by ~~him, or by me~~ & Mr Clifford or by him & me if I do go to London, as I much fear I must do before Christmas—In regard to the Irish business⁶ you are the best judge—I am Sir

your ob^t & obligd humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

I return to Brighthelmstone about the 18th or 19th.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/37. Address: To Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: <?MIDHURST>, 17 NO [17]89.

⁵ See Biographical Notes.

⁶ Smith is pondering whether and how to send a copy of the latest edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* to Joseph Cooper Walker for distribution in Dublin in order to preempt the inevitable pirated edition.

Letter 43
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighthelmstone 11th Dec^r 1789

Dear Sir

I now find that in consequence of my second Sons¹ being certainly to go to India, I must of necessity be in London as soon as my other children return to their respective Schools after the Christmas Holydays—& therefore if you please we will let alone going over the account till then—as there is no likelihood of our hav^g any trouble ab^t it—Only if there will be any ballance for me you seem'd to say, it w^d be particularly acceptable ab^t Christmas when I shall have every thing to pay, and very little to receive—The assignment of Ethelinde I will execute when ever M^r Bicknell² sends it to me—

By Mondays or by Tuesdays Coach, you shall have a corrected Copy of it for reprinting, as I am inform'd that the first impression is sold—Jacques is full of trouble at the mistakes—which are to be sure woefully numerous³—I have drawn for thirty pounds or G^s out of the forty. If there is any money coming from Ireland⁴ I should be glad to have that, added to the remaining ten, and to know when I may draw for it—I am Dear Sir y^r ob^t & oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/38. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 12 DE [17]89.

¹ Her second son, Nicholas Hankey, would be arriving in India the following fall.

² Smith's attorney, Charles Bicknell. See Biographical Notes.

³ Unsurprisingly, works sped through the publishing process were prone to errors.

⁴ Smith hopes that Joseph Cooper Walker was successful in selling copies of *Elegiac Sonnets* in Dublin.

Letter 44
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[?Dec. 1789]

Sir.

My friend M^r Duer, the Bro^r in Law of M^r Rose has been at the point of death, which compelled me to have recourse to y^e name of M^r Rose¹ (who has some money of mine in his hands) till I could hear from M^r Duer, who thank God is now recovering, & I have today a Letter saying he will accept a Bill for fifteen G^s—Be so good therefore as to cancel the draft for five G^s + let me have y^e ballance of cash for the enclos'd² which will oblige greatly Sir

your most humble Ser^t
Ch Smith

One month have I now been waiting ineffectually for a meeting between M^r Robinson, M^r Clifford my Counsel & M^r Boehm which, takes place on Friday, After which I hope by receiving some money for my children, to be less intruding on you than I have been—*bien a contre Coeur*³—

‡The draft will be made payable in London—I shall give him notice of it tomorrow.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/52. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. No postmark. Undated.

¹ Attorney Samuel Rose. See Biographical Notes.

² No enclosure survives.

³ Much grudgingly.

PART IV: 1790

“tho an Author and a Woman, I am not either hotheaded or many headed”

-Letter 53

Stanton’s *Collected Letters* contain only six letters from 1790, so the 11 hitherto unpublished letters in this section add significantly to our understanding of Smith’s situation this year. In addition to losing the use of both hands at one point, Smith senses the general decline of her health—while having a house full of teenagers, as well as an eight-year-old and a five-year-old to support. Increasingly frustrated by the Trustees and harassed by Benjamin Smith—who tries this year to get her to return to him—she feels her situation ever more tenuous. While her personal finances continue to spiral down and as numbers of friends and supporters dwindle, she resorts to trickery and sleight of hand to try to stay afloat. As these letters attest, Smith projected boldness and confidence to certain parties when she thought it would benefit her, while privately confiding to her publisher that “my strength and courage [are] utterly failing me” (Letter 48).

Her first performance this year was for the wealthy suitor who was showing interest in her eldest daughter, Charlotte Mary. Turning 21 this year, Charlotte Mary found her grandfather’s promised inheritance still unattainable due to the Trustees’ paralysis, and only through marriage could she financially liberate herself and free

her mother from the necessity of feeding and clothing another adult. Smith makes frequent mention in these letters to the pressure she feels in seeing Charlotte Mary's promising union cemented. In April she tells Cadell, "I have every reason to believe that my eldest daughter would marry extremely well, as a Gentleman of landed property, of exceptional character & family, is certainly much attach'd to her—But I am afraid it will be quite impossible for me to keep up appearances till the affair can be brought about" (Letter 49). By August, she reports to Cadell, "I am straining every nerve to keep up appearances to my daughters establishment with a Man of fortune" (Letter 54). In late September, she leaks more details about this gentleman, who must bide his time until the death of his capricious, 86-year-old grandfather. It is the grandfather's fortune the grandson stands to inherit, but the grandfather has forbidden marriage. A proposal never did come, and—much like Jane Austen's Mr. Darcy when pursuing Elizabeth Bennet in *Pride and Prejudice*—we can only wonder if the suitor found faults in the daughter or in the mother. The suitor was smart to run, however disappointing to Charlotte Mary; Smith would have expected him to financially rescue the younger siblings, too.

In a fit of desperation, Smith conjured a second plan. She conscripted the help of a printer-friend to mock up a dummy title page of a nonexistent pamphlet that promised "An Account of the Situation of Mrs. Smith and her Children." It was a clever ploy meant to threaten Benjamin Smith and the Trustees with public humiliation in an effort to goad them to pay up. She showed the professionally-produced title page to Cadell in a letter she sent in April. The effort was ill-conceived from the start. To give it an air of authenticity and authority, she had her printer

include publication information: “London: Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand”—but, of course, Cadell had nothing to do with the production and did not approve of his respectable name being falsely attached to such a document. Smith stood to alienate her publisher, anger her husband, and frighten and embitter the Trustees: all powerful men who could retaliate. In her battle to extract the money she knew she was owed, her only recourse as a woman with a shrinking number of supporters was to threaten to appeal to the court of public opinion.

It is likely that, even if written, printed, and distributed, the pamphlet would have elicited little more than a yawn from a reading public already familiar with her sad plight, which she paraded out in prefaces and veiled character sketches in her novels. It is a signal of her desperation that she resorted to this measure and believed it would have the hoped-for effect. As she explained to Cadell when proposing this pamphlet in Letter 50, “as you know, necessity has no Law.” Her performance startled Cadell, who was unaccustomed to authors inserting him so directly into their domestic and legal troubles. Afterwards, she labored both to reassure Cadell that she had no real intention of printing the pamphlet and to restore his trust and confidence in her. In Letter 51, she acknowledged what Cadell must have thought of her in light of her hijinks: “tho an Author and a Woman, I am not either hotheaded or many headed.”

Smith was working herself to a frazzle, and any showmanship she may have employed in the past to project a love of her craft was gone. “I am extremely sick of my trade and very anxious to leave it off,” she admits in Letter 55. Desperation, however, prodded her onwards, and she shepherded *Ethelinde* through a second

edition, watched an edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* come out in Dublin, continued to try to hawk the copyright to *Emmeline* and the *Sonnets* to Cadell, and wrote a third novel, *Celestina*, which would be published in 1791.

Smith began to conceive of *Celestina* as early as August 1789—soon after the storming of the Bastille. The last volume of *Celestina* would engage with current political events, even though Smith stays firmly apolitical in letters to her editor. As the novel's characterization of Lord Castleworth would illustrate, Smith yearned for reform of the ancient hierarchical social system in England. In 1790, her pro-Revolutionary sentiments were increasingly strong and well defined.

Letter 45
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Brighton, 2 Jan. 1790]

Dear Sir

The assignment of Ethelinde together with the receipt, both witness'd in due form you have by this time received and are satisfied with I hope—I have drawn on you at two months from the 29th Dec^r 1789 for fifty Guineas—which the Bankers here have discounted—I was in some hopes that I might have done without this—But the loss of my excellent friend M^r Clifford¹ who was about settling every thing with my childrens Trustees, & the expence they (M^r Robinson however²) has undertaken to be at in fitting out my Son for India³, leaves me now no expectation of receiving any farther assistance from them, at least till the arrival of the Sugars⁴—Till when I must scramble on as well as I can—

I was somewhat disappointed by that part of your last Letter, which says that I am in your debt twenty pounds—Your former stated that besides the forty pounds there would be a small ballance coming to me on the close of the account, & trusting to that, I was not very exact in drawing for no more than precisely the forty pounds—yet including two or three small bills I took y^e liberty of sending to your house for payment, I think I did not exceed that sum ten pounds. This however will I doubt not be satisfactorily explain'd, when I see you, which at present I hope to do in about a fortnight[.] But for reasons you cannot be at a loss to guess, I propose seeing no other creature but those I have unavoidable business with, & staying only three or four days in Town—

—The irreparable loss I have sustain'd in losing M^r Clifford, has given new strength to the wishes I have long had of going abroad⁵—Far from impeding my work, it w^d open to me a new field for its execution & give it novelty & spirit—But burthen'd as I am I am afraid it will be impossible for me to lengthen my chain so much—Suppose I were to fix in Switzerland or Italy for two years, do you think my fashion will last long enough to allow me the expectation of deriving such advantage from my pen, as w^d preclude the hazard of being exposed to pecuniary

¹ Smith's friend, Mr. Clifford. See Biographical Notes.

² This is a rare ungrammatical turn for Smith. It is likely that Smith is trying to say that the Trustees—all except for Mr. Robinson—have contributed to helping outfit her son.

³ Smith's son Nicholas Hankey was departing for Bombay to serve as a writer in the Accountants Department in the East India Company.

⁴ Smith hoped that a shipment of sugar from one of the plantations held by her father-in-law's trust in Barbados would bring an infusion of cash. The monies from the sugars would have been erratic, dependent on the harvest and on shipping.

⁵ Unfortunately, Smith never realized her dream of relocating to the Continent, though she did visit to France briefly in 1791.

inconvenience[?] This we may speak off when I have the pleasure of seeing you—I
am Dear Sir

your ob^t & oblig'd h^{ble} Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

Brighthelmstone—Jan^y 2nd 1790

[On envelope:] Pray send the enclos'd to Jacques w^ye Post—and send y^r servant
with the other

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/42. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. No postmark.

Letter 46
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[New Hall, Chelmsford, Essex, 5 Feb. 1790]

Dear Sir.

I can procure nothing satisfactory yet from the Trustees notwithstanding Mr Boehms¹ assurances—& Mr Smith seems so determined to oblige me to live with him, that I have nothing left for it, but going where I can remain in tranquillity—He has even spoild the few days of repose I might have had here, by writing to Mrs Olmius², & I cannot stay to make my friends liable on my account to trouble & confusion—It remains only therefore, for me to leave England as soon as I can; But I know not how to raise money to do it; Something however I must do or die³—& perhaps it will much accelerate the execution of my present undertaking if I can be relieved from such insupportable anxiety—Consider therefore what farther advance it may answer your purpose to make on condition of my executing before I go, an agreement to put into your possession on or before ye 1st of Nov^r 1790—Three Volumes of a Novel in Letters⁴; and also a collection of the best Sonnets in English, French, Italian & Spanish that can be met with, with translations of those in the three last named languages.⁵ These in a small volume about three times the thickness of mine, would I am persuaded have a great fashion—& I beleive I could do such a thing well—If however neither of these proposals meet your inclinations, I will sell, for what ever ~~it~~ they may be now worth the copy rights of Emmeline & the Sonnets—I am so extremely harassed that unless I can get out of it, I must lose my Life; & therefore every thing else becomes indifferent to me—

As I am afraid every hour of Mr Smiths coming hither I shall not stay longer than Tuesday; I beg therefore hear from you as soon as possible—I have not yet determined what to do when I leave this place or whither to go.

¹ See Biographical Notes.

² Smith is staying on the historic estate of New Hall with a friend in the nobility, Elizabeth Olmius. In addition to the worry Smith felt when her husband contacted Elizabeth directly in search of her, it had to have been humiliating. For more on Elizabeth Olmius and her husband, see Biographical Notes.

³ This statement—and the one below (“I am so extremely harassed that unless I can get out of it, I must lose my life”) signal a level of desperation that is extreme, even for her.

⁴ Smith off-handedly proposes what will be *Desmond* (1792), an epistolary novel that would be too overtly political for Cadell and which would be published by George Robinson. For further reading, see Amy Garnai, “A Letter from Charlotte Smith to the Publisher George Robinson,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 19.4 (2007): 391-400.

⁵ In no other place does Smith propose an anthology of sonnets in translation, and she never followed through on the proposal named here.

My daughter⁶ informs me that on Friday She sent up a cover to y^r house directed to me by Sir Godfrey Webster⁷—It contain'd three letters two of which were of great consequence—I have not yet received it + am very uneasy; but rather hope it is gone to the Excise Office, and that M^r Olmius⁸ will bring it down with him tomorrow. If not pray have it enquired after as y^e loss of one of the letters which is on particular business, w^d be infinitely distressing to me. Tomorrow I shall send up two baskets; will you be so good as to let M^r Davies send one, according to the underwritten address, and the other as will appear on y^e card: charging the Porterage to me—I have particular reasons for giving you this trouble which pray forgive—I am

Dear Sir
your oblig'd & ob^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

New Hall⁹—Feb^y 5th 90.

The Basket is to go to M^{rs} Fell—No 12. Suffolk Court. Lant Street—in the Borough¹⁰.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/43. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: 6 FE [17]90. [Place stamp unclear]

⁶ Charlotte Mary Smith, almost 21 years old, worked as her mother's amanuensis.

⁷ Sir Godfrey Webster (1719-1800), 4th Baronet, who served as MP for Seaford, in East Sussex, 1786-90.

⁸ The husband of her hostess, Mr. John Luttrell-Olmius, had recently retired from the Royal Navy and was now Commissioner of Excise.

⁹ The New Hall estate, in Boreham, northeast of Chelmsford, Essex, was the home of Elizabeth and John Olmius. See the map in the Appendix.

¹⁰ The Borough refers to the Borough of Southwark, which is located directly south of the River Thames and the City of London.

Letter 47
To William Davies

[London, 19 Feb. 1790]

Sir,

I forgot to day to take the two Sonnets & therefore must trouble you to send them to the Excise Office—directed for Miss S¹—and Miss M—Ekins at Chelmsford²: to the care of the Hon^{ble} John Olmius³ Excise Office. When Miss Williams's books⁴ come out pray let me have a copy, & I should be glad to have Zeluco⁵ also & M^{rs} Piozzi's last publication.⁶

I am y^r obed^t Ser^t,
Ch Smith

London, Feb^y 19th 1790

Bodleian MS Montagu d. 2, fol. 160-61. Address: Mr Davies, at Mr Cadells, Strand. Postmark: <Paid, Penny, Post.> See CLCS, pp. 26-27.

¹ Miss (Charlotte Mary) Smith.

² A Mrs. Ekins and a Miss Ekins would later subscribe to Smith's *Narrative of the loss of the Catharine, Venus and Piedmont Transports* (1796). They must have been long-time acquaintances.

³ See Letter 46 and its n6.

⁴ Helen Maria Williams (1762-1827) had by this point published a novel, *Julia*, and *Letters Written in France in the Summer of 1790*.

⁵ *Zeluco: Various Views of Human Nature Taken from Life and Manners, Foreign and Domestic* (1789), by Scotland native Dr. John Moore (1729-1802).

⁶ The previous year, Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi (1741-1821) had published *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (1789). Prior to that, Cadell had published her *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson* (1786).

Letter 48
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighton March 8th [17]90

Dear Sir

I receiv'd the Books¹ & am oblig'd to you for your attention. I drew for fifty G^s at forty days with^t deducting the 5 G^s I drew for in Essex because in settling the account I observ'd that as many Sonnets had been sold as made the difference even; I should proceed now rapidly & I think more successfully than I have ever yet done, in my new work, were I not so cruelly harassed about the Childrens affairs, which after all the trouble I have had about them must now it seems go to Chancery² & so many parties must be concern'd that the expences will be more than adequate to the property in question—& what I am to do for the Childrens support in the mean time I know not—

I should be very unwilling to part with the Copy right of the Sonnets & Emmeline which w^d fetch very little perhaps, but circumstanced as I am I doubt not but that I shall be compelled to do it at all disadvantages, for present support for my family—At present I am only getting into debt with^t any chance of paying it, which is an injustice I cannot bear to be guilty of, & the excessive and continual uneasiness I am subjected to prevents my writing & ruind my health which is every day declining—

I cannot conjecture what is to be my fate but I wish as you are so very friendly and obliging & I am now deprived of those friends who used to exert themselves for me, that you would take an opportunity of seeing M^r Boehm³, and explaining to him the great disadvantages under which I write & consulting with him whether any thing can be thought of to releive me just till I am out of the difficulties & miseries which the many expences of my Sons departure⁴ (notwithstanding M^r Robinsons⁵ kindness) has brought upon me—I have offer'd to make over my income in the 3pC^s which is at my disposal⁶ for eighteen months—to repay part of what the Trustees have advanced, & to raise the Sum of one hundred

¹ Likely the books requested in Letter 47.

² The specter of Chancery, which had been raised in 1788 (Letter 14) and again in 1789 (Letter 36). Given all of the chatter about the possibility, Smith would not surprised when the Trustees informed her in January 1791 that solicitors had been retained for her as the case had been sent to Chancery (see Letter 61).

³ See Biographical Notes.

⁴ Nicholas Hankey Smith had recently departed for Bombay.

⁵ Either Smith is being ironic and actually being disparaging of Trustee John Robinson, or she is alluding to assistance from publisher George Robinson, with whom she was communicating at this time.

⁶ I.e., three percent.

pounds in order to get a little Ease from duns & torments—But the Gentlemen have given me no answer, and I imagine will not do it—It is true that I should by this means deprive myself of a certain income for the time, but I should obtain quiet & should then have no doubt of making more than w^d remedy that inconvenience—

As I am now situated it is impossible for me to live. I have no right in the World to take this liberty with you, but as you are now <deep> in advance to me it is your interest as well as mine that I should not be either so much distress'd as to be driven away or driven mad, or actually destroy'd by the corrosive & totally insupportable pain to which I am exposed—And I assure you that one or the other must happen, my strength and courage utterly failing me—I beg that your Clerks w^d answer no enquiries at your house about me as it is for the most part only M^r Smiths C[redito]^{rs} who want me to pay them. To The Grocer however who sent thither a very impertinent Letter for one pound six I owe nothing—hav^g paid him & taken his receipt the day before I left Norton Street in May last.

I am Dear Sir

your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/44. Address: To M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 9 MR [17]90.

Letter 49
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighthelmstone April 11th 1790

Dear Sir

As my eldest daughter is of age on Thursday¹ I had hoped that many of my troubles, at least such of them as relate to pecuniary matters would be soften'd if not ended: for it has for above two years been the promise of the Trustees, that then they would secure her her Legacy on her Grandfathers assets, & settle afterwards some allowance for the others who have a claim upon his Estate. Instead of which they have refus'd now that the period so nearly approaches to do any thing but refer me to Chancery. They are great Men & rich men & know that I cannot help myself— & that in consequence of their promises I have struggled thus long with difficulties from which the Courage of most Men w^d have shrunk and have exhausted not only my Money but my health for the Children.

After all my efforts I find myself worse off than ever, & anxiety preying hourly on that life which is my familys only dependence. Since I came from Graffham² I have been for four days confind to my bed without being able to use my hands—& the complaint the physical people say, is the effect of uneasiness of mind. In the midst of very acute bodily sufferings.

These humane Trustees return'd a draft I had given to a Shoemaker for five pounds each, for my three eldest Boys³ (who have an allowance out of part of my fortune) without giving me any notice: only telling the Bankers Clerk that there was nothing due!—The Man is very poor & came to me with the return'd Bill in great distress[,] distress which I know not how to remedy otherwise than by giving him a draft on you at fifteen days—Having taken measures to oblige the Trustees to replace the Money before that time: or if such measures fail, being certain of being able to do it, by desiring Lady Brownlow⁴ at whose very earnest request, I have undertaken to do two pieces of painting⁵, to pay into your hands the money I Am to

¹ Charlotte Mary had just turned 21, the age stipulated by her grandfather's will when she was supposed to receive her inheritance. With the contested will about to go to Chancery, that anticipated boon was delayed. By the time she did receive money, she was past marriageable age.

² Smith had visited her friend Charlotte Collins in Graffham, which is a village south of Petworth, in the district of Chichester, in the shire county of West Sussex.

³ Her three eldest boys—William Towers, 23; Nicholas Hankey, 20; and Charles Dyer, 18—all were abroad or preparing to go abroad at this time.

⁴ Possibly the former Frances Bankes, who married Lord—later Baron—Brownlow in 1775.

⁵ There is no other mention in the letters of Smith taking commissions for paintings, but her talent has been documented. For a scan of a photograph of a flowers watercolor Smith painted, see Florence M. A. Hilbish, *Charlotte Smith, Poet and Novelist (1749-1806)* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1941), p. 16 (and pp. 225 and 227 for an account of how Hilbish acquired the original). For a discussion of Smith as a painter, see Hilbish, pp. 14-16.

have for them—I pray you therefore accept the draft when it comes, if it should come before, but I have desir'd the Bankers here who are very obliging, to keep it back a few days in hopes of taking it up myself—I am extremely unwilling even to risk intruding upon you; but under such circumstances I knew not what to do—& perhaps M^r Jones may send you an order by that time—Nothing can be more cruel than my present situation. I have every reason to beleive that my eldest daughter would marry extremely well, as a Gentleman of landed property, of exceptional character & family, is certainly much attach'd to her—But I am afraid it will be quite impossible for me to keep up appearances⁶ till the affair can be brought about: But that I must break up Housekeeping & go God knows whither!

—Among the various expedients which I have thought of to prevent this, & to go on with that ease which may enable me to finish not only the New Novel but the Comedy, one is, to enquire of you whether you would, on my giving you security to repay you fifty-four pounds of the Money at Christmas from my Money in the 3 p^C⁷ in case I do not write it all out,) accept a Bill of one hundred pounds at Eight months; which I can get discounted here. Long before that time Celestina the Novel I am about (& of which great part & some Sonnets, equal to y^e most successful ones are done,) will be finish'd in three Volumes—You have already advanced me one hundred pounds on it & the fifty will complete the pay[men]^t at fifty pounds a Volume—but the money by this mode will not be call'd for from you till after publication which will I trust be in November—As to the other fifty I should hope that part of it might be receiv'd by you from the remaining Sonnets: But if not, the dividend which I will secure to you would prevent your being in any hazard of loss. This appears a very distressing expedient for me; but the fact is, that I know the Trustees must before that time release me from part of my burthens, & that it is worth my while to make every effort + every exertion to promote a match so very advantageous to my family as that I have in view, which would probably be the salvation of all the children—In consequence of having expended the greatest part of my last dividend for my Son & of numberless expences I was put to in Town, I am got into debt here; & I cannot bear to go on so nor can I attempt to go on with my comedy while my mind is so harassed—The money in question would releive me at once from that insupportable pressure, and I should go on with cheerfulness & success I think: more than can be hoped for while I suffer so much solicitude—Solicitude which does indeed utterly gradually impair both my health + faculties.

The Comedy M^r Harris⁸ w^d accept, & if I could only have a moderate degree of peace for four or five months that, and the Novel⁹ which I mean to make of a more

⁶ In several letters this year, Smith alludes to her attempts to “keep up appearances” as her eldest daughter, Charlotte Mary, was being courted by an unnamed landed gentleman. Smith anxiously hoped that the match would succeed and thereby financially secure one of her daughters. That courtship fizzled out; Charlotte Mary never married. (See also Letters 52, 53, and 56.)

⁷ Smith earned three percent in interest from her marriage settlements, paid twice yearly.

⁸ Thomas Harris, the owner of King's Theatre.

⁹ I.e., *Celestina*.

cheerful cast than the two preceding novels, would I think be finish'd with^t much hazard of their failure. Risk of loss to you in what I propose, I think there cannot be¹⁰—The alternative is, that if I cannot so procure the Sum in question (great part of which I want immediately for pay[men]^t of taxes, coals + other things unavoidable;) I must offer to some adventurous dealer, y^e copy rights of Emmeline & the Sonnets or have recourse to some other expedient equally desperate & discreditable. I am persuaded that you will not suffer me to do so if you can without impropriety oblige me—Above all things I beg your an[swe]^r by the return of the Post, as my present situation is dreadful. I am D^r Sir y^r S[e]r[vant]

Charlotte Smith

I beg again the fav^r of an immediate answer.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/45. Address: To Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE 12 AP [17]90.

¹⁰ Although this fractured underlining looks unnatural in typescript, it is a perfect transcription of the original and betrays Smith's anger and frustration.

Letter 50¹
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

Brighthelmstone on April 13 [1790]

Dr Sir

I have written fully to Mr Bicknell² whom you will probably see, Therefore in answer to yr fav^r receiv'd this morning, I will only say that whatever may be my inconvenience I have not the least intention of pressing you to grant what you may deem unsafe and incompatible with your interest. But, as you know necessity has no Law³ you must not take it amiss, if on finding you still think so, I endeavour to help myself by other means in any way that may not to you be prejudicial as to past transactions. I have some time kept in reserve a little history of myself—Which I know would be only like wormwood than honey⁴ to Mr Smiths family

I do not by any means wish to expose him or them now, for the reason you know of about my daughter⁵ but therefore tho fear of it may do what reason & justice & humanity fail to do. I enclose now therefore a printed title page of the pamphlet & if you are ask'd about it be so good as to say that you understand it is ~~ready for~~ in the press (as it really is,) & that I have given orders to have it advertis'd for the 21st—But that you know no more, as I print on my own account & you are merely the publisher.

This is a piece of Generalship which may fail, but is more likely to succeed. And you know that if nothing but a smart strike on the nerves will do, a good physician must hazard it.⁶ You will keep the thing secret of course—If it succeeds I may want only half the assistance I solicited.

I am Dear Sir

¹ For an extended study of this letter, see Harriet Guest and Judith Stanton, “A smart strike on the nerves’: Two letters from Charlotte Smith to Thomas Cadell, with a title page,” *Women’s Writing* 16.1 (2009): 6-19. Hereafter referred to as Guest and Stanton.

² Attorney Charles Bicknell. See Biographical Notes.

³ By using the axiom, “Necessity has no law,” Smith suggests that showing her husband the mock title page is necessary, and therefore she is justified in breaching the standards of propriety that Cadell worked hard to develop as a reputable bookseller.

⁴ Smith alludes to the biblical proverb: “For the lips of a strange woman drop as an honeycomb, and her mouth is smoother than oil: But her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword” (Proverbs 5:3-4, quoted from King James Version).

⁵ To offer proof to Cadell that she does not intend to publish the biographical pamphlet, she alludes once again to Charlotte Mary’s marriage prospect to the landed gentleman, which would be endangered should the family’s dirty laundry be aired so blatantly.

⁶ By employing the common medical phrase, “strike on the nerves,” Smith suggests that her husband needs to be startled into good behavior. As Guest and Stanton observe, “to Cadell it must have felt more like a sickening assault on his professional probity” (7).

your ob^t humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

I have requested M^r Bicknell to see you & give me the result of your conference by the 16th by which day he has a frank—& my occasions for money are so urgent that I have no time to lose in regard to being on a certainty, before the end of the week.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/47. Proof title page and cover letter. No address or postmark.

L/AE/47

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
SITUATION
OF
Mrs. Charlotte Smith and her
Children;

VIDELICET,

William, Nicholas, Charles, Lionel, and George
Smith; Charlotte-Mary, Anna-Augusta, Lucy-
Elenore, and Harriet Amelia Smith;

From the 3d of Nov. 1783, to the present Time, April 1790.

With the Conduct of the Trustees, the Origin of their Trust,
and their Letters, by which all Applications for Redress on the
Part of Mrs. Smith have been evaded till this Time.

Written by herself, and published at the Desire of her
particular Friends.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

Letter 51¹
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

[?Brighton, c. 16 Apr. 1790]

Sir

I was so much fatigued by writing the last time I wrote to you, that I forgot I suppose to explain to you that I have no design whatever of publishing the Pamphlet², but have merely held it up as a bugbear to those who are I know very much afraid of such a thing—I am very sorry you have been discompos'd about it³—Of which I was not aware; for even if it had been meant for publication it could have injurd nobody unless Truth injures. You may be assured I know perfectly what I am about in regard to myself—I am determind not to go on with the Trustees as I have done & they evade & shuffle so much rather than give themselves any trouble, that I am compell'd to take means such as are very unpleasant to myself—It is now so many years since I have been thus inconvenienced that my patience is exhausted & they, having made me desperate, must take the consequence of my desperation—It is to M^r Smith only I have sent a Copy of the proof sheet

In the expectation that neither he or his relations will very much relish the intended History & seeing me very much in earnest will take measures to settle with my daughter & to decide whether in future I am to have any allowance for the Children or no—You cannot think I complain needlessly when you recollect all the distress I have been put to for Money since my connection with you—(I who was born & educated to a very different fate:) While there is at this hour, above thirteen thousand pounds due to My children from the Estate of Sir John Gibbons⁴ which these Gentlemen who have now been Trustees six years, have never given themselves the least trouble to recover—There is likewise money at New York, recoverable & other Sums in Barbados besides the Estate there—The former they have never once sent after & the latter is managed as it happens for I have never any account nor hear what is going on there tho there is three thousand pounds of my own Money, given me by my Father, on Mortgage on it. Neither my personal applications or applications by Letter avail anything—M^r Boehm refers me to M^r Robinson: M^r Robinson sends me back to M^r Boehm— M^r Boehm to M^r Parkin⁵—M^r

¹ For an extended study of this letter, see Guest and Stanton.

² I.e., the autobiographical pamphlet, described in Letter 52, intended to alarm Benjamin Smith.

³ As Guest and Stanton observe, “Cadell had clearly been dismayed and alarmed by Smith’s attempt to dragoon him into service in her battles with her husband and the trustees, and by her skilful exploitation of her access to the services of a sympathetic printer” (8).

⁴ Sir John Gibbons (of Barbados), d. 1776, had a mortgage on the Stanwell lands in Barbados, which were subsequently sold. In several letters, Smith states her belief that she had a claim to the money from the sale.

⁵ Anthony Parkin, the solicitor of John Dyer.

Parkin to Chancery—Thus situated & with seven children to cloath & to feed, any measure I can take to remedy such extreme inconvenience, any remedy which is neither dishonest nor dishonourable, I think I have a right to try.

M^r Hardinge⁶ who wrote the two Letters you sent down in the Parcel to Crawfords, has now told me he will try what can be done & if Law must be had recourse to, will undertake it for me with no other fee than my promising to write Novels & Sonnets to the end of the Chapter—I ~~will~~ wait to hear the event of his application to the Trustees—In the mean time if any person applies to you ab^t the pamphlet you need only say that you know nothing more than that such a thing is intended—I will certainly withdraw your name if ever it should be publish'd: But the best assurance you can have of my not intending to do it is, that I have so favourable a prospect for my daughters establishment, that I would keep every thing relative to her Father as quiet as possible least it should mar it⁷; & Of the Trustees I desire nothing but such assistance for the Children as may enable me to go on (with my own endeavours assisting) till that can be brought about. I trust this account of myself will convince you I am not going to do any thing rashly—And that tho an Author and a Woman, I am not either hotheaded or many headed⁸. I enclose my Letters to my Son & am oblig'd to you for the trouble you have taken—When the Box goes to India House be so good as to let your Porter enquire by what Bengal Ship it will go, that I may know

In regard to the purport of my former Letter I have only to repeat, that I am too proud to solicit any favour by which you can be a sufferer—& too honest let me add willingly to injure any one—I cannot however but know that I may have more than fifty pounds a Volume for any book I write from more than one, or two Booksellers, for it has been offerd to me—(I do not mean either Lane or Kearsley⁹ but People of Character). & that if you are afraid of my not finishing *Celestina*, & that you shall suffer by the advance, there are those who will take the business off your hands in a few days—At the same time I repeat that I had rather have less from you, than more from Persons with whom I never had connection & that nothing but necessity, arising from the circumstances above recited, should induce me to have recourse to such an expedient as offering the produce of my pen to any other persons. I suppose I shall hear of M^r Bicknell by Saturdays post, <re:/y^r> determination: & I am Sir y^r obed. & humble Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/48. No address or postmark.

⁶ George Hardinge (1743-1816), MP, author, and poet known for his benevolence and wit. See Biographical Notes.

⁷ Smith reassures Cadell that she would not publish the pamphlet because she must keep up appearances while Charlotte Mary is courting a promising marriage prospect.

⁸ Smith alludes to the terrifying Greek mythological monster, the Hydra, which had the body of a serpent and many heads.

⁹ Booksellers William Lane (see Biographical Notes) and George Kearsley.

Letter 52
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Brighton, 19 Apr. 1790]

Dear Sir

Mr Bicknell informs me you have agreed to my proposal but I have now some hopes of being able to do with only fifty pounds, at a long date—at least I will try to manage without having more for some weeks to come. The fifty pounds now in question I shall probably redeem: but for your greater security I send you up the receipt—Which, if I should not want more money, & should deliver to you three Volumes of Celestina before the time this is due, at the Bank you will of course return to me—

By the return of the Post be so good as to name exactly the date at which I shall draw the Bill to be discounted at the Bank here, & so write it, that I may shew it them, to assure them the Bill will be accepted.

I am Sir your ob^t & oblig^d Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

April 19th 1790

If this receipt is not satisfactory you shall have any other you desire, but it is such as I gave the Trustees who have advanced the July Dividend to help fit out my Son on his departure¹.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/49. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 20 AP [17]90. Cadell's office noted on the envelope that the subject of this letter is an advance of £100 and an order for her.

¹ Smith's son Nicholas Hankey had to be equipped to make the long journey to India in order to assume his appointment with the East India Company. See also Letter 45 and its n2.

Letter 53
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighton July 13th 1790

D^r Sir

I have been negotiating as usual with Mess^{rs} the Trustees for the loan of an hundred & fifty pounds on advance to the Children—Last week I was to have had it—This week they demur—The next they may grant it—Such is my treatment & that, not for one or two years—but now for seven it has lasted¹—If I get it I shall not trouble you—but if I should not, may I draw for twenty pounds or thereabouts on the terms we before talk'd of?—at as many months as you will—Jacques has got Celestina in hand I hope—M^r Hayley to whom I now send it for correction (as M^r S² is gone abroad) informs me he thinks it promises to be superior to the other two—But perplexity—eternal perplexity about money is sadly sadly against me—And of that there seems no end. As part of my plan (for Novelty) lays in France, I want a Book—which gives an Account of the Pyreanean mountains it is mention'd in the last appendix to the Monthly or Critical Reviews, I know not which, & I have lent the Pamphlet like a fool—so that I cannot refer to them—Pray let M^r Davi[e]s enquire, who will easily find the Book I mean—Which if it can be had (in French rather than in English) pray send me as early as possible—

I conclude this Letter will follow you to Margate³—Therefore I will try to get it frank'd at least part of the way, & I entreat as early an answer as possible, which will oblige D^r Sir

your obed^t humble Ser^t

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/50. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. No postmark.

¹ Seven years back would have been 1783, in which year Smith was living in King's Bench (debtors') Prison with her husband. It appears that it was the imprisonment for debt that turns the Trustees against her.

² Smith's Sussex neighbor and friend John Sargent was one of the primary people she turned to for correcting her manuscripts.

³ Margate is the seaside town in Kent where Cadell was on holiday.

Letter 54
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighthelmstone, Augst 22nd, 1790

Dear Sir,

Some circumstances have lately occurred, which make me think it better and more secure for you to enter into such an agreement in regard to the new Novel¹ as was drawn up (but I think never sign'd) in regard to Ethelinde. The Work will be comprised in four Volumes which, when completed, will do more I hope than get me out of debt to you. But I do hope also that (as you will certainly be on the whole a considerable gainer by our transactions and as my writing is just now so much in fashion) you will agree to make a further pay[men]^t of ten pounds a volume on the publication of the second edition.

This is indeed but a poor compensation for the loss I must inevitably sustain in selling the copy right. I am very ready to do justice to your liberality in general, & do believe that you had rather not buy it because I must so lose. But Alas!—it is my poverty and not my will that has forced me to do it, & while M^r Smiths circumstances remain as they are, I do not know whether it is not better to sell intirely all my literary property—Which, when once bought and paid for, no claimant against him can, as I am well informed, affect—Whereas I am much afraid that there are circumstances wherein every thing really mine w[oul]^d be given up during his life to the use of M^r Smiths Creditors. This information & some talk from M^r Halliday² of a very discomfoting nature has revived a wish to sell entirely the Copy right of Celestina & that of Emmeline and the Sonnets for whatever they may be worth. A purchaser for the latter I could easily find as I apprehend you do not think them objects. But I have ever cautiously avoided any step which could be construed into a wish to loosen or break a connection with you which I have reason to speak so well of.

In regard to Celestina I c^d wish that when the agreement is drawn up, the purchase of a £50 a volume might be completed & the draft I gave you on M^r Dyer³ & Turner⁴ returned—I shall then know what I work for, & tho the Balance, if any, will be but small, it will be of service to me now, as I am straining every nerve to keep up appearances to my daughters establishment with a Man of fortune who has

¹ I.e., *Celestina*.

² Likely Simon Halliday, Benjamin Smith's friend and advisor, who served as a liaison between Charlotte and Benjamin after he went into exile.

³ Thomas Dyer (1744-1800) of Kensington, the second husband of Richard Smith's daughter Mary Berney.

⁴ Nicholas Turner, Smith's younger (and only) brother. See Biographical Notes.

been some months attach'd to her is secured.⁵ For this, as it is worth every thing to me & my other children, I would spare no exertion; & indeed it is well worth every effort, as the ~~only~~ one of few things that w^d give a new colour to my hitherto dark & sad destiny——

I wish to have your early answer on this, or rather on these subjects & M^r Bicknell may if you please draw up the agreement. The four Volumes to be delivered between this period & the 1st of January—I name a longer date than we at first talked of because I am compelled to be much more in company on account of my daughter than I was last year & of course work more slowly—besides that, an increasing reputation I am of course very unwilling to risk, & I think it better, & so I am sure will you, to be a few weeks later than to send an hurried or incorrect performance abroad. M^r Hayleys absence in France deprived me at present of a corrector, & I am by no means secure enough of my own powers, flattered as I daily am, to hazard the press without the opinion & correction of a literary friend.

In all these reasons, I am persuaded you will not object to giving me the farther latitude from November to January. It may perhaps be not unpleasant to you to hear that my literary acquaintance & of course my fashion is daily increasing. I have been introduced among others to M^r Sheridan⁶ who complimented me very highly on both the Novels—& indeed I have reason enough to be proud of y^e attention I daily receive. While I cannot but lament that from the peculiar circumstances of my family, the money I might earn for their future provision is all consumed by their support & their Grandfathers property likely, I fear, to be wasted in Law.

Pray let me hear from you as soon as you can, and believe me with all wishes for y^e health & pleasant recess at Broadstairs⁷,

Dear Sir
your most obed^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Robert H. Taylor Collection, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Address: To Thomas Cadell Esq^{re}, Broad Stairs, near Margate, Kent. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 23 AU [17]90. See CLCS, pp. 27-29.

⁵ Smith first mentions her hopes for Charlotte Mary's marriage prospects in Letter 49. It seems clear that Smith hoped that this "Man of fortune" would not only marry Charlotte Mary, but also financially rescue the younger siblings.

⁶ To receive a compliment from Irish playwright and London Theatre Royal owner Richard Brinsley Sheridan was a big deal for Smith.

⁷ Broadstairs is a coastal resort town on the Isle of Thanet, located between Margate and Ramsgate.

Letter 55
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighthelmstone, Sep^r 8th 1790

Dear Sir,

I should have been glad to have had your idea's of the value of the copy right of the Sonnets & the future edit^{ns} of Emmeline after the third As it is not to be suppos'd I can appreciate them & a thousand reasons deter me from enquiring their value of any other of the Trade.

I am extremely sick of my trade and very anxious to leave it off. When ever my Childrens affairs are settled, I shall not need it for them & have at all events an independence for myself.¹ Therefore I had rather sell the copy right of the Sonnets & of Emmeline for less than their value than keep them—at some hazard perhaps of their becoming at some time or other the property of M^r Smiths Creditors if the right remains in me.

You need not be solicitous now for the Paper I named from him because I have general power of Attorney from him to transact every sort of business, relative to his affairs, mine, or the Childrens, which I am assur'd very fully authenticates & secures any pecuniary transaction either in regard to you or others.²

Having done the Poetry for Celestina and having no doubt of putting the whole upon paper (since it is already settled in my head) by the time named, I have been strongly tempted to overlook the Translation of a very curious and interesting book just procured from France Which w^d probably have a very rapid sale and w^d, as it is mere play, be ready in about six weeks. There are two volumes of ab^t 450 pages, the two—of french—which w^d make nearly the same in English & as it relates to the present crisis, w^d probably be read with great avidity. It should be twenty five pounds a volume, & I w^d publish it with my name. Let me know your opinion & whether if it were done you w^d engage for it.³ You may be assured it shall not prejudice the progress of Celestina. Celerity however in such a matter is everything; favor me therefore with a speedy answer—

¹ Smith probably did not have an independent income, despite her assertions here and elsewhere. As Stanton reminds us, Smith's settlements made on her at and after marriage did not provide for her in the contingency of separation (*CLCS*, p. 31 n1).

² As Guest and Stanton observe, Smith's attainment of the power of attorney from her husband demonstrates that she "was not content to play the part of the passive domestic victim"; her savvy in understanding the power of public opinion and the role of the printed word in swaying that opinion gave her one advantage over her abusive spouse ("A smart strike on the nerves," p. 12). Smith mentions this power of attorney again in Letter 57.

³ There is no further mention of such a translated work in any other letter.

As to the other matter, I will sell the copy right of the Sonnets for Forty, and of Emmeline for twenty pounds⁴ & at this Sum, I am sure you must be a considerable gainer.

I have drawn on you at ten days for five G^s the balance of what for Celestina will be payable, according to your statement, for Mess^{rs} the Trustees return'd two Bills of mine after promising to pay them & till by the intervention of M^r Hardinge,⁵ I can get them paid, I am literally pennyless———Certainly This trifle will make no difference between us. As soon as I get the agreement which M^r Bicknell is drawing up, I will sign & send it you——Jacques has printed all I have yet seen of Celestina (ie—the greater part of the first volume) very neatly and correctly.

I am, Sir, in hopes of an early an^r,
your most obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t,
Charlotte Smith

Houghton Library Autograph File MS, Harvard University. No address or postmark. See CLCS, pp. 29-30.

⁴ Maida Butler wrote in "Mr. and Mrs. Smith" that Smith had already received £60 for the third edition of *Emmeline*.

⁵ George Hardinge. See Biographical Notes.

Letter 56¹
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

Brighton, Sept^r 28 1790

Dear Sir

I lose no time in putting you out of any apprehensions you may have as to my undertaking another work to the prejudice of your purchase. It was merely an idea, started by a literary friend, who fancied such a work would sell well & might be easily done. But before I had finish'd the perusal of the Book which he brought from Paris, I was convinced that, tho I might make little temporary advantage of it, I should in the event injure my fame, & I had relinquish'd every thought of it, before I received your Letter. Jacques has never waited a moment yet for Copy nor will he. He prints however slowly, because he is desirous of avoiding those errors which were complain'd of in *Ethelinde*; & Every sheet is sent to me to be corrected. Another reason is, that I have nobody now to correct for me² & am therefore depending wholly on myself, which is very unpleasant, because notwithstanding all the flattery I receive, I very much doubt my own judgement & should be sadly mortified to find the new work less approved of than the two former. You need not apprehend that I shall act in any degree dishonourably towards you in regard to it. So far from it, that I consider my time sold to you till the work is completed, & have resign'd every intention of going to my friends as I should otherwise have done this Autumn, because, from my having been oblig'd to go out so much with my daughter this Summer³, I have not brought it into that forwardness as I hoped to have done. But, while I submit to this, as your due, I cannot but murmur at my fate, which seems the hardest that ever was endured & the most irremediable.

As you decline to purchase the copy right of *Emmeline*, I shall think no more of disposing of it. I would very fain keep the Copy right of the *Sonnets*. But such is the conduct of the Trustees towards me. (Tho they say they are the kindest people in the world,) that their delays, and M^r Hallidays⁴ threat of making M^r Smith a Bankrupt, conspire to oblige me as a matter of present convenience & future safety to dispose of it. You shall have it therefore on the terms you name, but I should like to have a power of redeeming it, before the period you speak of it to reprint, in case it should be within that space in my power to repay you the money with intst. There

¹ This letter was first published by Richard C. Taylor, "'The evils, I was born to bear': Two letters from Charlotte Smith to Thomas Cadell," *Modern Philology* 91.3 (1994): 313-18.

² In Letter 54, Smith lamented Hayley's "absence in France," which had left her "deprived . . . of a corrector."

³ While Charlotte Mary was being courted by the "Man of fortune," Smith had to "keep up appearances" and attend social events.

⁴ Simon Halliday. See Letter 54, n2.

will I trust be no great trouble in making such a bargain & by an early post I beg to hear whether you agree to it.

I am sensible that I give you a great deal of trouble. But it is wholly owing to the peculiarity of my situation. The difficulties of it have of late been multiplied by a circumstance which may perhaps in the end, tend to remove them. A Gentleman every way unexceptionable & of a very affluent fortune in expectation, has been for many months very particular towards my eldest daughter, & his intentions cannot be doubted. But he depends in a great degree on the caprice of a Grandfather of eighty six, till whose death he cannot marry. To support my family till then in that state which may not appear to disgrace him, and to remain where he is, has been my object. It has certainly led me into some expences I should otherwise have avoided. But I held it to be fulfilling my duty towards my daughter, already too much injur'd. And I trust the Event will make me ample amends for my personal inconvenience. I have a Letter from a M^r Walker of Dublin, left at yr. House in the Strand, by M^r Archer Bookseller of that City⁵, who was in hopes to have seen me. M^r Walker says, that by sending a copy of any new Work to Dublin before it is printed here, A Bookseller there will give me a Sum of money for it, which mode he wishes me to adopt, as the Dublin Booksellers have made very considerable profit by Emmeline & Ethelinde, one of which has gone thro three y^e other thro two Editions. To this friendly proposal I have given no answer, supposing, that I cannot till I know wether such disposal may affect your interest because if it does, I certainly shall decline it. From me therefore with an early answer as M^r Walkers civility demands immediate thanks, whether I can properly avail myself of it or no.

In hopes therefore of yr opinion thereon, & on the proposal ab. y^e Sonnets, I am Dear Sir

your obed humble Ser^v.
Charlotte Smith

Courtesy of the Heritage Collections, Dunedin Public Libraries, Dunedin, New Zealand. No address or postmark. Acquired by New Zealand bookseller, publisher, and philanthropist A. H. Reed in April 1928 as part of a "miscellaneous collection of autographs" from London bookseller Edward George Friehold.⁶ No envelope.

⁵ Charles P. Archer, bookseller in Dublin.

⁶ Anthony Tedeschi, "RE: Charlotte Smith letters in your collection," Message to Emily M. Brewer (30 May 2012), E-mail.

Letter 57
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighthelmstone Oct^r 9th 1790

Dear Sir

M^r Bicknell himself having drawn the power of Attorney which M^r Smith gave me on his departure for the North¹, I imagine he is quite adequate to the drawing up [of] the Agreement between us, without my sending the power to him; I have not however written to him, because it is hardly yet the time when he inform'd me he sh^d return from Wales whither he went for six weeks—I shall however write to him tomorrow & in the mean time as I want twenty or twenty five pounds to satisfy some summing accounts that have been suffer'd to get too much into arrears, I shall draw on you on Monday ye 11th at fourteen days for that Sum—ie five & twenty p^{ds}²—& by the time that draft is due the agreement will be compleated—My eldest daughter has been extremely ill, & is going on Monday for change of air to the House of my Sister³ near Petworth, where she & M^r Dorset now are—I shall go with her as I can work there as well, or rather better than at home; & there I wish you to give me an answer relative to the question I ask'd you about the Dublin Bookseller⁴—which, in your last obliging Letter you, thro haste as I imagine, omitted to mention

It is time M^r Walkers Letter was answered: But till I hear from you, I do not like to take any step in it, lest it should prove disagreeable to you—M^r Hayley to whom M^r Walker has also written, informs me, that he desir'd D^r Warner to call on you about it—But as there is little probability that the Doctor saw you, I trust you will be so good as to give me your answer as early as you can; directed, to me at

Micha^l Dorsets Esq^{re}

Sutton

Petworth

I am Dear Sir

your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/51. Address: Mr Cadell, Broadstairs, Margate, Kent. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 11 OC [17]90.

¹ Benjamin Smith is living in Scotland, where he can evade English creditors.

² £25.

³ Catherine Ann Dorset, neé Turner, married to Capt. Michael Dorset.

⁴ See Letter 52 for Smith's first reference to Dublin bookseller and friend Joseph Cooper Walker.

Letter 58
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Petworth, 22 Dec. ?1790]¹

Sir

In the extreme hurry in which I wrote to day², I did not answer your question as to how many Volumes the work in question will be—I do not propose more than three of 288 Pages, or six sheets Each; but, should my materials turn out more productive of incident than I at present foresee, the work may sum to four Volumes unless, you, in case of becoming its purchaser, object to that number—You will on Wednesday evening receive about Eighty five or ninety pages which are corrected and transcribed ready for the press—I shall direct the packet to you, leaving it to you to peruse the contents as a specimen of the species of work; or to send it, (if that be too much trouble or you deem it un=necessary³,) to M^r Andrews⁴ whom I shall write to, to let his Servant call for it the end of the week when I think you have had time to peruse it—I am persuaded you will favor me with your decision as speedily as the nature of the business will admit—I am Sir, your most obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Dec^r 22nd at night—

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/39. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: PETWORTH. n.d.

¹ I suggest that the year for this letter is 1790 since Smith is referring to a work that she is beginning (in mid-December). *Celestina* would be published in 1791, and no letters predating this one make mention of her having completed pages for this new novel.

² No year is attached to this letter, but there is no other extant letter from Smith to Cadell dated 22 December.

³ *Sic.*

⁴ London printer James Andrews ran a shop at 10 Little Eastcheap from 1784 to 1799.

PART V: 1791-92

“I am compelld to deal, like any dealer in corn & Cattle”

-Letter 70

Smith’s financial crisis came to a head this year, and it sent her relationship with Cadell into a downward spiral. The letters in this section begin as Smith is in Brighton, anticipating a meeting of the Trustees, who, she hopes, are about to settle her father-in-law’s contested will. It was the children’s holiday and all of them were home, and she needed money to feed them. She humiliated herself to request a £50 loan from Cadell. “I really think,” she confided, “I shall be driven mad,” and surmised, “Perhaps among all the people, poor by profession with whom you have had dealings, none ever was so situated as I am—with seven thousand pounds of my own with an Estate the property of my children, and yet to be reduced to write & even to borrow for bread for my children” (Letter 59). When Cadell did not reply to her desperate plea, she submitted a bill at the bank drawing on him, and subsequently pleaded with him to merely keep—not pay for—this £50 bill. Once again, her pride took a hit: “You can little imagine the pain it costs me to ask [this favor]—or what I have had to encounter & just still encounter—& how impossible it is for the mind to exert itself under such a pressure” (Letter 60). Soon thereafter, she received word that the stymied Trustees had decided to forward her father-in-

law's will to Chancery, effectively tying up the hoped-for inheritance money for the foreseeable future. She relocated to London from mid-January through the summer.

Through these painful exchanges with Cadell, Smith was completing her four-volume novel *Celestina*. On 12 February 1791, she anticipated being able to complete the third volume within the month (Letter 62), and by June was correcting proofs of the last volume (Letter 64). This third novel follows the formula of *Emmeline* and *Ethelinde* in some ways: it is another courtship novel with a vulnerable young heroine at the center battling against those more wealthy and powerful than she. However, Smith inspires her eponymous heroine with literary knowledge, poetic skill, and a satiric perception of the English nobility that reflects the revolutionary awakenings in Smith's own spirit. The closing episodes of the novel occur as the French Revolution is beginning.

The financial strain that propelled Smith through her *Celestina*-writing blitz was difficult enough before she learned second-hand that Cadell had shared his frustrations about her with others. She confronted him about this breach of confidence gently: "I have heard things repeated as coming from you, which I am sure you are too delicate & too considerate to have spoken of" (Letter 62). The following spring, she would return to this point: "Mr. Hardinge informed me long ago . . . that you had spoken to every body of my distress & of my having borrow'd fifty pounds of you" (Letter 72).¹

¹ In an interesting parallel, Samuel Taylor Coleridge—another draining and needy Romantic poet—broke his friendship with William Wordsworth in 1810, feeling betrayed after hearing Basil Montague repeat the honest, but unkind, characterization of Coleridge by Wordsworth.

Soon after first raising this issue, she began shaping plans for an experimental novel she hoped would entice him and restore herself to his good graces. As observers in England and on the Continent were beginning to internalize the impact of the French Revolution, Smith conceived of “a Novel in Letters,” set in the action, just as she was completing work on *Celestina*. In order to conduct on-the-ground research for the novel that would become the overtly political *Desmond*, she decided to travel to Paris.

Smith departed for Paris on 7 September 1791. The letter she writes to Cadell as she is about to leave gives an account of her hopes and plans for the trip, and, additionally, seeks to impress him by dropping names of her connections among the French literati. The trip, she believed, would demonstrate to Cadell her commitment to her craft and her determination to remain current and relevant in the midst of a shifting political environment. Smith’s conversations and observations during that trip opened her eyes to the complexity of the situation in Revolutionary France, which those in England tended to simplify into black and white terms. Her broadened understanding aided her as she transitioned and matured as a novel writer, and the impact of that growth is clear in her novels *Desmond*, *The Banished Man*, and *Marchmont*, as well as in her long poem in blank verse, *The Emigrants*.

Cadell refusal to publish *Desmond*. Loraine Fletcher has speculated that because Cadell was close to retirement, he did not want to assume the risk of publishing a book with republican sentiment.² Jacqueline M. Labbe argues that he

² Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography*, p. 152.

was fed up with her endless requests for loans and concessions.³ Either way, the rejection was certainly hurtful, but it stretched Smith to grow. As she told Cadell, “I should have been very glad ~~you~~ we had confirmed our connection, because I have never till now had any reason to doubt your friendly wish, to soften to me as much as you could, the hardships of being compelled to write for bread—for my family” (Letter 68). Lacking Cadell’s support, Smith ventured into the market for a new publisher, candidly informing Cadell of such while continuing to work with him on the sixth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*. London publisher George Robinson agreed to publish the novel and was likely pleased to have added the popular Smith to his list of authors. Soon thereafter, he would publish the seven latter volumes of Helen Maria Williams’s *Letters Written from France* (Cadell had published the first), and he would be fined in 1793 for selling Thomas Paine’s *Rights of Man*.⁴ Again, as Fletcher points out, it is ironic and sad that in negotiating the publication of the most revolutionary of Smith’s novels, it was her husband—not her—who is named on the contract, which survives.⁵

Although unmentioned in these letters to Cadell, it was in late 1791 that she met the then-21-year-old William Wordsworth for the first and perhaps only time.⁶ A distant relation by marriage, Wordsworth had called on Smith after she had located back to Brighton to request of her a letter of introduction to Helen Maria

³ See Labbe, “Gentility in Distress.”

⁴ See Stuart Curran, *Desmond*, Vol. 5 in *Works of Charlotte Smith*, 14 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), p. x.

⁵ Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography*, p. 152.

⁶ See Stanton, *CLCS*, p. 38, and Labbe, *Writing Romanticism*, p. 4.

Williams, as he himself departed for France. He had admired Smith since first encountering her sonnets while a 16-year-old schoolboy at Hawkshead.

With her own trip to Paris, her connection with Wordsworth, and her publication of *Desmond*, Smith was quickly making a name for herself in the revolutionary debate stirring in England. But the climate in England began shifting in the summer of 1792 as the Revolution in France radicalized. Ina Ferris summarizes Smith's situation at this moment best: "Smith herself remained firm in her support of the republican cause during that autumn, . . . but she was shaken both by the events of the revolution and by the surge of English nationalism consequent on the threat of war with France." Her work on her new novel of historical fiction, *The Old Manor House*, "coincided with a certain dislodgement of her regular bearings."⁷ Smith set this new novel against the backdrop of the early stages of the American Revolution, onto which she projected her concerns about Britain's current situation in regard to France.

She got a running start in writing the novel during a seminal two-week visit she made to Hayley's villa at Eartham in August 1792. In addition to Smith, Hayley was hosting painter George Romney, who did Smith's portrait in crayons—a portrait to which Smith alludes in Letters 74 and 99), and the poet William Cowper (see Image 10), with whom Smith felt an almost instant kinship. During this visit, Smith wrote a chapter of *Old Manor House* every day and read her daily work each evening to Hayley, Cowper, and Romney.

⁷ Ina Ferris, ed., Introduction to *The Old Manor House*, Vol. 6 of *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, 14 vols., gen. ed., Stuart Curran (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1996), p. x.

In December 1792, she first tells Cadell about a new project she obliquely describes as “a poem of blank verse,” which she projected would be finished in another month. That poem would be *The Emigrants*, and, as a testament to the friendship she forged with Cowper in August, she invited him to correct her poem, and she dedicated it to him.

As the letters in this section close, Smith dangles this carrot in front of Cadell: “As I know you decline all farther dealing with me,” she begins, “[I] beg the favor of you to let me know what you think may be the value of such a work,” which she compares with Cowper’s own *The Task* (Letter 75). At this point, Smith is seemingly at the end of her rope. Earlier in the year, as she was completing *Desmond* for George Robinson, Smith tried to gauge Cadell’s willingness to pay her extra if she were to provide additional sonnets for the upcoming sixth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*. She writes about her poetry with the detachment of an auctioneer: “as I am compelld to deal, like any dealer in corn & Cattle—I own I am willing to know how far my application may be paid for” (Letter 70). Cadell evidently misunderstood her, and her subsequent several letters unsuccessfully try to explain her point more clearly. Her letters to him by the end of 1792, acknowledging that Cadell has broken their connection, betray the toll that her rupture with him had created. Alongside name-dropping Cowper and casually mentioning what will be *The Emigrants*, she declares to Cadell her intention to leave the country: “I shall go to France as soon as I have fulfilld my present engagement with [Joseph] Bell and shall withdraw from England . . . for three or four years, should I long live” (Letter 75). The temptation to exile herself from England, which she viewed as the land of stodgy conservative

thinking and hounding creditors, must have been great, but, as her aggressive jockeying for a slightly higher income from the *Elegiac Sonnets* demonstrates, she had not a pence to spare.

Letter 59
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

[Brighton, 7 Jan. 1791]

Dear Sir.

I have these two days expected to hear from you¹ & hope illness is not the cause that I do not—I am most cruelly situated—M^r Hardinge² is now ill; M^r Boehm³ & he cannot agree about the accounts & not one penny of money can I get—If you will make up what I now owe you [—] fifty-pounds[—] it will be a great obligation—
—for in short I am reduced to despair by the conduct of the Trustees & Yet I w^d by no means appear to intrude upon you—Give me however y^r answer by Sundays post if possible, that I may consider what is to be done if you refuse—It is impossible to write or do any thing situated as I am now, with all my family at home & nothing to support them. I really think I shall be driven mad—

There are however people yet more cruelly situated—A poor Man for whom Lord Egremont⁴ gave me twenty G^s in Nov^r 1789 is now in London with a House full of dying children—The particulars it is needless to trouble you with—But on looking over the account of the money given by Lord E⁵ to cloathe this wretched family, I find that I retain'd for some purpose or other about five shillings in my hands to do something for them here which was not done; & that I am now in debt to him M^r John Miller⁶ the said five shillings—I have desired as his necessity is extreme, that he will call on y^o on Monday; & pray let M^r Davi[e]s pay him half a Guinea for me for which I will be your thankful Debtor, till I can make up all my accounts together, as I trust I shall be able to do in a very few weeks, even tho you should have me as deeply on y^r Books as this proposal will make—one—for M^r Hardinge assures me that if I am able to hold out all will & must be settled to my own terms[.] But you know I cannot hold out without money—

Perhaps among all the people, poor by profession with whom you have had dealings, none ever was so situated as I am—With seven thousand pounds of my own with an Estate the property of my Children, and yet to be reduced to write & even to borrow for bread for my children. In earnestly requesting y^r explicit ans^r I remain Dear Sir

¹ The letter Smith says she sent to Cadell approximately three days before this one evidently has not survived.

² George Hardinge, who sometimes served as a liaison between Smith and the Trustees. See Biographical Notes.

³ Trustee Edmund Boehm. See Biographical Notes.

⁴ Wealthy Sussex aristocrat George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont (1751-1837). See Biographical Notes.

⁵ Lord Egremont.

⁶ Not further identified.

your oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

If it is any inconvenience to you to advance the money now, I will draw at two months, for 25£ & shall certainly find means in that time to replace it, as I must receive a Sum in ab^t six weeks—unless things are very perverse indeed—Don't however oblige me if it gives you any uneasiness—for it is a mere favor I ask, & you have a very good right to refuse it—

Jan^y 7th 1791

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/53. No address or postmark.

Letter 60
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighton Jan^y 12th 1791

Sir

Not beleiving it likely if the worst befel me that you w^d refuse the fav^r I ask'd, & being totally without money in consequence of the dispute ab^t the Trustees accounts which I related to you, I ventur'd to draw on you at a long date & the Bankers here promis'd to keep the Bill till I c^d replace it.¹ M^r Robinson[,] M^r Boehm & M^r Parkin² were to meet on Sat^y—then it was put off till Tuesday, & now it will be to day as M^r Hardinge informs me—I suppose they will let me have some money, but if not, I shall be in Town on Friday at farthest & till then if those Bills are presented, I only beg you to keep & act to protect them as it would quite undo me—& under it impossible for me to stay here—I do not ask you to pay them, as I must at all events have money for that purpose—Surely this fav^r you will hardly refuse— —You can little imagine the pain it costs me to ask it—or what I have had to encounter & must still encounter—& how impossible it is for the mind to exert itself under such a pressure—If I hear tomorrow that I am to have the money due to me in consequence of adjusting the Trustees accounts. viz £70 for my children & £100, for myself & 53 for Miss Smith³, I will instantly give send up ~~my~~ to you the whole of my debt: if I do not receive it, I will be in Town on Friday ev^g & take other measures for y^r satisfaction—do not therefore disgrace me by returning the Bills but merely desire to have them left—I hardly know what I write so dreadfully I am harrass'd— But am much oblig'd to M^r Davies for the trouble he has taken—& will certainly be in Town on Friday & send the proper reasons

I am D Sir

y^r obed^t humble Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

I sh^d have set out tomorrow but M^r Hardinge wishd me to wait the Event of the meet^g of to day, such I cannot know till tomorrows post.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/54. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 13 JA [17]91.

¹ Smith is taking great liberty here by drawing money on a tentative agreement with Cadell. This may have been the event that alienated Cadell.

² Trustees John Robinson, Edmund Boehm, and Anthony Parkin. See Biographical Notes.

³ Her eldest daughter, Charlotte Mary.

Letter 61
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[London, 21 Jan. 1791]

D^r Sir.

This is an extract of a L^ttr I have received to day from M^r Hardinge¹—

“I have retain’d Scott, Mitford & Graham on y^r behalf; and to Chancery we must go²—You must not ask for money not even for your Boys allowance—Which however they y^e Trustees must pay—But you must not apply to them, nor interfere at all. If you do I give the matter up—You must do about money as well as you can”—

You see how I am situated; but I am in hopes of receiving an hundred pounds & upwards which however I must wait for till the beginning of term—From this when I get it I give you my word to repay you all I have got into y^r debt; Or if any thing should disappoint me there, I will sell for two years the interest of the £3640 I have in the 3 pC^s to repay you³—And to carry me on till this cruel business with the cruel Trustees is finish’d—I am D^r Sir

y^r Oblig’d Ser^t
Charlotte Smith⁴

Celestina will be finish’d before I leave London. As I confine myself wholly to writing & have not informed my most intimate friends where to find me—which for the same reason & beg may be a secret at y^r House should I there be enquired for

Jan^y 21st 1791.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/55. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand. No postmark.

¹ George Hardinge. See Biographical Notes.

² After years of the threat of Chancery, Smith’s father-in-law’s long-contested estate has finally been submitted to the Court of Chancery.

³ Smith can draw from the three percent interest payments she receives on her marriage settlements.

⁴ The brevity of this letter seems to telegraph the finality and doom she must have felt.

Letter 62
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Surry Street [London], Feb^y 12th 1791

Dear Sir

I have not calld upon you because I am till this hour ignorant of the event of my efforts to procure pay^t of ninety six pounds due to me out of which I meant & still mean to re=imburse you the overdraughts—I have been in hourly expectation of seeing the Attorney employ'd in it, & being disapointed am to day going to send to him—so that perhaps I may know something on Monday—I enclose you the Letter I have had from M^r Hardinge by which it should seem that a Crisis will be at length obtain'd in regard to my childrens affairs¹—So that hereafter if our connection continues I trust I shall be a less intrusive correspondent—I owe you every explanation that may satisfy you as to my present circumstances—But I beg the favor of you never to mention any thing I may think it due to you to say—because I have heard things repeated as coming from you, which I am sure you are too delicate & too considerate to have spoken of—at least intentionally²

Celestina is going on rapidly the Third Volume will be out of my hands in a few days, & part of the fourth has been done some time

I am D^r Sir

y^r Oblig'd humble Ser^t

Charlotte Smith³

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/56. Address: M^r Cadell, Opposite the end of Catharine Street, Strand. No postmark.

¹ The letter from George Hardinge does not survive.

² Smith had reason to suspect Cadell had been gossiping about her situation and her trespasses of his liberality. See Letter 72, in which she tells him, “Mr. Hardinge informed me long ago . . . that you had spoken to every body of my distress & of my having borrow'd fifty pounds of you” (April or May 1792). Smith has vastly misunderstood how much she imposed on Cadell, and she has also misunderstood human nature.

³ As in Letter 61, the brevity of this letter seems to signal her sense of impending doom.

Letter 63
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

[London, 8 May 1791]

Sir

I shall be oblig'd to you to send me down Lorenzo¹, & if it is in Print, Dr Darwin's *Love of the Plants*² as soon as possible, as the latter, indeed Both, I particularly want. Also Mr Hardinges Letter to Burke.³

————— I am in haste.

Sir, y^r obed^t humble Ser^t,
Charlotte Smith

Boston Public Library/Rare Books Department MS Ch.H.3.20. No address or postmark. [This is clearly a hastily written note, one of very few such notes that have survived.] See CLCS, pp. 33-34.

¹ Smith refers to the early version of William Roscoe (1753-1831)'s popular *Life of Lorenzo De' Medici, Call'd the Magnificent* (1795), privately published in 1791.

² Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802), *The Love of Plants. With Philosophical Notes* (1789) is part 2 of *The Botanic Garden; A Poem, in Two Parts*.

³ George Hardinge's "A Series of Letters to the Rt. Hon. Burke [as to] the Constitutional Existence of an Impeachment against Mr. Hastings" (1791).

Letter 64
To William Davies

[London, 8 June 1791]

Sir,

At the end of Lorenzo, there are Poems advertis'd said to have been publish'd in the Oracle by Mr Merry & others, particularly one call'd the Interview.¹ Will you be so good as to get me this book this evening?

I expected Mr Jacques² to have brought a proof here to day or two, but I have seen nothing of him. If he calls tomorrow, do be so good as to send him hither as early as possible as I shall be out on business all day & wish to avoid all delays now in correcting the press. Since the work is finish'd.³

I am, Sir,
your oblig'd hble Ser^t,
Charlotte Smith

June 8th 1791

Have you got Stewarts travels to ascertain Moral Motion?⁴ If you have, I w^d borrow for I shall not buy them till I am sure they are worth it.

Send me Miss Williams's farewell to England⁵ by the bearer and the above mention'd Poems if you have them.

Yale University MS. Address: Mr. Davies, at Mr Cadells, Opposite the end of, Surry Street, Strand. No Postmark. See CLCS, pp. 34-35.

¹ The daily London periodical *The Oracle, Bell's World*, which ran from 1789 to 1794, when it merged with the *London Daily Post*. The poem "The Interview" narrates the anticipated meeting of Della Crusca (Robert Merry) and Anna Maria (Hannah Cowley) after poetic flirtations published in the newspaper. Finding one another middle-aged, they continued as friends. See CLCS, p. 35 n1.

² Printer Dennett Jacques. See Biographical Notes.

³ I.e., *Celestina*.

⁴ John Stewart (1749-1822) based his philosophical *Travels over the Most Interesting Parts of the Globe, to Discover the Source of Moral Motion* (?1789) on his tour—mostly by foot—through the Near East, North Africa, and Europe.

⁵ An early work of Helen Maria Williams: *A Farewell for Two Years to England; A Poem* (1791). Smith was hoping to meet Williams in Paris, to where she traveled in Sept. 1791.

Letter 65
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Surry Street, London, 27 July 1791]

Dr Sir

Tho the Debts due from the Estate of my Childrens Grand father—which prevented their receiving their Legacies, are now paid [?¹] a short time one would suppose must bring in the support he intended for them—Yet such are the delays arising from M^r Robinson—who since M^r Boehm is gone abroad becomes the sole Trustee²; that tho I and my Lawyers, and other people interested in the affairs have repeatedly written to him: Tho I have waited in Town many days since M^{rs} O'Neill³ went in hopes of seeing him, I obtain no answer—& since the affairs are thus wholly in the power of a Man who can be so unfeelingly dilatory, the demands inseperable from the support of such a family—(and I have at this moment seven children at home with me;) make me tremble for the coming months & compel me—hard as it seems to be, to sit down again to my desk—

I have therefore in some forwardness a small work which I propose to make in two Volumes. It will be a sort of a Novel in Letters, & contain rather description and character than events⁴—together with two or three pieces of Poetry—One of which is a beautiful & novel piece by a Woman of high fashion my friend who has given it me to be corrected for that purpose—I am sure the plan will do; and would be completed in January or perhaps sooner as a Literary friend⁵ going abroad will assist me in some parts of it: which will need such information.

Will you therefore become the purchaser & advance me forty or fifty pounds if I should want it?— —Your early answer will oblige me, as if you decline this offer I must do as well as I can with it before I leave London—⁶

Direct under cover to M^r Davies, as I beleive when I do leave London I shall go to Eartham⁷ with another Lady⁸ for a few days—but of this am not certain—

¹ The elegant symbol in the letter here looks like an ampersand with a long tail that loops underneath. From context, it seems to suggest “and within.”

² Trustees John Robinson and Edmund Boehm. See Biographical Notes.

³ Smith’s close friend The Honorable Henrietta Boyle O’Neill (1758-1793). See Biographical Notes.

⁴ Smith sketches out what will be *Desmond* (1792), which Cadell will decline to publish, perhaps because of its overt political didacticism. It ran to three volumes, not two.

⁵ The literary friend may be Dr. John Warner, a friend of hers through Hayley who was going back and forth between England and France.

⁶ Smith wishes to know Cadell’s decision in regard to the proposed novel that will be *Desmond* in time for her to approach other publishers while she is in London. We can surmise by her subsequent letter to William Davies (Letter 66) that Cadell swiftly declined this proposal, either because of its politics (as Lorraine Fletcher assumed) or because Smith had borrowed money from him without his consent. George Robinson would become the novel’s publisher.

I am in haste
D^r Sir
your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Surry Street July 27. 1791

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/57. Address: Mr Cadell at Yarmouth, Norfolk. Postmark: 27 JY [17]91.

⁷ William Hayley's villa in Eartham was a gathering place for writers and artists. In her biography of Smith, Loraine Fletcher suggests that Smith considered becoming Hayley's lover. See Fletcher, pp. 127-28.

⁸ The lady friend may be Charlotte Collins or Mrs. Clyfford. It certainly would not have been Anna Seward, who was also in Hayley's circle but who detested Smith.

Letter 66
To William Davies

[Surry Street, London, 5 Aug. 1791]

Sir

I send a draft on the Brighthelmstone Bank for ten Guineas and shall be oblig'd to you (since it is a great way for me to send to Lombard Street to Mess^{rs} Newnham and Everett—the Agents for that House) to let me have Cash, for either the whole, if you have enter'd the 5 G^s for which I gave a receipt the other day in y^r Book; Or if you had rather be repaid that, for only five Guineas—As I beleive when the 2nd Editⁿ of *Celestina* is publish'd I shall still be in M^r Cadells debts & from his Letter¹ I do not find it likely our connection will continue which I am sorry for—

I return the 3 last Volumes of Gibbon²—but I wish to have them to complete my set—As the three first which I have had many years are bound—it will be necessary for me to send them to London to have these 3 bound like them if that can be done: tho I should fear the figures of the binding are long since out of use—I will trouble you to put this set by for me—As I shall be in London again in about a Month and will then bring my own up.

I am Sir

your oblig'd humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

You will be so good as to deliver to Robert Taylor Esq^{re}—who will send for them, one set of *Celestina* for M^r Smith, & charge ~~them~~ it to my Account—

Surry Street August 5th 1791

Be so good as to send one of y^r own people with y^r an^r as the Porter is going farther, & I am in haste to go out

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/59. Address: M^r Davies at M^r Cadells, opposite the end of Catharine Street, Strand. No postmark.

¹ Smith's letter to Cadell dated nine days earlier proposed a new novel and asked for an advance. While Cadell's reply letter does not survive, he refused the proposal ostensibly because of circumstances arising in the printing of *Celestina* (see Letter 60).

² Edward Gibbon's multivolume *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* came out between 1776 and 1789. The last three volumes—vols. 4-6—were published in 1788-89 by Strahan and Cadell.

Letter 67
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Brighton Sept^r 7th 1791

D^r Sir

An Opportunity offering for me to go to Paris¹ with less trouble and expence than such journies are usually perform'd with, I shall this evening imbarck at this place with the two elder of the Children I have at home²: A Niece of Mr. Smiths³, and some friends who are going to France⁴—The Novel which I have begun⁵ is meant to convey in the form of Letters & under the illusion of a Love story, the present state of France not however at all in the style of Miss Williams. I hope to be at home within a month with my two little Volumes finish'd—You declin'd the purchase of them I think, because some circumstances in regard to the Printing of *Celestina* had given you uneasiness which you was determined not to hazard again—Those sources of uneasiness however were no otherwise mine, than because at my request you employ'd Jacques⁶; therefore, & because it is already very certain that you will not lose by that last Novel, which is extremely liked; I feel no concern on that head but As I must ever say that you have behaved towards me with liberality, & by no means in a manner for me to be compell'd join in the complaints I have heard against you from other Authors; I should be sorry to engage myself with any other Bookseller—& therefore have not applied to Mr. Dilly as I have been press'd to do, or to Mr. Robinson.⁷

I now therefore once more trouble you to enquire whether you will be the purchaser of my present work when it is complete—It will contain the poetry I mention'd to you in my last Letter—& some Sonnets. But from my present view of it,

¹ To escape creditors, Smith fantasized about living abroad. In a spring 1789 letter to Cadell, she declared having “*for the present* relinquish[ed] all projects of a continental turn” (Letter 29; emphasis added). This letter and the next (Letter 68) tell us that she did finally go abroad. This short and evidently impromptu trip to Paris gave her a first-hand perspective to draw from when writing *Desmond*.

² Charlotte Mary and Anna Augusta.

³ Likely trustee Edmund Boehm's wife, Dorothy Elizabeth, who was the only niece of Benjamin Smith still on good terms with Charlotte at this point.

⁴ For speculation about who these friends might have been, see Harriet Guest and Judith Stanton, “Charlotte Smith to Thomas Cadell, Sr., and Harriet Lee: Two New Letters,” *Keats Shelley Journal* 52 (2008): 32-41. Hereafter, “Two New Letters.”

⁵ The novel sometimes referred to as *Wandering Exile* became *Desmond*.

⁶ Printer Dennett Jacques. See Biographical Notes.

⁷ London bookseller Charles Dilly (1739-1807) was known for his liberal political sympathies. George Robinson (see Biographical Notes) ultimately published *Desmond*.

tho I have a great fund of character, & some very interesting history to fill it, & most likely shall start infinite variety of subjects in my intended tour: I do not mean to swell it to more than two volumes of 280 pages each, or thereabouts—I have Letters to Mad^{me} DeGenlis⁸—to Mr DeCasaux⁹ & many of the French Literati—& shall probably be in a style of company such as is not easily obtain'd¹⁰ & have advantages which can hardly fail if properly employ'd to secure the success of such a Book as I am about. However I need add nothing more on the subject; as you are the best judge how far such a purchase may answer your purposes—I have therefore only to request your answer as early as possible, address'd to me at L'Hotel de York—Rüe Jacob—Fauxbourg St Germain Paris—And with all good wishes for you and your family I am Dear Sir

your most humble & obed serv^t
Charlotte Smith

British Library, Western Manuscripts, RP 3. No address or postmark. The original letter has not been traced, but a photocopy of the manuscript is held at the British Library, which acquired it in the Sotheby's sale catalogue for 21 March 1966, apparently purchased by the New York book collector De Coursey Fales. My thanks to Harriet Guest for finding this letter, which she transcribed and annotated along with Judith Stanton in their Note in the Keats-Shelley Journal 57 (2008), "Charlotte Smith to Thomas Cadell, Sr., and Harriet Lee: Two New Letters": 32-41.

⁸ Madame Stéphanie de Genlis, former governess to the children of the Duc d'Orléans and educationalist, had been admired in England in the 1780s but at this moment had an increasingly unsteady social and political position. See Guest and Stanton, "Two New Letters," pp. 33-34, and Stuart Curran's introduction to his edition of *Desmond* in the *Works of Charlotte Smith*, Vol. 5, p. x.

⁹ Marquis Charles de Casaux, political economist and associate of Denis Diderot.

¹⁰ In addition to Genlis, Smith might have planned to visit Helen Maria Williams in Rouen, who would be connected to the British revolutionary sympathizers in Paris.

Letter 68
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

Brighthelmstone, Octr 25th 1791

Dr Sir

Before I knew your new determination & nothing doubting your willingness to give me an accommodation by which you had never suffer'd I drew at a long date for thirty pounds from hence not meaning that it should be sent in, & having left it rather as a security for money I thought it possible I might want in any Journey— Being detain'd at Paris by an accident a fortnight longer than I meant to have staid¹, I had overdrawn my Credit, & therefore meaning to replace it before it could become due, I drew on you at 6 weeks for the Sum of twenty five pounds which, as well as the thirty that was by mistake sent up from hence, I conclude you have refus'd—

I have herein nothing to complain of, & have only to lament my own situation which compels me to make myself liable to such refusals—. ² I have now applied to another person in the Trade, who will probably oblige me—& purchase on the Terms I have offer'd it, the Book I am about. ³ I shall have his answer I trust on Thursday; And as I hope it will enable me to repay you whatever I may be in your debt, I have only to request that you will have the goodness to keep the Bill from Paris & not return it protested—as you may recollect that once before when you oblig'd me in this request I paid the Bill before it became due & you had no difficulty about it—

I should have been very glad ~~you~~ we had continued our connection, because I have never till now had any reason to doubt your friendly wish, to soften to me as much as you could, the hardships of being compelled to write for bread—for my family, and because there was credit and respectability in your name—However since it is no longer agreeable to you to grant what I am unhappily for me compelled to solicit, I have related the circumstance[s] exactly as they are, to another Gentleman of great respectability in the Trade and, if I am not deceived in the partial opinion of my friends, he, or some other will find it worth their while to run so small

¹ From the previous letter, we date Smith's departure for France on 7 September. By the date of this letter, written in Brighton, we can estimate that her trip lasted at most six weeks.

² In her article on this letter, Jacqueline M. Labbe characterizes Smith's posture in this line as "both needy and genteel." Labbe considered this posture as further example of the "poetic masquerade of the distressed author" (91) that is present in Smith's oeuvre, as convincingly argued in her book *Charlotte Smith: Romanticism, Poetry and the Culture of Gender* (New York: Manchester UP, 2003). See Labbe's article on this letter, "Gentility in Distress: A New Letter by Charlotte Smith (1749-1806)," *Wordsworth Circle* 35.2 (2004): 91-93; hereafter this article is cited as "Gentility in Distress."

³ George Robinson and Company of Paternoster Row, London, agreed to purchase *The Wandering Lover* (later titled *Desmond*) on 8 Nov. 1791. In a letter to Robinson that January, Smith first conveys Hayley's suggestion that the novel be titled "Desmond—the Exile of Honor." See Amy Garnai, "A Letter from Charlotte Smith to the Publisher George Robinson," *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 19.4 (2007): 391-400.

a risk as of fifty or sixty pounds, for the advantage they may obtain from my future publications.⁴ It is with great pain however that I find myself compelled to do this— And I desire to add that I am not less oblig'd to you for past favours, because you will not continue them.—As soon as I have an answer from the person in question you shall hear further from D^r Sir

Your most oblig'd & obed^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Sussex, Sussex Poets Collection. GB181 SxMs50/3/2.⁵ No address or postmark. Discovered by Jacqueline M. Labbe and described in her article, "Gentility in Distress," from which I transcribed and edited this letter. My thanks to Fiona Courage, Special Collections Manager at the University of Sussex Libraries, for permission to (re)publish this letter.⁶

⁴ Smith's tone in this letter, Labbe points out, "makes it plain that no gentleman would have refused to assist a lady in such circumstances" ("Gentility in Distress," 91). By mentioning her communication with another publisher, Smith "reveals Cadell as shirking his responsibilities, shows herself as trying to amend the situation, and, incidentally, warn[s] Cadell that he risks losing his very profitable commodity over a trifling sum" (91). Labbe concludes from this letter that the reason Cadell did not publish *Desmond* was not simply because of its radical political nature (as Fletcher and Stanton have suggested)—he did, after all, publish her anti-war political poem *The Emigrants* in 1793—but also because of a "business misunderstanding that represented the culmination of several years' worth of drafts, loans, and advances" (92).

⁵ As of Summer 2012, plans were already in place to merge the University of Sussex's Special Collections with the East Sussex Record Office (ESRO).

⁶ Fiona Courage, "Library Enquiry," Message to Emily M. Brewer (11 June 2012), E-mail.

Letter 69
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Henrietta Street · Cavendish Sq¹ [London], Feb^y 4th 1792

Sir.

My childrens business having bro^t me to Town some day^s since, I did not receive yr Letter of the 27th till this evening—I beleive I have three, perhaps four unpublish'd Sonnets, which I will look at & if I find on consulting my friends, that they will do no discredit to the Volume you propose printing you shall receive them in the course of a fortnight: with any other little Poems, that may also be deem'd worthy the collection; for I suppose you do not mean to confine the new edition to Sonnets only, but to put the Ode to despair, the Origin of Flattery; the Elegy, and the Alpine Ode, as well as the Sonnets in Celestina, to the Volume²; Of this I shall be glad to be informed as early as may be convenient to you; by a letter directed hither (at the Hon^{ble} M^{rs} ONiells)—Unless I should have it in my power to call on you in a day or two which I will do if possible—

It is a strange truth, that I have not in my Book Room, a single set of any one of the Novels, or even my Sonnets—I should be glad this addition to the latter might enable me to purchase them, all bound very neatly + alike & Of the latest Editions: & I shall be oblig'd to you to direct that a set may be ready agst my return home to Brighton—& I also want two sets of Celestina in Boards or rather half bound³ for a present to my Son Lionel at Winchester, who is desirous of one set for himself and another for his Tutor—I shall be oblig'd to M^r Davies to have such ready on Monday, when I will either send or call for them—I am Sir

your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/60. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand. Postmark: illegible.

¹ Smith is writing from the home of her friend Henrietta Boyle O'Neill.

² The sixth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* (1792) includes "Ode to Despair" (from *Emmeline*); "The Origin of Flattery" (the cheeriness of which Smith, comments in a note, is "little in unison with the present sentiments and feelings of the its author"); "Elegy"; and, from *Celestina*, "The Peasant of the Alps" and Sonnet XLIX.

³ A book issued in "boards" was an inexpensively bound hardbound book with its stiff cardboard or paperboard boards covered in paper (as opposed to leather or cloth). "Half-binding" refers to a book whose spine and corner leather occupy only approximately half of the top edge of the cover. See "Boards" and "Half-binding," Glossary of Terms, *Antiquarian Booksellers' Association of America*, n.d. Web. 17 Oct. 2012.

Letter 70
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

New Hall¹ near Chelmsford Essex, March 25th 1792

Dear Sir

I am preparing as fast as possible the few additional pieces for the press²—& hope to have them ready in a few days—about ten at farthest—I am very busy you know on a political Novel³ of which great expectations (perhaps more than it deserves) have been formed: & as that must appear in April or early in May, I cannot call off my attention from it even for as long a time as w^d serve for the production of three or four other Sonnets of which I have the rudiments by me, unless I am sure of the advantage to be derived from it—I wish therefore to know how far such additional labour may be beneficial to me—The quantity of new pieces or at least additional ones, with three new Sonnets, will make from fifteen to twenty pages which will more than compensate in point of size, for the removal of the subscribers—I beleive I could add three or more other Sonnets, Songs &etc—but as I am compelld to deal, like any dealer in corn & Cattle—I own I am willing to know how far my application may be paid for—I must remark, that if you have sold all the Sonnets which were printed, more than the Subscribers wanted—at 10^s 6^d each⁴—you are already far from being a loser by the forty pounds for which I was under the cruel necessity of selling the Copy right.

I am afraid I am so considerably in your debt, that, as my long continued calamities & oppressions have compelld me to put my writing into the hands of those who had not so much reason to be tired of me, as you had⁵) I shall gain no present money by addition to the Poetry in the Volume of Sonnets—

But your answer by Tuesdays or Wednesdays post directed hither, (as I shall be here only a few days, & then do not very well know what is to become of me) will much oblige[.] Dear Sir

your obed^t & most hu[m]ble Ser^t Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/61. No address or postmark.

¹ Smith was visiting her friend Elizabeth Olmius, who lived at New Hall.

² Pieces for *Elegiac Sonnets*, sixth edition.

³ *Desmond*.

⁴ I.e., 10 shillings, 6 pence—or, 126 pence—or, just over a pound.

⁵ She will have works published by George Robinson (1792), Joseph Bell (1793, 1794), Sampson Low (1795, 1796, 1801), Longman and Rees (1799, 1802), Joseph Johnson (1804, 1807), and Richard Phillips (1806). Cadell & Davies continued to publish selected works. For a comprehensive list of her publications, see Appendix G.

Letter 71
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Brumpton, 6 Apr. 1792]

Sir

I re^d the fav^r of your Letter at New Hall¹; I am very sorry that my situation compelled me to make a demand which seems to have been unexpected—However it was not meant at all in that light—but rather as a proposal that if it was likely to answer in point of profit, I would give up more time to encrease the quantity of Poetry than it would otherwise be in my power to do—I did not mean to say that I could add twenty pages of unprinted Sonnets &ct—& if you so understood me, I deceivd you from some inaccuracy of expression—I therefore ~~will~~ must limit my demand to the reduced quantity: & as I wanted more money in Essex than I expected to have done, I drew on you for 5 G^s- at a week; which I beg of you to accept, & which, if you still think it more than the probability of encreas'd sale from the additional prices authorise I will return it to you—by a draft on a friend:—But I am so situated at this moment as to make even this small accommodation very material to me—

I shall on Tuesday go into Sussex² for a few days: and on my return will deliver you the MMS. correctly written for the press—

One of the Sonnets the 44th—will require (according to D^r Darwin) some alteration—that is, of one word, which it will not be very easy to find—I wish to do it however & I must consult M^r Hayley upon it, whom I shall see in Sussex—

I am Sir

your obed^t humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Brumpton³
April 6th 1792

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/62. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand. No postmark.

¹ Cadell's reply to Smith's request (see Letter 70) has not been located. Smith's request of Cadell to quantify the value of some proposed additional sonnets for the sixth edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* evidently was misread by Cadell. Cadell's misunderstanding is excusable when we consider how inelegantly Smith asked the question—packaging it up along with small jabs seemingly meant to make him regret not having agreed to publish *Desmond*.

² Smith was likely going to visit her sister, Catherine Dorset, at Bignor Park, in Sussex.

³ This is the only place Smith ever mentions Brumpton in any of her letters.

Letter 72
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[London, Apr. or May 1792]

Sir,

I return the Sonnets alter'd. And a short preface you shall receive some time in the course of tomorrow. I have reason to believe these will have a very rapid sale & wish to know (merely as [a] matter of curiosity) the price you intend to affix to them.

I certainly mis-understood you, when you first wrote to me about them. Your expression was that, if I had any new Sonnets & chose to send them to you, I should receive a Compliment. Yet on my enquiring what you propos'd, you inform'd me you were much surpris'd. The fact was that, with these additional Sonnets and the Poems that have not till now been printed & some others, I did not mean in a few months to have formed ~~a certain~~ another Volume, & I could not, as you well know, afford to sacrifice any part of that plan without some consideration. You fix'd the price, after expressing your surprise that I should expect any, at ten Guineas, on the supposition that there would be twenty pages of new matter—I thought it necessary to say in answer that there w^d be twenty pages, inclusive of the 5 Sonnets, and [a] little Lyric Poem in *Celestina*, already your property.¹ And I therefore drew for only five Guineas Tho I will honestly confess I think the advantage you will obtain from the new Poetry will amply indemnify You for the whole price.

I beg to know what you propose doing in that respect, as I promis'd the five Guineas if I get them to my daughters for some trifles they want. I think it necessary to say that in the preface I mean to touch on the hardship of my situation²: Who after waiting nine years while the Estate of Richard Smith the Grandfather was at [?] now that all his debts are confessedly clear'd & Effects arriving every day, am no better off than before because M^r Dyer, whose children have an 8th share (& that partly conditional, in the property), opposes any division till his youngest child is of age, who is ab^t Seventeen³—tho he has not the shadow of pretence for it. I am driven almost to despair by these circumstances; and the conduct of M^r Smith—who lives upon the interest of my fortune, with a Woman he keeps, leaving me to support as well as I can his seven Children who are in England.

¹ To the sixth edition, Smith added eleven new sonnets and four new lyrics, comprising 22 new pages. *Elegiac Sonnets i* went into seven more editions; *Elegiac Sonnets ii* ("another Volume") came out in 1797 with Cadell & Davies.

² In her preface to *Elegiac Sonnets*, 6th ed., Smith justifies the continued melancholy tone of her poems due to her personal hardships. Her continual battering of family members and the Trustees in her prefaces harmed her reputation. See Appendix B for a copy of this preface.

³ Thomas Dyer's living children included Richard Swinnerton (1769-1794), Thomas Swinnerton (1770-1854), John (1772-1851), and Edward (1774-1816). Edward was about seventeen years old at this time of this letter. (See *CLCS*, p. xlvii.)

I should not, Sir, trouble you with this history, but to account not only for steps I have it has & must still be compell'd me to take, but to shew you that I cannot afford to lose the smallest profit that may arise from my exertions which, but for these difficulties, I should never make.

Mr. Hardinge informed me long ago as the Novel of Celestina was begun, that you had spoken to every body of my distress & of my having borrow'd fifty pounds of you.⁴ I disregarded this information then because, as every body knows that I have bro't no part of my inconveniencies upon my self, I was not ashamd [of] borrowing fifty pounds which I know I should honestly earn. In the same reason, I am not ashamed of stating to you my situation now, nor shall I be deterred from explaining it to the World. But perhaps you may object to the mention of these circumstances wherefore I tell you what I propose my preface to be—A short sketch of my long-subsisting reasons for writing.

I shall direct my Messenger who leaves this to deliver also the preface tomorrow, and await your Answer to, Sir,

your obed humble

Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

I should be glad to see a proof of the new Sonnets before they are worked off.

Neilson Campbell Hannay Collection of William Cowper, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, Opposite the end of Catharine Street. No postmark. See CLCS, pp. 44-46.

⁴ In Letter 62, Smith had written to Cadell, "I beg the favor of you never to mention any thing I may think it due to you to say—because I have heard things repeated as coming from you, which I am sure you are too delicate to have spoken of—at least intentionally." In this letter, she reveals her source: attorney George Hardinge (see Biographical Notes).

Letter 73
[To William Davies]

[?London, 27 July 1792]

Sir

I have look'd over the Sonnets as far as they go; & they appear perfectly right—I believe that for the future it will be un=necessary to send me the Sonnets that have been already printed; as in the 5th Edition if you have the goodness to compare them yourself with the former & see that the stops are made in the same way as before, it will be quite as well as sending them to me which must occasion considerable delay. When ever the Sheet commences in which the new Sonnets are inserted, vis. the 49th 50th, &c. those that are in Celestina & the other new ones, I should then certainly be glad to see them: As the Poetry in Celestina particularly the little Ode was but carelessly printed; & I should wish on every account to have this Edition very correct—

I have lately composed another Sonnet, which M^r Cadell is welcome to; & I will send it up, time enough to be inserted the last but one—. At Page 8 in this sheet, I have made a slight mark—Those three lines appear to me to be printed crooked¹—
But it may perhaps be my fancy

I am Sir

your oblig'd humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

July 27th 1792

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/63. No address or postmark.

¹ From this comment, we can surmise that Smith was a meticulous reader of her proofs.

Letter 74
[To William Davies]

[?London, 3 Oct. 1792]

Sir

I have hardly a moment to say that the friend for whom Romney¹ made the picture will on no account let it go out of his possession—Romney proposes doing one for my family this winter on purpose for the Engraver but that will be too late for M^r Cadells purpose—I sent to ask leave to have this engraved as I cannot hope that another will be so very like; but I find it so disagreeable to the person in whose possession it is, that I can press it no farther—My purpos'd Addition therefore of a little Ode to the Painter must of course be omitted also—

I am in extreme haste

Sir

your oblig'd + obed^t Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

Oct^r 3rd 1792

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/64. No address or postmark.

¹ Painter George Romney painted a portrait of Smith in August 1792 during her ten-day stay at Hayley's villa in Eartham, where she also met and befriended William Cowper. That stay at Eartham was an important event in her literary life. Hayley did not want to release the portrait, as she reveals in Letter 99.

Letter 75
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

[?Brighton, ca. 16 Dec. 1792]

Sir,

I shall be much oblig'd to you to trust me so much farther as will suffice for a Copy of the new Edition of Sonnets¹, neatly very neatly bound with a Cypher in Gilt Letters² on the cover which I should wish to have Graven J. C. W. — & on the other side, "From the Author." It is for M^r Walker of Dublin, Author of *Irish Antiquities &c &c*, a Gentleman to whom I am much oblig'd & to whom I wish to make this small acknowledgement. You will therefore increase the favor I ask of you If you will be so good as to forward it to Ireland, directed to Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq^{re}, Eccles Street, Dublin.³

If I had not been so effectually repulsed by your answer to Dr Moore⁴, I should offer you a poem in blank verse⁵ which will be finish'd in about a Month, and will be corrected by the very first of our present Poets, Cowper.⁶ I can assuredly make a very considerable proffit of it if I print it on my own account, first in Quarto, & then in a small volume to make a companion to the Sonnets with a portrait. But as I shall go to France⁷ as soon as I have fulfilld my present engagement with Bell⁸ and shall withdraw everything from England which can give me any trouble for three or four years, should I long live, I would sell it, if I could do so to reasonable advantage. It will consist of about twelve hundred verses of which near half are done.

As I know you decline all farther dealing with me, I only mention this to beg the favor of you to let me know what you think may be the value of such a work, of which I am not a judge since it is quite unlike in its nature any I have printed & is, tho not on politics, on a very popular & interesting subject mingled with descriptive

¹ *Elegiac Sonnets i*, published in May 1792.

² A cipher, or cypher, was an intertwining of initials in an elaborate pattern.

³ The Rev. Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810), an Irish antiquarian who arranged for the sale of some of Smith's works to Irish booksellers. See Biographical Notes.

⁴ Cadell's response does not survive.

⁵ I.e., *The Emigrants*, which Cadell published after all.

⁶ Smith met the English poet William Cowper (1731-1800) during the seminal visit to Hayley's villa at Eartham in August 1792. She found him to be like-minded and appreciative of her melancholy poetry. In addition to inviting him to correct her blank verse poem *The Emigrants*, she dedicated it to him. After his devolution into madness, she missed their literary friendship. See *CLCS*, p. xviii, and Biographical Notes.

⁷ She never would return to France.

⁸ Publisher Joseph Bell, who published her *Old Manor House* in March 1793.

& characteristic excursions in the way of the Task, only of course inferior to it. Yet of what is done my friends with their usual partiality think very highly— —

Your answer at your leisure will very much oblige

Sir
your obed^t humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

I thank you for the 6 sets of Sonnets, which Bell informs me he has rc^d.⁹

General Manuscripts, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. No address or postmark. See CLCS, pp. 54-55.

⁹ It is worthwhile to note that despite Smith's strained relationship with Cadell at this point, he continued to fulfill professional duties, such as sending these volumes to fellow publisher Joseph Bell, on Smith's behalf.

PART VI: 1793

“breaking heart & courage”

-Letter 78

Since 1790, the British government had been growing increasingly anxious about the threat of political and social revolution in England, and by 1793 those anxieties were at fever pitch. The rise of the English radicals in the early 1790s—and the government’s response to them—is a critical backdrop for contextualizing Smith’s poem *The Emigrants*, which Cadell published this year, and also the novels that he declined to publish during the early 1790s (*Desmond*, *The Old Manor House*, and *The Wanderings of Warwick*).

Edmund Burke’s publication of *Reflections on the Revolution in France* in 1790 had sparked a spirited pamphlet debate that drew contributions from Thomas Paine, Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, and James Mackintosh, all of whom argued for human rights and gave readers a vocabulary for republicanism. The publication of Thomas Paine’s *Rights of Man* (1791)—and particularly the second part published in 1792—defined the mission for reformers in England who were inspired to apply the republican principles of the French revolutionaries to their homeland. In his popular writings, Paine pilloried the political elite and threw into question the natural rights assumed by aristocrats. His *Rights of Man* sold so swiftly

and reached such a broad audience that a strong contingent from all classes would have been familiar with his works and his ideas. This “paper war,” which played out in pamphlets, street literature, ballads, graffiti, and caricatures, polarized the political and social atmosphere in Britain and invited citizens to side either with the loyalists or the reformers. The so-called corresponding societies that cropped up first in London and then in the provinces churned out handbills, chap-books, poems, and songs calling for reform that greatly discomfited the Establishment.¹

The May 1792 Royal Proclamation Against Seditious Writings and Publications sought to squelch the republican rhetoric that had infiltrated ephemeral publications and that was quickly pointing the way to political insurgency. Radical printers, booksellers, and activists came under scrutiny, and, to be certain, the reputable Thomas Cadell steered clear of such controversy. Loyalist groups stoked fears by depicting reformers as violent radicals seeking not just equal political rights, but also equal property rights. As Prime Minister, William Pitt feared a domestic insurrection, and, by December 1792, as he was readying Britain for war against France, he spurred Parliament to issue a further Proclamation Against Seditious Writings, while also calling troops into London, fortifying the Tower, and embodying the militia.

As English observers watched the situation in France deteriorate, tensions ran high. The 1792 September Massacres in Paris and the Reign of Terror that followed stunned and horrified the British public. The January 1793 execution of

¹ My characterization of British radicalism in the early 1790s and the Establishment response depends upon Mark Philp, “Revolution,” in *An Oxford Companion to The Romantic Age: British Culture 1776-1832*, ed. Iain McCalman (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), pp. 17-26.

King Louis XVI intensified that reaction and triggered a surge of support in England for the monarchy and the Establishment. By February, France had declared war on England. It was within this climate that the government crackdown on seditious writing escalated. The following year, 1794, would see the arrest warrants for hundreds of suspected revolutionaries, including London Corresponding Society secretary Thomas Hardy, as well as John Horne Tooke, John Thelwall, and Thomas Holcroft, who were tried and acquitted for high treason. At the peak of the government's witchhunt for leading radicals, it suspended habeas corpus and removed citizens' right to assembly.

Smith's own republican spirit had been growing since 1791, and that identity challenged her relationship with Cadell. She had traveled to France in 1791 to collect first-hand information for *Desmond*, which followed the journeys of a young man in revolutionary France and concluded that England, too, needed reform. *Desmond's* publisher, George Robinson, was overtly supportive of revolutionary causes. In her break with Cadell, she worked not only with Robinson, but also with Joseph Bell, who published her *Old Manor House*. That novel celebrated American revolutionaries (and, indirectly, French revolutionaries) and likely would have scandalized Cadell; she followed it with a sequel—*The Wanderings of Warwick*—which Bell published in 1794.

As the letters in this section chronicle, up through April she has been writing her two-book blank verse political poem, *The Emigrants*, this year. In pitching this project to Cadell the previous December, she was not entirely forthright about the poem's contents and aims. In Letter 75 (ca. 16 December 1792), she had proposed a

poem “quite unlike in its nature any I have printed” and “tho not on politics, on a very popular & interesting subject mingled with descriptive and characteristic excursions in the way of the Task, only of course inferior to it.” In the letters we have, she offers no further description of the poem, and we can assume that Cadell agreed to publish it on the basis of her strong reputation as the poet of *Elegiac Sonnets*. Her letters here reference details related to the physical production and marketing of the poem, but never does she allude to the poem’s contents. Cadell was likely surprised by the sneaky way in which her poem suggests revolutionary sympathies. In *The Emigrants*, she masterfully moves from a mournful exploration of the exiled French royalist clergy who fled Revolutionary France to escape death to a reflection on the hypocrisy of those who build their lives by oppressing and exploiting others. By embedding within the poem the sorrowful wisdom her personal life had given her, she helped deflect attention away from overtly politically-tinged material.

In the charged political atmosphere of 1793, Smith’s decision to bury the latent reformist message of the poem was prudent. As Kerri Andrews has pointed out, Cadell’s likely surprise upon finally reading her poem was “mirrored by what some of her readers felt to be a lack of candour towards them about the [poem’s] true aims” (17).² Thus the November 1793 *Critical Review* chided, “the pathos is weakened by the author’s adverting too often to perplexities in her own situation. Whatever they may be, the public, by whom this lady’s productions have always

² Kerri Andrews, “‘Herself . . . fills the foreground’: Negotiating autobiography in the *Elegiac Sonnets* and *The Emigrants*,” *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism*, ed. Jacqueline Labbe (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008): 13-27.

been particularly well received, is not answerable for them.” Doubling down on this point, the *Review* continues: “Herself, and not the French emigrant, fills the foreground; begins and ends the piece; and the pity we should naturally feel for those overwhelming and uncommon distresses she describes, is lessened by their being brought into parallel with the inconveniences of a narrow income or a protracted law-suit.”

Pointing out that Smith does not discuss the contents of her poem with Cadell in these letters should not suggest that other letters to him did contain discussions of the writing process. As Stuart Curran memorably observed, even before many of the letters in this collection came to light, “[Smith’s] letters to publishers are long on publishing detail—how many sheets to a volume; how many volumes to a novel; how much she would be paid for each—and not just short, but wholly lacking, in any claim to art. Except that she is continually borrowing books from them, she seems to have her nose to a grindstone and her eyes shut to all literary value.”³ Smith’s financial needs necessitated that she work steadily on her literary projects. Five months after her visit with Hayley and the others at Eartham, William Cowper described her in a 29 January 1793 letter to Hayley as “Chain’d to her desk like a slave to his oar, with no other means of subsistence for herself and her numerous children.”⁴ She did not have the luxury of time to write letters to her publisher that ventured outside of what was expedient. In her letters to Cadell, she veered beyond

³ Stuart Curran, “Charlotte Smith: Intertextualities” in Jacqueline Labbe, Ed., *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism*, pp. 175-88], p. 165.

⁴ Cowper to William Hayley, 29 Jan. 1793, in King and Ryskamp, eds., *Letters and Prose Writings of William Cowper*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

the picayune details of publishing only when she needed to inform him of events and circumstances in her personal life that impacted her role as a professional author.

Nonetheless, these letters do illuminate her relationship with William Hayley and William Cowper. In 1793, that relationship with her two literary mentors was at its peak, soon to disintegrate the following year. As Jacqueline M. Labbe has observed, the friendship in 1793 “provided Smith with her most useful and valued literary support system.” Beyond offering corrections to manuscripts and proofs and negotiating on her behalf, “both men sympathized with her and, for a time at least, excused her to others.”⁵ In short, they validated and buoyed her during this important phase of her career. However, that support came at a cost, as Labbe reminds us: “Both praised her highly, but each constructed her authorship as particularized by her sex. Especially for Hayley, her womanhood mandated this masculine ethic of caring control For Smith, unhappy with the social limitations her sex imposed, this was a source of frustration” (118). The frustration Labbe identifies is not overtly clear in any single letter in this section, but, by stepping back and considering all of Smith’s letters to Cadell, it is striking that in Letter 76, after many instances of having jockeyed for a favorable fee on her own behalf, Smith refers to Cadell’s “intention of purchasing [*The Emigrants*] on the terms [he] propos’d to Mr Hayley.” Hayley had inserted himself into the negotiation process on this work. Frances Burney had been used to having her father negotiate with

⁵ Jacqueline M. Labbe, Introduction, *The Emigrants*, Vol. 14, *The Works of Charlotte Smith* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), p. 118.

publishers on her behalf, but, up to this point, Smith, seemingly, had been representing herself, however unorthodox for a woman to do so.

Even if Smith did quietly resent the extent of Hayley's help, the personal crises she encountered this year certainly made her appreciative of his support. Her health was worsening and she was scrounging up money to relocate to Bath (to which she would move in 1794). As an aging mother she might have hoped for some support from her older sons, several of them faced crises of their own this year. Her son Charles, whom she lamented not being able to send to Oxford to save him a military life, joined the army that April—soon after the war with France began and just as Smith finished *The Emigrants*. He had not been serving long when, on 6 September 1793, he sustained a major injury during the Siege of Dunkirk, fighting for the Duke of York in the Low Countries in the earliest days of the Revolutionary War. After being shot in the foot, Charles had to get his lower leg amputated. He would be coming home, but would be requiring a servant to assist him. In addition to Charles's injury, Smith worried about her feisty, 16-year-old son, Lionel, who this year was expelled from Winchester College for leading a rebellion to protest a schoolmate's unfair punishment. Finally, Smith lost one of her closest friends this year. Henrietta O'Neill died while in Portugal in September.

As ever, Smith had numerous literary projects on her plate. Having resumed her connection with Cadell with *The Emigrants*, she was beginning work on a new novel for him, which would come to be titled *The Banished Man*. But the novel that would introduce the most unnecessary drama into her life was *The Wanderings of*

Warwick, the sequel to *The Old Manor House* (published this year)—both for publisher Joseph Bell.

Bell did not have the good reputation among authors that Cadell had. Bell had only begun publishing in 1792, likely an outgrowth of an existing business in bookselling and stationery, and Smith soon regretted leaving publishers J. J. & G. Robinson for Bell.⁶ Given Bell's need to gain traction in a competitive book market, perhaps it is unsurprising that he became vindictive when Smith failed to submit the full manuscript by the deadline he had given her. He had expected—and had advertised—a two-volume novel, and she had produced only one volume. He was a businessman first and foremost and did not extend any sympathy to Smith when she could not finish her manuscript of *The Wanderings of Warwick* by 5 December. In retaliation, he would publicly grouse about Smith's failure in an advertisement in the front of the novel (see a copy in Appendix D). As a result, Smith felt compelled to warn Cadell about Bell's accusations and to defend herself. In Letter 89, she declares having "completed [her] whole engagement" with Bell, "who has lately . . . publish'd Trials & other very discreditable works" and her wish "to return, where [she] has always received the treatment of a Gentlewoman." What she does not mention here is that Bell was paying her only £30 per volume: a significant pay cut from what she was accustomed to receiving for novels published with Cadell. As M. O. Grenby has pointed out, Smith needed to assure Cadell of her dependability as an author. Authors with bad reputations among publishers could lose their jobs. In fact, five years hence—in 1798—Smith would be reassuring Cadell's successors, Cadell &

⁶ See M. O. Grenby, Introduction, *The Wanderings of Warwick* (1794), Vol. 7, *Works of Charlotte Smith*, p. viii, n4.

Davies, that Bell had wrongly besmirched her reputation and adamantly insist that she did complete for him all she had promised (Grenby, p. ix).

Letter 76
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[?Brighton] 2nd April 1793

Sir

I perfectly acquiesce in the justice and propriety of your refusal¹—I was aware when I made my request that nothing but the peculiar & tormenting situation I am in could have excus'd it. I have no other excuse to make for having drawn upon you at twenty days for £20 after your former indulgence: But I had two debts to pay for my Son, for which the people to whom they were due were so clamourous that I had no way of extricating myself from the most insulting importunity but by getting the Bankers here to advance me fifteen pounds on a draft at twenty da<ys>, at that date by which time I was fully persuaded that I should be able to deliver you the MMS—Mr Cowper² however has not yet returnd the first part to Mr Hayley from whom I expected it last night—And I am so intolerably harrass'd that God alone knows when I shall be at ease enough to write what remains. However when ever the poem³ is done if you still continue Your intention of purchasing it on the terms you propos'd to Mr Hayley⁴, I shall certainly prefer them to better terms from any other person, even if they could be had—which I have never enquired—because I had rather you should publish for me at a less proffit, than put my works into the hands of any other publisher—I have only to apologize for the trouble I give you & to entreat that if I put the work into your hands before the 20£ becomes due you will be so good as not to return it—I am Sir

with thanks for your former kindness
Your most oblig'd humble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

I write in extreme haste & confusion

Have the goodness not to mention my request to Mr Hayley, as he w^d with some reason be discontented at my applying in a business which he had had the goodness to negotiate for me. Nor could indeed any thing but an unusual complication of vexation excuse it.⁵

¹ Since no 1793 letters previous to this one have been discovered, we do not know what Cadell has refused.

² The poet William Cowper is reading and correcting *The Emigrants*. See Biographical Notes.

³ *The Emigrants*.

⁴ William Hayley is playing the role of agent on Smith's behalf.

⁵ Cadell did tell Hayley. In the hitherto unpublished letter, "William Hayley to Thomas Cadell, Sr." (12 Apr. 1793), Hayley responds with astonishment to Cadell's report of Smith's request. See Appendix A-3.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/65. Address: Mr Cadell. Postmark: 3 AP [17]93. [The half verso page is torn away, and little of address survives.]

Letter 77
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

[?Brighton, 14 Apr. 1793]

Sir

As I have an opportunity by M^r Michell¹ I send you fourteen pages of the first part of the Poem²—Supposing you may like to put it to press, the Whole of the 1st part is finishd and corrected by my two friends³ & on Wednesday another Gentleman is going to London by whom I will send the remainder of this part with the notes & Argument—I could wish to see a sheet as soon as it is printed as will M^r Hayley, who may perhaps still find something to correct—The second part is so nearly done, that unless my present distressing circumstances absolutely annihilate my faculties, I hope to get thru it all to send to M^r Hayley & from thence to M^r Cowper by the Western Stage⁴ of Tuesday. I am infinitely oblig'd to you for the accommodation you have afforded me, at a time when the distress of this place is such as that by no other means I could have extricated myself from a situation most mortifying and painful.

I am Sir

your much oblig'd
& most obed Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

14th April 1793

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/66. No address or postmark.

¹ Apparently, Smith's friend James Charles Michell (not further identified) can hand-deliver her letter to London. There is no postmark. He is mentioned again in Letter 85.

² *The Emigrants.*

³ William Hayley and William Cowper.

⁴ The stage coach that travels west of London.

Letter 78
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

[No. 6 North Parade, Brighton, 18 Apr. 1793]

Sir

As I have a frank¹ I write to repeat my thanks for your kindness & to apologize for the drafts of which I find you complain, & with reason—But Alas Sir, they were drawn in the hope that I should deliver the Poem before they w^d become due; and before I foresaw the cruel necessity of using y^e £52 . . 10 for my rent, which I had then every prospect of being able to repay by another resource[.] I would have recalld them when I found how things were, but the people at the Bank who stopped in the mean time, broke their words with me which were not to present them till a certain time, &, one necessity urged on another—To tell you the truth I was so harassed that I actually knew not what I did, & I am not clear now that I drew two drafts on you—but however that was I beg your pardon for my intrusion—I certainly will not repeat it. But you can have no idea of my situation—nor can conceive what it is to be torn to pieces with annuity for so many children & under the necessity of writing for their support, with a breaking heart & courage At times, quite worn out by the infamy of their nearest relations

My Son Charles has (as I have heard to day) now a commission given him²—& my heavy expence on his account is at an end: But as if my troubles were never to cease, My next Boy Lionel has left Winchester with all his School fellows, & what I shall do with him, I cannot even guess³—unless matters are made up of which I despair.—I see the Europa India Man is arrivd⁴—I expect by her a remittance and Letters; and as they will perhaps be sent to you as My Sons know no otherwise⁵, one reason of my now troubling you is, to request you will have the goodness to direct that any Letter or packet &c arriving, may be sent by the Stage, as the last cost me

¹ Smith has a frank, perhaps from George Hardinge, and therefore the postage on this letter is prepaid. Without a frank, the recipient would have been charged for the delivery.

² Smith could not foresee how the expenses related to her son Charles, recently commissioned in the 14th Regiment, were just beginning.

³ Sixteen-year-old Lionel has been expelled from Winchester College for leading a student uprising to protest the unfair treatment of a school fellow.

⁴ Smith's address on N. Parade Street in Brighton made it possible that she literally saw the ship arrive if it stopped in Brighton before going to London.

⁵ Smith's eldest two sons were sending Smith regular checks from India, and since they did not know where their mother was at the moment, they likely sent their letters directly to Cadell so that he could forward them on to Smith. A passage to India could take two to five months, so neither son could ever know details of her needs at the moment. She would know to start looking for the arrival of the ship. Since ships often needed repairs after storms, arrival times were impossible to predict.

four & ten pence, & by the stage it is only a shilling & if book'd quite as secure⁶—& I request the favor of M^r Davi[e]s or M^r Lawless⁷ to dispatch them to me at No 6 North Parade Brighton as soon as possible after their arrival which however will not be yet/or some days—or possibly weeks—

M^r Hayley yesterday sent me back a considerable portion of the 2nd part of the Poem which he thinks even better than the first—as I beleive it is, tho God knows how I have done it—The whole of the first I shall send up by the Stage of Saturday ye 20th—With a small parcel which it will oblige me much, if you will let one of yr Porters leave with my Sister M^{rs} Dorset in Paddington Street⁸—Or if that is inconvenient, that you will hire a porter & charge it to me

The 2nd part⁹ is in such forwardness, (as I have hardly one hundred lines to write,) that I beleive you will have it in less than ten days—Which I hope will be in very good time for the season—Printing such a Book not being Very tedious—If I am mistaken in my idea that the notes and preface & argument will be wanted the last, pray correct me as soon as possible & you shall receive them accordingly— I am Sir

your much oblig'd & obed^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

April 18th 1793

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/67. No address or postmark.

⁶ Since the recipient was responsible for paying the postage, Smith requests that Cadell forward material to her via the less expensive stage coach instead of the (faster) mail coach.

⁷ Robin Lawless had been Andrew Millar's chief assistant and was at this time assisting in Cadell's shop.

⁸ Smith's sister, Catherine Dorset.

⁹ Smith has almost finished writing *The Emigrants*.

Letter 79
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Brighthelmstone] May 13th 1793—

Sir

By Sundays coach I sent up all that was wanting to the Poem¹—And I shall be very much oblig'd to you if you will take the trouble to let me know whether you wish I should correct the sheets; because I will in that case take care to be in the way till the whole is completed which I imagine will be soon—At the same time I should esteem it as a farther obligation if you would desire M^r Davi[e]s or some other person to inform me what Sum is likely to be coming to me from the 23,[£] of the proffits² of the Poem (deducting what I have received) the expenses of which, may now I apprehend be ascertain'd—This is not meant by way of intruding upon you with drafts or importunities of any kind: but merely that I may have something by which to judge of my power to remove from hence in the beginning of June to a cheap retirement for the Summer,—which I shall not be able to do unless I have then something coming in from this source—As we are now in the middle of May, and I must in a very few days determine about the House I wish to go to, I trust you will forgive my giving you this trouble—If you are so obliging as to write I will trouble you to say whether you will become the purchaser of any other works of mine, when it is in forwardness enough to be put to press with^t any probability of disappointment

I shall set down steadily to it as soon as I can compleat my projected removal & the form it will take as well as the Spirit with which I shall work upon it, will depend much upon the certainty of my meeting a respected purchaser for it—I am
Sir

your oblig'd & obed^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/68. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. 14 MA [17]93.

¹ *The Emigrants.*

² I.e., two-thirds of the profits.

Letter 80
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[?Brighton, 19 May 1793]

Sir

I flatterd myself that I should have had the satisfaction of hearing from you to day—As my longer stay here is attended with expence which I am from the inhuman conduct of the Trustees every day less likely to support, I must within a very few days determine on something & cannot, till you are so good as to answer the question I troubled you with: which nothing but my circumstances should induce me to trouble you about.—The end of May is so nearly approaching that I conclude you mean to publish the Poem¹ immediatly; I am so ill & under such variety of vexations that I know not what I write—Let me beg that you will direct some person to give me by the Post of Tuesday, the information I desire.

I am Sir

your obed & oblig'd hble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

19th May 1793

I entreat the fav^r of hearing from you by Tuesday's post.

[Davies's reply letter copied on this page:]

Madam

M^r Cadell being at present at Bristol (from whence we expect him to return in about ten Days) I am totally unable to state the Account of the Poem with Accuracy sufficient to afford the Information you wish—

I have, by this Day's Coach, sent to M^r Hayley, Sheets C and D with the MSs Copy, —and inclose, herein, the same Sheets for your approbation, the Printer promises another Sheet for Tomorrow's Post—

I am, respectfully, Madam, for M^r Cadell

your very obed^t Servant

May 20th 1793

W. D. [William Davies]

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/69. Address: M^r Cadell. No postmark.

¹ *The Emigrants.*

Letter 81
To William Davies

[?Brighton, 21 May 1793]

Sir

The sheets I return seem correct except that the third sheet is number'd entirely wrong—I therefore return them in hopes that it is not too late to rectify that error—I wish you could procure an answer from M^r Cadell if possible: for I must quit this place in a very short time & I do not know what I shall do if I am not certain ab^t the Sum—Nothing can equal the inconvenience and uneasiness it will occasion me—

I am Sir
your oblig'd humble Ser^t
Ch Smith

May 21st 1793

[The following accounting is recorded on the next sheet in a different hand—likely William Davies's—, although it is not mentioned in this letter.]

Printing 8½ Sheets @ 1 - 6 - 0	— 11 " 1 " 0
Paper 25½ R ^{ms} @ 20/- ¹	— 25 " 10 " 0
Hotpressing at 4 s/- per Ream ²	— 5 " 2 " 0
Boarding 1500 at 4 d	— 25 " 0 " 0
Advertising —&c	— 8 " 7 " 0

1500 at £12 per 100 will produce	180 " 0 " 0
Deduct	75 " 0 " 0
Profit	£105 " 0 " 0

Say £100—	
M ^{rs} Smith's 2/3 ^{ds} —	66—13—4
Deduct, already paid	<u>52—10—0</u>
	14— 3— 4

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/70. Address: M^r Davies. No postmark.

¹ The cost of paper was one of the more expensive parts of book production in late eighteenth-century Britain.

² Hotpressing involved pressing a sheet of paper through hot cylinders in order to give it a smooth texture (as opposed to the slight texture found in paper that has been coldpressed).

Letter 82
[To William Davies]

[?Brighton¹] May 26th 1793

Sir

I return the two sheets in which I observe only one mistake, and one word in which in the proof a Letter seems to have dropped out—I see the Poem is advertis'd to day, and I hope will soon be publish'd—I think you are in a little error in regard to the profit: perhaps you may not know that M^r Cadell proposes to print 1500 copies; and at 3^s. (that I see the Poem is advertis'd for) it amounts to two hundred & twenty five pounds. The expence of Printing two volumes 1000 Copies the size of my Novels of 12 sheets each is only 72£ of course the expence of this Poem cannot I should think exceed fifty pounds allowing for Advertisements even in the liberal way in which M^r Cadell advertises—As soon as a correct statement of this matter can be had I shall be very much oblig'd to you for it.

In the course of Tuesday a friend of mine will trouble you with a Bank note of Twenty pounds for me, which if you will be so good as to let me draw for on you it will save my chasing it Down—Or rather, if you will be so good as to pay five pound out right for my order, & send the other 15 down in those five pound notes which are in circulation. You are always so obliging that I make the less Scruple to trouble you with this little Commission which will not I hope give you much trouble, & which will be more convenient to me than receiving the note by the Post, for reasons too long to detain you with

I am Sir y^r oblig'd & obed^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

I hope to receive the next proof by Tuesday, as I fear that I shall be absent all day on Wednesday, and miss the Post, which may occasion some delay.

I enclose a cover for Tuesday on the supposition that I shall receive a Sheet by that day—& am sorry this pacquet is too heavy for a frank—²

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/71. No address or postmark.

¹ Smith is likely in Brighton since she refers in the second paragraph to Davies's sending "down" (from London) the requested money. Additionally, the following letter (Letter 83) is postmarked Brighton and likewise alludes to a pacquet being sent "down."

² Davies will have to pay to receive this delivery. This letter does not have an address or postmark because it was enclosed within the pacquet.

Letter 83
To William Davies

[Brighton, ?1 June 1793]

Sir—

I do not see any error in the sheet I now return. I hope by the Coach to receive the next, which I conclude is the last sheet of the work, as I find M^{rs} Dorset has sent a small packet to y^r shop which will come down with it at the same expence, & it will oblige me much if M^r Cadell will allow you to let me add to my shop debt with him D^r Moores account of his residence in France¹ publishd as I beleive for Robinson—& advertis'd for to day—& the Critical Review for May, in which I see the old Manor house is criticisd²—wch I am of course anxious to see. There is one Coach if not more now come ~~of~~ on Sundays by which I shall be very much oblig'd to you to forward these things &c.

Sir

your most humble Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/98. Address: M^r Davies, M^r Cadell's, Strand, London. Address: BRIGHTHELMSTONE. JU
[rest of date not visible]

¹ John Moore, *A Journal during a residence in France, from the beginning of August, to the middle of December, 1792, To which is added, an account of the most remarkable events that happened at Paris from that time to the death of the late king of France*, 2 vols. (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1793).

² The reviewer wrote, "From the name of Mrs. Charlotte Smith we certainly were led to expect something above the common love cant of novels; some novelty in the delineation of character; some new and interesting description; some artful concealment of plot; some happy and ingenious development and design.—At all events, we fully persuaded ourselves we should not wander long in search of what is exemplary and amiable in the eye of virtue; and that, whatever deficiencies might appear in regard to taste or invention, the picture of moral rectitude would never be defaced, nor the colouring of honourable sentiment ever obscured. How much we were disappointed in these expectations" (45-46). See Appendix E for an excerpt of the May 1793 *Critical Review* critique of *The Old Manor House*.

Letter 84
[To William Davies]

[?Brighton, 4 June 1793]

Sir

I receivd this Evening D^r Moores Book¹, and the Review but no proof copy of the Emigrants or any Letter which I cannot help beleiving have been by some mistake omitted—as I cannot help imagining that you meant to have sent them in this pacquet.

I conclude that as the season is so far advanced M^r Cadell means to publish the Poem directly—& that the Sheet has been printed off that I have not seen—I am distressed beyond description for want of knowing what will be the remaining profit of this work—& detain'd here to a great loss till it is ascertain'd—Will you have the goodness to represent this to M^r Cadell when it can be done properly— I beg your pardon for giving you so much trouble &

I am Sir

your most oblig'd hble Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

June 4th 1793

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/72. No address or postmark.

¹ Requested in Letter 83.

Letter 85
To William Davies

[Petworth, 2 July 1793]

Sir

I shall be in London in a few days in order to find a purchaser for a work I am ab^{t1}—& to procure some redress from the infamous Trustees—I expect in the mean time to have a small sum paid into your hands, knowing you would have the goodness to recei[ve] and remit it to me—If before it is paid a draft of [it] should be presented from M^r James Charles Michell have the goodness to pay it for me on the assurance I give you that I will immediately on my arrival in London repay you with a thousand thanks. I am here in a remote village where no post comes above twice a week so that perhaps the Emigrants are advertis'd—But I was surpris'd to see the publication announced before I left ~~London~~ Brighthelmstone, on Saturday last. I set out for London on Thursday & stay one day at Godalming, but hope to reach London on Friday Evening & shall be at the Adelphi Hotel²—I am Sir

your most obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

July 2nd 1793

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/73. Address: M^r Davies, M^r Cadells, London. Postpaid. Postmark: PETWORTH. Poststamp is illegible.

¹ I.e., what will come to be titled *The Banished Man*.

² The Adelphi, designed by Robert Adam and brothers James and William between 1768 and 1774, was located in the Strand. See G. H. Gater and E. P. Wheeler, eds., "The Adelphi: General," *Survey of London*, Vol. 18: St Martin-in-the-Fields II: The Strand (1937): 99-102. *British History Online*, n.d. Web. 19 Oct. 2012.

Letter 86
To William Davies

[London, ?]June or July, 1793]

Sir, I have been baffled in every expectation of receiving money since I came to Town without which expectations & even assurances, I sh^d not have taken the liberty of intruding on you; but I have a reserve which I kept for another purpose, which if I continue to be disappointed I will pay to you on Monday—that no inconvenience may arise to you from the combination of unfortunate circumstances which compelled me to intrude upon you—Pray send by the bearer my Letter¹—I am

y^r oblig'd Ser^t C S

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/74. Address: Mr Davies, Mr Cadells, Strand. No postmark.

¹ Smith is in London and has sent a carrier—likely one of her sons—to Cadell's shop. It would have been difficult for Davies to reply immediately, even though that is what Smith requested.

Letter 87
[To William Davies]

[?, 11 July 1793]

Sir

Be so obliging as to send any Letters by the bearers. Those of last night inform'd me that I shall before the close of this week receive a Sum of Money¹, with which I will repay with numberless thanks any money you may have paid for me—& for that purpose will be in Town as soon as the person to whom I send to day, makes the appointment—either tomorrow or Sat^y. I am Sir

y^r most obed^t & obligd Ser^t

Ch Smith

July 11th 1793

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/75. No address or postmark.

¹ Smith may be referring to the interest money she was accustomed to receiving on Trust dividends every January and July.

Letter 88
To William Davies

[London, 15 July 1793]

M^{rs} Smith¹ is so much indispos'd with the heat and the fatigue she has undergone that it was not in her power to call to day on M^r Davies, but she hopes tomorrow to do so as she has then a positive promise of 50£ from the Trustees & (if she can get the Bill discounted)—to pay M^r Davies any money he has been so very obliging as to pay for her. Begs to have all Letters by bearer.

15th July

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/76. Address: M^r Davies, M^r Cadells, Strand. No postmark.

¹ The fact that this letter is written in the third person signals that it was written by one of Smith's elder daughters—Charlotte Mary or Lucy.

Letter 89
[To William Davies]

[Storrington, 13 Nov. 1793]

Sir

My son Charles has occasion for a Set of Emmeline, one of Ethelinde, & one of Celestina, also a copy of “the Emigrants” bound, and a Copy of the last Edition of the Sonnets. These are for a present to the Surgeon who has attended him since the loss of his leg before Dunkirk¹ with great assiduity and kindness, and who prefers this present to the Money he must otherwise have been complimented with. Indebted as I am to you, I know not whether I ought to request your farther indulgence for the amount of books, but as My Son has yet receivd no compensation from Government² (tho I conclude he will) his misfortune has been an additional expence to me, & ~~in~~ and a great addition to the misery it has pleas’d God³ to have inflicted upon me. I am now however writing again & hope still to get thro my difficulties & to acquit myself to you. ~~M~~ In regard to a plan on which I sometime since applied to you, A friend of mine⁴ has promis’d to see you upon it in his way thro London, & I have a frank for Sunday’s post⁵ in which I mean to trouble you upon it farther.

I have no doubt but that from your general liberality you will oblige my Son Charles in the present request, & I Am Sir

your much oblig’d & obed^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Storrington, Nov^r 13th [17]93.

Bodleian MS Montagu d. 10, fol. 68. No address or postmark. See CLCS, p. 87.

¹ Charles had signed up with the 14th (Bedfordshire) Regiment of Foot in April 1793. The regiment began a campaign in May that included participation in the Siege of Dunkirk in August and September, where Charles nearly died.

² Smith expected Charles to receive veterans’ pay.

³ Since she was a Deist, it was rare for Smith to invoke God in this way.

⁴ Possibly James Upton Tripp, the agent for Lord Egremont, who lived at Petworth, which was close to Storrington.

⁵ It is not certain how Smith procured a frank, but because Storrington is near Petworth, she could have obtained one from Lord Egremont.

Letter 90¹
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

Storrington, Petworth, 16th Dec^r [17]93

—Sir.

I forbore to trouble you at the time I propos'd doing so, because I heard from M^r Hayley, not only that you seem'd to be dis=inclined to engage in any purchase with me, but that you were then under very uneasy apprehensions for the health of your daughter, which I most sincerely hope are long since entirely removed. As I am now remov'd to a part of the Country where I have no opportunity of reaching the Neighbourhood of M^r Hayley, I have not seen him since his return into Sussex, & therefore have not perhaps heard, in regard to your determination what might prevent you the trouble of reading this. I cannot however, take a resolution to offer the work I am employ'd on² to any other person, or to arrange matters for printing it on my own account (to which I have been strongly advised) till I enquire whether you are disposed to receive it, either on the terms on which you publish'd Emmeline, or on those you agreed to give for Celestina. The first Volume is so nearly compleat, that I should be able to deliver the MMS. in the course of the month of January. Indeed 3 parts are now ready for the press. I am fretfully aware that the inconvenience of any advance is what you will not subject yourself to, & therefore have no intention to propose it, but imagine that your liberality would induce you to agree to pay for each volume on delivery, if I should need it.

The truth is, that my expences are very considerably encreas'd by the return of my poor Charles, for whom I am under the necessity of keeping a ManServant; & Government has yet done nothing for him, nor has he any prospect at present, but of an Ensigns pay, on which he could not exist unless he lived with me. I am inform'd by the Medical Men, that the contraction of the poor remains of his leg, which is now drawn up close to the ham (& prevents his having an artificial Leg either of wood or cork) might be removed, & his misfortune greatly alleviated, if he could have the benefit of the Bath Waters.

I have been desired to go thither myself for my own health, but cannot afford it, as all I receive from my own labour is not sufficient for the common purposes of my family & from M^r Robinson and the other Men³ who have so long detain'd my unfortunate Childrens property, I now receive nothing, nor can I obtain any remedy against their injustice and oppression. If I could sell the Book I am writing⁴, for a certain Sum to be paid for on the delivery of each volume, I might possibly contrive

¹ This letter was first published by Richard C. Taylor, "Charlotte Smith to Thomas Cadell: A New Letter" in *Modern Philology* 88.2 (1990): 149-52.

² *The Banished Man*, which she was then calling *The Exile*.

³ I.e., John Robinson and the other Trustees.

⁴ *The Banished Man*.

to pay for a lodging there, for a month or six weeks, which is all the difference between living there & at home. I have no right to expect however that you will break thro any resolution you may have formed, to oblige me. But merely propose it to satisfy myself that I have endeavour'd to do for the best.

The work in question is to be call'd "the Exile"—and is a story partly founded in Truth, & as I beleive myself will be particularly interesting & somewhat on a new plan, for it will be partly narrative and partly Letters.⁵ It is some satisfaction to me to possess twenty volumes of my own writing (without reckoning the Sonnets) all of which are in the second and one in the third Edition.⁶ As to the work I sold to Mess^{rs} Robinson⁷ it has been in a second Edition a long time tho they never advertis'd it; and of "the Old Manor House" a new Edition was call'd for, in two months, tho Mr Bell for some reasons or strange management of his own never got it ready till lately. I do not like for many reasons to continue my dealings with M^r Bell, with whom I have now compleated my whole engagement.⁸ And should you adhere to your resolution of withdrawing your property from the purchase of Copy right, & either for that or any other cause decline this proposal, I shall either endeavour to print the work at my own expence, or seek some purchas[er]⁹ or publisher, who is in a more respectable line of business than it seems to me M^r Bell adheres to, (who has lately I see publish'd Trials & other very discreditable works;) and one too who may know a little more how to treat me—for by M^r Bell I seem to be conside[rd] as a miserable Author under the necessity of writing so many sheets a day. This is but too true, but I have not yet learned to endure contempt [& I] I very naturally wish to return, where I have always received the treatment of a Gentlewoman. If however your mind is made up, I have only [to] beg you would not name what I have herein mention'd to any perso[n] in the Trade, as it might prevent my success elsewhere; & I beg for the reasons I have given to be favour'd with your early answer. I am, Sir

your oblig'd & obed Serv^t Charlotte Smith

⁵ Cadell (Jr.) & Davies published this novel in August 1794. The later volumes do employ long letters to advance the plot. Smith viewed the novel as an experiment in form.

⁶ *Celestina*, *Ethelinde*, *Desmond*, and *The Old Manor House* were each already in their second editions; *Emmeline* was in its third edition.

⁷ *Desmond*.

⁸ In Bell's estimation, Smith had not "completed [her] whole engagement." In the preface to *The Wanderings of Warwick*—a sequel to *The Old Manor House*—he grouched that Smith was late delivering her material and had given him only one of two promised volumes. He had agreed to pay her only £20 per volume, which must have frustrated Smith who had been accustomed to receiving £50 per volume from Cadell. Their feud over the broken contract led him to try to have her arrested, as she complained later, "in the street!" See M. O. Grenby, Introduction, *The Banished Man and The Wanderings of Warwick*, Vol. 7, *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, 14 vols., gen. ed. Stuart Curran (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006), vii-xxxiii.

⁹ Following Stanton, I have supplied the likely letters that were obscured in the book binding.

Courtesy of Pennsylvania State University. No address or postmark. See CLCS, pp. 87-89. This letter was purchased in 1988 from Ximenes Rare Books Inc.¹⁰

¹⁰ Sandra Stelts, "Charlotte Smith letter in your collection," Message to Emily M. Brewer (31 May 2012), E-mail.

PART VII: 1794

“The benumbing powers of poverty”

-Letter 112

Smith’s 30 July 1794 preface to *The Banished Man* apologizes for the “defects” in the novel, “composed . . . at a time when long anxiety has ruined my health, and long oppression broken my spirits.” She bemoans not just her present condition, but also her bleak future. Staring ahead, Smith sees only repetition of the same struggles, labors, and injustices that have been her lot of the past ten years, and wonders when her worn-down body will prevent her from further assisting her children. By summer 1794, Smith had lost the support and friendship of William Hayley, had mourned the death of her best friend, Henrietta O’Neill, and, on the same day she wrote the preface to *The Banished Man*, she penned her final letter to the retiring Cadell, the publisher who had championed her success these many years and who had mostly stuck with her through it all.

The now 45-year-old Smith has mortality on her mind. In a March 1794 letter to Irish confidant Joseph Cooper Walker, she reported on “the Rhumatism, the gout, or something” that has left her “entirely crippled, so as not to be able to walk across the room.”¹ Conscious of her changed appearance, she even feared sitting for painter

¹ Charlotte Smith to Joseph Cooper Walker (25 Mar. 1794). See Stanton, *CLCS*, p. 103.

George Romney, the artist who had offered to make an oil portrait of her—at his own expense—which she could use in future publications. As she further confided to her friend Walker, “nobody w^d know me who had not seen me for two years to be the same person”; she was, she describes herself, “hideous.” In Letter 99 she informs Cadell of a request from John Sewall of *The European Magazine* for an autobiographical sketch and a portrait that the magazine wished to feature in an upcoming issue. To Cadell she also confesses her hesitation to sit for a portrait in her present condition. Her doctors directed her to leave the remote Sussex village of Storrington, where she had moved the previous summer seeking less expensive housing, and to relocate to Bath, where doctors and healing waters could help her.

After moving to Pulteney Street in Bath in March, she continued to experience painful attacks in her hands, and wrote in April to James Upton Tripp that she had “not even sent for a Physician on account [of her] inability to pay a Guinea a day.”² Meanwhile, her pregnant daughter, Augusta de Foville, and her son-in-law remained in the house in Storrington to care for Smith’s crippled veteran son, Charles, while they themselves were so impoverished that the butcher, Augusta reported to her mother, shut off their line of credit. The consumptive Augusta joined her mother in Bath when eight months pregnant, and the complications of her third trimester required expensive doctors’ visits and foreshadowed the difficult labor ahead. Smith scrambled to find the money necessary to provide some comforts and medical treatment for her daughter. In the week before writing her 30 July 1794 preface, Smith had superintended the labor, and three days later was holding her

² Charlotte Smith to James Upton Tripp (4 Apr. 1794). See Stanton, *CLCS*, p. 107.

infant grandson as he died. The accumulated toll of each of these crises must have been indescribable—on top of her ongoing battle with the Trustees of her father-in-law’s estate—and her situation could only have been exacerbated by the concomitant loss of her publisher.

Several March 1794 letters allude to Smith’s intended visit to Oxford, where she hoped to enroll her son Lionel for the term beginning that April. To her great disappointment, Lionel chose to enlist in the Army instead—and that decision may have been an acknowledgement of the family’s financial situation. However, this decision saddened Smith, who wrote to Cadell on 30 April, “this is a cruel blow upon me—& indeed upon the whole family as the perpetual advowson of Islington will most likely be lost” (see Letter 109). An advowson was a legal right to present to the Diocesan Bishop a nominee for the appointment to a vacant ecclesiastical living. A benefice usually included income and the use of a house (vicarage, parsonage, or rectory). Lords often exercised advowsons as a way of providing a career and income for a younger son. Advowsons could be sold, purchased, and bequeathed. In his will, Richard Smith had conferred his living at St. Mary Islington upon any of Smith’s sons who might obtain a university education.³ Lionel’s choice to enlist in the Army instead of to enroll at Oxford meant that this living would be closed to Charlotte’s children.

It is some consolation to Smith sympathizers that although she would lose the support of William Hayley in the spring of 1794, and the long connection with Cadell that summer, she did have two men in her life whose friendship did much to

³ See Smith to Joseph Cooper Walker, 9 Oct. 1793, *CLCS*, p. 81 n3.

buoy her through a very difficult year. Her final letters to Cadell are sprinkled with references to her Dublin friend and confidant Joseph Cooper Walker and to the kind estate agent for Lord Egremont, James Upton Tripp, whose financial interventions at critical moments likely kept her alive. Smith's letters to these two individuals in Stanton's *Collected Letters* are so genuinely warm, candid, and revealing—particularly those to Walker—that they throw into sharp relief the comparatively business-like posture Smith unsurprisingly assumes in her letters to Cadell. Whereas Smith describes one personal crisis to Cadell through the lens of how it affects her ability to work, she often describes the same crisis to Walker in greater detail—as if she knew he would be more sensitive to the whole story and less judgmental. She confided in Tripp on all matters—since he was in a position to supply emergency tide-over funds—and, interestingly, one of the matters she returns to over and over again in her letters to him was the state of her account with Cadell. In Tripp's confidence she fretted over every transaction with Cadell and every returned bill. Smith recognized that, as Cadell approached retirement, he spent less and less time in the shop and could not be counted on for quick replies.

As the letters in this final section illustrate, Smith sought Cadell's guidance on many issues related to book production in the final months of their connection. She learned through Walker that an Irish bookseller had been selling a novel called *D'Arcy* falsely attributed to Charlotte Smith. When navigating the rocky terrain of the Irish book market, which was not subject to the regulations that guided the English book trade, she sought Cadell's advice. Her questions for him were numerous: Would a new self-portrait to print in an upcoming work make it more

marketable? (Letter 99). Would he agree to publish a new subscription volume of poems? (Letter 102). Could he hurry up and make his decision since Mr. Walker proposes to do such an edition in Dublin? (Letter 107). Does the amount of manuscript submitted for Volume 2 of *The Banished Man* translate to adequate type press to fill the pages? (Letters 104 and 116). Could he believe the enormous fee Ann Radcliffe fetched for her tedious *Mysteries of Udolpho*? (Letter 112).

At the end of these letters, Smith proposes her first instructional book for (older) children, *Rural Walks*, which will be, after *The Banished Man*, the second of her works with the Cadell & Davies imprint. Cadell's successors would subsequently decline to publish her seventh novel, *Rosalie* (later retitled *Montalbert*), thus prompting her to seek a new publisher. A new bookseller, Sampson Low, will agree to publish it (and, afterwards, other works); unfortunately, none of her correspondence to that house has been discovered. The sheer number of Smith's letters to Cadell, and later to Cadell & Davies, that has survived (and have been identified)—and the paucity of letters to other publishers—suggest that Cadell's long-established firm was very well organized and had an exceptionally good system for storing authors' correspondence.

Letter 91
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Storrington, 3 Jan. 1794]

Sir

I have been so busied with having all my family at home, that I have neglected to answer your last favor—I accept your Offer in regard to the New Work¹, concluding that in case of a second Editⁿ you will make me the allowance you did before—I am in debt to M^r Davies which I shall pay out of the first money coming to me from this work—I hope it will be all out of my hands in April, unless illness or family calamity should arrest my hands²—I wish to know at your leisure, whether you have any intention to begin printing early, as in that case I have 150 pages written & corrected which I will send up & which will employ the press till the other half of the lot is ready. It will give me great pleasure if I can at any time be of the smallest service to your Son & M^r Davies, whose success cannot be doubted, while the Shop continues to have, as I am persuaded it will have, the first character for respectable publications, & upright dealing—It has been a continual regret to me that all my writings were not publish'd there, for tho I have had as much money from others³, I have been much less satisfied with their conduct.

I am Sir y^r obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

Storrington 3 Jan^y
1794

*ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/77. Address: Mr Cadell, Bookseller, Opposite Catharine Street, Strand, London.
Postmark: PETWORTH. Poststamp illegible.*

¹ As Cadell, Sr., is preparing to retire this summer, this is the last work he negotiates with Smith, offering her the customary £50 per volume for her new work, *The Banished Man*.

² Illness has already made writing physically painful.

³ We believe that G. G. & J. Robinson did pay her an equal amount, but Joseph Bell did not.

Letter 92
To William Davies

[Storrington, 13 Jan. 1794]

Sir

I trouble you to request the favor of you to send on down a set of Johnsons & Stevens's Shakespeare¹, plainly and strongly bound, and letter'd on the back with the names of the Plays contain'd in each volume on the back. It is a book absolutely necessary for me, even in the work I am about; and M^r Smith having occasion for the set I have, has sent for it all²; it goes to night. I shall be much oblig'd to you to add to it, two sets of M^{rs} Barbauds "Evenings at home"³ for my two little ones—as a Christmas present. I beleive the work is only in one Volume. It is to be had at Johnsons in St Pauls Church yard.⁴

A Gentleman at Bath who is a stranger to me, informd me he has sent up a present (of Books I suppose) which is left at M^r Lanes in Leadenhall Street⁵, and will be deliverd to my order—I have in the enclos'd Letter which I beg the fav^r of you, to let your Ser^t put in the PPost⁶, desir'd M^r Lane to send them to your shop, and shall be oblig'd to you to direct that they may be sent down with the Books above mention'd, from the White Horse Fetter Lane⁷ by the Petworth Coach—to be left at the Rev^d N. Turners, Fittleworth⁸—We have no Coach come nearer & I am oblig'd to send to my Brothers for all parcels that arrive wherefore I shall be much indebted to

¹ Smith refers to *The plays of William Shakspeare* [sic]. *In fifteen volumes. With the corrections and illustrations of various commentators. To which are added notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens. The Fourth Edition. Revised and Augmented, (with a Glossarial Index) by the Editor of Dodsley's Old Plays* [Isaac Reed] (London, T. Longman, etc., 1793).

² Since it would have been a big expense to send these books to Scotland, where Benjamin Smith was living, he may have been in town to collect the January dividend payments on Charlotte's marriage settlement.

³ With her brother John Aikin, Anna Laetitia Barbauld published a children's miscellany of fables, *Evenings at Home, or The Juvenile Budget Opened*.

⁴ London bookseller Joseph Johnson (1738-1809) ran his shop at 72 St. Paul's Churchyard from 1770 to the end of his life. See Biographical Notes.

⁵ London bookseller William Lane. See Biographical Notes.

⁶ The local Penny Post (here abbreviated "PPost"), authorized by Parliament in 1765, allowed towns and cities to charge a single postage rate of one penny for letters under a certain weight. In the Victorian era, a uniform penny post would be instituted and the first postage stamps introduced that applied to mail delivery throughout the U.K.

⁷ The White Horse Tavern and Hotel was located on Fetter Lane in London, and it was a stopping point for the mail-coaches.

⁸ Smith's brother, the Rev. Nicholas Turner, lived in Fittleworth. See the map.

M^r Davies to let me know, when this paquet comes—& I wish to have Madame d'Arblay's address and the French Emigrant Clergy⁹ sent also—

As you have not signified that it will be your wish to begin printing the new Novel¹⁰ yet, I have not sent up any part of what I have ready—and have the rather detain'd it, as I hope the first Volume will be finish'd early next week.

I am Sir your obed^t & obligd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Storrington 13th Jan^y 1794

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/78. No address or postmark.

⁹ With Cadell as publisher, Frances Burney (Madame D'Arblay) had recently published *Brief Reflections Relative to the Emigrant French Clergy: Earnestly Submitted to the Humane Consideration of the Ladies of Great Britain* (1793). All profits from the pamphlet (priced one shilling and sixpence) benefited emigrant French clergy; it was one of a number of such pamphlets written by English writers. While it seems that Smith intended to write to Mme. D'Arblay, no letter to her has been discovered.

¹⁰ I.e., what will be *The Banished Man*.

Letter 93
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Storrington January 14th 1794

Sir

I have a Letter to day from M^r Walker of Dublin¹ informing me that he sent some time since a pacquet to your House in the Strand, with a Letter—I shall be very much oblig'd to you to order it to be forwarded as the Letter requir'd an answer, & the Book was a borrow'd one, which he wishes me to read and return as soon as possible—He informs me also of another thing on which I must request your advice—There is printed at Dublin it seems a Novel with my name, call'd D'Arcy²—Very certainly I never saw a line of it, & you may imagine it is very unpleasant to me to have such a thing happen—Is there any way by which I can prevent the fraud from taking effect, more certain & extensive than by declaring to my few friends at Dublin that it is not mine?—The Irish Booksellers, in their immediate piracy of any work publish'd here, are surely inimical enough to the English Bookseller and Author, without this bare faced imposition & absolute forgery—. I own I am more uneasy about it than the matter perhaps deserves, and wish to know if you c^d by means of your correspondent in Dublin get it contradicted so that I may answer for nobody's nonsense but my own.

I have got into a squabble with M^r Bell³ I see very unintentionally, in an advertisement, as before the single Volume he has publish'd he has accus'd me of promising two volumes and furnishing him with but one—after he advertis'd two—If he ever did advertise two, it was his own fault for certainly I never positively promis'd two—But if I had, as I was paid only for what I did produce, surely I had a right to withdraw a promise I was render'd from circumstances unable to fulfil—I had a friend, who died in September in Portugal⁴, who on going thither promis'd to send me materials for my Novel—& to let me have some very beautiful verses she had written. She died—After so severe an illness, as made her unable to perform her

¹ Joseph Cooper Walker, a bookseller active in Dublin 1784-1800. See M. Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books 1550-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1989), p. 582. See also Biographical Notes.

² Indeed, the *Catalogue of James Hammond's Circulating Library* (Newport, RI: Mason & Pratts, 1853) lists *D'Arcy, a novel* and names Charlotte Smith as its author (p. 16). This error follows in some biographies of Smith.

³ London publisher Joseph Bell, who published Smith's *The Old Manor House* (1793) and *The Wanderings of Warwick* (1794). In this paragraph, Smith essentially admits that she did fail to fulfill the terms of her agreement with Bell. Bell had been eager to publish a sequel to *The Old Manor House* and had contracted with Smith for a two-volume sequel, had advertised as such, and had printed the first and only volume of *The Wanderings of Warwick* with Vol. 1 in the page heading. Before this letter, Smith contested having made such an agreement, but here she lists the circumstances that forced her to downsize the novel.

⁴ Henrietta O'Neill's death in 1793 was a blow to Smith, even though to Cadell she relates this loss in business-like language of lost promised materials.

promise—This was a severe shock & a most inexorable loss to me; & following almost immediately the misfortune that befell my Son⁵, & amidst very cruel pecuniary embarrassments, I could not extend the work I was about & told Mr Bell so giving him my reasons for it. Disgusted with his <sad> treatment of me, and several shuffling & shabby things he had done, I determined to attempt once more to engage with your House—Or if that failed to take any method of Printing my present work rather than engage again with Mr Bell—He has thought proper to write me a most insulting Letter in consequence of my not selling to him this last mention'd work; and to tell me that nobody ever gave such a price for a Novel as he did for “the old Manor House,” which he “should never have done, if he had not thought that in doing so He securd all my future publications”—The price he gave me was 50£ a Volume—& 10£ [a] Volume on y^e 2nd Edition. The event has provd that he has not lost by it (as I happen to know from a Printer the exact expences attending it.) And why he should suppose that because I sold to him one work, I was therefore under a necessity of selling all I wrote to him, I cannot guess—

I should not trouble you with this long story but that it seems necessary to vindicate myself to you, against a charge so publickly made, and which may affect my character for punctuality—And Mr Bell tho it seems he has paid too dear for what he has already bought, is in such a fury at my declining to sell him more, that he seems to declare War against me, which is not however much to be dreaded, unless he had more reason on his side & better abilities to make it tell—However as he may not keep to truth I give you the trouble of reading all this, that you may know it—As to the Public, to whom he sends me to account for my conduct, I have very little apprehension of being arraigned by that—for in fact how is the public injur'd by it—If they read only one volume instead of two they pay only for one—⁶

On Friday I shall send up the 1st Volume of “the Exile”⁷—half from hence, and half from Eartham whither I send the last half to day for correction⁸—And unless you forbid it by the return of the post I shall at the same time—draw on you for £25—at 14 days—entreating Mr Davies to be so good as to wait for what I am in his debt till the 2nd Volume is compleat; as I have my youngest Boy to clothe & send to School⁹, & shall be most distrest to do it without this resource—I am Sir
your oblig'd & obed^t Ser^t Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/79. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: PETWORTH 20 [JA] [17]94.

⁵ Charles Smith lost his leg after injuries sustained at the Siege of Dunkirk.

⁶ See Appendix D for a copy of publisher Joseph Bell's excoriation of Smith in the front matter of *The Wanderings of Warwick*.

⁷ The working title for *The Banished Man* was *The Exile*.

⁸ William Hayley is correcting the novel from his villa in Eartham. It is his last service to her before their falling out.

⁹ Nine-year-old George is away at Charles Parson's Midhurst Grammar School.

Letter 94
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Petworth] 26th Jan^y [17]94

Sir

I am very much oblig'd to you for your Letter received to day & will pursue the means you point out by writing again to M^r Walker¹ in the way you think advisable—

In mentioning what had pass'd between me and M^r Bell² I had no intention of engaging you in any interference—but merely to justify myself (by relating the facts,) from an imputation which, if it were true would certainly deter any Bookseller in London from purchasing a work of mine—But otherwise than this, I had no thought, however I might express myself, of troubling you about such a Man.

I beleive it is from him & from a Letter I unguardedly wrote to M^{rs} Lowes³, (who in her former style of life pickd up an acquaintance with my daughter⁴ at Brighthelmstone) who I wished to have served, but who shew'd my Letter to I know not what Men, acquainted with Bell—that the idea arose of my not writing myself the Novel I am engag'd in—I was at that time advis'd to go to Bath for a rhumatic complaint rather troublesome than dangerous which I have been some years subject to; and If I could not have sold a new work to you, (which I did not then suppose I should be able to do,) I meant to have printed it on my own account at Bath, that I might myself have inspected the press—I knew I must have a publisher in London, and said to M^{rs} Lowes that having got materials for an interesting narrative, I was meditating it & to put the materials together in the way of notes while they were fresh in my memory; I was employing my daughters while I work'd at Warwick⁵—

Nothing could be so treacherous & ungenerous as M^{rs} Lowes's shewing this Letter, unless it be the advantage Bell seems trying to take of it—But he is a Man so contemptible that I trust to my integrity & perhaps a little to my industry, (not to talk of talents which are precarious) to counteract the ill effects of his endeavours to injure one & when you receive as you will do by my Son Charles who goes to Lord Egremonts⁶ tomorrow to dinner, & from thence to Godalming (in order to be in

¹ Dublin bookseller Joseph Cooper Walker. See Biographical Notes. While a 20 Jan 1794 letter to Walker exists, there is not another one until 25 Mar. 1794.

² London publisher Joseph Bell held a public grudge against Smith for her late delivery of a manuscript.

³ Lucy Hill Lowes.

⁴ Charlotte Mary Smith.

⁵ Apparently, Smith had her daughters Charlotte Mary (who had beautiful handwriting) and Anna Augusta either take dictation for or make the fair-copy script of *The Wanderings of Warwick*.

⁶ George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont (1751-1837). See Biographical Notes.

London on Wednesday as he travels very slowly in his whiskey). The 1st Volume, or all that is corrected (abt 2/3^{ds}) in my own hand writing, with all the blots & erasures of M^r Hayleys corrections you will not I think beleive that my daughter is writing the Work you have bought. I should have sent it on Friday (on the Stage as I promis'd) but my Sons Servant⁷ who was to have taken it to the Stage 7 miles from hence, became ill, & I must have hir'd a man & horse on purpose as I have none of my own—Charles who is of age⁸ on the 30th sets out tomorrow to meet the Trustees on that day to reclaim his property!—God knows with what success, but he will be at the Adelphi Hotel on Wednesday ev^g & will send the MMS to you on the following day: with another pacquet for M^r Andrews⁹ which his servant will call for—M^r Hayley has had M^r Carwarden¹⁰ with him, & has not been able to expedite his corrections, but you will receive all but about 30 pages by Charles.

I rec^d the Shakespeare¹¹ this morning, which is just what I want—but unfortunately the books are very much rubbed in coming—By my Son I shall return the “Evenings at home” as M^r Johnson¹² to whom I wrote a month ago for them, sent me two sets by the preceding Coach, which I thought he would not do when I wrote—as so long an interval had passed—I imagine it makes no difference to you, if you have the goodness to send them back, & pay his £4.6^d I think for the others. I will write more fully by my Son Charles + thank you for the Letters you enclosed me from India which are full of comfort. With such a Son as my William is, nobody ought to complain.¹³ I am

Dear Sir your oblig'd Sev^t C S.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/80. Address: To M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: PETWORTH. 27 JA [1794].

⁷ The young manservant who was helping Charles since the loss of his leg. In Letter 96 she refers to him as the “little Servant Boy.”

⁸ I.e., Charles will be 25 years old.

⁹ Printer James Andrews ran a shop at 10 Little Eastcheap, London, from 1784 to 1799.

¹⁰ Not further identified. Perhaps the same Rev^d M^r Carwardine Smith mentions in passing in an undated letter to William Davies. See Stanton, *CLCS*, p. 209.

¹¹ She requested the Shakespeare ten days ago, in Letter 92.

¹² Radical London publisher Joseph Johnson. See Biographical Notes. In Letter 92, Smith requested Cadell to obtain “two sets of Mrs Barbauds ‘Evenings at home’” which “is to be had at Johnsons in St Pauls Church yard.” It must have been frustrating to Cadell to learn that his efforts were unnecessary since Smith made the request of Johnson herself. In the next letter—Letter 95—she returns the copy Cadell sent her.

¹³ Smith's eldest son, William Towers, was working as a civil servant in Bengal with the East India Company and wrote faithfully to his mother back in England sending her money. See *CLCS*, pp. 779-80.

Letter 95
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Storrington, Sussex, 26 Jan. 1794]

Dr Sir.

My Son¹ will deliver to you a grey book containing in number 147 pages, but I believe from the general run of my writing it will make about 170 pages—of Letter press—The residue of the volume you have perhaps receiv'd by this time; if not it will be with you in a few days—When you begin to print I shall be much oblig'd to you to let the Printer send me a proof—It is hardly necessary to say that the motto to the first Chapter is Scottish. Of the various languages these motto's may consist of, as some will be French, Latin or Italian, I hope he will be careful as to printing them correctly, as nothing has so ill an effect as mistakes in a foreign or dead language.²

I return the Evenings at home for the reason I gave you³—My Son Charles will tell you how I am circumstanced ab^t the Books I wish'd to send to my eldest Son—He has never read *Celestina*; & I promis'd to send him two sets with two of the old Manor House[,] two of Desmond, & two of Warwick & two sets of the last Edition of the Sonnets—I wrote to Bell for them 3 months ago, & desired he w^d enquire for a conveyance, & let me know by what ship they went that I might write to my Son—but, that if he did not chuse to send them, or could not do it conveniently, to let me know that I might get them elsewhere & not disappoint my Son—He answer'd that he was acquainted with a Mate of an Indiaman who would take them—He now writes me word that tho they are packed up he will not send them unless I pay him for them on the instant, as I have cheated him & he would not trust me with a six penny piece—After such an insult, I certainly will not have the Books, but as it vexes me to disappoint my Son, I shall be much oblig'd to you to give directions for these being sent—& as he now assures me he shall make me a regular remittance⁴ every year, I am very certain, if his valuable life is spared of being able to discharge such a debt, & indeed many others by his means—But in the mean time as you will have enough from time to time as my work goes on to pay yourself, I scruple not to request this favor [from] you & that I may have the satisfaction of knowing the Books will go by these Ships—It will vex me infinitely should My William have reason to accuse me of neglecting his request—

¹ Smith's son Charles is on his way to London.

² Smith opened each chapter of *The Banished Man* with "mottos" in various languages. The first edition of the book was published in mid-August 1794 in four volumes by Cadell & Davies. The Scottish motto that opened Chapter One, credited to Hardiknute, is "To me, nae after-day nor nicht, / Can e'er be sweet or fair; / But sune, beneath sum droopin tree, / Cauld death sall end my care." Despite her concern with accuracy, she also quoted from memory. Some of her mottos are not faithful to the original texts.

³ See Letter 94, n12.

⁴ The money that Smith's eldest son, William Towers, provided to her kept her (barely) afloat.

I am Sir
your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Storrington. Jan^y 26th 94

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/81. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand. With a parcel. No postmark.

Letter 96
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Midhurst 12th Feby [17]94

Dear Sir

I write to say that I have to day heard that there is a Novel of M^{rs} Clara Reeves's call'd "the Exile" publish'd some years since—This will oblige me to make some change in the title I meant to have given mine, & I thought it best to give you immediate notice least you should have put the MMS. to press with that title¹—which might be unpleasant to you as well as to me. My Corrector suggested three or four slight alterations in the pages lately before him (close of vol. 1) which the slight oblig'd me to write them over again, a business in which I have been some days impeded by the illness of a little Servant Boy² who lay for some time at the point of death, & I was so far from proper advice that there was no chance of saving the poor creatures life but my constant attention—as the disease was a violent inflammatory fever—At length I had the satisfaction of seeing him out of danger, & I have sent him to his Mother but it occupied above a week of my time & thoughts, and it was only since I came hither that I have been able to do the little requisite to the first & to go on with the second volume. I shall send all the latter from hence by the Stage on Friday I beleive; in the mean time conclude and hope as I have not heard of a proofs being ready, that the work has not been begun under the title of "the Exile." M^r Walker has inserted the advertisement you recommended in the Dublin Papers.

By the Ship that brought Lord Cornwallis, I was in hopes of having Letters from my Sons—Should they have been sent to your House I shall be very much oblig'd to you to direct their being immediately sent to me at Storrington, whither I shall return on Saturday. I am Sir

your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/82. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: 13 FE [17]94.

¹ Smith had been calling her novel "The Exile" before learning of Clara Reeve's *The Exiles; or, Memoirs of Count de Cronstadt* (1788). In Letter 97, she announces the new title: *The Banished Man*.

² In this and other letters, Smith alludes to the servant she is paying to care for Charles after losing his leg, but this is the only place in which she identifies him as a boy and not a man. Her care for this servant boy bespeaks her innate humanity. For other references to Charles's servant, see Letters 94 and 102, and also *CLCS*, pp. 79, 88, 118, and 147.

Letter 97
[To Thomas Cadell, Sr.]

Storrington 23rd February 1794

D^r Sir

The promise of a Gentleman who said he was going to London & w^d take my MMS prevented my sooner sending it, but as I did not hear that you had begun printing, I was tempted to the delay, by the superior safety and convenience of sending it by a private hand—I am however disappointed, for the Gentleman in question does not yet go for some days—& therefore I send by Mondays Coach from Petworth, which <downs> at the White House Fetter Lane Fleet Street, a pasteboard parcel, containing the rest of Volume 1st: & making it, in the whole, 257 pages.¹ Which, as there will be a preface of some length, and possibly a page or two of preceding Poetry, & as [a] great part of the MMS is very thickly written, will I think be enough for a volume of 12 sheets, of Letter press. But, if your Printer thinks otherwise the first Chapter of the 2nd Volume may be added to it. I shall be oblig'd to you to let an enquiry be made as to this, that I may conclude the 2nd Volume of which almost 2/3^{ds} are done, accordingly.

As I imagine you would think M^{rs} Reeves's Novel having the same name (tho I beleive it is a work very little known) a exceptionable circumstance, the name of this work must probably be changed—I am a good deal at a loss what to determine upon, but I beleive it must be

“The Banish'd Man”—

I can think of none more apposite or simple. I conclude it will be necessary to settle this point before the Printer begins.

So much of the second Volume is finish'd, & I now pursue it so constantly, that if you wish to have the work out early in the Spring or first Summer months, it might be advisable unless you put it to different presses, to put the first Volume in hand, But of this you are a much better judge than I am. I cannot but remark an advertisement of M^r Bells which I suppose, by Men who value a trifling profit, before a fair name, may not be call'd an artifice—He advertises the Wanderings of Warwick, Then, to be had by the same Author

The Old Manor House 2nd Editⁿ

And in the press, and speedily will he publish—“The Haunted Priory, or the fortunes of the House of Rayo”²—Implying certainly, by the same Author; So it is understood by my friends from several of whom at a distance from London I have had Letters to beg I would order the Books for them the moment they come out.

¹ Smith is sending Vol. 1 of *The Banished Man*. She had a clear understanding of how her written manuscript would translate into typescript.

² In 1794, Bell published a novel by Stephen Cullen titled *The Haunted Priory; or, The Fortunes of the House of Rayo*.

Thus it was that M^r Bell pass'd another Novel as mine.³ Hartleborn Castle, which many people bought and read as such, last Summer, & talk'd to me about the book, who had never seen it, nor have I now even read a line of it to this hour—I know there is no remedy, & perhaps it is not worth caring about, but it gives me new cause to repent, having ever had any dealings with such a Man as M^r Bell. I am dear Sir

your oblig'd & obed^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/83. No address or postmark.

³ The fact that Bell would try to pass off novels as Smith's tells not only about his own reputability but also about the selling-power of Smith's name in a market glutted with gothic novels.

Letter 98
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Storrington, 4 Mar. 1794]

Dear Sir

The second Volume being finish'd, save only a few pages, & about half of it corrected, so as to be ready to send to London whenever you wish to have it sent, I have taken the liberty of drawing on you (on Wednesday last Feb^y 26th) at 20 days, for twenty pounds in favor of Michael Naish¹ a order: which bill not being due till the 18th Ins^t, you will receive the MMS. before that time & I doubt not will with your usual punctuality and kindness accept it. I have made it only twenty pounds because I wish from the 25£ to request that M^r Davi[e]s may have five G^s paid to him in part discharge of my debt; the remainder to be taken from the next payments.—

I will send up the part of the second Volume² that is finish'd by a conveyance likely to offer from hence in five or seven days, together with some books belonging to M^r Walker of Dublin which he desires me to leave at your shop till an opportunity offers of his sending for them, & another small paquet—

But if it is necessary to send up the MMS. without waiting for this opportunity (which may not perhaps occur so soon as a week), I will on receiving notice that it is wanted, dispatch it by the next Stage—

At your leisure I wish to hear if you have MMS. enough for the 1st Vol. as I cannot very well close the second without knowing that. My Son Charles will be much oblig'd to you to procure for him an Army list for 1794—and to send it down with my Book or rather cover in which I sent up the 1st parcel of MMS—& the Review & Magazine³ for which, (as I know your Shop has nothing to do with such articles,) I will write to the respective Publishers only requesting the favor of you to let them be left at your shop, for the convenience of their coming down—I should like as it is not an expensive publication to read M^r Thompsons Essay on Novels⁴, which I suppose by your publishing it, is worth reading—I am Dear Sir

your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

Storrington 4th March 1794

¹ Michael Nash (d. 1808) of Storrington was a mercer of Guildford and married to Mary Upton of Petworth. See Stanton, *CLCS*, p. 74 n3.

² The second volume of *The Banished Man*.

³ Probably *The Critical Review* or *The Literary Review* and possibly the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

⁴ Poet and editor Alexander Thomson's *Essay on Novels: a poetical epistle . . . with six sonnets from Werter* (London: Cadell, 1793).

I wish very much to know when the Books go to M^r Henshman⁵ for my Son William that I may write to him accordingly.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/84. Address: M^r Cadell. No postmark.

⁵ Thomas Henshman, husband of Mary Eleanor Berney (one of the legatees to the Richard Smith estate), must have played a role in mailing parcels to India. Smith invokes him again in Letter 99 and again in a February 1798 letter to Cadell & Davies.

Letter 99¹
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Storrington, March 9th [17]94

Dear Sir

I receiv'd to day the enclos'd Letter from M^r Sewell² which puts me in a rather awkward Situation. I would write to him in answer, as I suppose he is a Man of character, but so many disagreeable things have happen'd to me by being too ingenuous & unreserved in regard to Letters that if you will take the trouble to let one of the Gentlemen in your Shop go to him it will perhaps be better.³ As to a portrait I have never had one drawn but that which M^r Romney drew in Crayons almost two years since at Eartham as a Companion to a portrait of Cowper.⁴ It is extremely like, & I wish'd (as I believe you may recollect,) to have had permission to have it copied to place a print before the new edition of Sonnets (the expence of engraving which, I think you offer'd to defray) and to have sent the Copy to my eldest Son⁵ who has most pressingly entreated me to send him a likeness. But on my applying to M^r Hayley, he answer'd that he never would suffer the picture to be either remov'd or copied, but that Romney would at any time make a Picture in oil if I would go to Town to sit to him, without any expence on my part as M^r Sharp⁶ wish'd to have it to engrave. After which the portrait should be mine.

But such have been my circumstances since, as to health & money, that it never has been in my power to go to London for this purpose. & the events of last Summer were so distressing to me, & occasion'd me so much chagrin that I believe nobody ever alter'd so much in their appearance in so short a time. Some remains therefore of female vanity have perhaps added to the difficulties I have found in getting another drawing. Which however if I could get, I could not after what pass'd in regard to you, send to M^r Sewell. I am sure you will understand that I cannot tell

¹ This letter was discovered by Richard C. Taylor in the Dunedin Public Library in Dunedin, New Zealand. He introduced and transcribed it in his article, "'The evils, I was born to bear': Two letters from Charlotte Smith to Thomas Cadell," *Modern Philology* 91.3 (1994): 313-18.

² The letter that John Sewell sent to Smith on behalf of the proprietors of the *European Magazine* requested that she send a short memoir and portrait of herself for the magazine to publish. In his article, Richard C. Taylor did not have access to Sewell's letter, which was among the holdings at the East Sussex Record Office. For a transcription of this letter, see Appendix A-4.

³ Smith has come to realize the missteps she has made in her correspondence due to her naivete.

⁴ These two portraits are like in tone and character. They were both drawn in crayons and chalk and are luminous.

⁵ Smith refers to her son William Towers, who is living in India and working for the East India Company.

⁶ Not further identified.

him all this history of a picture being in Mr Hayleys possession which he would not have copied. for it might give rise to many impertinent conjectures.⁷

As to memoirs, how is it possible circumstanced as I am, in regard to Mr Smith to give them & in fact what have I to give, but the history of sufferings & sorrows, which it must hurt my children to have detail'd, & which may bring on a renewal of painful and fruitless contention. However, if I do not answer Mr Sewell civilly, I shall perhaps be drawn & memoir'd⁸ whether I will or no. I am sorry to give you any trouble about a matter so little worth, but if you will take ~~th~~ as much as may settle this matter for me with Mr Sewell, so as that I may without offending him escape being exhibited in a Magazine (for which I own I have no taste,) I shall be much oblig'd to you. If any advantage to the sale of a Book may accrue from having a Portrait, I certainly wish that advantage to be reserved for a second volume of Poetry, which I hope before it is long to have ready, having now I think nearly enough of small unprinted pieces to make a Book as big as the Sonnets.

I would therefore accept of Romneys offer were I to be a few days in London taking the picture on account of my Son William & reserving the engraving for this purpose but I do not know whether it will be in my power to go to London, tho I wish extremely to pass a few days there on my way into Essex. & from there to pay a long promis'd visit to Mrs. Clyfford.⁹ But I fear I must give it up, as all the Money I can raise must be applied to placing at Oxford my Son Lionel, & it must be done against next term the 12th April. For unless he is brought up to take orders the valuable living of Islington will be lost to my family.¹⁰ I have been endeavouring to prevail on Mr Robinson to assist me in a matter too material by suffering me to take up a small Sum of my own money, which is due to me half yearly, to secure his education at St. Marys College, but this he will not do; tho if any accident should befall Mr Strahan¹¹ before a Son of mine is in a Course of Education for orders the legacy of the presentation perpetual advowson will be lost; Every exertion however on my part must be made. If I should want, when I have finish'd the 3rd Volume, fifty pounds instead of five & twenty, I am persuaded that you will have the goodness on this occasion to oblige me. I shall not want it before the 10th of April or thereabouts & I hope by that time to have delivered if not the whole work at least three Volumes. The second waits only a conveyance to London, or your signifying that it is wanted. I

⁷ Smith seems to be worried that Sewell will wrongly conjecture that she and Hayley were lovers.

⁸ A pun on "drawn and quartered."

⁹ "Clyfford the barrister," a college friend of Hayley's, was married to Eliza Maria Clyfford of Herefordshire, a woman Morchard Bishop characterizes as combining "a warm heart and an excellent understanding with a tendency to melancholy and 'fits of connubial altercation'." See Bishop, *Blake's Hayley: The Life, Works, and Friendships of William Hayley* (London: 1951), p. 53; qtd. in Taylor, p. 317 n17.

¹⁰ While the family had hoped that Lionel would assume the position in the church, Smith could not convince him to attend Oxford; thus, Lionel ended up enlisting in the army.

¹¹ Mr. Strahan was the present vicar of St. Mary's Islington.

wish to hear from you if there is enough for the first Volume. M^r Henschman¹² now informs my eldest daughter that my Sons books cannot go till May which vexes me extremely.

I am dear Sir yr obedt & oblg'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Courtesy of the Heritage Collections, Dunedin Public Libraries, Dunedin, New Zealand. No address or postmark. Acquired by A. H. Reed in April 1928 as part of a "miscellaneous collection of autographs" from London bookseller Edward George Friehold.¹³

¹² See Letter 98, n4.

¹³ Anthony Tedeschi, "RE: Charlotte Smith letters in your collection," Message to Emily M. Brewer (30 May 2012), E-mail.

Letter 100
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Storrington, 12 Mar. 1794]

Dear Sir

As I have an opportunity of going to Winchester with a friend¹ who will give me advice & information about Oxford & assist me in settling my Son there², I beleive I shall embrace the opportunity of going thither some time early next week—& take Lionel to Oxford some little time sooner than is absolutely necessary. On Monday I shall send up the second Volume³ by the Stage, as I am not sure of any other opportunity, and if you would oblige me so far as to give me leave to draw at a month from y^e 18th for twenty five pounds on account of the Third which by that time will be ready, for my journey (will not impede but rather assist me in my work)⁴ it will very much oblige me—As I have no other dependence for the fees &ct which must be paid for my Son, & as his provision & the future profession of so valuable a living depends upon it, I trust your feelings will induce you to assist me on such an occasion. On no other I w^d ask it—but it is not as I propose it, a great breach of the engagement—I beg the favour of hearing from you by Sundays post⁵, & I am

Dear Sir

your most oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Storrington March 12th 1794

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/86. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: PETWORTH. 13 MR [1794].

¹ Smith may have been traveling to Winchester to see if there were mitigating circumstances in Lionel's expulsion that would allow them to write a letter of recommendation for him to attend Oxford. She may have had an opportunity to travel with James Upton Tripp.

² From this letter, we know that Lionel was at least planning to enroll at Oxford. Despite his mother's hopes, he did not attend and, by October 1795, would be beginning as ensign with the 24th Regiment.

³ She has completed the second volume of *The Banished Man*.

⁴ The opening and closing parentheses may have been added by Cadell, as if he were bracketing off—and dismissing—the idea.

⁵ This is a reminder that mail ran seven days a week.

Letter 101
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[on the road, 13 Mar. 1794]

Dear Sir—

The proofs have lain since Saturday at the place, a little Alehouse by the road side, where the Coach stops in its way to Arundel—I received them this evening by mere accident & as in one of the Covers, the Printer desires to have them return'd immediately. I have hired a Man on purpose to be at the place tomorrow at or before eight o'clock—I return the proofs in which there are a few errors that I have mark'd as well as the time allow'd, but I fear I must not have the proofs sent down in future it being so difficult to get them from the stage, & so much time will be lost by it, as well as so much expence incurred—I have sent some part of the second Volume up by the conveyance & should have sent it all or $2/3^{\text{ds}}$ ¹ but that not originally meaning to have forward'd it till Monday, I am going over the whole with my Nephew² to put the stops, and last corrections, & to write the motto's which are many of them in foreign or dead languages, as distinctly as possible to prevent any mistakes—I observe that the Printer has not put the name of the work at the top of the Page—I suppose it cannot now be done—If it could it might perhaps be better as the rest of the Volumes I have written are so—But I do not know that it is very material—I have fix'd upon the name which must be “The Banish'd Man”—~~Should~~ I beg the favor of you to let the small parcel herewith sent & directed to J. C. Walker Esq—remain in your Shops till a Gentleman in Gower Street whose name I cannot remember sends for them. They are French Books which M^r Walker values very much & which I wish to have return'd safely to him—I beg the fav^r of you to send down the Army list, & the Monthly Review & European Magazines for Jan^y & Feb. which I have not had time to write for, but particularly wish to see—I will not trouble you ab^t them another time—By the first opportunity you shall have the remainder of the second and the beginning of the third Volume. I can truly say that I work at the book con amore.³ It will be needless perhaps to incur the expence of sending up another packet till the third Volume is finish'd—unless a private conveyance offers. But if you have nay intention of putting the 2nd Volume to Press, you may have the whole by the middle of next week—if I go to <Winchester> I will send it, certainly—I am dear Sir Your oblig'd Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

13th March 1794.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/87. Address: M^r Cadell. No postmark.

¹ Two-thirds.

² Lacking Hayley's support now, she solicited help from her nephew, Nicholas Turner, Jr., when correcting her proofs of *The Banished Man*. At that time, her nephew was trying to get into Oxford, and, thus, would have known other languages.

³ This is the only time in which Smith expresses a love for novel writing.

Letter 102
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Storrington, 16th March [17]94

Dear Sir

I thank you very sincerely for the accommodation tho reluctantly granted which you have allow'd me¹—& hope that I shall not trespass upon you, for the third Volume² will I trust be, if not all deliverd, yet very nearly so before the Bill will be due, & I have got a friend who if I should need it will discount it for me & not send it in even for acceptance till it is due—This I hope will prevent any reason for complaints on your part of my having importuned you contrary to your agreement. Would to God I were not so peculiarly situated as I am—but it is needless to dwell longer on this—So many years have pass'd since our first connection in every one of which I have been in hopes of having my childrens property restored to them, & the failure of that & the burthen of entirely supporting them, have so distressed me, that I do not wonder those to whom I have from year to year been telling the same story, begin to be weary of it, & to suppose that I either deceive myself or wish to deceive them—for if they have property it is difficult to account for its detention for upwards of ten years, a great portion of human life, & a period during which My family have grown up around me & except the two youngest I now have to maintain as Men & Women those whom it was certainly easier to do as children—and my health and spirits so over charged have hardly improved in that time. So that my burthens are heavier and my powers of supporting them less. Even my poor Soldier³, tho every body has told me he w^d be immediately provided for has yet received nothing from Government, & could not live in his Ensigns pay, with a Servant whom the loss of his leg, obliges him to keep, if I had not a home for him—In fitting up a room for him below stairs for he cannot go up & down, & in what I sent him to Ostende⁴ & have laid out for him since, I have expended above sixty pounds—Now his next Brother⁵ must go to Oxford or the Living of Islington will be lost: and even as it is, one of the other part of M^r Smiths fathers family is qualifying himself for orders on the supposition that none of my Sons will enter into them in

¹ Given Smith's previous trespasses on Cadell's goodwill, and the stilted relationship that resulted, it is particularly generous of him to accommodate her here.

² Smith is referring to *The Banished Man*.

³ Her "soldier" is her crippled son Charles, wounded in the Siege of Dunkirk.

⁴ Charles Smith's leg surgery was performed in Ostende, and it was to there that Lionel went to retrieve him afterwards.

⁵ Smith's son Lionel is at home while she tries to round up money to send him to Oxford for the term beginning in April. Her efforts failed.

pursuance of their Grandfathers will⁶—So that nothing but my exertions can save my family from this additional injury—

I do not mean to fatigue you with all this history for any other purpose than to tell you, that from the recent application of some of my friends both here & in Ireland, and from this combination of circumstances, I am induced again to take up the idea of publishing a second Edition Volume of Poems⁷ with plates and an engraving of a Portrait—& I beg to know if you have changed your mind as to being the publisher, which you seemd dispos'd some time since to be so good as to undertake. I shall make the drawings or at least give ample directions for their execution myself⁸, & I will take care to have them extremely well done & in a much better style than the others. I do not mean to solicit any subscriptions or to receive any money till the expence of the Plates is defray'd & to have only half the money paid at the time of subscribing, for that purpose merely, ie the paying for the plates & to leave the whole Sum subscribed in your hands till the Work is deliver'd.⁹ If this proposal meets your approbation I will request the favor of you to procure for me a few printed proposals to this effect.

It is propos'd in the course of the next twelve months¹⁰ to publish a second Volumes of Poems, by Charlotte Smith with engravings from drawings made by her or under her immediate inspection—With a portrait of the Author—Subscriptions at half a Guinea, half to be paid at the time of subscribing for the purpose of defraying the expence of the plates. The other half on the delivery of the Books—¹¹

You will make any alteration you please in this, and publish it in the Papers or otherwise as seems to you proper—But if any thing sh^d have happen'd to occasion you changing your mind, I beg to hear from you immediately.

I shall go to Winchester tomorrow I beleive, or as far as Midhurst in my way thither, and from one of those places I shall send up the residue of the 2nd Volume. I hope you received the proofs & a part of the MMS. together with M^r Walker's Books¹²—but there is always so much difficulty in sending any thing from hence by

⁶ Richard Smith, Jr., had a son named Richard Smith who qualified for orders.

⁷ She is proposing what will be *Elegiac Sonnets ii*, which would be published with a portrait, plates, and around 280 subscribers (many fewer than the 700 subscribers of the first subscription edition).

⁸ Here is evidence of Smith's artistic abilities.

⁹ This proposal demonstrates Smith's great bargaining skills and gutsiness. She knows what she wants and what she can ask for.

¹⁰ This proposed, seventh edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* would be published in 1795.

¹¹ This advertisement text demonstrates her marketing savvy.

¹² Smith is using Cadell as a mail service to send books to Joseph Cooper Walker in Dublin.

the stage, that I am very apprehensive of the safe arrival of parcels.¹³ Please to direct
hither as my family will forward my Letters. I am dear Sir
your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/88. Address: Mr Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: PETWORTH. 17 MR [17]94.

¹³ Storrington was quite remote, and given the greater number of accidents and thefts of stagecoaches on the more rural roads, it is unsurprising that Smith hesitated to send parcels from there. To get a sense of Storrington's distance from London, see the map.

Letter 103
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath, 26 Mar. 1794]

Dear Sir

As I had an opportunity of coming hither a few days since for a short time¹ with a friend & was assur'd It w^d be of the utmost service to me, I have taken advantage of the opportunity & shall remain ab^t a month in which time I think as I attend only to my health & my business, I shall complete my work²—The remainder of the 2nd Volume would have been with you by the Coach of this evening, but strange to tell, I could not in The City of Bath procure Cicero's Letters in Latin—As I have occasion to quote them in two short sentences³, & have them not of my own, I sent for them a few days before I left home from Lord Egremonts⁴ Library but heard that they were in 2 volumes folio, very richly bound, & that a box must be prepar[e]d for them: I therefore declined having them & doubted not but I should get them, many other books here, but I find myself sadly deceiv'd & therefore request the fav^r of you to order the smallest edition in boards⁵ to be sent down by the Stage which I will return safely at my expence—Unless (but that will be giving you trouble) I could leave a blank for the sentences in question (the places of which I knew from the English Letters) to be inserted after you receive the MMS—The other way however will be the shortest, if equally agreeable to you—& if I receive these books on Friday or Saturday, you shall have them return'd with the MMS on the following Monday.

If you have not already written to Storrington⁶ I shall be oblig'd to you at your leisure to hear ab^t ye 2nd Volume of The Poems because I have had another Letter from Ireland, & can give no answer till you fav^r me with your decision⁷

D^r Sir

¹ Smith has moved temporarily to Bath.

² I.e., *The Banished Man*.

³ Smith began each chapter of *The Banished Man* with a two-line epigraph, or "motto," as she called them, drawing widely from French, Italian, Latin, Greek, and English material. Christopher Flint reminds us that, while Ann Radcliffe has been credited with the innovation of the poetical epigraph with her *Romance of the Forest* (1791), in fact, Smith was the first to do so, in *Emmeline*. See Flint, *The Appearance of Print in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), p. 190.

⁴ George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont. See Biographical Notes.

⁵ A book in boards was hardbound, but the stiff cardboard or paperboard was covered with paper (not leather or cloth).

⁶ Smith dated her 16 March 1794 letter from Storrington.

⁷ Smith is negotiating the sales of *Elegiac Sonnets ii* in Dublin with the help of her friend Joseph Cooper Walker.

your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

I wish to remain as much unknown as possible here or shall be dragg'd into parties for which I have not time or inclination—Be pleased therefore to direct to one M^{rs} B Smith No 10 Pulteney Street, Bath.⁸ I must be at Oxford⁹ on the 9th next month, but shall I think return hither, if I find from the Waters the benefit I expect ~~from~~ for my Rhumatic complaints.

Bath. March 26th 1794

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/89. Address: Thomas Cadell, Esq^e, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH. Poststamp illegible.

⁸ Smith is essentially requesting that Cadell use a pseudonym when addressing his reply, ostensibly so that she can shelter herself from creditors (and, possibly, fans). Having located to Pulteney Street in Bath, Smith resides in a part of the city soon to be popular among the literary set. Soon thereafter, Hester Lynch Piozzi and her husband George moved to the street, as did Hannah More. See Mowbray Aston Greer, *The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bath* (Bath: George Gregory, 1904).

⁹ At this point, Smith still maintains hope of enrolling Lionel at Oxford.

Letter 104
To Thomas Cadell, Jr.¹

Bath, March 31st [17]94

D^r Sir,

By the Coach of tomorrow, April 1st, I send the remaining part of the 2nd Volume.² There appears to me to be a great deal of it. Yet it is twenty five pages short of my agreement not because I shrink from that engagement, for I fear I shall have rather too much than too little matter, But because I observe in the two sheets I receiv'd that the printing makes in each sheet 4 pages more than the MMS, & of course 288 pages of the latter would have swelld the volume to another sheet.³ As the point at which it now closes is convenient to the narrative, I thought it better to end there⁴, but if it is insufficient, The Printer will take the 1st ~~Volume~~ chapter of the next volume which will be ready (the greater part) in ab^t 10 days. I have made some strange blunder in numbering these pages, which I have endeavourd in vain to rectify entirely, but the sense will guide the printer. If any quantity or all the first Volume is done printed, I should be Very glad to be oblig'd with it. I have done as well as I could without the latin Book, not being able to get it.⁵ I am, Sir, your obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t,

Charlotte Smith

General Manuscripts, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Address: Mr Cadell. No postmark. See CLCS, pp. 106-7.

¹ This is Smith's first letter to Thomas Cadell, Jr., who, along with William Davies, is taking over the firm from Cadell, Sr., upon his imminent retirement. As Smith forges this relationship with her new publisher, she must figure out how he and Davies will divide duties and author management. She soon realizes that it is actually Davies who is responsible and addresses subsequent letters either to him alone or to "Gentlemen."

² Smith is referring to *The Banished Man*.

³ Smith's concern here about the translation of the number of pages of manuscript to typescript is a reminder of the constraint writers generally faced by the need to fill exactly 280 pages of typescript per volume.

⁴ Most of Smith's commentary on the writing process concerns the contracted agreement about the number of pages, the corrections, and deadlines. Here she offers a rare comment on her sense of narrative structure and on the twists and turns natural to a plot.

⁵ As she mentioned in Letter 103, she was unable to find a copy of Cicero's letters in Bath. In a letter to James Upton Tripp on 12 March 1794, she had requested that he send her a copy of the book from Lord Egremont's library. (See *CLCS*, p. 99.)

Letter 105
To William Davies

[Bath, 4 Apr. 1794]

Sir,

I see there is a Ship from India. If my Letters are sent to your House, I beseech you to send them down by the Stage immediately directed to me at No. 10 Pulteney Street, As I am particularly impatient to hear from my two Sons.¹ I should have been oblig'd to M^r Cadell had he found time to write relative to the 2nd Volume of Poems——Hope to hear from him, or some other Gentleman in the House, soon. Also that the MMS completing the 2nd Vol of the new Novel² is received. I am, Sir,

your obed^t & oblig'd Sert,
Charlotte Smith

10 Pultenay St Bath
4th April [1794]

General Manuscripts, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Address: M^r Davies, M^r Cadells, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH, 5 AP [17]94. See CLCS, p. 108.

¹ Smith's two eldest sons—William Towers and Nicholas Hankey—had been sending their mother money from India. Anticipating that her sons would have addressed correspondence for their mother to Cadell's shop, she wished to alert Davies that such letters might arrive and to remind him of her temporary forwarding address in Bath. She desperately depended on that money.

² I.e., *The Banished Man*.

Letter 106
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath, 17 Apr. 1794]

Dr Sir

I was remiss in not repeating what I believe I said in a former Letter that whenever “the Emigrants” are reprinted in any other form on my account you have clearly the first right, so far as to be indemnified for any loss that may accrue on the copies remaining in hand¹—I now beg leave to assure you that such is my meaning—I shall be much oblig’d to you to send me down a dozⁿ or two of the papers when they are printed² & the sooner this can be done the better for many reasons but particularly for one, which is that I wish to have the Irish publication worded the same & will send one over to Mr Walker who is impatient to exert himself while Dublin contains as it does just now many of my friends—As this packet must come down by the Stage, I beg the favor of you to send me at the same time a copy of the last Edition of the Sonnets—for however strange it is I have not one in the World³—My children & friends believing it necessary for me to possess my own works—However I shall now want to consult the books as to number of pages &c that uniformity may be observ’d & for this purpose (on recollection) I shall want a copy of the Emigrants.

As you do not say that the Printer wants the third volume of the Novel⁴ I have not sent it as I propos’d—thinking it a useless expence to send it in parcels, & wishing to look it over & over again, as I have now no corrector & do it almost entirely myself—However there is about two thirds ready at any time, & as I have found some benefit from these waters in regard to the Rhumatism which has very materially hinder’d me all the Winter, I hope to get thro the work immediately—in a few days the Bill I drew in favor of Mr Tripp Lord Egremonts Agent⁵, will be due—& will I am persuaded meet with due honor tho I trespassed so far on your indulgence as to make it for £30, instead of 25£ for I had more demands on my setting out than I was aware of & I know that the difference is no object to you—I beg the fav^r of you to let me know (when the parcel comes down,) when the 3rd Volume is wanted & the

¹ Cadell’s probable reason for declining to publish a second edition of *The Emigrants* was because of the outbreak of war with France.

² Printing advertisement papers heralding an upcoming publication (in this case, *The Banished Man*) was a wise publisher’s move in stirring up interest for new works in a book market glutted with new novels. She provided the text for this advertisement in Letter 102.

³ It is curious that, eight years after first publishing *Elegiac Sonnets*, Smith is just now requesting a published copy. This long-delayed request may be evidence of how tremendously preoccupied she had been and how much she needed to stay ever-focused on the next project.

⁴ I.e., *The Banished Man*.

⁵ James Upton Tripp (1749-1801) was the estate agent for the extraordinarily wealthy earl of Egremont, who was giving Smith advances.

Printer shall immediately have it—It w^d be agreeable to me to see all that is
printed—I am Sir

your oblig'd & obed^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

10 Pultenay Street Bath. April 17th 1794

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/91. Address: Thomas Cadell Esq^{re}, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH. 18 AP [17]94.

Letter 107
To William Davies

10 Pulteney Street Bath [18 Apr. 17]94

Sir

I am utterly at a loss to account for not hearing from M^r Cadell, for tho he might not think it necessary to inform me whether the MMS got safe or to answer any other Questions relative to our present transaction with which I troubled him Yet I flatter'd myself he would have been so good as to have given me some reply relative to the publication of the 2nd Volume of Sonnets & which I have had thoughts of publishing¹—The season is passing away, when if it be done at all it should be begun—& what makes it more material to me is that as I must either publish the same at Dublin by subscription or lose a considerable Sum of money for I shall by omitting it, not only lose a considerable Sum in subscription from many persons of fashion my friends, (& I have now Alas! no O'Neill of Shanes Castle to solicit for me²) but I shall be liable to be defrauded as I have been, and as M^r Cadell has been by having the Book reprinted at a cheap rate in Dublin, where it has grieved many of my well wishers to see Editions of the Sonnets sold for half a crown bound—

I have by this post a 4th Letter from M^r Walker relative to this matter—He is so earnest about it, as to have already set about the subscription at Dublin, and as he informs me with the most flattering prospect of success—But M^r Cadell must doubtless be sensible that to have it going on there, and not in London will be injurious to my interest in more than one way—I therefore entreat his decision—Perhaps he may have written and the letter may not have reach'd me, but that I hardly think—However I must once more beg the fav^r of him to think of the matter & determine upon it³—

The 3rd Volume of the Novel⁴ is ready & the 1st part as far as 120: or 140, will be sent up by the Bath Coach about Wednesday—More, if I can get it out of the correctors hands by that time—I know not how the printer is going on, & therefore am at a loss to guess whether It were better to keep the whole till done entirely or send it up in parcels—Any information you have time to give me on this matter & M^r Cadells inclination upon the other, will oblige

Sir your most humble Ser^t

¹ Since mid-March 1794, Smith had been seriously putting forward plans for a second volume of *Elegiac Sonnets*. See Letter 102.

² The previous September, Smith's friend Henrietta O'Neill died during a visit to Spain.

³ Even though Cadell, Sr., is quickly transitioning into full retirement, Smith needs him to follow through on this issue. If Cadell would agree to send advance copies of the upcoming new edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* to Smith's Dublin bookseller friend, Joseph Cooper Walker, it was hoped that Smith could recoup some of the profits from those sales ahead of the inevitable pirated copies.

⁴ Smith is writing *The Banished Man* at breakneck speed; the four-volume novel would be published in three months. Indeed, 1794 was a prolific year for her.

Charlotte Smith

I suppose there are no letters from India for me by the Queen Charlotte packet.⁵
18th April 1794

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/90. Address: Mr Davies, Mr Cadells, Strand, London. Address: BATH. Poststamp illegible.

⁵ Smith is awaiting letters—and money—from her eldest sons in India.

Letter 108
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath, 28 Apr. 1794]

Dear Sir

I send 100 Pages & upwards of the 3rd Volume¹—I fear the untoward circumstance of my having the Gout or Rhumatism in my hands, has made the MMS. much less legible than mine usually has been, but I have done my best to correct it— & I must request the fav^r of you to tell the Printer how much this misfortune on my part, requires his encreas'd attention. Thank God my hand is restored & I have finish'd this volume in a clearer hand—You will find it ready whenever it is call'd for—There are several faults in the Letter press I have received. M^r Dunster² however who has been so good as to look ~~them~~ it over for me, thinks them not material but there must be an errata I fear of some length—M^r L³ is strongly interested, & very impatient for the rest—which when done I beg the favour of you to ~~send~~ order down—As I have no design of soliciting subscriptions I perhaps shall not need ~~subscriptions~~ receipts but if you will be so good as to have a sufficient number printed & send me a few with the next packet of Letter press, I shall be oblig'd to you

I see no alteration necessary in the advertisement when put into the public papers—Be so good as not to let your people say where I am as peace is absolutely necessary to me & I cannot have it if I am harass'd with Letters—When ever folks think I am earning or have earned any money, I am tormented to death.⁴ —I am
Dear Sir y^r oblig'd Ser^t Charlotte Smith

Bath 28th April.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/92. Address: Thomas Cadell Esq^{re}. No postmark.

¹ Smith is sending part of her manuscript of *The Banished Man*.

² The Rev. Charles Dunster (1750-1816) was a scholar, an author, a dean of West Sussex, and, from 1789 to 1816, the rector of Petworth. He kindly read and responded to drafts of some of Smith's early works.

³ Possibly London bookseller William Lane, who has shown an interest in Smith's works before.

⁴ Creditors—and perhaps also Benjamin Smith—were ready to pounce when they heard Smith had money.

Letter 109
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath 30 Apr. 1794]

Dr Sir

After your being so obliging as to say that you would pay £25 more, on my earnest request, & on stating my situation to you, I did not expect that I should have received so severe a mortification as having a Bill of thirty (the difference being a mere trifle to you) return'd, when in fact I had earned the money—I am persuaded there is some mistake in this—I beleive our account is thus—

In fav ^r of James U Tripp Esq ^{re1}	25£	
Dr Michael Naish ²	20	(deducting 5 g ^s for W ^m davi[e]s from this payment)
Dr James U Tripp Esq ^{re}	30	(not accepted)
	<u>80</u>	(if all paid)
By 1 st Volume of the Novel (half to be paid on delivery)—	25	
D ^o 2 _____	25	
Relying on Mr Cadells assurance—on acct of 3 ^d of which half is deliv ^d	30	<u>80</u>

So that in fact I trespass'd upon you for no more than five pounds & of that I gave you notice & also that I had drawn the draft: but you faild to mention in your answer that you would not accept it. On the delivery of the 3rd Volume³ which is ready tomorrow ie, the 160 pages that remain, this money will be due to me according to your own agreement: save only five pounds, & I think you would not have refus'd me such a favor—

The whole book w^d have been done long since, but that I have had the gout or rhumatism in my hands which has often taken from me the power of writing for many days together—When I am able I write all day, tho such application is very contrary to the advice of my physicians, who say, and I beleive truly, that it counteracts the effects of the waters—If I suffer thus however from uneasiness of mind. It will be much worse for me—for besides the pecuniary difficulties I have to struggle with my Son Lionel has taken it into his head that instead of preparing himself for orders, he will take his Brother Charles's commission, & go into the

¹ James Upton Tripp, the kind estate agent for Lord Egremont. See Biographical Notes.

² Michael Nash (d. 1808) of Storrington was a mercer of Guildford and married to Mary Upton of Petworth. She mentioned a bill from him in Letter 98.

³ *The Banished Man*.

Army⁴—After what has happen'd to Charles, who has not received nor is likely to receive the smallest compensation for the loss of his leg, this is a cruel blow upon me—& indeed upon the whole family as the perpetual advowson of the living of Islington will most likely be lost—But Calamity of every sort seems to be my lot, & after a long struggle against it, it must crush me—

I sent off 115 pages of Volume third the evening of Monday—I enclose herein the note I have had of M^r Tripp the <?money>—let me know upⁿ return of post what I am to do ab^t [text obscured]. I repeat that all the 3rd Volume is ready. But I wish to have it correct & therefore keep it till it is wanted—I entreat to hear from you by return of post—Think what a figure I make to M^r Tripp. I am prevented saying more, but that I am

d^r Sir y^r oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

30th April 94

I hardly know what I have written for the post will not wait a moment, & this bill's being sent back after my giving M^r Tripp so much trouble, quite distracts my thoughts & renders me incapable of every thing—

I entreat that M^r Davies w^d be so good as to write to me upⁿ return of post if you have not time.

[Bill:]

Jan^y 22^d - 16 Days — J. U. Tripp — 25 - 0 - 0 paid
Feb^y 26 - 20 Days — 20 - 0 - 0 paid
Mar. 18 - 6 Weeks — J. U. Tripp — 20 - 0 - 0 paid
Marc. 17 - 36 Days — D^o ————30 - 0 - 0 not accepted

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/93. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH. Poststamp illegible.

⁴ Since so many of Smith's letters this year document her efforts towards financing an Oxford education for Lionel, his decision to enlist in the army was a double blow to her. See also Smith's letter this day to Joseph Cooper Walker (*CLCS*, pp. 112-13): "It is entirely against my inclination, & I have said so. But as it is very true that a young Man of six feet high & upwards ought to do something for his support, and as I am denied the means of keeping him at Oxford to be qualified for orders for which he was always intended, I do not know that I ought to oppose his inclinations, tho certain that in suffering him to follow them, I must be condemned to much misery & anxiety as I endured for Charles, perhaps to be follow'd by a Catastrophe as shocking. It is very difficult for a Mother to know how to act with Boys when there is no Father or near relation who has authority over them."

Letter 110
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

Bath 4th May [17]94

Dear Sir

It was partly owing to a mistake of mine & partly to inattention in my friend Mr Tripp, who in the hurry of his own business forgot what I requested of him, that the Bills were sent into your Compting house in the way they were—The Twenty pounds, I meant not to have had presented till I had earned it—which would have been before now long, had I not lost the use of my hands which these waters have however perfectly restored, so that I can at this moment write as well as ever I could—How long I shall be so I know not, for the variety of vexations that eternally beset me, and the pecuniary distresses I am subject to, are very unfriendly to the reestablishment of my health, which I might otherwise obtain, as far as it can be expected, after all I have endured—

I have now finish'd the Third, & have made some progress in the 4th and last volume¹ so that if I have only a tolerable share of health and peace shall complete the work in a fortnight—or thereabouts. I think before the Printer has made an end even of the 2nd. It is however very satisfactory that he has not waited for me—As this is the case, and as I look upon the 3rd Volume as deliver'd because you will receive it on Wednesday, I believe it will not be found, that according to our agreement I have greatly trespass'd upon you you having paid 70£ and £75 being due to me on the delivery of the third Volume—I beg to let £3 Guineas of this difference go to settling my account with Mr Davies, which it will clear.

And then I shall make no scruple of requesting the favor of you to accept a draft for 50£ at a month or five weeks—because I wish to settle with Mr Tripp & to tell you the truth have provision to make against my daughters confinement², which will make this Sum much more useful to me now, than to have the whole together[.] Our account will then be

25-

25- already paid—making with 3 G^s to Mr Davies £73: 3

20-

Due on delivery of 3 vol.—75£

So that on the delivery of the whole, there will remain to me (unless any deductions for books or on former accounts) the Sum of £127—or thereabouts—Now what I request of you is: to accept a Bill of 50£ at a Month—Which will leave a Ballance of 77£ on thereabouts due to me—& I sh^d apprehend could not make the least difference to you, as the Book will in all human probability, be deliver'd before the bill becomes due—And it will be of the greatest use to me, in enabling me to

¹ She has almost completed *The Banished Man*.

² Her daughter Augusta has required expensive medical attention with this complicated pregnancy.

assist my dearest Girl, & to prepare every thing for her, as far as I can to prevent her suffering from the cruelty with which her own provision is kept from her; but it will so far releive my mind that I shall finish my work as well as again—You s<urely> I am sure know how depressive it is to the faculties & [?] when employ'd in works of mere imagination to be always on the stretch on pecuniary cares—& that not merely for oneself but for a whole family—My Sons are an expence to me which it is utterly impossible for me to support. Charles who was so cruelly wounded, being return'd upon my hands without any provision but his Ensigncy, & he cannot do without a Servant, so that my expence on his account is unknown & God knows where it will end—for as long as I can labour nobody seems to care—I beg y^r friendly attention to my request & your early answer which will extremely oblige Dear Sir

your most hble Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/94. Address: Thomas Cadell Esq^{re}, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH. Postal stamp obscured.

Letter 111
To William Davies

[Bath, 9 May 1794]

Sir

Have the goodness to let the porter who brings this, take the Basket back to the White Horse, Fetter Lane, as it is something my daughter¹ wishes for, & I fear its not getting to her in time or while it is good. Whatever is the difference of expence, I will pay. I now send the 3rd Vol of the Banish'd Man, all but the few last pages which will be up with part of y^e 4th in about five or six days. I wish I could have more of the Letter press, & I wish to hear from M^r Cadell if he w^d be so good.

I am, Sir,
y^r obed^t humble Sert,
Charlotte Smith

Bath May 9th

Huntington MS (HM10814). Address: M^r Davies, at M^r Cadells, to be open'd immediately. No postmark. See CLCS, p. 119.

¹ The White Horse in London was an inn and posting house, and Smith has referred to it in other places as a posting house for southbound mail delivery. Smith is likely sending something to her pregnant daughter, Anna Augusta.

Letter 112
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath, 11 May 1794]

Sir

I took the liberty of writing to you some days since, making you a request which I could not think you would refuse—Situating as you know me to be, thro no fault of my own, I did hope that as the work I am engag'd in is in such forwardness (that you cannot doubt its completion within a month) that you w^d oblige me with the accommodation I ask'd: The want of which exposes me to inconveniences on my own account & fears for that of my daughter which I cannot describe¹—The benumbing powers of poverty, my strength of mind was able in some degree to counteract for many years, but when I see my child expos'd to its horrors, my courage fails—. I entreat the favor of you as you are not now in advance for me to oblige me with twenty pounds by the return of the post either by your draft or a Bank Post Bill or if you will not, only have the goodness to let M^r Davies tell me I have nothing to expect & I must submit—God help me!—It would have been an act of mercy if any good soul had shot me twenty years ago!—

M^r Stafford² has sent me the small part of the 2nd Volume that is done—I return it by this days post, regretting that the work is not forwarder in point of printing—As the time of its coming out will make a material difference to me—I am sorry also, that tho the first 48 pages of MMS. made more than two sheets. What has been printed since is not sheet for sheet & the first Volume is concluded at 233 pages only 9 sheets—When I certainly intended it, with the preface which I mention'd to you, to be of 270 or 280 pages or 12 Sheets—It does not appear that M^r Stafford has left any room for the preface—so I conclude he had no notice of it—I own it vexes me a good deal—³

Thank you for the trouble you have taken in ordering down the receipts: But as I see nobody, & have no intention of soliciting subscriptions⁴ there are more than I shall want—I cannot but run over (for read it I cannot) [?] regret, M^{rs} Ratcliffs “Mysteries of Udolpho”⁵—a wild and tedious farrago of improbabilities, join'd by

¹ Augusta's dangerous pregnancy was a tremendous source of anxiety for Smith. As Smith was about to deliver the remains of the manuscript of *The Banished Man*, she hoped to convince Cadell to pay her a little ahead of schedule.

² London printer George Stafford was active at Crane Court, Fleet Street, from 1790 to 1796.

³ Despite Smith's fears that the printer had left no room for a preface, the published novel did contain a relatively lengthy preface, dated 30 July 1794, that rehearsed Smith's woes with the Trustees, the Chancery case, and her “ten years of poverty and deprivation.”

⁴ They are collecting subscriptions for *Elegiac Sonnets*, seventh edition.

⁵ London publisher George Robinson (not Cadell) published Ann Radcliffe's Gothic thriller *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). Cadell & Davies would publish her three-volume novel *The Italian: or the confessional of the black penitents. A romance* in 1797 and give her an incredible advance of £800.

copied & eternally recurring Landscapes, & incidents borrow'd from ten or twelve other Novels, in which *Celestina* is particularly pilferd—& *Julia de Bobigne-Wester*⁶, & others as evidently borrow'd from—Yet for these four Volumes of impossible stuff with some good writing and tho with little contrivance, and a very bungling catastrophe she has received five hundred pounds!—But she probably went with the MMS ready in her hand, & made her bargain accordingly while I—But I am far from complaining of your liberality which has always been such, as deserves, & has, my gratitude—In this last agree^t no mention has been made of a second Edition—but of your punctuality in that case I have no doubt; the Mess^{rs} G. G. & J. Robinson—to whose generosity I was advis'd to leave that matter as they had the reputation of being very liberal—contrived to give me five Guineas less than their promise—or than I had had of you—I am D^r Sir

most earnestly entreating your an^r
your most obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Bath May 11th 94

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/95. Address: Thomas Cadell Esq^{re}, Strand, London. Note: If not there to be forwarded. Postmark: 12 MA [17]94.

⁶ Not further identified.

Letter 113
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath, 14 May 1794]

Dear Sir

I am very much oblig'd to you for the accommodation you have granted me—When I spoke of the enormous price given for M^{rs} Ratcliffs Novel¹ I was far from meaning to intimate the remotest wish of offering what I am about to any other person—which w^d be folly & ingratitude—The terms you have always offer'd me & fulfill'd were ~~always~~ ever very liberal & I assure you it is not in the way of flattery I say, that I had rather have your name as a publisher even at an inferior proffit than any other Bookseller—. I have done 3 Volumes. M^r Stafford is in possession of all the 3rd but about 50 pages which M^r Dunster², who is so good as to correct my errors now & then, return'd me to day, so that they will be up this week—With part of the 4th volume—He has a very high opinion of the work—much more so I fear than it deserves. I hope & beleive the whole will be finish'd within three weeks, with^t hurrying myself too much; but the Rhumatism in my hands destroys me—I send up some Receipts sign'd—I quite forgot, that was the meaning of your sending them down—I suppose the intended publication of Sonnets is not yet advertis'd as I have never seen it³—

I shall not immediately draw for £25—as I think I shall finish the whole considerably within the time.

I am Sir

your oblig'd & obed^t Ser^t
Charlotte Smith

Bath 14th May 94

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/96. Address: M^r Cadell, Strand. No postmark.

¹ See Letter 112, n5.

² See Letter 108, n2.

³ The seventh edition of *Elegiac Sonnets* would be published in 1795 by Cadell & Davies.

Letter 114
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Pulteney Street, Bath, 20 May 1794]

Dear Sir

I wish I could avoid putting you to the expence of Postage—I yesterday wrote to you under cover to a Member of Parliament & then imagined I should be able to get the second 25£ discounted notwithstanding the 6 weeks it had to run—But on application to M^r Bull¹ I found it was not in his power to do it at so long a date as he had a considerable remittance to make this week, which he was under the necessity of doing in Cash or Bills at very short date—But he was so obliging as to inform me, that if I could draw at shorter date he w^d do it for me—Thus circumstanced, & my Book² being in such forwardness, that I am in hopes of delivering the whole in a week from this time, or ten days at farthest, I had the less scruple in drawing for half the Sum you were so good as to indulge me with at ten days—in favor of M^r Bull—As my family are now coming hither and my expences encreas'd—& I have no doubt but that you will have the goodness to honor the Bill—I have not sent up the end of the 3rd Volume, & beginning of the 4th, because it is needless to make many packages—but on a days notice that the printer is ready he shall have the 200 pages yet in my hands—I am dear Sir

your oblig'd and obed^t Ser^t

Charlotte Smith

10 Pulteney Street Bath. May 20. 1794

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/97. Address: Thomas Cadell Esq^{re}, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH. 21 MA [17]94.

¹ Bath bookseller Lewis Bull.

² *The Banished Man.*

Letter 115
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath] June 11th [17]94

Dear Sir,

Tho my daughter de Foville¹ bore her journey extremely well, she was taken dangerously ill three days afterwards, & from the reasoning of the Medical Man² who attended her, I have been under the most terrible apprehensions which alone has occasion'd me to neglect sending up the proofs M^r Stafford³ sent me, which I meant to have done some days ago, for there are several mistakes as I fear can hardly pass. As my terror is for the moment appeas'd, I will send up these proofs by tomorrows Coach corrected with a parcel of MMS. I should have sent it all up before now, but this illness of my Angel child has distracted me, & the winding up of a story ought to be so well done that It requires every attention. I think in three or four days if Augusta has not a relapse it will be complete prefaces & all—In the mean time I cannot get a sixpence from the Trustees & my expences run so high, you will I am persuaded accept the two drafts of 12 & 16 Guineas I have drawn in fav^r of M^r Pickwick, as before they will be due I trust & am indeed assur'd that I shall have completed my engagement—

I think of undertaking for the rest of the summer (as I can only do Poetry occasionally) a work such as you once recommended. A sort of School book calculated not for mere children, but for young persons from twelve to sixteen, intended to form their taste for Poetry, drawing & natural History, or rather to give them, without the alloy of romance, a relish for the beauties of Landscape &C. To be call'd "Rural Walks"⁴—Would your Successours like to engage for such a work? In that case I w^d get it printed here & superintend the Press. There is time enough to think of this. Excuse the haste in which I write & believe me, dear Sir,

y^r much oblig'd Sert,
C S

Yale University MS. Address: Thomas Cadell, Esq^{re}, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH. 12 JU [17]94.
See CLCS, pp. 126-27.

¹ Her 20-year old daughter, Augusta de Foville, would go into labor on 23 July. Smith was terrified about her daughter traveling so late in her pregnancy.

² Eminent London obstetrician Thomas Denman (1733-1815) attended Augusta near the time of her delivery and afterwards. He is named in Letter 116.

³ George Stafford, printer, Crane Court, Fleet Street, from 1790 to 1796.

⁴ Cadell & Davies—Cadell's "Successours"—would publish *Rural Walks* (1795).

Letter 116
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath, 22 June 1794]

Dear Sir,

The relapse of my daughter had, & the apprehensions Dr Denman as well as the Medical people here had & still seem to have of the event, has kept me in such a state of anxiety, as I will not attempt to explain to you, who are I know a most tender and affectionate Parent. Within these few days, thank God, My dear Augusta has suffer'd less, & I think gains strength So that I have more hope than I had that the event will be favourable. I have at intervals continued my work & have now finish'd it all but the two last Chapters, which I wish, like the last line of a Sonnet to have forcible and correct. They will I hope be concluded so in the course of this week. By the mail of this evening I send up a quantity of MMS——But I fear delay (which for particular reasons will be very inimical to my interest) may arise from the following circumstance—

The second Volume from I know not what cause, for I did not intend to spare my labour, prints in only nine sheets; that is, there are but 212 pages of Letter press instead of 280. The MMS I think ran to 289 or thereabouts, & I could not foresee it would print so little as, of the first parcel I sent up, the Letter press made near twenty pages more than the MMS (and one of Mr Bells complaints against me was that I made my Volumes too big¹).

However I believe the present deficiency is partly oweing to Mr Stafford having printed this work closer than mine have usually been & that each page contains 15 lines instead of 14, which makes in the whole a very considerable difference—But be it from whatever cause it may, I would most willingly apply a remedy as Mr Stafford recommends by adding 40 or 50 pages more to close the second Volume. But on examining how far it will be possible, without adding an incongruous episode, I have reason to fear it will be greatly more difficult than to write almost any thing else, & of course to eke out this volume tolerably will take me as many days as to write half another. Still I will do it if you desire it & as expeditiously as possible. But I thought it better to state the circumstances to you, & I beg your opinion upon it, if not too much trouble, by the return of the Post that I may set about it immediately.

Mr Andrews² informs me that he has procured several names of Subscribers, but I conclude the whole are not many, as you have yet had only 30 receipts—I should be glad to hear from Mr Davies how it goes on, as I do not mean to trouble you about it—I wish however to hear from you relative to this unfortunate thinness of the 2nd Volume of the Novel. The Third is also thinner than I intended and from the same cause. If one is enlarged the other must undergo the same operation. But I

¹ London publisher Joseph Bell had published her novels *The Old Manor House* (1793) and *The Wanderings of Warwick* (1794).

² London printer James Andrews, whose shop was at 10 Little Eastcheap from 1784 to 1799.

am not solicitous to escape the trouble of doing this, because I know I ought to fulfill my engagement, as anxious not to have delays arise in the publication at this late season of the year, & when the appearance of the work is from particular circumstances so material to my interest. Perhaps you may recollect that I mention'd to you When I sent up these volumes, that if the Printer found them deficient in Quantity, I desired he w^d take one or more chapters from the subsequent Volumes As I did not mind my labour. This I repeated more than once to M^r Stafford; I trust therefore you will not impute to me as an omission of punctuality, the deficiency in quantity, or the delay that the remedy must cause—

Bath, June 22nd [17]94

I am, Dear Sir,
with great esteem,
your most humble & oblig'd Ser^t,
Charlotte Smith

Yale University MS. Address: Thomas Cadell Esq^{re}, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH. 23 JU [17]94.
See CLCS, pp. 128-29.

Letter 117
To William Davies

[Bath, 25 June 1794]

Sir,

Imagining that M^r Cadell may be out of Town I write to you to say that as I shall complete the 4th Volume on Saturday (my daughter being thank God much recoverd in health & strength within these few days), I will proceed immediately after to enlarge the 2nd & if requisite the 3rd Volume in the best manner I can.¹ I trust M^r Cadell, seeing how I am circumstanced, will not refuse me the fav^r of accepting a bill for 10 G^s which I drew for yesterday at ten days in fa[vo]^r of M^r Barratt.² And that should I want the rest on account of my daughter, whose confinement I now expect every day, I am persuaded he will not refuse it, even if it should happen to be before the additional pages are deliver'd.

By the Coach of Thursday evening, or the Mail of Friday, I shall send up a considerable quantity of MMS. Indeed all but the closing chapter & the prefaces, which will follow I trust about Monday so that the work will be complete save only the unforeseen additions, in the course of next week——³

The work I propose setting about as soon as this Novel is out of my hands is design'd for the use of Young people, who being too young to read novels or romances, are yet superior to the usual run of books offer'd to children.⁴ Walks in The Country, which shall give an opportunity of discoursing on Landscape on the simple parts of botany, and natural history, with short stories of suppositious persons (whose houses may be seen in the distance, or may be brought to recollection) such as may be at once interesting and moral, I Work less desultory than M^{rs} Barbaulds "Evenings at home" (which have had & still have an amazing sale)⁵ & calculated for young persons three or four years older. Such is my plan, & I have a sketch of the first volume, which I think would work up into about 200 pages—Tho I am persuaded that, from the universal complaint that there is no such book, ~~that~~ any tolerable performance would have a great and continued sale (and a French Translation w^d be highly advantageous) And that therefore I might venture

¹ In Letter 115, Smith apologizes for the "thinness" of these volumes. This discussion is instructive to modern-day students of her works, who (rightly) identify "filler" material in her novels.

² Joseph Barratt, a bookseller at Bath.

³ It must have been exhausting for her publishers to manage the dribbling of manuscript pages Smith was sending. Authors not living hand-to-mouth would have been more apt to submit completed manuscripts.

⁴ The work will be titled *Rural Walks: in dialogues intended for the use of young persons* (1795).

⁵ Smith alludes to a successful instructional book for children compiled by John Aiken, with essay contributions by his sister, Anna Laetitia (Aiken) Barbauld (1743-1825), which Smith had ordered the previous year.

to print it myself, yet As I have not exactly the talents necessary to make bargains with printers & should probably be plagued about it, I had rather agree with M^r Cadell Jun^r & you—At a certain Sum on the delivery of the first volume, conditional advantages in proportion to the sale. I apprehend such a work might be usefully extended to three if not 4 [volumes] & a Volume at a time might be publish'd,⁶ since [it] would be like novel, the chain of which cannot be broken by publishing at different times. Should we agree & I sh^d continue here, I apprehend you w^d employ Cruttwell⁷ or some Bath Printer, in which case I would superintend the press. When you have consulted M^r Cadell & considerd the matter, I should be oblig'd to you to let me know M^r T Cadells & your sentiments as to the terms.

I am, Sir,
your most obed Ser^t,
Charlotte Smith

Bath, 25th June 1794

Pray tell M^r Stafford that I much doubt whether I have quoted the passage right in the last parcel of MMS:

“There be some sports are painful” & &c

I did it only from Memory having no good Edition of Shakespeare here. It seems to me to be nonsense as I have remember'd it. I beg he will look; it is in the Tempest. A speech of Ferdinands.⁸

Osborn Collection MS, Yale University. Address: Mr Davies, (Thos Cadells Esq^{re}), Strand, London. Postmark: BATH; 27 JU [1794]. See CLCS, pp. 130-31.

⁶ Cadell & Davies did publish the two-volume *Rural Walks* (1795), but not exactly as Smith proposed. That work would be followed by *Rambles Farther* (1796).

⁷ Richard Cruttwell, printer, bookseller, and publisher in Bath active from 1773-1799; he owned and edited *The Bath Chronicle*.

⁸ Smith quotes correctly from *The Tempest* 3.1.1.

Letter 118
To Thomas Cadell, Jr., and William Davies

[Bath] 8th July [1794]

M^{rs} Smith¹, being much fatigued to night with getting ready the close of the Book of which about 30 pages more remain to be sent up in two days, cannot write to night fully to M^r Davies ~~to night~~ but will endeavour to do so tomorrow &, in the mean time, begs the bills she has drawn to the amount of 22 pounds:

in 12—Mayo

5—— Williams

5—— Barrett.²

At ten & fifteen days may be honoured it, begin as she believes nearly the whole 200£. She wishes at his Leisure to have the names of the subscribers³ & his resolution as to her new work⁴, as this is now so very nearly out of hand. She wishes if agreeable to [Mr Cade]ll that it may now be advertised as being in the press—Which will be of use to her in particular view of her own——But she also begs that should any body apply for her address, it may be said that it is not exactly known at Mr Cadell's shop.

Osborn Collection MS, Yale University. No address or postmark. See CLCS, p. 132.

¹ Since this letter is written in the third person, it was likely written by one of Smith's daughters—Charlotte Mary or Lucy.

² Mayo, Williams, and Barrett were likely Bath tradesmen and possibly drapers.

³ I.e., for the seventh, subscription edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

⁴ I.e., the educational book for youth called *Rural Walks*.

Letter 119
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath, 18 July 1794]

Dear Sir,

I yesterday sent up the close of the 4th Volume¹ which will arrive in Town this afternoon. I have now therefore completed my engagement, save only the additional pages necessary to the quantity of the 2nd Volume, in which (as there is only one piece of Poetry in the other three volumes) I wish'd to have inserted another ~~one~~ & still hope to do it if my belov'd Augusta, whose precarious situation seems now very near its crisis, does well. but my fears for her & the fatigue I undergo as I am with her night and day greatly affects me in my present state of health so lately restored by the Bath Waters.

I find that my Account with Mr Tripp² is settled another way & therefore that there remain'd a Balance to me of 27 or 30£ on the two hundred. This, as It was absolutely necessary for me to send my Son to be enter'd at St Johns Oxon before the long vacation, I have drawn for, for his kind relations & honest Trustees w^d do nothing; & if it happens that I have exceeded my due, I must apply the little that the subscription may have produced to answer it, as I trust that Mr De Foville³ and I shall make the drawings together⁴ (as he draws delightfully and it will be a great saving), and I have directed some money arising from the same source in Ireland to be paid into your hands, besides which I expect some on the same account from other quarters—I hope & believe I have a considerable remittance on its way from Bengal⁵, but except that, I have no resource but my own application, as Mr Robinson⁶ persists in refusing me the least support for my family whose property he has now held eleven years. you may imagine what a task I have & what must often be my situation.

Mess^{rs} Cadell & Davies offer me 50£ pr Vol. for the Work I propos'd⁷, which certainly is a fair price as to the labour because it is less labourious than a Novel, but I am persuaded the proffits will be more. However, if it should answer to them the sanguine expectations that have been entertain'd of such an undertaking, I have no doubt but that I might place the same confidence in their generosity as I have done

¹ Smith is completing the next volume of *The Banished Man*.

² James Upton Tripp. See Biographical Notes.

³ Alexandre Mark-Constant de Foville, a French emigrant living in England since 1791, was Smith's son-in-law, married since 1793 to her expecting daughter, Augusta.

⁴ For an earlier mention of Smith's drawing talent, see Letter 102.

⁵ Her eldest sons were sending her money from India.

⁶ Trustee John Robinson. See Biographical Notes.

⁷ I.e., *Rural Walks*.

on yours. I therefore accept the terms & will set about the work as soon as the prefaces, &c, to "the Banishd Man" are sent up, which I hope to dispatch to day if my daughter continues thro it as she is now. In regard to the Printing, all I meant by naming its being printed here was that I could correct the press myself, & I thought your house might have a connection with some Bookseller here who has a press. It is not at all an object to me, as even my stay here is very uncertain. I am, Dear Sir,

your most obed^t & oblig'd Ser^t,
Charlotte Smith

Bath 18th July [17]94

M^{rs} Smith is much oblig'd to M^r Davies for the care he took of her Letters to India and requests the favour of him to forward instantly any that may be sent to M^r Cadell's late House in the Strand, & by the most expeditious conveyance.

Yale University MS. Address: Thomas Cadell, Esq^{re}, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH, 24 July [17]94. See CLCS, pp. 136-37.

Letter 120
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath, 22 July 1794]

Dear Sir,

Before I re[ceiv]d your account & on a loose reckoning of my own, I had drawn for 33£: vis. Bull—£15.15; Pickwick—£10; Barratt—£7.7¹, when I had in fact only £24.3. This leaves me near nine pounds in your debt. I cannot now withdraw the Bills, nor can I replace ~~them~~ the Sum till I receive the Money I expect from Ireland, or from a friend who is endeavouring to farther my interest. I beg the favor of you not to return the Bills but to give me credit for the difference till I can make it up.

My mind is at present in such a state that I really know not what I say or do—Mrs De Foville² continues still in so dangerous a way, and the event is so very uncertain in the opinion of Mr Perry who attends her, as well as in that of Dr Denman³, that nothing but the necessity of my keeping up an appearance of courage on her account could induce me to ~~keep~~ struggle with the terror that overwhelms me. I have no consolation but that of having procured for her every assistance & every comfort possible, for ill as I can afford it, considered in a general light, Every thing I can do will be cheap if I can but save her—for should I lose her—It is presumptuous to say I could not bear it, for perhaps I must, but I do not know <wether> it would not put a final end to all my troubles. I am always so unfortunate that I think I have not, for some reason or other, any thing but misery to expect. This would indeed compleat the bitterness of my destiny, for tho I have so many other Children, this dear Child is the most precious. Nor do I reproach myself with this partiality as a crime, for the others have never found it make any difference to them, & I think it is not caprice as they all equally love her—& her Uncle, his Wife, & even many unconnected persons idolize her, which must be the effect of her disposition. As to her husband, he worships the ground she treads upon & is in a state of suffering equald only by mine. God Almighty knows how long we shall be in this suspense. It cannot be very long as she is at her full time.

If I get an hour's respite this afternoon, I will copy the preface &c which I have finish'd & will send them up by the post tomorrow. In the mean time, I send

¹ Joseph Barratt and Lewis Bull were Bath booksellers, and Pickwick may refer to the owner of the White Hart, a well-known, luxurious inn in Bath or to Thomas Hulbert Pickwick, a clothier. See *CLCS*, pp. 138-39 n1.

² The concern Smith has for her expecting daughter, Augusta, is not histrionic. Augusta would give birth two days hence, and while she survived labor and delivery, her newborn son died after three days, and Augusta herself would die the following spring. Smith was getting very little sleep during the lead-up to the birth. See Charlotte Smith to the Reverend Charles Dunster (16 July 1794) in *CLCS*, p. 133.

³ Prominent Bath physician Caleb Hillier Parry, M.D., and London obstetrician Thomas Denman advised Smith on the health of Augusta.

you a receipt for the money for the copy right of “the Banish’d Man,” which I suppose will be necessary, tho there is no longer any thing to fear from poor M^r Smith who contents himself with taking my fortune, or considerably more than half of it, & desires me to do with the children as well as I can. There are but three things that can relieve me—Chancery, where I have at length a suit in some forwardness; the death of my (own) Father’s Widow⁴, which will be some encrease to my fortune; & remittances from India⁵. But these last are not only uncertain, but I receive them with pain as the price of my dearest William’s banishment & as kindness which will lengthen that banishment, for so high is the interest he c^d make of money in India that we ought to have sent him his Grandfather’s Legacy long since instead of receiving Money from him.

Have the goodness to desire M^r Davies add to the list of subscribers⁶ the following names sent from a friend

Captain Mackelean—Royal Engineers—————	3 Copies
Captain Burn—Marines—————	1
M ^r Fowler, Princes Street, Hanover Square———	1
M ^{rs} Fenn. Clapton—	1
Miss Aldersey, Seward Street	Miss Humberstone Amphill
M ^{rs} Carey—Woburn 1	Rev ^d F. Festing, Lethbury, Bucks
Rev ^d T. <Choxton> 1	Rev ^d S. Greatheed 5 copies
Miss Gutteridge, Luton 1	M ^{rs} Greatheed 2 copies

I am, dear Sir, with a perfect sense of your kindness,

your much oblig’d Sev^t,
Charlotte Smith

Bath 22nd July 1794

Yale University MS. Address: Thomas Cadell, Esq^{re}, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH, 24 July [17]94. See CLCS, pp. 137-39.

⁴ Smith’s father, Nicholas Turner, Esq., had married the former Miss Meriton of Chelsea, a 40-year-old heiress when they married in August 1764 (and thus about 70 years old by this time).

⁵ Smith refers to the money her eldest sons were sending her from India.

⁶ She is collecting subscribers for the seventh, subscription edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*.

Letter 121
To Thomas Cadell, Sr.

[Bath, 30 July 1794]

D^r Sir,

I beg you will accept my sincere thanks for y^r Letter which I received yesterday. My belov'd Augusta is pronounced out of danger unless any thing happens very unexpectedly. She was inform'd last night of the death of her Child which expired a few moments after I seal'd my Letter to you. She bore the intelligence with more fortitude than we expected & is this morning calm & reasonable—

The Letter I had the comfort of receiving from Bengal, forwarded from your house, containd an excellent account of both my Sons and a Bill of 100£ from the eldest of which I have received only the 3rd part, as it is triplicate. I am ignorant enough not to know whether I can get this discounted or whether I must wait for the other two. Here follows a copy of it, & I shall be very much oblig'd to M^r Davies to enquire for me if your Banker or any other will discount it for me, as my expences are such as compel me to get it done speedily.

3^d Exchange for £100. St^g—

Calcutta the 14th Jany. 1794¹

Six months after sight of this my Third bill of Exchange (the first & second of the same tener² and date not being paid) please to pay to M^{rs} Charlotte Smith on order the sum of one hundred Pounds Sterling, for value re[ceive]d—& place the same to account as p^r advice from

Gentⁿ

y^{rs} &c

I. B. Esteve

To

Mess^{rs} Richard Muilman & Co³
London

If ~~your~~ M^r Davies can get it done for me, I will send the Bill up immediately & request your house in the mean time to pay five or ten pounds for me if I should want it (as I fear I shall) to be deducted from this. I have 20 Guineas to pay the two Accoucheurs⁴

¹ In this year, Smith's son, William Towers, was serving as assistant judge at Ramghyr, 200 miles from Calcutta.

² Tenor (here the obsolete form, tener) is the stated value of a bill or banknote.

³ Merchants located at 46 Old Broad Street, London.

⁴ The accouchers were Augusta's attendants during childbirth.

in consequence of the extraordinary difficulty of the Case and the length of their attendance, & it is a matter I cannot put off longer than the 9th or 10th day.

My mind is now so much easier that I shall be able to send up the prefaces &c immediately, & I hope to be soon after alive enough to begin arranging the materials I have for my "Rural Walks"—This supply is a great relief to me, but not enough to allow me, circumstanced as I am, to be idle.

I am, D^r Sir,

with many thanks for your kindness,
your oblig'd Ser^t,
Charlotte Smith

30th July 1794⁵

*Yale University MS. Address: Thomas Cadell Esq^{re}, Strand, London. Postmark: BATH. 31 July [17]94.
See CLCS, pp. 142-43.*

⁵ For a transcript of Cadell and Davies's draft reply, see Stanton, *CLCS*, p. 143 n4.

APPENDIX A

Letter A-1

[Thomas Cadell, Sr. to Charlotte Smith]

[London, 18 Dec. 1788]

Madam

I was forwarded with yours of the 17th, and as you desire an immediate answer I write by return of the post. I have ever endeavored to conduct myself on the most liberal terms and which you politely acknowledge in your last Letter. As to the purchase of Emmeline it cannot now be an object, as I have already advanced near Sixty pounds on you [?] of a third Edition, tho the second is not more than half disposed of. A work of this kind seldom or ever sells more than three Editions—Cecilia by Mrs. Burney, tho one of the most popular ever published, is not yet gone beyond the fourth Edition tho it has been printed upwards of Seven Years. I own it be rather inconvenient for me at this Season to advance the sum required, yet I cannot refuse your request. I will therefore accept a Bill for Sixty pounds at Six weeks date on the agreement that you deliver me Ethelinda on or about the 30th of March to be published by me on the Terms of Emmeline or if more agreeable to both parties to be purchased by me after the rate per volume given to Miss Burney for Cecilia and provided the Volumes are of the same size as Emmeline.—In all matters of Business it is right to be explicit, and I will therefore make an apology for the above explanation.—Mr Davies has sent the Books.

I am Madame, [signature]

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/16. Draft reply to Letter 20. Address: [Charlotte Smith]. No envelope, no address, no postmark.

Letter A-2

[Thomas Cadell to Charlotte Smith]

London, April 13, 1790

Madam:

Your Letter this day received gave me infinite concern.—When I accepted your Bills for One Hundred Guineas I own I <assumed> it would place you in a situation so easy as to enable you to finish your new work with advantage—besides this 105[£]¹ you owe me near fifty pounds—your further demands of £100 [?] are beyond what I can express, as a debt of 250[£] is certainly more than in prudence I ought to advance.—consider Dear Madam, that in case any accident should prevent your finishing the project in 3 V[o]l[umes] I must inevitably lose the greatest part if not the whole of the money—besides all this much I fear, that the 100[£] now required will be only a temporary relief, and that in a few months the same kind of application may be necessary.—You will pardon me on being thus explicit—it ever was and still is my earnest desire to relieve your mind from distress, and I am now equally ready to stand forth if I can do so with safety.—How is [?] is possible for you to receive one to [?] £50 at Christmas—if this can be done with [?] I will comply with your request—suppose you write a line to Mr. Bicknell and desire him to settle some mode with me to accommodate you—I am sure if it can be done I shall do it most cheerfully, however

¹ One hundred guineas were worth £105.

disagreeable otherwise it may be to suffer my acceptance to be discounted for months. I assume [?] nothing of your Bill for 15-15-0 but of [?] prevents. I shall accept that upon the faith of being repaired

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/46. No address or postmark. This letter is a "draft reply"; Cadell made a copy of the letters he sent to Smith for his own records. By chance, this draft reply letter was included in the collection held by the East Sussex Record Office. It is a shame there are not more of them.

Letter A-3
William Hayley to Thomas Cadell

[Eartham. 12 Apr. 1793]

My dear Sir

You astonish me by the mention of two drafts upon you by our unfortunate Friend, immediately after your liberal aid, in consequence of my first application to you on her Behalf.—I had not the least Suspicion of such a Circumstance; & so far from wondering at your being hurt by it, I confess myself not a little chagrined on the Occasion.—Humanity will lead us both to reflect, that the Necessities of this wretched sufferer have been extreme.—She must have literally wanted Bread, had I not obtained from your generosity, & that of a few other Friends, some occasional Relief

It is grievous, & indeed shameful, in a nation like ours, that any Individual, so accomplished & so singularly industrious as this unhappy Woman, should be reduced to such bitter Want.—I have endeavour'd to make the rich and the great sensible of this Truth—

One of the most opulent, & most generous Men in the Kingdom² appeared to me, in Conversation, to enter perfectly into this sentiment, & He promised me, under this Roof, to make it the first object of his attention to settle a plan for the immediate, & permanent Relief of our necessitous Friend.—But many, many weeks have elapsed since He made this promise, & nothing is done for the assistance of the indigent—I therefore thank & applaud you with particular satisfaction for the kind regard you have repeatedly paid to her distress.—

It has been my Lot thro life to be continually trying (& frequently in vain) to render essential service to persons, whose Talents & whose necessities surpassed my own;—& in Truth I am often sick at Heart in reflecting on literary Indigence:—Indeed I have been half ruind by Literature myself; & should be entirely so, if I did not live sequesterd from the World with the simplicity of a Hermit. (Retirement & Study are fortunately my Passion; & if Heaven pleases to restore to me my Health (as it seems to promise) I may yet hope to produce Works of some Magnitude, whose Success we may both contemplate with pleasure)——at all Events, I will most strenuously endeavour not to trespass on your Liberality, either towards myself, or towards those, whom I have recommended to your attention.

I am sincerely concerned, that from the Circumstances you mention, you had reason to suppose, I might be privy to such a trespass; but I solemnly assure you, I was not——The Intelligence however, that you have very properly imparted to me, shall serve me as a Lesson; & henceforth I will endeavour to think none of discharging my own debt, than of soliciting any favor, too eagerly, for others——

² George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont. See Biographical Notes.

My surprise & concern in reading yr Letter have conspired to draw from me a long tho hasty reply by the returning post—it will shew you (what I am ever willing to shew to persons I regard) the undisguised Feelings

of yr sincere & obliged
Friend & Servant
W Hayley

Eartham

April 12 1793

Aylesbury Record Office. MS. OLNCN 644. Address: To/ Thomas Cadell Esqr/ Great Russel Street/ Bloomsbury/ London. Postmark: CHICHESTER/ []. An image of this letter was discovered by Judith Stanton at the Cowper and Newton Museum, Olney, U.K. This letter is hitherto unpublished.

Letter A-4
John Sewell to Charlotte Smith

[London, 7 Mar. 1794]

The Proprietors of the *European Magazine*³ present their Compliments to Miss Charlotte Smith would be glad to be favour'd with a Portrait & Memoir to be prefixed to their publication which they flatter themselves will continue to deserve the Credit it has established.

If this Proposal is agreeable they wish to know how it can be affected a line directed to N. 32 Cornhill will much oblige

Your most Hble Ser^t
for the Proprietors
John Sewell

7 March 1794

It shall be engrav'd either by M^r Holloway Sharp or Conde⁴, as most agreeable.

ESRO. BH/P/L/AE/85. Address: M^{rs} Charlotte Smith at Storrington, near Petworth, Sussex. Post paid. Postmark: Postage PAID. 7 MR [1794].⁵

³ The London-based *European Magazine* printed biographical sketches of famous authors and other "eminent Persons," with accompanying portraits. It ran from 1782-1826, publishing a total of 89 volumes and competing directly with the *Gentleman's Magazine*. John Sewell co-directed the publication along with Daniel Braithwaite and Shakespearean scholar Isaac Reed.

⁴ Smith later hated the engraving that Condé made of her.

⁵ Two days after this letter's date, Smith wrote to Cadell with a copy of Sewell's letter, soliciting his advice and assistance in responding to the request of the *European Magazine* (see Letter 99). The *European Magazine* did not publish a memoir of Smith that year.

APPENDIX B

Dedication and Prefaces to *Elegiac Sonnets*, editions 1-6¹

TO
WILLIAM HAYLEY, Esq.

Sir,

WHILE I ask your protection for these essays, I cannot deny having myself some esteem for them. You permit me to say, that did I not trust to your candour and sensibility, and hope they will plead for the errors your judgment must discover, I should never have availed myself of the liberty I have obtained—that of dedicating these simple effusions to the greatest modern Master of that charming talent, in which I can never be more than a distant copyist.

I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient and obliged servant,

CHARLOTTE SMITH.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS.

THE little Poems which are here called Sonnets, have, I believe no very just claim to that title: but they consist of fourteen lines, and appear to me no improper vehicle for a single Sentiment. I am told, and I read it as the opinion of very good judges, that the legitimate Sonnet is ill calculated for our language. The specimen Mr. Hayley has given, though they form a strong exception, prove no more, than that the difficulties of the attempt vanish before uncommon powers.

Some very melancholy moments have been beguiled by expressing in verse the sensations those moments brought. Some of my friends, with partial indiscretion, have multiplied the copies they procured of several of these attempts, till they found their way into the prints of the day in a mutilated state; which, concurring with other circumstances, determined me to put them into their present form. I can hope for readers only among the few, who, to sensibility of heart, join simplicity of taste.

¹ Charlotte Smith, *Elegiac Sonnets, The Sixth Edition, with Additional Sonnets and Other Poems* (London: Printed by R. Nobel for T. Cadell, 1792). Print.

PREFACE
TO THE
THIRD AND FOURTH EDITIONS.

THE reception given by the public, as well as my particular friends, to the two first editions of these poems, has induced me to add to the present such other Sonnets as I have written since, or have recovered from my acquaintance, to whom I had given them without thinking well enough of them at the time to preserve any copies myself. A few of those last written, I have attempted on the Italian model; with what success I know not; but I am persuaded that to the generality of readers, those which are less regular will be more pleasing.

As a few notes were necessary, I have added them at the end. I have there quoted such lines as I have borrowed; and even where I am conscious the ideas were not my own, I have restored them to the original possessors.

PREFACE
TO THE
FIFTH EDITION.

IN printing a list of so many noble, literal, and respectable names, it would become me, perhaps, to make my acknowledgments to those friends, to whose exertions in my favor, rather than to any merit of my own, I owe the brilliant assemblage. With difficulty I repress what I feel on this subject; but in the conviction that such acknowledgments would be painful to them, I forbear publicly to speak of those particular obligations, the sense of which will ever be deeply impressed on my heart.

PREFACE
TO THE
SIXTH EDITION.

WHEN a sixth Edition of these little Poems was lately called for, it was proposed to me to add such Sonnets, or other pieces, as I might have written since the publication of the fifth. Of these, however, I had only a few; and on showing them to a Friend, of whose judgment I had a high opinion, he remarked that some of them, particularly "The Sleeping Woodman," and "The Return of the Nightingale," resembled in their subjects, and still more in the plaintive tone in which they are written, the greater part of those in the former editions, and that, perhaps, some of a more lively cast might be better liked by the Public—"Toujours perdrix," said my friend—"Toujours perdrix," you know, "*ne vaut rien*."—I am far from supposing that your compositions can be neglected or disapproved, on whatever subject; but perhaps "*toujours Rossignols, toujours des chansons triste*," may not be so well received as if you attempted, what you would certainly execute as successfully, a more cheerful style of composition. "Alas!" replied I, 'Are grapes gathered from thorns, or figs from thistles?' Or can the *effect* cease, while the *cause* remains? *You know* that when in the Beech Woods of Hampshire, I first struck the chords of the melancholy lyre, its notes were never intended for the public ear! It was unaffected sorrows drew them forth: I wrote mournfully because I was unhappy, and I have unfortunately no reason yet, though nine years have since elapsed,

to *change my tone*. The time is indeed arrived, when I have been promised by “*the honourable men*” who, *nine years ago*, undertook to see that my family obtained the provision their grandfather designed for them,—that “all should be well, all should be settled.” But still I am condemned to feel the “*hope delayed that maketh the heart sick*.” Still to receive—not a repetition of promises indeed—but of *scorn and insult*, when I apply to those gentlemen, who, though they acknowledge that all impediments to a division of the estate they have undertaken to manage, are done away—will neither tell me *when* they will proceed to divide it, or, *whether they will ever do so at all*. You know the circumstances under which I have now so long been labouring; and you have done me the honour to say, that few Women could so long have contended with them. With these, however, as they are some of them of a domestic and painful nature, I will not trouble the public *now*; but while they exist in all their force, that indulgent public must accept all I am able to atchieve—
[“]Toujours des chansons tristes!”

Thus ended the short dialogue between my friend and me, and I repeat it as an apology for that apparent despondence, which, when it is observed for a long series of years, may look like affectation. *I shall be sorry*, if on some future occasion, I should feel myself compelled to detail its causes more at length; for, notwithstanding I am thus frequently appearing as an Authoress, and have derived from thence many of the greatest advantages of my life, (since it has procured me friends whose attachment is most invaluable) I am well aware that for a woman—“The post of honour is a private station.”

London, May 14th, 1792.

APPENDIX C

Smith's Dedication to her Children in *Emmeline*

TO MY CHILDREN.

O'erwhelm'd with sorrow—and sustaining long
'The proud man's contumely, the oppressor's wrong,'
Languid despondency, and vain regret,
Must my exhausted spirit struggle yet?
Yes! robb'd myself of all that Fortune gave,
Of every hope—but shelter in the grave
Still shall the plaintive lyre essay it's powers,
And dress the cave of Care, with Fancy's flowers;
Maternal love, the fiend Despair withstand,
Still animate the heart and guide the hand.
May you, dear objects of my tender care!,
Escape the evils, I was born to bear:
Round my devoted head, while tempests roll,
Yet there—'where I have treasured up my soul,'
May the soft rays of dawning hope impart
Reviving patience to my fainting heart;
And, when it's sharp anxieties shall cease,
May I be conscious, in the realms of peace,
That every tear which swells my children's eyes,
From evils past, not present sorrows, rise.
Then, with some friend who loves to share your pain,
(For 'tis my boast, that still such friends remain,)
By filial grief, and fond remembrance prest,
You'll seek the spot where all my miseries rest,
Recall my hapless days in sad review,
The long calamities I bore for you,
And, with an happier fate, resolve to prove
How well ye merited your mother's love!

APPENDIX D

Advertisement by Joseph Bell in *The Wanderings of Warwick*

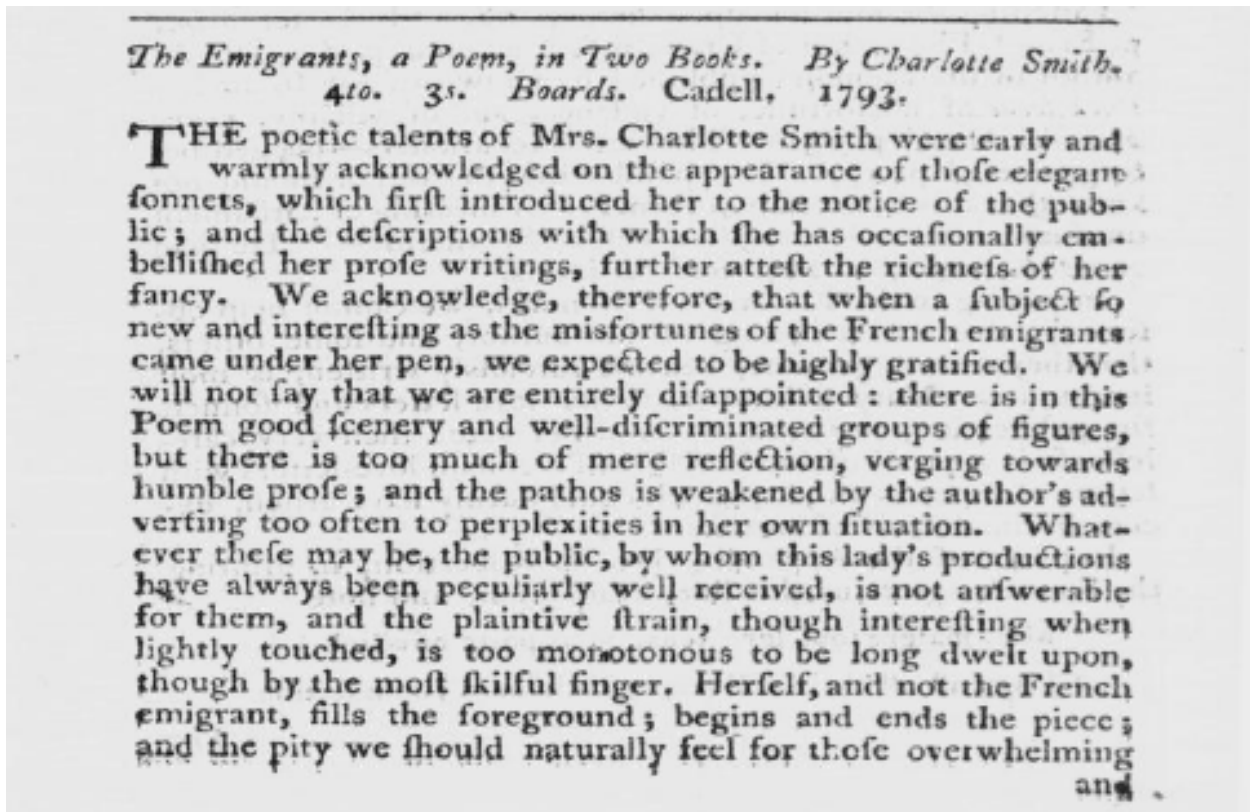
So long a period having elapsed since the *speedy* publication of THE WANDERINGS OF WARWICK in *two volumes* was announced, the Publisher conceives he should be wanting in that respect which he owes to the Public, were he now silently to publish the work in *one*, without stating in his own exculpation, that both the delay, and the promising in two volumes, are imputable solely to the Author—to whom he leaves the task of justifying her own conduct.

Oxford-street,
January 13, 1794

APPENDIX E

Select Critical Response

From the review of *The Emigrants, a Poem, In Two Books* by *The Critical Review* (Nov. 1793): 299-302:



In addition to giving a flavor of the contemporary reception of this poem, this first page of the review tells us that *The Emigrants* was sold as a quarto-sized book (4to)—i.e., smaller than a folio but larger than an octavo—for 3 shillings (retail rate, not wholesale), sewn into boards and published by Cadell.¹ The term “boards,” in contemporary binding jargon, referred to the complete, covered end product. With their rigid exteriors, books in boards were more durable and was expected to be a permanent part of the owner’s library. A book in boards did not necessarily have a leather covering.

From the review of *The Old Manor House* by *The Critical Review* (May 1793): 44-54:

¹ My understanding of eighteenth-century bookbinding depends on P. J. M. Marks, *The British Library Guide to Bookbinding: History and Techniques* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1998), pp. 30, 36-38 and David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles, 1450-1800: A Handbook* (London: The British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll P, 2005), pp. 13-40.

The Old Manor House. A Novel. By Charlotte Smith. Four Vols. 12mo. 15s. sewed. Bell. 1793.

AMONG the various productions of literary genius, there is, perhaps, none that has a more legitimate claim to an ascendancy over the human mind than a well written novel. There is, moreover, no species of writing whatever better calculated for conveying, in the most engaging manner, useful instruction and moral truths to a numerous description of readers, who, either averse from the labour of serious application, or unqualified for the office of abstruse investigation, turn with alacrity from the dry and thorny paths of science, to scenes where passion awakes amidst natural events, and imagination sports amidst probable vicissitude. To the man of genuine taste, genius, and information, a finer field cannot open for a display of literary talents; to a proper and a well cultivated mind, a more favourable theatre cannot present itself for an exhibition of whatever is great, and good, and amiable in human nature. But as the execution of this species of writing requires a happy combination of parts and acquirements very rarely conjoined in the same person; and as the usual limits which bound and divide mental abilities are seldom overstepped, so do we find that the number of those who have arrived at excellence in this walk of polite literature has been but small. The creative powers of invention may indeed furnish plot and incident, and the suggestions of a tender and a susceptible mind produce occasionally circumstances to interest

This first page of the *Critical review's* unflattering response to *The Old Manor House* tells us that publisher Joseph Bell sold the novel sized "12mo" (an abbreviation for duodecimo, or 7" x 4.5"), for 15 shillings (retail rate, not wholesale), with its gatherings sewn together, but not sewn into boards. Novels like this one were viewed as ephemeral reading and therefore did not warrant the expense and permanence of boards.

APPENDIX F

Images

1. Dust jacket of Judith Phillips Stanton's *Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith* (2003)
2. Charles Thomas-Stanford—Photograph by A. H. Fry (1910-13),
Courtesy of Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove
3. “Charlotte Smith (née Turner)” —Stipple engraving by Pierre Condé,
after John Opie, 1797, © National Portrait Gallery, London
4. “Thomas Cadell the Elder” —Stipple engraving by Henry Meyer,
after William Evans, after Sir. William Beechey, c. 1825-50,
© National Portrait Gallery, London
5. “A true representation of a printing house with the men at work” (1752),
Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University
6. “Behind time” —Anonymous 19th-c. engraving of a British stage coach
from a private collection
7. “William Hayley” —Oil portrait by Henry Howard, c. 1800
© National Portrait Gallery, London
8. “Eartham” —Print from an engraving after Stebbing Shaw in
The Topographer (1791), reproduced in Morchand Bishop's
Blake's Hayley (1951)
9. “Fanny Burney” —Oil portrait by Edward Francisco Burney, c. 1784-85,
© National Portrait Gallery, London
10. “William Cowper” —Pastel portrait by George Romney, 1792,
© National Portrait Gallery, London
11. “Pulteney Street, Bath” —Photograph published in Mowbray A. Green's
The Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bath (1904)

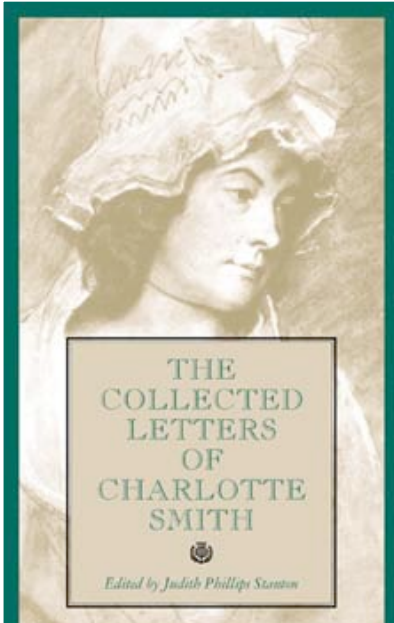


Image 1



Image 2



Image 3



Image 4

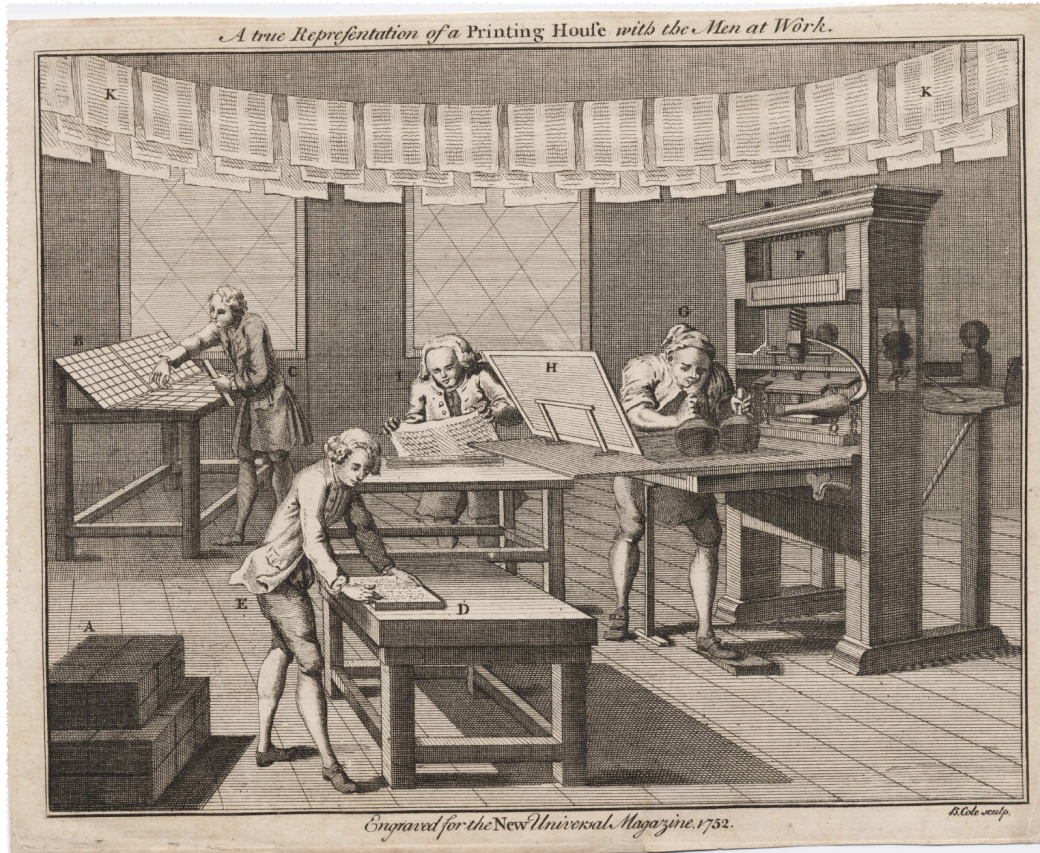


Image 5



Image 6

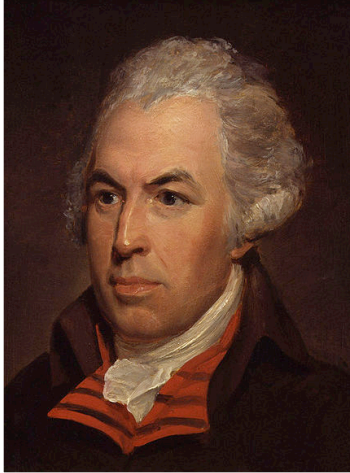
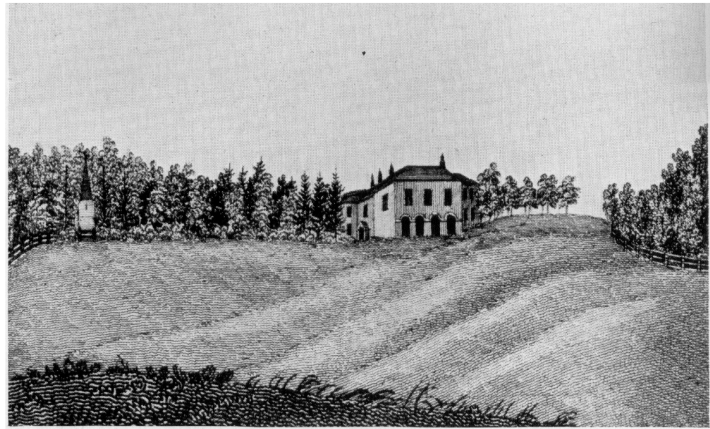


Image 7



EARTHAM
From an engraving after Stebbing Shaw in *The Topographer*, 1791

Image 8



Image 9



Image 10



Image 11

APPENDIX G

Smith's Works and London Publishers

- 1784 *Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays* (J. Dodsley), 1st and 2nd editions.
- 1785 *Manon Lescaut, or, The Fatal Attachment*, a translation of Prévost's *Manon L'Escaut*. 2 vols. (T. Cadell). Withdrawn.
- 1786 *Manon* published anonymously in one volume (T. Cadell).
Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays: With 20 Additional Sonnets (3rd and 4th editions, J. Dodsley).
- 1787 *The Romance of Real Life*, a translation of selected tales from Gayot de Pitaval's *Les Causes Célèbres*. 3 vols. (T. Cadell).
- 1788 *Emmeline, the Orphan of the Castle*. 4 vols. (T. Cadell).
- 1789 *Ethelinde, or the Recluse of the Lake*. 5 vols. (T. Cadell).
Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays (5th ed., T. Cadell). Subscription edition with illustrations.
- 1791 *Celestina: a Novel*. 4 vols. (T. Cadell).
- 1792 *Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays* (6th ed., with additional sonnets and other poems, T. Cadell). Preface dated 14 May.
Desmond: a Novel. 3 vols. (G. G. J. and J. Robinson). Preface dated 20 June.
- 1793 *The Old Manor House: a Novel*. 4 vols. (J. Bell).
The Emigrants, a poem in two books (T. Cadell).
- 1794 *The Wanderings of Warwick*, a sequel to *The Old Manor House* (J. Bell).
The Banished Man: a Novel. 4 vols. (Cadell & Davies).
- 1795 *Rural Walks: in dialogues intended for the use of young persons*. 2 vols. (Cadell & Davies).
Montalbert: a Novel. 3 vols. (Sampson Low).
Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays (7th ed., with additional sonnets and other poems, T. Cadell).
- 1796 *Rambles Farther: a Continuation of Rural Walks, in dialogues intended for the use of young persons*. 2 vols. (Cadell & Davies).
A Narrative of the loss of Catharine, Venus and Piedmont Transports, and the Thomas, Golden Grove and Aeolus Merchant-ships near Weymouth, on Wednesday the 18th of November last. [...] (Sampson Low).
Marchmont (Sampson Low).

- 1797 *Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays* (8th ed., 2 vols., Cadell & Davies). Subscription edition with illustrations.
- 1798 *Minor Morals, interspersed with sketches of natural history, historical anecdotes, and original stories*. 2 vols. (Sampson Low).
The Young Philosopher: a Novel. 4 vols. (Cadell & Davies)
- 1799 *What Is She?* A comedy in five acts, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (Longman and Rees).
- 1800 *Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays* (9th ed., 2 vols., Cadell & Davies).
- 1801 *The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*. Vols. 1-3. (Sampson Low).
- 1802 *The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*. Vols. 4-5. (Longman and Rees).
- 1804 *Conversations, Introducing Poetry; chiefly on subjects of natural history, for the use of children and young persons*, with an engraved portrait of Charlotte Smith, by J. Condé. 2 vols. (Joseph Johnson).
- 1806 *A History of England, from the earliest records, to the peace of Amiens in a series of letters to a young lady at school*. 3 vols. Volumes 1 and 2 by Charlotte Smith (Richard Phillips).
- 1807 *Beachy Head, Fables, and Other Poems* (Joseph Johnson).
A Natural History of Birds, intended chiefly for young persons. 2 vols. (Joseph Johnson).
- 1811 *Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays* (10th ed., 2 vols., Cadell & Davies).

APPENDIX H

Biographical Notes

The Trustees

Edmund Boehm (1741-d. after 1806) served as Trustee to Richard Smith's estate. He married Richard Smith's granddaughter Dorothy Elizabeth Berney, the second child of William Berney and Mary Smith Berney (later Dyer). He was a director of the South Sea Company from 1793, and a director of the East India Company before that. In his position with the East India Company, he had helped Smith's eldest sons—William Towers and Nicholas Hankey—secure posts as readers. He was probably wealthy. While Smith resented his role as Trustee—since as a collective body they stymied her children's access to their inheritance—she nonetheless maintained a relatively good relationship with him, and he did often act in her favor. Smith's eldest daughter, Charlotte Mary, would often visit Boehm's country estate, Ottershaw Park in Chertsey, Sussex, after he moved there in 1795.¹

Anthony Parkin, a private solicitor and a mail fraud investigator with the new postal service, assumed the position of Trustee when Sir John Swinnerton Dyer stepped down.²

John Robinson (1727-1802), as Trustee, frustrated and angered Smith by actively helping to obstruct the inheritance due to Smith's children by insisting that money was due to his own children, even though Richard Smith did not make allowance for them in his will. It was likely his interference that slowed down the estate distribution to begin with.

He was born at Appleby in Westmoreland (where Richard Smith owned property), and perhaps met him there. Soon after meeting Richard Smith's stepdaughter, the heiress Mary Crowe, he married her and used her dowry to fund his political career. He rose through the social ranks to the House of Commons, where he developed a reputation for bribery and where his supporters were known as "Robinson's rats."³ Smith detested him,

¹ See Guest and Stanton, "A smart strike on the nerves," p. 9.

² See Guest and Stanton, "A smart strike on the nerves," p. 9.

³ See Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography*, p. 55.

and the fact of his indirect relationship to the estate made his interferences particularly bristling. Smith conducted a private and public battle with him and Thomas Dyer (the younger brother of Sir John Swinnerton Dyer, below) in letters meetings, and prefaces to her work. In her novel *The Old Manor House* (1793), she briefly pillories Robinson—as well as Sir John and Thomas Dyer—in lightly veiled characters. Robinson’s fictional double, named Mr. Roker, likewise obstructed progress using legal jargon.⁴ [For a fuller treatment, see John Cannon, “Robinson, John (1727-1802),” Oxford *DNB*.]

Sir John Swinnerton Dyer (1772-1816), the sixth baronet of Winnerton Lodge, Dartmouth, was originally named Trustee to Richard Smith’s estate. On 29 July 1788, he was discharged from this role and replaced by Anthony Parkin. He was the older son of Richard Smith’s daughter, Mary Berney, and her second husband, Thomas Dyer of Kensington. He was also an army colonel and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. Charlotte Smith detested Sir John’s brother, Thomas Dyer, who was a Trustee to one of her three marriage settlements.⁵

Attorneys

Charles Bicknell, Esq., of 41 Norfolk St., Strand, served as CS’s solicitor. She refers to him often in these letters: she needed legal advice both for her publishing and in the estate distribution controversy. He provided copies of legal documents as well as legal counsel.

William Morgan Clyfford was a counselor for Charlotte Smith in regard to her father-in-law’s estate, and a friend and champion. He had been a college friend of Hayley’s. His wife, Mrs. Clyfford, was one of Smith’s friends. Smith mentions Clyfford (which she consistently spells “Clifford”) in Letters 10, 13, 19, 27, 32, 35, 40, 42, 44, and 45. In a letter dated 2 Jan. 1790, she laments “the irreparable loss” of Clifford, “who was about settling every thing with my childrens Trustees” (Letter 45).

⁴ See Guest and Stanton, “‘A smart strike on the nerves,’” p. 10.

⁵ See Guest and Stanton, “‘A smart strike on the nerves,’” p. 9.

George Hardinge (1743-1816), a well-connected and successful lawyer, politician, essayist, and poet. He sometimes served as a liaison between Smith and the Trustees. From her references to him in her letters, it seems she considered him a sympathetic and useful supporter. Hardinge, having helped to secure a financial settlement for his brother's widow and additionally having assisted Helen Maria Williams in recruiting subscribers for her *Poems* of 1786, demonstrated his gifts for bridge building and problem solving. He had a number of friendships with women writers, including Williams, Anna Seward, and Elizabeth Inchbald. He had an impressive professional career: in 1782 he was named Queen's Solicitor; in 1784, MP for Old Sarum; and in 1794, Attorney General. During that time, he also served as Chief Justice for Breconshire, Glamorgan, and Radnorshire. [See Guest and Stanton, pp. 10-11; for a fuller treatment, see Michael T. Davis, "Hardinge, George (1743-1816)," Oxford *DNB*.]

Samuel Rose (1767-1804), an attorney and special pleader, 55 Chancery Lane, London, and a friend of William Cowper and William Hayley. He married Sarah Farr in 1790.

Booksellers, Printers, and Publishers

Joseph Bell, bookseller and stationer, trading at 148 Oxford Street from 1792 to 1824. He published two novels by Smith: *The Old Manor House* (1793) and *The Wanderings of Warwick* (1794). Due to Smith's dilatory delivery of the sequel to *The Old Manor House*, Bell prefaced *The Wanderings of Warwick* with a condemnation of her tardiness. In addition to publishing books, he founded *The Morning Post* in 1772 and published a panoply of literary compilations, newspapers, and magazines.⁶

Thomas Cadell, Jr. (1773-1836) inherited the family bookselling and publishing shop at 141 Strand upon his father's retirement in 1793. He left the management of the business, redubbed "Cadell & Davies," to his father's long-time partner William Davies, until Davies's illness in 1813. The younger Cadell then assumed management of the firm, which maintained a respectable—though slightly weakened—reputation, and which continued until his death and some years beyond.

⁶ See Richard Taylor, "Charlotte Smith to Thomas Cadell: A New Letter," *Modern Philology* 88.2 (1990), p. 151, nn16 and 17.

Thomas Cadell, Sr. (1742-1802), an established London bookseller and publisher since 1767, published Smith's *Romance of Real Life*, three novels (*Emmeline*, *Ethelinde*, and *Celestina*), two editions of *Elegiac Sonnets* and the first edition of *The Emigrants*. He ran one of the most important and reputable publishing firms in late eighteenth-century London. The son of Bristol bookseller Thomas Cadell, he apprenticed in his youth with eminent London bookseller and publisher Andrew Millar, became partners with him in 1765, and after Millar's retirement in 1767, continued to manage the shop on the Strand for 26 years. Like Millar, Cadell earned a reputation for paying his authors generously and treating them kindly. He associated with William Strahan for a time, and later with Stahan's son Andrew.

During his career, Cadell published works by some of the leading writers of the age, including author and critic Samuel Johnson (political tracts); jurist Sir William Blackstone (*Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 1765-69); Scottish novelist Henry MacKenzie (*The Man of Feeling*, 1771); historian Edward Gibbon (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 1776-88); and historian-anthropologist William Robertson (*The History of America*, 1777). Other authors whose works Cadell published included philosopher David Hume, economist Adam Smith, poet Robert Burns, and novelist Tobias Smollett, as well as a number of female authors, including writer Frances Brooke, novelist Frances Burney, historian Catharine Macaulay, moralist Hannah More, and, of course, Charlotte Smith. Cadell published most of Smith's early works before he went into retirement in 1794, refusing only *Desmond*, perhaps because of its radical political views.

At the height of his career, he collaborated with other booksellers and printers in prosecuting Scottish and Irish printers in a battle over copyright infringement. He also joined a coalition of 35 other leading booksellers of the day in publishing Samuel Johnson's *Works of the English Poets*. Clearly Cadell was popular among his professional peers and even helped found a booksellers' dining club that met monthly on the Strand.

When he retired, Cadell turned over his business to his long-time assistant, William Davies, and to his son, William Cadell, Jr. The elder Cadell remained active in public life, serving on the board of the Foundling Hospital in 1795 and as treasurer of the Asylum. In 1798, he was unanimously elected alderman of the Ward of Walbrook in the City of London, serving as sheriff from 1800-1801. He was a member of the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers ("the Stationers' Company"), serving as a liveryman.⁷

⁷ See Catherine Dille, "Cadell, Thomas, the elder (1742-1802)," Oxford *DNB*.

William Davies (d. 1820) worked alongside Thomas Cadell, Sr., as a bookseller at Cadell's shop on the Strand. Upon his retirement in 1793, Cadell, Sr., chose Davies to run the renamed business, Cadell & Davies, until Cadell, Jr., was ready to assume the lead. Davies handled much of the daily correspondence with Smith. After an illness in 1813, Cadell, Jr., ascended to the head of the firm, which he shepherded on his own after Davies's death in 1820. Davies inherited £100 legacy from Cadell, Sr.⁸

James Dodsley (1724-1797), bookseller, worked in the London bookshop of his elder brother, Robert Dodsley, at the sign of Tully's Head. Upon Robert's retirement, James assumed the management of the shop and, upon Robert's death, inherited a wealth of copyrights. A solid businessman (though not a literary man, like his brother), James published titles by Frances Brooke, Oliver Goldsmith, Horace Walpole, Laurence Sterne, and, most profitably, Edmund Burke, whose *Reflections on the Revolution in France* sold 18,000 copies in 1790 alone. In 1784, he published the first two editions of Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets and Other Essays*, and the second two editions in 1786.⁹

Dennett Jacques (1758-1837), a Chichester-area printer from 1783 to 1788, published several early works by Smith and is referred to in numerous letters to Cadell, Sr. Because Jacques was centrally located in Chichester, Smith used his services while moving among Bignor House, Woolbeding, London, and Brighton. In 1794, he relocated his printing business to Lower Sloane Street, Chelsea, London.

Joseph Johnson (1738-1809), a radical London publisher, published three of Smith's final works: *Conversations, Introducing Poetry; chiefly on subjects of natural history, for the use of children and young persons*, 2 vols. (1804); the posthumous *Beachy Head, Fables, and Other Poems* (1807); and *A Natural History of Birds, intended chiefly for young persons*, 2 vols. (1807). A Unitarian, Johnson moved his shop to 8 Paternoster Row in 1765. He took political and economic risks and was even imprisoned in 1797, along with other publishers,

⁸ See H. R. Tedder, "Davies, William (d. 1820)," Oxford *DNB*.

⁹ See James E. Tierney, "Dodsley, James (1724-1797)," Oxford *DNB*.

for selling Part I of Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*. The authors he published included William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, and William Cowper.¹⁰

William Lane (1745/6-1814), a bookseller located at 33 Leadenhall Street, was notorious for his role in identifying women writers and quickly churning out new novels in a way that commodified literature. Smith records her encounter with him in 1789, in which year he approached her with great forwardness to seek to become her publisher—a move she considered unwelcome but useful as leverage in demonstrating to Cadell her cachet. Of the 446 British female-authored fiction books published between 1696-1796, Lane published at least one-eighth of them.¹¹ Lane published cheap, light romantic novels with his famous Minerva Press (1790-1820) and supplied copies to the circulating libraries he established.¹²

George Robinson II (1736-1801) was an affable, witty, respectable, and successful bookseller active on Paternoster Row, 1785-1811. He published Charlotte Smith's overtly political novel, *Desmond* (1792), able to assume the risk, probably, because of the size and success of his business. According to a report in *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1801, he "had the largest wholesale trade that was ever carried on by an individual" before 1780. Beginning in 1774, he published the *Critical Review*, and added to that title a number of other periodicals. He supposedly paid Ann Radcliffe a stunning 500 guineas for her *Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), which demonstrates his generosity with his authors.¹³

The Reverend Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810), an Irish antiquarian, set up shop on Eccles Street in Dublin. He never met William Hayley, who introduced him to Smith, nor did

¹⁰ See Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and Their Books 1724-1990: Longevity in Publishing* (London: The British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll P, 2000), p. 96. For a fuller treatment, see Carol Hall, "Johnson, Joseph (1738-1809)," *Oxford DNB*.

¹¹ Cheryl Turner, *Living by the Pen: Women Writers in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 90 and 152.

¹² Alison Shell, "Lane, William (1745/6-1814)," *Oxford DNB*.

¹³ G. E. Bentley, Jr., "Robinson family (*per.* 1764-1830), *Oxford DNB*.

he meet Smith, though she wrote friendly letters to him from 1792 to 1804. He arranged for the sale of some of her works to Irish booksellers.¹⁴

Friends and Patrons

William Hayley (1745-1820), a popular and prolific late eighteenth-century poet and novelist and a neighbor of Smith's in Chichester, Sussex, was her earliest and strongest advocate and patron. He corrected many of her earliest works, allowed her to dedicate her *Elegiac Sonnets* to him, and introduced her to the publishing firm of Thomas Cadell. From the letters, it is clear that Hayley shepherded Smith through the masculine world of publishing, and that she valued his guidance. When Smith approached him for advice on the *Sonnets* in 1784, Hayley had recently published his successful poem, *The Triumphs of Temper* (1781). The cheerful Hayley befriended and helped other writers and artists, including George Romney, William Cowper, and William Blake. He turned down the Laureateship in 1790. Around 1793, he, in exhaustion, ended their friendship. (For a fuller treatment, see Vivienne W. Painting, "Hayley, William (1745-1820)," Oxford DNB.)

Elizabeth Olmius (1742-1797) befriended Charlotte Smith when she was collecting subscriptions for the second edition of *Elegiac Sonnets*. She was married to **The Honorable John Luttrell-Olmius** (ca. 1742-1829), who was descended from the Irish branch of the ancient family of Luttrell, and who, in addition to serving as a captain in the Royal Navy until 1789 was also Commissioner of Excise from 1785 to 1826. Elizabeth and John lived in New Hall, Boreham (northeast of Chelmsford), Essex, an estate that Elizabeth inherited from her father, John Olmius, Esq., 1st Baron Waltham (1711-1762; Elizabeth's husband assumed her last name out of respect for his father-in-law.) Smith stayed with them at this historic estate on several occasions.

The Honorable Henrietta Boyle O'Neill (1758-1793) was the only child and heiress of Charles Boyle, Viscount Dungarvon, eldest son of John, fifth earl of Cork and Orrery. She married into the O'Neill family, a dynastic line that since the fourth century had produced many kings of Ireland and northern Ireland. With her husband, John, she built a private

¹⁴ See *CLCS*, p. 782. For fuller treatment, see D. J. O'Donoghue, "Walker, Joseph Cooper (1761-1810)," Oxford *DNB*.

theater at the family seat, Shanes Castle, County Antrim, Ireland. Her home on Henrietta Street in Cavendish Square, London, provided a welcome retreat for Smith on several occasions. In a letter to printer and publisher John Nichols in 1791, Smith wrote, "Were it not for Mrs O'Neill & two or three other friends who soften to me the horrors of my destiny, I cannot answer for what I should do" (*CLCS*, 28 Dec. 1791, p. 42.).

John Sargent (1750-1831), politician, bank director, and dilettante poet, was a friend of William Hayley, who had introduced Sargent to his wife, the former Charlotte Bettworth. Together they rebuilt Woollavington in Sussex, which she inherited through her mother. Smith, who had known Sargent growing up in Sussex, renewed her acquaintance with him when she moved to Woolbeding House in 1785. It is likely that Sargent helped introduce Smith to Hayley. In a 1784 letter to her first publisher, James Dodsley, Smith writes, "Tho we are near Neighbours, I have not courage to address myself directly to [Hayley] & have therefore been oblig'd to wait till his friend, Mr Sarjent, could undertake to prefer my request" (*CLCS*, p. 4). Sargent corrected Smith's translations.

James Upton Tripp (1749-1801) became the steward at Petworth House for the wealthy Earl of Egremont in 1772. Smith came to depend on Tripp's sympathy and kindness in the 1790s as he negotiated some assistance on her behalf.

The Rev. Dr. John Warner (1736-1800), the chaplain to Lord Gower (the British ambassador in Paris), became friends with William Hayley in 1786. It is possible that Smith met Warner at Eartham, where he stayed for some time in the gardener's quarters. A scholarly and witty man, Warner also sympathized with revolutionary ideals.

George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont (1751-1837), was an extraordinarily wealthy aristocrat, philanthropist, art patron, and the earl of Petworth House (Petworth, Sussex) and Grosvenor Place (Piccadilly). It was in 1794 that he sold the Egremont property in Piccadilly and moved into his family's ancestral estate in Sussex. Over his lifetime, he distributed more than a million pounds to artists such as J. W. M. Turner and John Flaxman, including several thousand pounds to help settle the Smith trust, of which he was eventually named a co-Trustee. Smith's relationship with Egremont devolved over time

into bitterness and rancor. (For a fuller treatment of his life, see Christopher Rowell, "Wyndham, George O'Brien (1751-1837)," Oxford *DNB*.)

Family Members

Benjamin Smith (1742-1806), the charming, gambling, womanizing husband of Charlotte Smith, was the second son of Richard Smith and Elizabeth Crowe. Born in Barbados, where his father was a successful merchant, property owner, and director of the East India Company, he moved with his family to England when he was three years old. His education is unknown and he showed only disdain for Charlotte's own literary pretensions. His father employed him as a junior partner, though Benjamin's poor performance as a businessman, a husband, and a father to his twelve children disappointed his father, who intervened at several junctures to help the growing family. After his father's death in 1776, Benjamin became executor of his father's £36,000 estate, though his siblings had him arrested for debt in December 1783, charging him with a *devastavit*—the legal term for the maladministration or neglect of one's estate trusteeship responsibilities—for his failure to manage the estate properly. After his release in July 1784, he fled creditors by renting out a castle in Dieppe near Normandy, where he was joined by Charlotte and the children. The family returned to England in 1785 and settled at Woolbeding.

The letters in this project begin soon after Charlotte left him, fearing her own and her children's safety at his hands. Because they could not have afforded the House of Lords fees to pursue a divorce, they remained separated the rest of their lives, never lived together again, and rarely saw one another after this time, though they did exchange bitter letters. After their separation, Benjamin lived in Scotland under an alias, fleeing the duns, and keeping a housekeeper as mistress. From Charlotte's letters, it is clear that Benjamin returned to England periodically to make claims on his wife's interest money and literary earnings. He died while in debtors' prison in Berwick. (See *CLCS*, pp. 775-76, and also Stanton, "Charlotte Smith and 'Mr. Monstroso': An Eighteenth-Century Marriage in Life and Fiction" in *Women's Writing* 7.1 [2000]: 7-22).

Richard Smith (1707-1776), a successful merchant, Barbadoan property owner, and director of the East India Company, he was a fair and kind father-in-law to Charlotte. He

married the widow of Nathaniel Crowe of Barbados and adopted her daughter, his stepdaughter, Mary Crowe. With his wife, Richard fathered three children: Richard Jr., Benjamin, and Mary. He later married Lucy Towers, Charlotte's maternal aunt, whom he ostensibly met while arranging Benjamin's marriage to Charlotte. At several junctures, Richard intervened to provide support for Benjamin and his family, providing a home for the family at Lys Farm in remote Hampshire, where they lived for nine years, and in his estate planning. In his last will and testament, Richard intended to provide for his children, stepchildren, and grandchildren according to their needs—instead of equally distributing his £36,000 estate—and the confusing document led to years of legal contest, Chancery, and family discord. Additionally, because Charlotte and Benjamin had three children after Richard's death (Lionel, Harriet, and George), those children were not named in their grandfather's will.

The Reverend Nicholas Turner (1750-1819), Charlotte Smith's younger and only brother, was during the period of these letters serving as rector of Sutton near Petworth, and, later, of Storrington and Fittleworth. He and his wife, Sarah, had a son, Nicholas.

Children of Charlotte and Benjamin Smith, in order of birth

William Towers Smith (1768?-1826), the third-born child and the first to survive childhood, worked as a civil servant in Bengal for the majority of the time span covered in these letters. He earned his mother's pride and affection, and dutifully sent home money, ranging from £100 to £300 at a time. He obtained his rank as a writer in 1783 and arrived in India in 1788, moving through the ranks from second assistant to the collector of Ramghyr to junior merchant, register, assistant to the judge, magistrate, and collector of Ramghyr. When these letters end in 1794, he is a commissioner of Cooch Behar. (See *CLCS*, pp. 779-80.)

Charlotte Mary Smith (1769-1842), the fourth-born and eldest daughter, became her mother's amanuensis, and her letters that survive demonstrate her exquisite penmanship. The money from her grandfather's estate did eventually aid her, but only after she had passed marriageable age. (See *CLCS*, p. 777.)

Nicholas Hankey Smith (chr. 1771-Dec. 15, 1837), the sixth-born child, pursued an exceptional career as a civil servant with the East India Company. In 1790, he arrived in Bombay, where he worked in the Accounting Department. Because of his fluency in Farsi and his comfort with the native people, he was called upon to aid the ambassador and to conciliate disputes. His career was cut short when he participated in a fight and was sent home. (See *CLCS*, p. 779.)

Charles Dyer Smith (chr. 1773-d. after June 1801), the seventh-born child, had a truncated and disappointing career after sustaining an injury to a leg during the Revolutionary Wars. As a youth he studied for some time at Winchester, but left in 1788. His mother later regretted not being able to enroll him at Oxford, which would have obviated his need to go into military service. When first mentioned in these letters, he is at home awaiting money from the trustees to join the army, and by April 1793 he has gained the rank of ensign with the 14th (Bedfordshire) Regiment in time to join the European campaign. At the Siege of Dunkirk that September, he sustained a serious injury to his right leg, which had to be amputated. After his younger brother Lionel retrieved him and accompanied him back to England, he required the assistance of a manservant, the expense of which his mother shouldered. While he did return to active duty, he never married, never had children, and died young of yellow fever contracted in Barbados. (See *CLCS*, pp. 776-77.)

Anna Augusta Smith de Foville (?1774-1795), the eighth-born child, a beauty and her mother's favorite, courted and married at age 19 a much older French émigré, le chevalier Alexandre Mark Constant de Fovill of Notre Dame Alikermont. The marriage took place in early August 1793. After a difficult pregnancy the following year, her infant son died at age three days and her own health declined, despite her mother's funding her expensive medical treatment and spa visits. She died in 1795, just a year after these letters in this project end. (See *CLCS*, p. 769).

Lucy Eleanor Smith Newhouse (chr. 17 Apr., 1776-d. after 1845), the ninth child, was fortunate to have been born before her paternal grandfather died the following October. Her mother schooled her at home, and she served as her mother's amanuensis and copyist when her eldest sister, Charlotte Mary, was away. After the time the letters in this collection end, she married in 1798 Thomas Postlewaite Newhouse, an improvident and abusive man

who fathered her three children and died of a fever in 1801. The impoverished Lucy survived on advances against her small inheritance from her mother's marriage settlements. (See *CLCS*, p. 773.)

Lionel Smith (1777-1842), the tenth-born and most accomplished child, grew up to lead an admirable military career that took him all over the world, most notably to India, as a colonel and commander, and to the Windward and Leeward Islands, where, after his knighthood, he served as a governor and commander-in-chief. His ascendancy is due entirely to Charlotte's dedication and efforts, at which some of these letters hint. He fought for justice throughout his life, beginning at age 16 when he led a student rebellion at Winchester to protest a schoolmate's unjust punishment. Along with a cousin, Lionel raided the armory and threatened schoolmasters with muskets, earning his expulsion from school. Later in 1793, CS dispatched him to Ostend to retrieve his wounded brother Charles. In 1795, he was appointed to an ensigncy to the 24th Regiment (unlike Charles, who had to purchase his ensigncy). (See *CLCS*, p. 778.)

Harriet Amelia Smith Geary (1782-?), the eleventh child and youngest daughter of Charlotte and Benjamin Smith. After these letters end, she sailed with her brother William to India in 1799 in search of a suitable marriage. There she contracted malaria and after sailing home spent years in treatment. After her mother's death, she married the botanist William Geary. (See *CLCS*, p. 771.)

George Augustus Frederick Smith (1785-?), the twelfth child, was born while the Smiths were living in Normandy escaping creditors after Benjamin Smith left King's Bench Prison. As one of the three children born after his grandfather's death, no provision was made for him in the will. Only two when his parents separated, he grew up not knowing his father. He attended Charles Parson's Midhurst Grammar School and then the Hackney School. After these letters end, he enrolled at age 15 in the army and eventually shipped out to the West Indies where he contracted and died of yellow fever. (See *CLCS*, p. 777.)

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