'A most vexatious trade to make bread by': The Authorial Careers of Christian Isobel Johnstone and Catherine Gore, 1824-1846

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Abstract

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By

Samantha Belcher

This thesis examines the literary careers of Christian Isobel Johnstone (1781-1857) and Catherine Gore (1798-1861), two successful and distinctive women writers marginalized in literary history. Existing research on Johnstone, best known as an Edinburgh editor, and Gore, a well-known silver fork author, has been separated by their different literary contexts. This thesis aims to uncover the literary connections and collaborations between the authors as they navigated their careers through the transitional period of the 1820s through 1840s. Examining their short stories, letters, and collaborative fiction, the thesis shows how their unusual plots, characters, and narrative concerns allowed Johnstone and Gore to attract a large readership while promoting surprisingly radical and proto-feminist agendas. Two short stories, Johnstone’s ‘The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.’ and Gore’s ‘The Maid of Honour’, dismantle traditional gender norms, rearrange traditional heroic narratives, and imagine subtly new social identities for men and women. Original manuscript research examines the authors’ letters to the editors Richard Bentley and William Tait and the publisher George Boyd. This correspondence displays Johnstone’s and Gore’s challenge to portray themselves as both professional writers and exemplars of feminine propriety. The final part of the thesis considers their work of collaborative fiction, ‘Tales of the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan’s’ (1837), and the lesser known professional relationship between Johnstone and Gore. The central argument developed in this thesis complicates familiar accounts of literary history by focusing on two marginalized women writers whose careers did not align neatly with the boundaries of the Romantic and Victorian periods, highlighting through their works some hidden connections between canonical and non-canonical writers, editors, and publishers.

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Introduction

In 1845-46, Christian Isobel Johnstone, a well-known Edinburgh editor and writer, published *The Edinburgh Tales,* a three-volume collection of short stories written by, mostly, lesser known writers of the mid-nineteenth century. Catherine Gore, a London writer mainly known for her silver fork novels, including the successful *Cecil; or, the Adventures of a Coxcomb* (1841), contributed multiple stories to the collection. *The Edinburgh Tales* three-volume collection was published by William Tait, who had a professional relationship with both Johnstone, who co-edited *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, and Gore, who frequently contributed articles to the periodical. Andrew Monnickendam argues that Johnstone's transition from writing historical novels early on in her career to penning journalism and editing *The Edinburgh Tales* was done 'very successfully', as seen by the 30,000 copies it sold.[1] Johnstone recruited several well-known female writers from the first half of the nineteenth century, including Gore, Mary Russell Mitford, and Mary Howitt, along with a few male contributors such as Thomas Carlyle and William Howitt. While the short stories lacked a common theme, each writer brought their own interests and style to their stories. For example, Gore's story in volume one, 'The Maid of Honour,' is a work of short historical fiction which gives readers an insight into the court of Charles II, a topic that aligns with her other stories that often involve royalty. Mitford's story, 'The Freshwater Fisherman,' is a sketch taken directly from the fifth volume of her popular series *Our Village: Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery* (1826-32). Ian Duncan claims that *The Edinburgh Tales* was Johnstone's attempt to '"select and condense" literature for

[1] Andrew Monnickendam, 'The Good, Brave-Hearted Lady: Christian Isobel Johnstone and National Tales', *Atlantis*, 20.2 (December 1998), 133-47 (p. 145).

the working poor'.[2] This effort to repackage literature for the lower classes is why Johnstone and her contributors recycled their stories, such as Mitford's 'Fisherman' sketch and Gore's 'Maid of Honour,' which was originally published in 1824. The *Tales* allowed middling and working-class readers to conveniently obtain a wide variety of short stories within one collection.

By retracing Johnstone's editorial career, from her work in the *Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly*, *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, and *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, one can examine the origins of *The Edinburgh Tales*. Even before the *Tales*, Johnstone was publishing short stories written by herself and colleagues in her periodicals. For the duration of the *Schoolmaster*'s existence, from 1832-3, Johnstone included a section of the newspaper dedicated to short stories called 'The Story-Teller.' This literary section of the periodical contained a new or continuing short story each week from either Johnstone or her writing acquaintances, a few of whom would later contribute to *The Edinburgh Tales*. While most of the tales are printed anonymously, some are attributed to lesser known names such as Mrs. S. C. Hall and Allan Cunningham who wrote *We'll See About It* (1833) and *The Haunted House* (1833), respectively. More notable names also appear in 'The Story-Teller' as well as other contributions to the periodical. On 12 January 1833, Mitford supplied *A Winter Sketch – The Carpenter's Daughter* and, on the 2 and 9 March of the same year, Gore's *My Place in the Country* appeared in the *Schoolmaster*. The publication of this tale dates Gore's professional relationship with Johnstone to twelve years before the first volume of *The Edinburgh Tales* was published. The periodical's introduction to *My Place in the Country* demonstrates Johnstone's early admiration of Gore's work: 'She is

[2] Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 299.

Mrs. Gore, or the Honourable Mrs. Gore, the cleverest delineator and satirist of fashionable follies, and exposer, not of naked fashionable vice, but of the corrupting and the immoral tendencies of fashionable manners, that we know.'[3] The *Schoolmaster*'s introduction aligns with other supportive reviews of Gore and fashionable novels that Johnstone will publish in her later periodicals. Outside of 'The Story-Teller,' news articles, opinion pieces, and poems were written by prominent writers such as William Howitt (who would later contribute two stories to *The Edinburgh Tales*), Thomas Hood, and Benjamin Disraeli.

In 1833, the *Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly* transitioned into the monthly *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine. Johnstone's* and, later, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* were some of the first mediums to publish the stories that would later appear in *The Edinburgh Tales*. Johnstone's *Mothering Sunday; or, Old Usages* was included in the third volume of the *Tales* in 1846, but was previously published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1827 as *Old Usages: Mothering Sunday*. In the *Blackwood's* version, Johnstone used the pseudonym an Old Indian, but later attempted to refresh the story by changing the title and crediting herself as the author in the *Tales*. A similar technique was used by Gore who published *Theresa Marchmont; or, The Maid of Honour* in 1824 then changed the title to *The Maid of Honour* when it was republished in the first volume of the *Tales.* Johnstone's opening story in the first volume, *The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.*, made its original appearance in *Johnstone's* then continued its series in *Tait's* when the two periodicals merged in 1834. Most of Johnstone's other stories she provided in *The Edinburgh Tales* were first seen in *Tait's*: *The Sabbath Night's Supper* (1834), *Blanche Delamere* (1839), *Violet Hamilton; or, The Talented Family* (1840), and *Nighean Ceard;*

[3] [Anon.], Introduction to 'My Place in the Country', *Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly*, vol. II iss. 31, 2 Mar. 1833, pp. 137-141, (p. 137).

or, The Goldsmith's Daughter (1845), with the subtitle later changing to *The Tinker's Daughter*. In addition, *The Ventilators; A Tale of the Last Session* appeared in 1832 then reappeared in the third volume of the *Tales* in 1846 with the updated title: *The Ventilator of the Old House of Commons; or, Female Politicians*. The original title in *Tait's* signals the story's setting in the near-past while the new title in the *Tales* informs readers that the setting takes place in the distant past. By comparing the two titles, one can argue that Johnstone changed the title for the *Tales* to accommodate a new reading audience fourteen years after the story's publication in *Tait's*.

Unique attributes, such as introducing lesser known authors alongside popular writers, as well as implementing the short form, raise questions about the *Tales*' purpose. Why did Johnstone choose these specific stories to re-publish? Johnstone included less recognizable stories to the collection instead of more popular successes, such as Johnstone's fiction *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* (1826) or Gore's *Cecil*, both of which went into multiple editions. Mitford's sketches from *Our Village* would have been better known as its popularity grew over the century.[4] One questions whether a literary strategy was implemented by Johnstone and Gore to revive the stories for a new audience. In addition, the collection encompasses only short fictions of various lengths. What advantages did Gore and Johnstone find in using short fiction? The choice of short fiction over other genres demonstrates the significance of the form to these authors and its relevance to literature in the early to mid- nineteenth century. Moreover, the *Tales*, and its

[4] Amanpal Garcha argues that, decades later, Mitford's work still resonated with Victorians. He continues by describing how Margaret Oliphant praised Mitford's sketches in 1870 for their '"stillness."' He explains that Mitford's sketches of rural life attracted readers in an increasingly industrial society who yearned for the 'stillness' Oliphant described. *From Sketch to Novel: The Development of Victorian Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 6.

heavy portion of female authors, inspire questions about Johnstone and Gore's statuses as professional women writers in an increasingly gender polarizing century. How were Johnstone and Gore, and the many women writers active in their times, able to publish fiction while also maintaining feminine propriety? The collection's clear attempt to support female writers displays the challenge female writers faced maintaining social standards while also sustaining professional careers, before writing was considered a viable profession for women. The answers to these questions surrounding re-publication, short fiction, and female professionalization, help construct an image of the world which Johnstone and Gore were working in and suggest the authors were writing for a more noble purpose than earning a living.

Modern criticism has tended to associate them with different areas of the mid-century literary marketplace, with Gore often defined as a London silver fork writer and Johnstone as an Edinburgh periodical editor. Yet this marketplace was constituted by a network of writers, editors, and publishers, from all British nations, whose connections with each other overlapped on various occasions. Well known authors are often acclaimed for their more successful genres, like Dickens's success with novels. However, writers regularly engaged with other types of fiction throughout their careers, allowing them to interact with a diverse field of literary peers. With the assistance of academic periodization, Johnstone and Gore are rarely mentioned within the same research. Many scholars who have researched the Edinburgh literary scene of the early nineteenth century mention Johnstone and her literary contributions. Duncan's *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (2007) dedicates an entire chapter to Johnstone's novels *Elizabeth de Bruce* (1827) and *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*, positioning her as a major player in the

Edinburgh literary marketplace alongside contemporaries James Hogg and John Galt. Andrew Monnickendam's *The Novels of Walter Scott and his Literary Relations* (2013) focuses on the Scottish women writers Mary Brunton, Susan Ferrier, and Johnstone herself. Monnickendam compares and contrasts Johnstone's professional career as a writer and editor to those of her female counterparts. In a similar way, Pam Perkins focuses on Johnstone and two other Scottish female writers (Elizabeth Hamilton and Anne Grant) in *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment* (2010). Perkins's research develops beyond the authors' biographies. Her study of Johnstone uses correspondence with the writer and editor George Boyd to show Johnstone's opposing displays of private and public identities.

Gore, the better known writer of the two, has had more scholarly attention in various studies of the silver fork subgenre and early nineteenth-century literary scene. Surprisingly, there is little academic research on the author as an individual at length in book form. Many books or book chapters on the silver fork subgenre discuss her work, and various articles have been published in the last twenty years. Edward Copeland has analysed the subgenre in relation to early nineteenth-century contexts such as women authors, reform, newspapers, and others. In *The Silver Fork Novel: Fashionable Fiction in the Age of Reform* (2012) he mentions and discusses dozens of Gore's short stories and novels. Gore is also examined by Dianne Sadoff in her account of the development of the silver fork novel and its major contributors such as Edward Bulwer, Theodore Hook, and Benjamin Disraeli. She specifically analyses Gore's *Cecil* at length and considers it 'the

most ideologically sophisticated of the silver fork novels'.[5] *Cecil* was also chosen to be the last novel presented in Harriet Devine Jump's six-volumed series *Silver Fork Novels, 1826-1841* (2005) published by Pickering and Chatto.[6] Articles by April Kendra, Tamara S. Wagner, Winifred Hughes, and others explore Gore and her novels such as *Cecil* and *The Hamiltons* (1834), the Regency and dandyism, and her portrayal of middle-class characters.[7]

Despite this individual critical recognition, no critical account exists of their professional relationship with each other. Scholars and literary historians have recognized their writer-editor relationship as Gore wrote for *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* while Johnstone was its co-editor, though none has gone further by elaborating upon this connection. Not only did Johnstone take on Gore's work for *Tait's*, but both women also referenced each other's names and published works in their writings. They collaborated on a series of short stories entitled 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan's' (1837), and later in their careers they contributed to *The Edinburgh Tales*. Gore and Johnstone's professional relationship might not have been recognized substantially until now due to no known correspondence between the two. However, their frequent crossing of paths throughout their careers indicates a connection that developed beyond writing acquaintances. The commonalities in their careers also signal similar personality traits. Both authors display degrees of assertiveness when discussing business matters in their letters with editors. The

[5] Dianne Sadoff, 'The Silver Fork Novel', in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English: Volume 3: The Nineteenth-Century Novel 1820-1880*, ed. by John Kucich and Jenny Bourne Taylor, 12 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), III, pp. 106-21 (p. 112).
[6] Works by Gore's contemporaries featured in the collection include Thomas Henry Lister's *Granby* (1826), Edward Bulwer Lytton's *Godolphin* (1833), Lady Blessington's *The Victims of Society* (1837).
[7] See 'Elegies for the Regency: Catherine Gore's Dandy Novels' (1995) by Winifred Hughes, 'History Suits the Dandy: Catherine Gore's Cecil Novels' (2009) by Lauren Gillingham, 'Silver-Fork Legacies: Sensationalizing Fashionable Fiction' (2009) by Tamara S. Wagner, and 'Silver-Forks and Double Standards: Gore, Thackeray and the Problem of Parody' (2009) by April Kendra.

unveiling of connections between Johnstone and Gore demonstrates the hindering effects of periodization in the history of literature.

In this thesis, I will be discussing examples from three genres that connect Johnstone and Gore: short stories from *The Edinburgh Tales,* letters to editors, and collaborative fiction. My use of these genres reflects how Johnstone and Gore continuously responded and adapted to the trends of the transitional early nineteenth-century literary culture in which they lived. I argue that within these three genres, Johnstone and Gore wrote experimentally, with devices such as bigamy plots, gender-defying characters, unfeminine letters to their editors, and independent female protagonists, to catch the attention of readers and make their radical agendas known. This experimentation allowed Johnstone's agenda of serving quality literature to the middle and lower classes to be voiced and Gore's stories empowering female characters to be read by a new generation of mid-century readers. At the same time, these women writers had to balance this experimentation on the page with a sense of feminine propriety in order to maintain respect and respectability in early Victorian society.

Recycling Early Victorian Literature

The transitional decades of the 1820s and 1830s fell between two major literary eras, Romanticism and Victorianism. Shifts in British culture and society were marked by the Reform Act in 1832, the death of Sir Walter Scott in the same year, and the ascension of Queen Victoria in 1837, to name a few. Lawrence Poston argues that the death of George IV in June 1830 and the overthrow of the French monarchy in July led to increasing discussion surrounding parliamentary reform. The Reform Act of 1832, Poston writes,

made the year a date of change in early nineteenth-century society: 'The date itself is indeed the most convenient point around which to gather the various reforming clusters of the decade preceding Victoria's ascension, and to mark an evolution from older paternalist to newer entrepreneurial ideas of the social order.'[8] Poston claims that protests from the farming and manufacturing communities preceded the Reform Bill and its passage 'may well have saved England from revolution'.[9] As British politics underwent transition, literature of the period was also changing. Poston, repeating a widely-held view, suggests the deaths of John Keats in 1821, Percy Bysshe Shelley in 1822, Lord Byron in 1824, and Scott in 1832, marked the end of one literary period while the new period was still finding its definition.

In *Romantic Victorians: English Literature, 1824-1840* (2002) Richard Cronin discusses how literature was impacted during this time of cultural change, arguing that the decades between Romanticism and Victorianism do not distinguish their own historical literary period: 'But perhaps it would be truer to say that the years on which I focus are not really a neglected period of English literature. It is rather that they do not constitute a literary period at all, but something more in the way of a lacuna, a dash, or some other kind of punctuation mark.'[10] Even contemporary writers were aware of their period as a time of change. Gore wrote in 'The Monster-Misery of Literature' (1844) that she predicted in the year 2044 readers would say: 'My dear soul, what could those poor people do to amuse themselves? They had positively no books! After Scott's time till the middle of the

[8] Lawrence Poston, '1832', in *A Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture*, ed. by Herbert F. Tucker (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999) pp. 3-18 (p. 5).
[9] Poston, pp. 6-7.
[10] Richard Cronin, *Romantic Victorians: English Literature, 1824-1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 2.

nineteenth century not a single novelist; after the death of Byron, not a poet!'[11] The period's lack of definition due to its continuous changes caused writers to fail at making a significant impact. Cronin marks the beginning of this 'lacuna' with Lord Byron's death in 1824. He claims that Byron's death at a young age, along with Shelley's and Keats' deaths, as well as the French Revolution, were profound events which 'continued to occupy the English mind for much of the nineteenth century'.[12] Cronin shows how Bryon (and Byron's death), as well as the other Romantic poets, influenced nineteenth-century literary figures such as Mary Shelley, Felicia Hemans, Alfred Tennyson, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and several silver fork writers such as Bulwer Lytton, Disraeli, and Gore.

This transition largely affected early-century women authors as the act of writing transitioned from a leisure activity to a professional career choice. Women writers were caught between the notions of writing what was appropriate for their sex and following the popular literary trends that would help them become famous. *The Edinburgh Tales* was Johnstone's last major piece of literature before she retired in 1846. The way this culminating collection was conducted reflects the balance many female writers from the nineteenth century had to master: between becoming a successful writer in the public and maintaining feminine propriety. Contemporary readers of *The Edinburgh Tales* would assume a collection of short stories written by mostly women authors would entail traditional socially acceptable fiction like polite sketches. However, the feminine names on the title page and table of contents do not prepare readers for the experimental content on the inside. Ella Dzelzainis argues that experimentation is a feature of the early Victorian

[11] Catherine Gore, 'The Monster-Misery of Literature', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. 55 iss. 343, May 1844, pp. 556- 60 (p. 560).
[12] Cronin, p. 8.

novel: 'Women writers were often in the vanguard of this technical experimentation, whether their novels proved ephemeral or canonical.' She continues by describing how Gore's *Cecil* took on multiple subgenres as it shifted from a conventional silver-fork novel into an inspiration for William Thackeray's satiric novel *Vanity Fair* (1847).[13] Dennis Denisoff adds that the ambiguity of Victorian short stories allowed authors who felt 'hindered by the status quo' to experiment by merging various subgenres or creating unorthodox narratives.[14] Johnstone's and Gore's stories from *The Edinburgh Tales* are examples of experimental literature created by female writers. In Gore's 'The Maid of Honour' and Johnstone's 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.' each author makes bold statements about the restricting perceptions of gender in the early Victorian period. Both stories were recycled (from 1824 and 1834, respectively) and then presented to a new reading audience in the 1845 *Tales*. The messages produced from their unusual narratives display the authors' *need* to revitalize literature that defied societal traditions for a new generation of mid-century readers. Johnstone and Gore acknowledged the shift in society from early to mid-century. They revived their stories to educate younger readers and maintain their popularity in the fluctuating literary marketplace.

The resilience of their literary careers is seen in the variety of literary genres both Johnstone and Gore experimented with. Johnstone and Gore heavily contributed to various periodicals. Moreover, Johnstone was one of the first female editors of a major British periodical.[15] Judith Johnson and Hilary Fraser explain that periodicals became an accepted

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[13] Ella Dzelzainis, 'Silver-fork, industrial, and Gothic fiction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. by Linda H. Peterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) pp. 105-18 (p. 105).
[14] Dennis Denisoff, *The Broadview Anthology of Victorian Short Stories* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2004), pp. 17-25.
[15] Alexis Easley, *First Person Anonymous: Women Writers and Victorian Print Media, 1830-1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 62.

arena for women to write in, but the topics they wrote about determined whether they would publish their names or remain anonymous.[16] The frequent use of anonymity or pseudonymity (Gore commonly used the name Toby Allspy) illustrates the literary restrictions placed on female writers. The balance between politeness and assertiveness can also be seen in Johnstone's and Gore's letter writing. In another attempt to maintain a long career, Gore's letters to her editors Tait and Richard Bentley show how eager she was to write while also campaigning for her works to be advertised with anonymity. Johnstone displays moments of coercion when writing to her editor George Boyd while also heavily complimenting publishing tycoon William Blackwood in another letter. Johnstone's and Gore's decision to collaborate in *The Edinburgh Tales* and also on 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn' demonstrates the continual literary shifts both writers had to undertake in their careers.

Short Fiction 'At Home' in Periodicals and Novels

The rise in recent scholarship on short fiction has demonstrated its legitimacy and value as a literary genre. Critical analyses of the short story display the genre's symbiotic relationships with the novel and the periodical press. In this thesis, I will be using the terms short fiction and short stories interchangeably to describe fictional pieces that appeared in the periodical press or in book form. Many scholars of the short story indicate that Edgar Allan Poe was one of the leading figures in the genre and his definition of a short story is still considered the first modern explanation of this type of fiction.[17] John Plotz emphasizes

[16] Judith Johnson and Hilary Fraser, 'The Professionalization of Women's Writing: Extending the Canon', in *Women and Literature in Britain 1800-1900,* ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 231-50 (p. 243).
[17] Ann-Marie Einhaus, 'Introduction' and John Plotz, 'Victorian Short Stories', in *The Cambridge Companion to The English Short Story*, ed. by Ann-Marie Einhaus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 1-12 and 87-100 (pp. 2 and 87).

Poe's guidelines that a story needs to be '*unitary*, *compact* and achieve an *effect of immediacy* on the reader'.[18] But, as Ann-Marie Einhaus points out, academic criticism is still struggling to find a definition since 'one size simply does not fit all'.[19] She contends: 'Any definition based on content, function, formal or aesthetic features is likely to capture only a subsection of short fiction, leading to a neglect of historical development and/or variety.'[20] Tim Killick argues that in addition to Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Charles Dickens should be considered 'forefathers' of the genre, with an honorable mention to Washington Irving and other writers.[21] As Harriet Devine Jump states, 'it was during the course of the nineteenth century that the short story developed from a "low" or popular genre to one which carried aesthetic and cultural prestige, and women writers made an important contribution to its evolution.'[22] More specifically, Killick argues that the 1830s were especially important: 'In this decade of transition between what we now term the Romantic and the early Victorian periods, print culture expanded at an increasingly rapid rate and the editors of the many new magazines looked to short fiction to provide more and more of their content.'[23] Many critics address the genre's relationship with and dependence on other genres such as the novel and magazines. Killick aims his discussion toward the lesser-known early-century short stories often found in periodicals from the 1800s to

[18] Poe quoted by Plotz, p. 87 (original emphasis). The source is Poe's 'Review of *Twice-Told Tales*' in *Essays and Reviews*, ed. by Gary Richard Thompson (New York: Library of America, 1984), pp. 569-77 (p. 572).
[19] Einhaus, p. 4.
[20] Einhaus, p. 4.
[21] Tim Killick, *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Rise of the Tale* (Aldershot, Hants: Routledge, 2008), p. 1.
[22] Harriet Devine Jump, *Nineteenth-Century Short Stories by Women: A Routledge Anthology* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 1.
[23] Killick, p. 3.

1830s. He notes that the short story has typically been seen as inferior to the novel but suggests the genre is gaining respect:

> The conception of short fiction as a highly-wrought literary mode (the prose equivalent of a lyric poem) and the argument that shorter tales should not be viewed as inhabiting a lower echelon of the literary hierarchy than the novel have proved extremely popular within criticism of a genre that often displays an inferiority complex and has struggled to legitimize its brevity.[24]

Einhaus contends that the literary marketplace in nineteenth-century Britain valued the 'serialized three-decker novels rather than the short tales printed in American magazines'.[25] Although novels have historically appeared to 'engulf' the short story, Plotz observes, 'stories have always been at home within novels.'[26] He explains: 'The realist novel then is predicated not on conquering the short story but *assimilating* it, showing that any such story actually belongs to the same world within which it is told.'[27] Plotz argues that the short story works with the novel rather than against it.

Various scholars have demonstrated how short fiction transitioned from an under-valued form of literature in the eighteenth century to a gateway for fame for many nineteenth-century novelists. In the early nineteenth century, short fiction was often found in the periodical press. David Stewart's analysis of short fiction in the periodical press of the early nineteenth century describes how the eighteenth-century literary market found little artistic value in magazine writing. Canonical Romantic-era writers had mixed feelings about the genre. Stewart says that Wordsworth disliked the fast pace of the periodical press; however, other Romantics such as Leigh Hunt, Charles Lamb, and William Hazlitt used

[24] Killick, p. 7.
[25] Einhaus, p. 2.
[26] Plotz, pp. 89-92.
[27] Plotz, pp. 93-4. (original emphasis)

magazines to support their careers and are mainly known for this work today.[28] Killick contends that eighteenth-century writers supplied literature to magazines for free, 'but by the early nineteenth century writing for periodicals had become a viable way to make a living.'[29] He adds that short fiction was also advantageous as it gave writers the option to write experimentally compared to the 'more conservative book trade'.[30] Stewart claims the age of the periodical press officially changed with the debut of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1817: '*Blackwood's* has tended to be caricatured as a virulent Tory scandal rag, but it offered a model of magazine writing which influenced writers and publishers across a wide political, social, and cultural spectrum.'[31] The genre was able to thrive as literary magazines multiplied, and Duncan notes that the publishing crash of 1826 damaged many prospects of writing novels.[32] Killick comments: '*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, and the *New Monthly Magazine* were the most influential magazine publishers of new fiction in the early nineteenth century, with *Blackwood's* by far the most important with regard to short fiction.'[33] Periodicals gave people the opportunity to start writing as a career. As this career path opened, it gave opportunities to a wider range of writers and forced the marketplace to evaluate its literary value.[34]

The genre of short fiction in periodicals appears to create a divide in literary value and how writers used short fiction for their careers. Stewart stresses that the abundance of

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[28] David Stewart, 'The Magazine and Literary Culture', in *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 31-46 (pp. 31-2).
[29] Killick, p. 31.
[30] Killick, p. 32.
[31] Stewart, p. 34.
[32] Duncan, pp. 289-90.
[33] Killick, p. 29.
[34] For more information on non-literary pieces in Victorian newspapers, Rosemary VanArsdel and J. Don Vann's collection *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (1995) gives an overview of the diverse subject matter found in periodicals of the time.

content in magazines made it difficult for readers to attach value to high literary content and popular culture articles. He describes how the *London Magazine* attempted to organize the literature in magazines when reviewing Bryan Waller Procter, also known as 'Barry Cornwall.' In the review for Cornwall's *A Sicilian Story*, C. and J. Ollier wrote the 'notable poets' were 'Leigh Hunt, Robert Southey, Charles Lamb, Lord Byron, Percy Shelley, and John Keats'.[35] Stewart emphasizes that the reviewers informed readers about the writers who offered high literary value and also included Shelley and Keats who, at the time, had little esteem in the literary marketplace.[36] He adds that next to the *London's* review on respectable literature, the magazine has book reviews and advertisements – examples of the 'commercial' and popular culture articles also encompassing the content of the periodical press. Stewart claims: '"Literariness" is wrapped up in, and unable to extricate itself from, a miscellaneous culture of commercial transactions and uncertain speculations.'[37] As magazines grappled between high and low literature, Stewart explains that *Blackwood's* approached the conflict by creating *Noctes Ambrosianae*, 'a series of semi-fictional "conversations" […] supposed to have occurred while the contributors met in an Edinburgh pub.' The series, which started in 1822, allowed 'conversational writing', and writers could 'test out ideas, to hazard opinions that they are not quite sure about, and to bring together all the various aspects of a teeming culture.'[38] He adds that this series was copied by copious other magazines and demonstrated a mixture of the high and low literary content. Stewart states: 'They [contributors] were not simply mirrors of literary culture,

[35] Quoted in Stewart, p. 40. See C. and J. Ollier, 'III. A Sicilian Story, with Diego de Montilla, and other Poems. By Barry Cornwall', *London*, vol. 1 iss. 1, January 1820, pp. 84-86.
[36] Stewart, p. 40.
[37] Stewart, p. 41.
[38] Stewart, p. 42.

but creative participants in it.' He continues that *Blackwood's* even declared itself along with Wordsworth, Byron, and Scott as 'master-spirits' of literature.[39] Although the periodical press thought highly of itself in the literary marketplace, Stewart argues that its contributions are not as valued today. He claims that short fiction by less-canonical writers should be considered more seriously.[40] Criticism has favoured major writers who used short fiction as an entry into the literary marketplace but whose later novels receive higher praise.

Amanpal Garcha, explaining the cultural circumstances and trends which influenced the rise of the nineteenth-century novel, demonstrates how novels developed from sketches – a type of short fiction that is 'incomplete, fragmented, and hurried, like modern time itself'.[41] He argues that there are two trends which contributed to the increase in novels: 'Two defining features of the sketch – its emphasis on detailed description and its penchant for pure discursiveness – are directly tied to two related developments that literary historians have pointed to as vital influences on the rise of the novel as well: the advent of empiricism and the consequent growth and spread of periodical and newspaper journalism.'[42] Scholars have noted that short fiction was often the beginning of a writer's career or a way to become seen within the literary marketplace. As Killick puts it, 'It was in the 1810s and 1820s that some of the conventions for the modern authorial path were established: stories written for magazines, followed by collected editions, followed by novel-writing – a hierarchical route taken by many Victorian and twentieth-century

[39] Stewart, p. 43.
[40] Stewart, p. 46.
[41] Garcha, p. 4.
[42] Garcha, p. 27.

authors.'[43] Garcha claims that the rise of the novel coincided with the awareness of economic and social change: 'More specifically, the sketches that Mitford, Gaskell, Dickens, Thackeray, and others wrote during the 1820s and 30s represent a particular moment in the rise: as economic and social changes intensified and the reading public's sense of those changes' potentially disintegrating effects reached a peak, fiction responded by emphasizing aesthetic fragmentation and coherence, two contradictory but interrelated principles sketches foreground.'[44] Although Garcha calls the early works of Dickens, Gaskell, and Thackeray as 'apprentice' work, I disagree with using a term which appears to belittle and downplay the short fiction genre.[45] Many writers used short fiction for most of their careers either as a main or supplementary source of income.

Johnstone and Gore are two examples of early-century authors who used the periodical press to support their careers. The short form offered a quick way to earn money in between longer projects such as novels. So why did the pair decide to use short stories in one of their last publications? There are several reasons why Johnstone and Gore turned to short fiction in the decade when realist novels were beginning to flourish. First, as Duncan has claimed, Johnstone wanted to repackage literature selectively for a working-class readership. A collection of short stories allowed readers to purchase more value for their money as multiple stories could be obtained in one book. Second, short fiction and the periodical press allowed for experimentation, as Dennisoff and Killick noted. Johnstone could collect short stories from various subgenres to appease the literary tastes of a varying readership. And, Dzelzainis argues, women writers were at the forefront of involving

[43] Killick, p. 32.
[44] Garcha, p. 26.
[45] Garcha, p. 27.

experimentation with their writing. Third, the collection gave Johnstone an opportunity to support the careers of several women writers. Alexis Easley claims that Johnstone helped her literary peers develop their careers, and one example of this is seen through *The Edinburgh Tales*.[46] Johnstone used several well-known authors such as Gore, Mitford, and Carlyle, but she also used authors unfamiliar today: Mrs. Crowe (Catherine Ann) and Mrs. Fraser. Johnstone used her position as a member of the Edinburgh literary inner circle to introduce other authors to the literary marketplace. Therefore, these reasons suggest the choice of short stories was a strategic decision to sell literature to the working classes while also supporting the professionalization of writing- especially amongst women.

Literary Property or Feminine Propriety?

Johnstone and Gore's successes and longevity in their careers would not have been possible without the pioneering efforts of eighteenth-century women writers, such as Charlotte Lennox, Sarah Fielding, and Frances Burney, who helped professionalize the occupation. As writing became recognized as a viable profession, eighteenth-century women writers struggled to earn the respect of a professional as women were becoming less associated with labour. Linda Peterson provides a clear definition of professional women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: 'These women were professional in a modern sense: they show an interest in making money, dealing with publishers in a business-like way, actively pursuing a literary career, and achieving both profit and popularity in the literary marketplace.' However, Peterson says many argued whether writing was a legitimate

[46] Alexis Easley, '"Tait's Edinburgh Magazine" in the 1830s: Dialogues on Gender, Class, and Reform', *Victorian Periodicals*, 38.3 (Fall 2005), 263-79 (p. 274).

profession compared to the military, clergy, law, or medicine.[47] Although others questioned writing's legitimacy, Betty Schellenberg's *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2005) shows how the debate allowed writers to strive towards making the profession 'organized' in comparison to their counterpart occupations.[48] Despite efforts to become similar to other professions, Schellenberg says: 'The emerging discourse of original genius from the mid-eighteenth century onward fueled the push for recognition of the author as having a unique gift and therefore a unique cultural role.'[49] Women writers particularly had a harder experience gaining respect as professionals when women were associated with domesticity and, in the middle and upper classes, increasingly with leisure.

Jennie Batchelor's *Women's Work: Labour, Gender, and Authorship, 1750-1830* (2010) demonstrates the harmful effects on women workers as females were 'increasingly expected' to take on leisure and for men 'occupational identity began to replace traditional indicators of status.'[50] Identifying a trend with particular disadvantages for women writers, Batchelor suggests intellectual labour became more associated with men in the second half of the eighteenth century. She contends that women were 'doubly marginalize[d]' as more of society expected less from women's labours and women became 'excluded from the criteria of literary professionalism.' By 1750, Batchelor suggests the division of labour became 'gendered,' and, by the end of the eighteenth century, the masculine and feminine

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[47] Linda H. Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Marketplace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), p. 1.
[48] Betty Schellenberg, *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 13.
[49] Betty Schellenberg 'The Professional Female Writer', in *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in Britain 1660-1789*, ed. by Catherine Ingrassia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 37-54 (p. 39).
[50] Jennie Batchelor, *Women's Work: Labour, Gender, and Authorship, 1750-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 5.

notions of labour were separated.[51] Despite various studies that have singled out eighteenth-century women who were able to prosper from the labour market, Batchelor resolves that, as a general rule, 'women's role was increasingly perceived in terms of dependence and domesticity rather than in terms of their labouring potential and hence their usefulness as citizens.'[52] The scope of women's labouring prospects appear more hopeful in the nineteenth-century literary sphere as the blossoming periodical press gave more women opportunities to write and consistently earn money.

As periodicals flourished in Britain, women were able to contribute their writings and maintain a career that society accepted. Women were also able to take advantage of the recognition their stories received in the periodical press. Although many women contributed stories to magazines, the subject matter determined whether their real names would appear in the press. Easley argues: 'Famous women authors were often held accountable to confining definitions of "female authorship", which constrained their choice of subject matter and exposed their personal lives to public scrutiny.'[53] Many women, including Johnstone and Gore, had to manage carefully their identity and balance the images of being authors and women at the same time. Johnson and Fraser contend that many Victorian women writers, including George Eliot, Harriet Martineau, and Margaret Oliphant, used anonymity at the time of publication 'because theoretically no-one except the editor knew who the author of a particular piece was'. However, Johnson and Fraser

[51] Batchelor, p. 17.
[52] Batchelor, pp. 17-26. Chapter Two of this thesis discusses George Justice's chapter in *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney* (2007) while Chapter Four investigates the careers of Charlotte Lennox and Sarah Fielding through Betty Schellenberg's *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2005). In Chapter Five, the thesis discusses Jordan Lavers' study of Karoline von Günderrode, an eighteenth-century German writer who was able to find literary success with the help of her epistolary network (2014).
[53] Easley, *First-Person Anonymous*, p. 1.

claim the anonymity 'enabled women to enter the field in greater numbers than was generally suspected, in their own time and later, and allowed them to address topics not generally thought of as suitable to a woman's pen.' They add that into the mid-century, periodical writing became 'feminized for some critics; an intellectual activity of which women might be capable'.[54] Susan Casteras and Linda Peterson claim that into the 1880s and 90s women were still using male pseudonyms as male authored manuscripts were more likely to be accepted by editors than female authored writing.[55]

Many critics have addressed the pressure nineteenth-century women who pursued a career faced to maintain the Victorian ideals of femininity. Despite the common assumption that all Victorian female authors were seeking anonymity, Casteras and Peterson discuss the mid-century authors who strove for acclaim. In *A Struggle for Fame: Victorian Women Artists and Authors* (1994), Casteras and Peterson explain the various paths women took to become recognized for their work; however, female authors still faced obstacles such as rejections from editors and disapproving husbands. They describe how literary fame was often described as being found through 'an author-genius discovered' or 'diligence rewarded'. But Casteras and Peterson argue there was no one pathway for Victorian women writers to become recognized: 'In some cases, families and friends assisted with initial publication; in others women entered and won literary prize competitions; in most, they began modestly, writing anonymous reviews, producing children's books, contributing poems and stories to ladies' magazines, or doing the drudgery of copy-editing and proof-reading as they worked their way through the ranks.'[56]

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[54] Johnson and Fraser, p. 243.
[55] Susan P. Casteras and Linda H. Peterson, *A Struggle for Fame: Victorian Women Artists and Authors* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1994), pp. 41-2.
[56] Casteras and Peterson, p. 36.

The 1860s, Casteras and Peterson argue, was the time period in which female professionalization was encouraged by women writers supporting one another. They cite Martineau and Frances Power Cobbe as two women who were involved in support groups to help women enter professions such as journalism, editing, and writing: 'By the 1860s information about becoming an author became less private and mysterious, more factual and public with the availability of memoirs and letters written by professional women.'[57] Although female professionalization was increasing, Casteras and Peterson contend that women still struggled to juggle a career and family. Not only did some husbands disapprove of their working wives, some women also frowned upon mixing 'a career with motherhood'.[58] Casteras and Peterson add that writers such as Cobbe and Gaskell suggested women start writing when their children had grown. The additional duties of motherhood and wife in the private sphere were not the only hurdles female writers had to face. When writing in the public sphere of society, women also faced barriers imposed by male editors, colleagues, and mentors.

In *Outside the Pale: Cultural Exclusion, Gender Difference, and the Victorian Woman Writer* (1993), Elsie B. Michie investigates the careers of canonical female authors Mary Shelley, Charlotte and Emily Brontë, Gaskell, and Eliot, and articulates the ways in which these writers maintained the socially acceptable ideals of femininity and attempted to control their writings while being influenced by masculine figures such as publishers, mentors, editors, and husbands. In particular, Michie's discussion of the editorial relationship between Gaskell and Dickens depicts the advantages and disadvantages women faced when writing for a periodical. Michie argues that while many believe

[57] Casteras and Peterson, p. 40.
[58] Casteras and Peterson, p. 41.

Dickens helped Gaskell become a novelist through his periodical *Household Words*, her time at the magazine became oppressive and a hinderance to her career.

Michie's analysis of Gaskell's professional relationship with Dickens explains how she had conflicting feelings between her identities as a public writer and a private wife. Michie describes how Gaskell was attracted at first to the idea of being an anonymous writer for *Household Words*, but then her position at the magazine became suffocating when she started losing control over her own pieces. Michie describes how Dickens recruited Gaskell to become a regular contributor to his magazine after she had published *Mary Barton* (1848).[59] She describes how Gaskell felt anxiety entering the 'public' sphere: 'As a domestic woman who became a professional writer, Gaskell, too, crossed the boundary between private and public, but found, as she did so, that it was impossible for her to be out in public and not have her behavior characterized in terms of deviance, waywardness, or impropriety.'[60] However, Michie argues that her anonymity in *Household Words*, and the fact that the magazine was 'dedicated to household virtues', persuaded Gaskell to take on the employment.[61]

Although Gaskell hoped this venture would be a 'refuge' for her writing, as time went on she discovered the position was restricting: 'Over the course of her editorial dealings with Dickens, however, Gaskell was to find that his periodical was less a safe haven that allowed her, a private woman, to enter the public sphere than a place where the Victorian separation between the public and private woman was enforced.'[62] This

[59] Elsie B. Michie, *Outside the Pale: Cultural Exclusion, Gender Difference, and the Victorian Woman Writer* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), p. 110.
[60] Michie, pp. 82-3.
[61] Michie, pp. 84-7.
[62] Michie, pp. 84-5.

periodical dynamic is also seen between Tait and Johnstone in Edinburgh. Although they were co-editors, Fred Hunter reports that Tait was the more public-facing of the two, with him conducting 'the business side' of the periodical by writing letters to contributors and his name titling the magazine.[63] Johnstone remained much more behind the scenes by reading contributions, choosing which pieces would be published, and editing the magazine.[64] Michie says that while writing for Dickens, Gaskell discovered the difficulty in balancing both feminine propriety and a successful career: 'As time went on, however, Gaskell became increasingly aware that the gestures that protected her status as a "proper" lady also constrained her. Dickens's indeterminate munificence, for example, placed her in a position of constant indebtedness to the magazine.'[65] Furthermore, Michie argues that Gaskell discovered she could not identify herself as the author of her stories and also remain a 'proper' lady; therefore, Gaskell sold some of her stories to America where her authorial name would most likely be replaced by another.[66]

Using letters from both Dickens and Gaskell, Michie provides examples of animosity that both writers expressed behind each other's backs. As tensions grew, Gaskell made several attempts to distance herself from *Household Words.* In an attempt to gain more independence in her career, Michie describes how Gaskell made her husband, rather than Dickens, her editor. She claims that although Gaskell gained 'partial control' back from Dickens, she was still exchanging control over her work from one man to another.[67] Moreover, Gaskell rebelled against Dickens through her contributions: 'Gaskell also

[63] Fred Hunter, 'Johnstone [née Todd; *other married name* M'Leish], Christian Isobel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14957>, p. 2.
[64] Hunter, p. 1.
[65] Michie, p. 90.
[66] Michie, pp. 91-2.
[67] Michie, p. 95.

resisted Dickens's editorial control by repeatedly refusing to meet his deadlines or to conform to the limits set to her as to the number of pages per issue.'[68] Despite her attempts to defy her editor, Michie argues, Gaskell was obliged to be obedient: 'In her editorial dealings with Dickens, the difficulty for Gaskell was that no matter what gesture she made she could not escape the configuration that defined her as the deviant one and him as the patient one who must control or retain her deviance.'[69] The critic concludes that *Household Words* was not a 'refuge' for Gaskell, but a 'prison' for her literary works.[70]

Johnstone and Gore also felt the restrictions placed on women writers as seen by their frequent uses of anonymity and pseudonymity. Both authors disguised their names early in their careers, then into the mid-century began attaching their names to more of their pieces – even their radical literature. Johnstone's early historical novel *Clan-Albin* (1815) was published anonymously and *Elizabeth de Bruce* was credited to 'The Author of Clan-Albin.' Johnstone also hid her authorial identity behind her borrowed character Meg Dods in *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*. Gore's early work was often anonymous or pseudonymous. She used several names such as Toby Allspy or as the author of her previous work, which also assisted in advertising. But as the century progressed from early to mid-nineteenth century, both authors took possession of their authorial identities. While their female contemporaries were placing their names on literature of 'feminine' subjects and remaining anonymous on literature of more controversial subjects, Johnstone and Gore used *The Edinburgh Tales* to attach their names to radical short stories. In the 1830s, Johnstone's story 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.' was originally published

[68] Michie, p. 96.
[69] Michie, p. 96.
[70] Michie, p. 98.

anonymously in *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine* and then *Tait's* when the two magazines merged. A decade later, when Johnstone republished the story in the *Tales*, she announces herself as the author. Since the collection was one of Johnstone and Gore's last pieces of fiction in their careers, attaching their names to the unorthodox narratives suggests the authors felt unaffected by the potential social consequences of publishing these pieces. With most of their literary careers behind them, Johnstone and Gore could take the risk of placing their names on the short stories with controversial subject matter. The authors also had the advantage of supportive male influences. Johnstone worked with her husband, John, for most of her career, co-editing several magazines. She was also supported by Tait who was her co-editor at *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* and published the *Tales*. Little information is known about Gore's husband Charles, but Winifred Hughes describes how Catherine's writing provided a substantial income for the family, indicating that Charles was supportive of her career.[71] With these factors at play, Johnstone and Gore appear to have several advantages over their mid-Victorian female peers. Johnstone and Gore were able to publish *The Edinburgh Tales* without the retribution their female contemporaries might have faced due to their successful literary reputations, supportive families, and a similar desire to publish experimental literature without fear of consequence.

However significant *The Edinburgh Tales* is to the history of Victorian women's literature, the collection and some of its contributors have not received considerable acclaim. But Johnstone and Gore's names and careers in the early nineteenth century took shape alongside many canonical figures such as Walter Scott, Leigh Hunt, Charlotte

[71] Winifred Hughes, 'Gore [née Moody], Catherine Grace Frances (1798-1861)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11091>, p. 3.

Brontë, William Makepeace Thackeray, and others. Einhaus argues that the academy has traditionally approached short stories in a way that limits the genre's history:

> In most cases, scholars and critics devote their attention to stories written by well-known authors, seen as supplementing their longer prose, or stories that serve to exemplify particular literary fashions or movements. The result is a skewed critical awareness of British and Irish short fiction in particular, which tends to focus on very specific, primarily experimental forms of the short story in Great Britain and Ireland.[72]

Like more canonical writers such as Gaskell, Gore and Johnstone are more known for their novels rather than short form work, namely Gore's *Cecil* and Johnstone's *Clan-Albin*. However, and also like Gaskell or Dickens, they both used short fiction to support their careers until late in life. The experimental possibilities of short fiction allowed them to collaborate with one another in a way which reemphasizes Britain's intersecting network of writers, publishers and editors. In this thesis, I will be examining the careers of Johnstone and Gore separately before concluding with their collaborative works in *The Edinburgh Tales* and 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn.' An analysis of their individual careers demonstrates how they used short stories to vocalize their agendas, how they interacted with canonical peers in the literary marketplace, and how their letters demonstrate the types of professional and private woman they had to embody in order to have a successful career. Their collaborative works show how they took advantage of the experimentation of short fiction to collaborate, advertise their own works, and support each other as professional female writers.[73]

The first chapter explores the career of Johnstone as an editor for *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* and her position on Victorian masculinity. This chapter investigates one of her

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[72] Einhaus, p. 6.

[73] *British Women's Writing from Brontë to Bloomsbury* (2018) also provides analysis into non-canonical women writers such as Catherine Crowe, Dinah Mulock Craik, Charlotte M. Yonge, and Caroline Clive.

short stories in *The Edinburgh Tales*, 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.' and discusses how the story dismantles masculine gender norms and allows the author to construct her own masculine ideal. The second chapter introduces Gore's career and the silver fork literary circle in which she was active. I discuss the male voice Gore cultivated in her fiction to appease critics and demonstrate her range as a writer. The third chapter analyses 'The Maid of Honour', as noted one of Gore's contributions to *The Edinburgh Tales*. This story, placed in the first volume of the series, shows how Gore's story contributes to the literary development of independent female protagonists. Gore's direct and indirect relationships with the Brontës suggests the sisters were able to create their female characters from the same line of evolution as Gore's. The fourth chapter investigates Johnstone's articles and archives where she laid the foundation for her editorial voice and demonstrated her value as a female editor. In the fifth chapter, I demonstrate how Gore's business letters show the gentle manipulation she employed towards editors Bentley and Tait to ease her anxiety on acquiring literary success. In the concluding chapter, I analyze the professional relationship of Johnstone and Gore through their collaboration in the 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn' series. Although direct correspondence has yet to be found, several pieces of evidence show the two writers interacted with each other professionally and worked to enhance each other's careers. Johnstone's and Gore's fictions that display characters defying society's social norms echo the authors' own attempts, in their personal and professional lives, to reach beyond the comfortable parameters of social tradition to find literary acclaim.

Chapter One

Shades of Manliness:
Christian Isobel Johnstone's 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.'

'Mrs. Johnstone is the Miss Edgeworth of Scotland,' said the *Dublin Review* in its critique of *The Edinburgh Tales* (1845-6), 'If we knew higher praise we would bestow it.'[1] The newspaper's glowing appraisal of Johnstone and her collection of short stories was echoed by other reviews of the *Tales*. Reviews from various newspapers were also in agreement about the series' cheap price. 'The price is so trifling that only a vast circulation can repay the enterprising publisher,' the *Critic* noted.[2] Andrew Monnickendam's estimation of 30,000 copies might not have covered publisher William Tait's costs, but comments made by the *Examiner* and the *Dublin Review* reveal that a profit was not the main goal of the publication.[3] In the *Examiner's* review, the newspaper shows one purpose of the *Tales*: 'The stories are numerous, various, and entertaining; some have an unusual character of merit; the tone of them is the reverse of common-place'.[4] The phrase 'the reverse of common-place' is an accurate description of the stories' shared theme. They display odd or strange aspects of society and demonstrate that 'normal' life does not exist. Additionally, the *Tales*'s low price was a strategy to reach more readers. As the *Dublin Review* observed: 'The Tales in which she now appears are but a reprint of a series written several years since; but they will be new to the vast majority of readers, especially the young readers for

[1] [Anon.], 'XIX.- Edinburgh Tales', *Dublin Review*, vol. 18 iss. 35, March 1845, p. 275.
[2] [Anon.], Rev. of *The Edinburgh Tales*, *Critic*, vol. 1 iss. 13, February 1845, pp. 343-4.
[3] Andrew Monnickendam, 'The Good, Brave-Hearted Lady: Christian Isobel Johnstone and National Tales', *Atlantis*, 20.2 (December 1998), 133-47, (p. 136).
[4] [Anon.], Rev. of *The Edinburgh Tales*, *Examiner*, iss. 1961, August 1845, p. 549.

whom they are chiefly intended.'[5] Not only did the cheaper price appeal to middle and working-class readers who could afford it, it also allowed younger readers to view these stories for the first time. Many of the stories were first published in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The relatively inexpensive form in which they were re-issued engaged a larger readership, their low price demonstrating Johnstone's goal of stretching the subject matter out to as many people as it could reach. Rather than aiming for a profit, she was more passionate about addressing the messages and morals of the stories to a new generation of readers. In an effort to teach readers about challenging social norms, she commences the *Tales* with her own peculiar story, 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.' Her protagonist, the businessman turned housewife reformer Richard Taylor, forces readers to reflect on established and emergent forms of masculinity. While she reminds readers of masculinity's many forms, she also uses her fiction to articulate her ideal features in a man.

Johnstone's Literary Life

Although she is considered the first female editor of a major British literary periodical, Christian Isobel Johnstone remains obscure in history and criticism today.[6] Her untraditional life as a divorced and remarried woman, and her extensive career as a successful writer, journalist, and editor, illustrate the need for her works to be analyzed. Johnstone divorced her first husband and remarried in 1815. In the same year, she anonymously published *Clan-Albin: A National Tale*, which tells the story of a Highlander

[5] [Anon.], 'XIX.- Edinburgh Tales', p. 275.
[6] In *First-Person Anonymous: Women Writers and Victorian Print Media, 1830-70* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), Alexis Easley identifies Johnstone as one of Britain's first female editors of a literary periodical (p. 62), but analysis of Johnstone's work only commenced about twenty-five years ago.

who joins the army and navigates his way through the Peninsular War. She and her husband, John Johnstone, moved from Edinburgh to Inverness to become co-editors of the *Inverness Courier* newspaper where 'she gave the paper a literary distinction not usually found in provincial newspapers'. Johnstone released her next novel, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*, in 1826, and its multiple editions allowed 'a steady income for nearly thirty years'.[7] Johnstone's *Manual* borrows characters from Sir Walter Scott's *St. Ronan's Well* (1823) and Susan Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818) as they discuss politics and society within the context of cooking and dining. In 1827, Johnstone published her third novel, *Elizabeth de Bruce*, and the Johnstones moved back to Edinburgh where they began working on the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* with William Blackwood. Due to political differences, the Johnstones severed ties with Blackwood in 1832, the same year as the passage of the Reform Bill. John Johnstone, who had become a printer in Edinburgh, started the *Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Magazine*, with William Tait as publisher and Christian Johnstone as main contributor. The magazine lasted for just under a year before it transitioned into *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*. *Johnstone's* rivaled *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* and led Leigh Hunt to note their similarity:

> *Tait* has now exactly the size and look of *Johnstone*; and the two publications agreeably harmonize […] Indeed the same writers appear to write for both; and as *Johnstone* has become more political, so *Tait* has become more storied, and domestic, like *Johnstone*, so that what with looking alike, and being printed by the same printer, and published by the same publisher, they seem like the man and wife of Magazines, each partaking the goods and graces of the other.[8]

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[7] Fred Hunter, 'Johnstone [née Todd; *other married name* M'Leish], Christian Isobel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14957> , p. 1.

[8] Leigh Hunt quoted in Christian Isobel Johnstone and William Tait, 'Union of Johnstone's and Tait's Magazines', *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, I, (1834), pp. 529-30 quoted in Alexis Easley, '"Tait's Edinburgh Magazine" in the 1830s: Dialogues on Gender, Class, and Reform', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 38.3 (Fall 2005), 263-79 (p. 271).

Hunt's vision became reality in 1834 when the two magazines merged. Christian Johnstone became editor and was responsible for 'choosing and arranging the contents of each issue', while Tait 'ran the business side and correspondence with the contributors'.[9] As editor of *Tait's*, Johnstone included more middle and working-class writers as well as female writers. According to Alexis Easley, female contributors in the magazine increased from 19 percent to 37 percent under Johnstone's editorship.[10] She would continue to collaborate with these female writers for the rest of her career.

Johnstone's career as a female editor was partially made possible by efforts from eighteenth-century writers who advocated for female labour. Mary Wollstonecraft, for example, is often lauded for her opinions on the positions of women in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). Akin to Johnstone, she was also involved in the periodical press as a reviewer for the *Analytical Review*.[11] Batchelor explains the complicated and contradictory expectations for male labor in the eighteenth century. Gentlemen who participated in manual labour evoked feelings of 'unease' from society while 'gentlemanly idleness' was also seen as a negative attribute.[12] Into the mid-century, she asserts, 'industriousness, expertise and specialization were to become central to the professional aspirations of the polite classes.'[13] By the end of the eighteenth century, Betty Schellenberg argues, socially recognized professions (the law, military, medicine, and religion) were associated with middle-class men and debates regarding the activeness of women in the

[9] Hunter, p. 2.
[10] Easley, p. 274.
[11] Jane Moore, *Mary Wollstonecraft* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 1.
[12] Jennie Batchelor, *Women's Work: Labour, Gender, and Authorship, 1750-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 4.
[13] Batchelor, p. 5.

public sphere 'were inconclusive at best.'[14] This especially hindered women writers as 'authorship was constructed and valued in the 1790s as mental toil, a form of labour superior to, yet demanding the same qualities as, manual work,' Jennie Batchelor writes.[15] She also addresses wider concerns with regard to women's choices such as 'men's encroachment upon traditionally female trades, the inadequacies of education, the prejudices that greeted genteel women seeking legitimate work and the threat of sexual intimidation faced by women workers of all ranks.'[16] Moore explains that Wollstonecraft's career was radical in that 'other women had earned a living from writing, but few engaged in the hack work that was the mainstay of Wollstonecraft's career and the source of her financial self-reliance.'[17] While earning her main income from the *Analytical Review* from 1787-90, Moore says Wollstonecraft wrote 'prolifically' and in some issues wrote as many as thirty reviews.[18] Batchelor argues the non-fiction works of Wollstonecraft, as well as contemporaries Mary Hays and Mary Ann Radcliffe and their mid-century predecessors Sarah Scott and Sarah Fielding, 'are notable for the directness and scope of their critiques, which point towards structural inequalities in the division of labour as a whole, rather than providing anecdotal examples of injustice through the isolated experiences of fictional characters.'[19] The ground-breaking literary works of Wollstonecraft, as well as other eighteenth-century female writers, demonstrate the foundation they created. This allowed

[14] Betty Schellenberg 'The Professional Female Writer', in *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in Britain 1660-1789*, ed. by Catherine Ingrassia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 37-54 (pp. 39-40).
[15] Batchelor, p. 113.
[16] Batchelor, p. 115.
[17] Moore, p. 2.
[18] Moore, pp. 2, 31.
[19] Batchelor, p. 115.

later female writers to prosper as literary opportunities for women became more diverse into the nineteenth century.

Edinburgh's development in the nineteenth century as a cultural and literary capital became an ideal location for Johnstone to maintain her professional life. From the Act of Union to the Waverley novels, Edinburgh, and Scotland as a whole, was able to define itself as a place that produced renowned intellectuals and authors. *Scott's Shadow* (2007), Ian Duncan's study of Edinburgh's literary prominence in the early nineteenth century, regards the city in this period as a 'Modern Athens,' a title given by nineteenth-century writers to recognize its contributions to the arts and philosophy. 'Edinburgh was promoting and redefining itself,' Duncan argues, 'as a new kind of national capital – not a political or commercial metropolis, but a cultural and aesthetic one.'[20] With the reputation of Scotland's eighteenth-century philosophers and competitive nineteenth-century literary marketplace, Edinburgh became a cultural capital equally competitive with London. While praising the Edinburgh periodical press in 1845, a writer for the *Critic* said, 'And we have to note how vastly, in this respect, all the Scotch periodicals excel our own. Compare the London magazines with those of Edinburgh, and what a contrast they do present!'[21] Duncan echoes the esteem nineteenth-century contemporaries held for the Edinburgh literary scene. He asserts: 'Scotch novels and Scotch reviewers were the most brilliant constellations in a northern literary galaxy which included – besides the historical romance and critical quarterly – a professionalized intellectual class, the entrepreneurial publisher, the nationalist ballad epic, and the monthly magazine.'[22] But before this esteem was

[20] Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007) p. 9.
[21] [Anon.], 'Periodicals', *Critic*, vol. 1 iss. 12, 1 February 1845, p. 319.
[22] Duncan, pp. 9-20.

bestowed, Edinburgh and the nation struggled to define itself as a new member of the Union.

In 1856, the *Westminster Review* took a retrospective look at eighteenth and nineteenth-century Scotland and demonstrated how far the nation had come to create its cultural reputation since the Union: 'In short, however we look at the matter, it is a singular fact, that the most productive period of the History of Scotland is that which has elapsed since Cumberland tore the last relics of autonomy out of her soil, and left her, passive and parliamentless, to the sheer influences of nature.'[23] The periodical demonstrates how Scotland lost some of its pre-Union characteristics and describes 'her' as being a shell of the country it once was. As the eighteenth century progressed, Scotland was able to redefine its culture. Alex Benchimol states that the Scottish public's interest in journalism (thanks to the *Tatler* and *Spectator*) helped the country reclaim a national culture. Men from a range of economic backgrounds used the politics written in periodicals to debate and converse in social settings.[24] He adds: 'In other words, the developing liberal public sphere in post-Union Scotland allowed for the articulation of a new vision of national material improvement wedded to the individual moral development this cultural space offered to its participants.'[25] These public spaces of conversation allowed Scotland's celebrated philosophers to emerge in the mid-eighteenth century. Intellectuals such as David Hume and Adam Smith became members of the Select Society, a group that 'promote[d] a distinctive form of Scottish cultural assimilation toward the modernising

[23] [Anon.], 'Art. V. – Edinburgh Fifty Years Ago', *Westminster Review*, vol. 66 iss. 130, October 1856, pp.409-10.
[24] Alex Benchimol, 'Periodicals and Public Culture' in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, ed. by Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 84-99 (p. 88).
[25] Benchimol, p. 87.

values of the Union.'[26] As Scotland approached the next century, the nation's literary eminence also started to take form with the republication of the *Edinburgh Review*. 'It demonstrates,' Benchimol claims, 'how the Scottish national public sphere in the second half of the eighteenth century provided the ideological basis for the emergence of the leading British review of the early nineteenth.' Scotland's public spaces became a crucial setting for the nation to re-develop its intellectual culture and reputation.

As *Scott's Shadow* argues, the *Edinburgh Review* and Scotland's renowned philosophers helped lay the foundation for Edinburgh's literary pre-eminence in the early nineteenth century. During this period, Edinburgh became synonymous with a teeming periodical press and Walter Scott's culturally dominating Waverley novels. Duncan organizes the literary history of this post-Enlightenment period in three stages: the 'wartime ascendancy of the *Edinburgh Review*' from around 1802-13, the 'rise of Scottish prose fiction and *Blackwood's Magazine*' from 1814-25, and the concluding stage ranging 'from the 1826 crash through the death of Scott' and the Reform Bill of the 1830s.[27] Many writers, including Johnstone and Gore, contributed to Edinburgh's growing periodical press. Citing a widely held view, Duncan asserts that *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* was the most prolific periodical in the city with *Tait's* and *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* creating competition in the 1830s.[28] Novels, especially ones published by Archibald Constable and written by Scott, encompassed the other half of the successful Edinburgh literary marketplace. Duncan states: 'Constable played a key role in the institutional transformation of Scottish literature after 1800, in which it devolved from the academic

[26] Benchimol, p. 91.
[27] Duncan, p. 23.
[28] Duncan, p. 21.

infrastructure of the Lowland Enlightenment to an industrializing marketplace.'[29] If Constable was the behind-the-scenes orchestrator of Edinburgh's novel production, Scott was the face of Scottish novels. Duncan clearly emphasizes Scott's influence and prestige as a national hero: 'Scott's novels commanded a cultural centrality – a national representativeness – in post-Enlightenment Edinburgh that the reviews and magazines, because of their partisan alignment, could not claim.'[30] James Hogg and John Galt are used as two examples of the many writers who were influenced by Scott's work and strove to find the success and prominence of the Waverley novels.[31] Duncan reflects on the decline of Scottish novels through the 1830s and 40s, but writers like John Gibson Lockhart and Johnstone were able to maintain careers in literature through periodical positions.[32] Johnstone, also heavily influenced by Scott's works, was able to take the success of Scottish novels and apply it to the transitioning mid-century audience. Her letters demonstrate how her literary experience as an editor in the early part of the century and acquaintances from Edinburgh and London helped her find success after the post-Enlightenment.

The connections Johnstone made as editor allowed her to rely on those writers later in life. These relationships mutually benefitted the parties as Johnstone helped the writers become published and they simultaneously helped extend the magazine's life. She recruited names such as Catherine Gore, Mary Howitt, Mary Russell Mitford, and Thomas De Quincey to write articles for *Tait's*. Not only did these writers contribute to the magazine, they also wrote short stories for her collection *The Edinburgh Tales*, published

[29] Duncan, p. 21.
[30] Duncan, p. 30.
[31] Duncan, p. 42.
[32] Duncan, p. 45.

in three volumes by Tait and including stories by Gore, Mitford, Mary and William Howitt, Thomas Carlyle, and others. Soon after the *Tales* was published, Johnstone and Tait retired and sold the magazine in 1846. She remained in Edinburgh until her death in 1857 and was able to have some of her work reprinted by Oliver and Boyd while in retirement. But despite her success as a writer and editor and relationships with various writers, Johnstone's name has largely been forgotten by literary history. Monnickendam says that after the Johnstones' deaths – John died three months after Christian – the couple 'erased every trace of their past'.[33] He adds that the Johnstones did not leave an inventory or will upon their deaths even though they had a 'presumably considerable estate, to judge from the extremely fashionable address of 12 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh'.[34] Hunter argues that Johnstone had to battle the 'stigma which society attached to a divorced, and remarried, childless woman' who was also a 'full-time journalist'.[35] He suggests Johnstone became intolerant of society's judgements and she decided to remove herself from the public eye. The editors of the *Wellesley Index* make similar claims but Pam Perkins argues there is not enough evidence to support the theory. As she explains: 'There is in fact no indication that Johnstone's contemporaries were particularly shocked by or disapproving of her unconventional marital history'. She adds that one of Johnstone's reviewers wrote that she was obliged to leave her husband, thus suggesting that a portion of society supported her decision.[36]

Johnstone's divorce and her promotion of female writers appear as proto-feminist maneuvers. And in her fiction, Johnstone also examined the lives of nineteenth-century

[33] Hunter, pp. 3-4 and Monnickendam, p. 136.
[34] Monnickendam, p. 136.
[35] Hunter, p. 2.
[36] Pam Perkins, *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), p. 225.

men. In particular, the author presents a distinctive and unusual male main character in her short story 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.' Richard Taylor's unique traits, such as his bachelorhood and unemployment, allow Johnstone to use the character as a contribution to the diverse literary depictions of a Victorian man. In this chapter, I will show Richard Taylor's odd characteristics and demonstrate how they differ from familiar versions of Victorian masculinity. Then I argue that such strange traits make him appear more feminine, but instead of considering him to be unmasculine, or unmanly, Johnstone invites readers to entertain variations in masculine identity. Johnstone's other writing shows readers the personality traits of likeable and unlikable male characters. These clear flaws shown by other male characters demonstrate Johnstone's attempt to present her own ideals of what Victorian masculinity should look like.

Shades of Victorian Masculinity

Traditional heroic narratives have aligned the main character as a man who possesses the characteristics of chivalry and 'manliness.' Margery Hourihan describes traditional heroes as men on an adventure to find 'what it means to be a man' and fighting 'for what he knows is "right"'.[37] Valerie Pedlar argues that 'masculinity' and 'manliness' were interchangeable in the nineteenth century, but 'manliness' 'had particular connotations'.[38] John Tosh elaborates that nineteenth-century manliness 'embraced notions of chivalry – that is, the protection due to sisters, then wives, and by extension any respectable woman'.[39] In 'The

[37] Margery Hourihan, *Deconstructing the Hero: Literary theory and children's literature* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 67, 69.
[38] Valerie Pedlar, '*The Most Dreadful Visitation': Male Madness in Victorian Fiction* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), p. 16.
[39] John Tosh, 'What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History Workshop*, No. 38 (1994), 179-202 (p. 183).

Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.', Johnstone forces readers to consider the masculine identity of her eponymous 'hero'. The story begins with a biographical synopsis of Richard's life from his orphaned childhood to his career as a world-travelling merchant. After nearly being arrested by the Tuscan police, Richard is able to find a way home on a boat heading to England. But on his journey home, he discovers he has lost important documents which cost him his job and reputation. Richard's brother James meets him at port when he arrives and diligently attends to his depressed brother. As Richard's spirits improve, the brothers return to London where Richard's lost documents are mysteriously returned and his reputation is restored; however, Richard determines that his mission in life will be reforming and advising new housewives. The narrator explains: 'As Mr Richard Taylor became older, his favourite study was more than ever domestic manners and economy. He left politicians to discover what ruins states – he was content to know what ruined families.'[40] Richard begins to narrate an anthology that he has written, not only about newlywed Maria Roberts, but also his various friends and acquaintances around London. Richard's first story, 'Young Mrs. Roberts' Three Christmas Dinners', demonstrates Richard's status as 'a man about the town' and 'expert' in household affairs.[41] He guides Maria Roberts as she learns how to manage a household, a child, and finances soon after marriage. Maria's obsession with material goods and impressing fashionable dinner party guests comes to a halt when it is discovered her husband owes his employer money. Maria asks Richard to sell a few pieces of her goods to become debt free. After this event, Maria, along with the reader, learns the advantages of being frugal with one's money

[40] Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.' in *The Edinburgh Tales* ed. by Christian Isobel Johnstone, 3 vols (Edinburgh, London, and Dublin: William Tait; Chapman and Hall; and John Cumming, 1845-6) I, p. 7.
[41] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 1.

and rejects the fashionable commodities she could not afford. Although Richard is seen as the protagonist and hero of the story, his guidance and facilitation of Maria's request display his role as mentor or 'fairy-godmother' to the newlywed.

Richard Taylor is introduced as the hero of Johnstone's story, but the reader quickly learns that he does not want this title. His rejection of the term demonstrates an attempt to redefine the masculine 'hero' for a Victorian audience. At first, Richard's tragic background connects him to heroes in other forms of fiction. Johnstone reveals that Richard's mother died when he was young and his father committed suicide after being 'involved in disgrace, as well as pecuniary difficulty'.[42] Richard and his brother are suddenly orphaned at a young age in a similar way to heroes and heroines of eighteenth-century literature.[43] The author redefines the traditional hero by allowing him to reject his title. The narrator explains: 'This was the more provoking to our hero, as if there was one set of men whom he detested more than another, it was heroes. He had suffered by them, and seen others suffer: they were but instruments, it is true.'[44] Although Johnstone refers to Richard as the 'hero' of the story, she also shows how he does not want to be associated with the term. His rejection of the name 'hero' displays a rebuff of the kind of masculinity closely associated with the notion of heroes.[45] Richard's distaste for heroes further demonstrates Johnstone's redefinition of heroics by repealing the masculine connotations of the term.

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[42] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 3.
[43] Several eighteenth-century novels such as *Tom Jones* (1749), *Evelina* (1778), *Cecilia* (1782), and *Emmeline* (1788) involve characters that are abandoned or orphaned.
[44] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 2.
[45] Michael Roper and John Tosh also discuss masculinity's association with the concept of the hero in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 1.

Johnstone not only redefines the idea of a hero in fiction, but in doing so, she also has to redefine Victorian masculinity. She demonstrates different shades of masculinity through the characters of Richard and his brother James. James represents the more narrow modern critical interpretations of Victorian masculinity. Tosh notes that Victorian men established masculinity in the home, at work, and in all-male associations.[46] While Richard is going through his depression, James emphasizes masculinity to his brother: '"You are in better spirits to-day, Richard; you look more yourself. Be a man, Dick, and no fear of us."'[47] James's plea for Richard to 'be a man' displays how depression is not associated with masculinity. James uses masculinity as a force to 'cure' his brother from his mental ailment. James fits Tosh's Victorian male criteria in that he has a home with a wife and children, he works as a solicitor in London, and has male associations through his colleagues. Johnstone's Richard Taylor does not fit Tosh's criteria since he is a bachelor with no family at home (besides his loyal maid, Nurse Wilkes), and he is unemployed with limited male associations due to his copious visits to new wives. Johnstone presents to readers a male hero in the form of Mr. Richard Taylor whose characteristics, such as his single marital status, his unemployment, and his mental breakdown are more commonly seen in feminine characters. This untraditional 'hero' of the story, who is later revealed as not the hero, displays Johnstone's ability to experiment with the short fiction genre, specifically, by dismantling the traditional male heroic narrative.

Studies of Victorian masculinity display the common theme of change in the definition of masculinity throughout the century. Several events and religious movements from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century influenced how masculinity

[46] Tosh, 'Historians', p. 184.
[47] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 4.

was perceived in the private and public spheres. Tosh demonstrates the fluctuating relationship between middle-class men and the home: 'For most of the nineteenth century home was widely held to be a man's place, not only in the sense of being his possession or fiefdom, but also as the place where his deepest needs were met.'[48] One of the ways men's needs were met in the home was using it as a refuge from the outside world. As industry flourished, Tosh notes that jobs became more isolating and took a toll on the social aspect of society. He adds: 'Domesticity supposedly allowed workhorses and calculating machines to become men again, by exposing them to human rhythms and human affections.'[49] Tosh emphasizes the importance of domesticity in the nineteenth century: 'It denotes not just a pattern of residence or a web of obligations, but a profound attachment: a state of mind as well as a physical orientation. Its defining attributes are privacy and comfort, separation from the workplace, and the merging of domestic space and family members into a single commanding concept (in English, "home").'[50] Although both men and women had associations with the home in the first half of the century, Tosh points out a shift in attitudes towards the end. He claims that men's associations with the home became strained when male socialization in clubs and other social spaces became more valued. Moreover, the country's 'time of peace between the 1830s and 1860s' forced men to find more 'adventurous' lives outside of the home where they could fulfill the traditional masculine association with heroism. Tosh continues: 'From the 1870s the view was

[48] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 1.
[49] Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 6.
[50] Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 4.

increasingly heard that domesticity was unglamorous, unfulfilling – and ultimately – unmasculine.'[51]

Ben Griffin elaborates on the changing meanings of masculinity during the nineteenth century demonstrating how cultural phenomena influenced the gender norms. He argues that the French Revolution is largely responsible for redefining masculinity from the eighteenth into the nineteenth century: 'The shock of the French Revolution and the trauma of the war that followed only reinforced these anxieties, prompting the abandonment of the codes of "politeness" and "sensibility" that had regulated eighteenth-century masculinity in favour of new discourses that emphasised "character" rather than "refinement" as the crucial component of respectable manliness.'[52] Another cultural influence that helped redefine domestic masculinity was Evangelicalism. Griffin claims evangelicals promoted the existing separate spheres ideology but their 'urgency' to enforce this idea was new. Griffin takes a religious approach to a similar claim made by Tosh that the home became a refuge for men: 'The home needed to be peaceful to allow a man to contemplate God and to provide him with the peace and love he required to develop his character, so that he could protect himself against the sinfulness of the public sphere.'[53] While Griffin takes a cultural studies approach to display the changing identity of Victorian men, other scholars have defined masculinity through various identities that Victorian men embodied throughout the century.

James Eli Adams's study of manliness and intellectual labour in the Victorian era sorts men into categories and specifically discusses the identity of Victorian male writers.

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[51] Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp. 6-7.
[52] Ben Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 39.
[53] Griffin, p. 41.

The study 'examines the various ways in which male Victorian writers represent intellectual vocations as affirmations of masculine identity.'[54] He declares: 'In this book I explore a contradiction within Victorian patriarchy, by which the same gender system that underwrote male dominance also called into question the "manliness" of intellectual labour.'[55] Adams uses middle-class Victorian writers, such as Carlyle, Alfred Tennyson, Charles Dickens, and Oscar Wilde, to name a few, to illuminate their 'varied rhetorics' and 'models of masculine identity'.[56] Adams categorizes his models of masculine identity as 'the gentleman, the prophet, the dandy, the priest, and the solider.'[57] Adams comes to the same conclusion as other scholars of nineteenth-century masculinity: as the century progressed, 'manliness' became separated from domesticity.[58] But his study differs from others mentioned above in that he discusses the theatricality of Victorian masculinity. His book's title, *Dandies and Desert Saints*, 'points to the importance of this anxious conjunction of discipline and performance'.[59] He adds: 'Under the conjoint authority of Evangelical faith and romantic subjectivity, early and mid-Victorian norms of manhood construct an ideal of essential selfhood that repudiates self-consciousness as a mark of theatricality.'[60]

These studies of Victorian masculinity attempt to demonstrate the different types of men that occupied Britain in the nineteenth century. However, they also reaffirm the troubling separate spheres ideology. Instead of envisioning masculinity as isolated

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[54] James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 2.
[55] Adams, p. 1.
[56] Adams, p. 2.
[57] Adams, p. 2.
[58] Adams, p. 10.
[59] Adams, p. 10.
[60] Adams, p. 10.

moments in history, from the mid-eighteenth-century 'man of feeling' to the mid-nineteenth-century man of commerce, Johnstone's Richard Taylor, whose traits align with many variants of historical masculinity, helps modern readers visualize masculinity as a continuous evolution of ideals. Although 'Richard Taylor' is set in the early-Victorian period, his more feminine traits and his lack of interest in commerce are reminiscent of the sentimental 'man of feeling' model most famously represented by Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771). The separate spheres ideology and repetitive scholarly discourse of Victorian masculinity has forced readers to stereotype the nineteenth-century man. Bradley Deane asserts that when 'asked to describe the Victorian ideal of manhood, most of us would probably conjure an image from the middle of the nineteenth century […] an earnest, mature, hard-working, morally upright pater-familias, frock-coated'.[61] But the stereotypical assumption that Victorian men were unassociated with the home is damaging to our modern interpretation of the period. 'The importance of family relationships to masculine identity,' Deane says, 'has long been obscured by the inertia behind the stereotype of separate spheres, the starkly gendered division between masculine public activity and the feminine sanctuary of the household.'[62] April London describes the ideal of the Man of Feeling as 'passive effeminacy,' but this type of masculinity bears more than a likeness to femininity.[63] As Michael Rowland argues: 'Henry Mackenzie's popular novel, *The Man of Feeling* presents a version of masculinity in its hero Harley that challenges and subverts dominant ideas of stoicism and rationality often attached to maleness in the

[61] Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 4.
[62] Deane, p. 5.
[63] April London, *Women and Property in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 67.

eighteenth century.'[64] Both Richard Taylor and *The Man of Feeling* challenge the eighteenth-century idea of masculinity, as they 'explore failure in ways that enable more fragile forms of masculinity to be imagined'.[65] Richard Taylor's failure in his career is the catalyst that changes the trajectory of his life and his identity. The depression Richard Taylor battles after his failure, and his brother's encouragement to 'be a man' as a cure for his mental health issue, signals that failure for men correlated with a loss of masculinity. Moreover, Richard Taylor aligns with *The Man of Feeling's* main character, Harley. Rowland states: 'Harley is queer in the sense that he embodies the social order's death drive – refusing the accumulation of capital and the progress of commerce'.[66] Richard Taylor's rejection of capitalism appears when he abandons his career as a merchant to reform housewives. Although his decision to become traditionally unemployed manifests as a personal preference rather than a dismissal of capitalism, he chooses his own happiness over the economic prosperity of the country. Later, I will discuss how Richard Taylor does not have an employer, but as a guide to housewives, he is indirectly contributing to the success of individual families and they directly provide wealth for the nation. This indirect capitalism demonstrates how Richard Taylor also reflects the traits of a nineteenth-century male.

After the Man of Feeling, another model of masculinity in the British literary canon is portrayed through Walter Scott's heroes. Like Harley, Scott's heroes are unusual but their strangeness is in the form of passivity, an untraditional trait for a hero. Alexander Welsh's study of Scott's heroes acknowledges the author's awareness of his passive heroes.

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[64] Michael Rowland, 'Shame and Futile Masculinity: Feeling Backwards in Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*', *Eighteenth Century Fiction*, 31.3 (Spring 2019), 529-48 (p. 529).
[65] Rowland, p. 531.
[66] Rowland, p. 534.

'The hero of the Waverley novels,' Welsh argues, 'is seldom a leader of men. He is always a potential leader, because of his rank as a gentleman. He represents, however, a social ideal, and acts or refrains from acting accordingly to the accepted morality of his public.'[67] Like the Man of Feeling, Scott's heroes are surprising in that they act against societal expectations. Welsh explains that Scott's protagonists are contrasted to traditional heroes who 'save the day' and rescue their love interests. Welsh elaborates on what makes Scott's heroes different: 'He [Scott's hero] is a victim, at the mercy of good and bad agents alike. He never aspires to property, nor actively courts the heroine. But he does not remain a victim, and he receives the heroine and the property in the end.'[68] Although Scott's heroes are passive, they still receive the same outcome as traditional heroes. Welsh claims this passivity is linked to the hero's morality: 'His [the Scott hero's] nearly complete passivity is a function of his morality – the public and accepted morality of rational self-restraint.'[69] Interestingly, Deane has noted that self-restraint and self-discipline are traits of a mid-century Victorian man. Since this character trait appears in both the early and mid-nineteenth century, it demonstrates how transitioning from one decade to another created a space for different variants of masculinity to appear.

After Johnstone's Richard Taylor, depictions of different types of men continued to be represented in literature. In *Queer Dickens: Erotics, Families, and Masculinities* (2009), Holly Furneaux demonstrates how a few male characters in Dickens's canon display characteristics which contradict the single definition of a Victorian man: 'These desires, as they are expressed in Dickens's work, include the yearning not to reproduce but

[67] Alexander Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels: With New Essays on Scott* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 24.
[68] Welsh, p. 28.
[69] Welsh, p. 25.

to parent, a longing to restore and heal damaged bodies, and a range of non- (or not necessarily) genital physical intimacies and tenderness.'[70] The type of 'queer' characters Furneaux describes, which closely align with Johnstone's Taylor, are the characters that display physical connections and affection towards other men. Furneaux says: 'The tenderness of Dickens's men is not only, then, culturally eroticized, it also enacts a queer touch, destabilizing classed preconceptions of the Victorian male, reaching out to unaccounted, more gentle masculinities.'[71] While Richard Taylor does not demonstrate intimacy with another man besides his brother, he does show sympathy and an emotional connection with the acquaintances he describes in his anthology. The critic claims the male characters from Dickens's *Bleak House* (1853) and *Great Expectations* (1861) are 'a critique of masculine violence, celebrating the gentle possibilities of even the most militaristic male'.[72] Furneaux uses the character George Trooper from *Bleak House* as an example of 'masculinist heroics' combined with 'the man of feeling'.[73] Like Richard Taylor, George is a bachelor, and this label, Furneaux argues, he takes pride in. She continues: 'As well as insisting on bachelorhood George is economically unsuccessful, and at one point financially insolvent; and his most significant, and sometimes eroticized, relationship is with a totally dispossessed man, whose body he nurtures.'[74] George's characteristics as a poor bachelor whose closest relationship is with another man demonstrates Dickens's attempts to display the various types of Victorian men. Johnstone's employment of Richard Taylor in the early nineteenth century and Dickens's use of George

[70] Holly Furneaux, *Queer Dickens: Erotics, Families, Masculinities* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 11-2.
[71] Furneaux, p. 214.
[72] Furneaux, pp. 221-2.
[73] Furneaux, pp. 214-5.
[74] Furneaux, pp. 217-8.

shows the continuous creation of complex mid-century male characters as the century progressed. Richard Taylor's spectrum of masculine traits from many decades shows how one stereotype of masculinity cannot be drawn from a specific period of history.

Victorian Masculinity Through 'Richard Taylor'

Johnstone's short story 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.' first appeared in *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*. The serialized story continued in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1834 when the two magazines merged. Eleven years later, 'Richard Taylor' was republished in Johnstone's *Edinburgh Tales* as the opening story in volume one. Being recycled does not make the story unusual as most of the stories in the *Tales* were also previously published. What does make 'Richard Taylor' unusual from its literary counterparts is its length and unique narrative style. The short story could also be considered a novella as it uses about 150 pages in volume one compared to Gore's 'Maid of Honour' which occupies around 20 pages. 'Richard Taylor's' anthology style with miniature stories within the larger story allows the overall narrative to feel shorter and faster paced when reading. The story's change in narration also allows its parts to resemble different stories. A third-person omniscient narrator introduces Richard Taylor to readers by divulging his history in the first part of the story. When the anthology's miniature stories begin, Richard Taylor begins to narrate the stories based on the acquaintances in his life. The change in narration allows readers to recognize the two parts, the third-person narration and Richard Taylor's narration, as different stories although they are in the same short story. Johnstone's literary connections with Walter Scott give insight into its inspiration. 'Richard Taylor's' anthology style and strange main character is reflected in

Scott's *Chronicles of the Canongate* (1827). Akin to *Canongate*, Johnstone creates an odd main character who is a bachelor and aspiring writer. Both main characters have their histories explained in the first part of the story and then their anthology is presented in the later part. Pam Perkins argues that Johnstone copies and 'corrects' Scott's fiction and use of anonymity to find a resembling sense of his success with the Waverley novels; however, I believe Johnstone intended to use his work for further purposes.[75] Johnstone's similar narrative style but stranger version of Chrystal Croftangry demonstrates her attempt to mimic Scott's mode of writing and improve upon it. Early in her career, Johnstone wrote historical novels in the 1820s which echoed Scott's novels popularized in the previous decade. She also used Scott's novel *St. Ronan's Well* as inspiration for her spin-off *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*. Richard Taylor questioning his own sanity and visiting new housewives displays how Johnstone strove to create a more unusual form of Chrystal Croftangry. Her competition with Scott explains why she begins her *Edinburgh Tales* with Richard Taylor. Since the collection was aimed at young, mid-century readers, she had an opportunity to present Richard Taylor and his uniqueness to readers who may not have encountered Chrystal Croftangry. Not only was Johnstone aiming to out-perform Scott's fictional style, her creation of Richard Taylor also shows her desire to formulate the ideal Victorian man. Richard Taylor provides an alternative image of the stereotypical Victorian man by giving him unusual personality traits such as his bachelorhood, unemployment, and unstable mental state. This story, and others by Johnstone, demonstrate the author's efforts to construct a more feminine variant of the Victorian man.

[75] Perkins, pp. 237, 243.

In his introduction, Richard Taylor is described by the diverse names his acquaintances call him: ‘our poor Dick’, ‘Mephistophiles’, and ‘The Good Genius’ are among them.[76] When narrating his own tales, Taylor is honest about his character and proudly calls himself an ‘old bachelor’.[77] Although one would not consider a bachelor to be the best marriage counselor, Johnstone’s Richard Taylor believes his status is an advantage when providing marital advice and reforming newlyweds: ‘One of the peculiar blessings of an old bachelor and slender annuitant like myself,’ he states, ‘is the power of saying, when the salvation of a friend demands frankness, things that it would frighten a sensible man with a wife and six small children, to dream of uttering.’[78] Taylor considers his bachelor status an excuse to express blunt remarks since he does not have a family to damage its reputation. Although he has never been married, Taylor openly states to his friends whether or not he approves of their new spouses: ‘I cannot, however, pretend that I have been able to approve of above half the unions my young friends are pleased to form.’[79] In his first story, ‘Young Mrs. Roberts’ Three Christmas Dinners’, he explains that at first he approved of the new Mrs. Joseph Greene but was skeptical of his friend George Roberts’ new wife, Maria. He also goes so far as to judge the wives on how they are performing in their new roles. Soon after the Roberts’ union, Taylor offers his domestic advice to Maria and says: ‘The question with me was, did Mrs. Roberts seem a woman likely to profit by elder experience in league with her own; and as I saw no reason to despair of her, but in her energy, activity, and liveliness quite the reverse, I frequently repeated my

[76] Johnstone, ‘Richard Taylor’, I, p. 2.
[77] Johnstone, ‘Richard Taylor’, I, p. 11.
[78] Johnstone, ‘Richard Taylor’, I, p. 30.
[79] Johnstone, ‘Richard Taylor’, I, p. 11.

visits, and always found her busily employed in one useless way or another.'[80] Additionally, Taylor attempts to advise Mrs. Roberts by giving her, and other new wives, 'a small book, printed but not published' entitled *Richard Taylor's Grammar of Good Housewifery*.[81] Richard Taylor does not divulge where his knowledge of domestic life comes from besides 'elder experience'.[82] According to Taylor, his singledom and age are both factors that make him qualified to advise newly-married women. He also claims: '"But I understand all the exigencies of domestic life. I can allow for washing-day, and comprehend the sweeping of the chimneys."'[83] Johnstone creates a plot hole by not explaining Richard's experience in household duties. His background as a student and merchant, as described in the introduction to Richard's anthology, does not seem to offer likely circumstances for him to learn 'all the exigencies of domestic life'. But his knowledge of domestic issues, wherever it comes from, does show Johnstone's attempts at making Richard appear more feminine. As Tosh's criteria stated, a family at home is part of the definition of Victorian masculinity. Since Richard does not spend time at home with a wife and children, he spends more time with newlyweds. His single status allows him to share his expertise with women and propels the idea that Richard is a man who has a different masculine identity than the traditional Victorian man that scholars describe.

Contrary to social norms, and to his brother's disappointment, Richard decides to transition from a world-travelling merchant to a domestic reformer. Richard's new status as an unemployed gentleman gives him time to visit new housewives in a similar way that women paid each other visits during the day. After his business reputation is restored,

[80] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 14.
[81] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 8.
[82] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 14.
[83] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 8.

Taylor 'resisted all such proposals' to become a merchant again although 'he now looked as well in health and spirits, and as fit for labour as any man; walked a dozen miles a-day, and slept, in his own phrase, like a boy after a supper of bread and milk.'[84] Richard's restored physical and mental health persuades his brother, James, to urge Richard to enter into business again. However, Richard informs his brother that he is to become a 'Reformer' but James does not approve: ' – and he would denounce Richard's *selfish*, narrow, *idling*, scheme of life, epithets at which his brother only smiled, denying idleness: there was not, indeed, a busier man in London, or one who saw, observed, and noted more, than Richard Taylor.'[85] James's persistence for Richard to work again reflects Norma Clarke's argument that unemployed men became associated with 'feminine social roles'.[86] This further demonstrates James's Victorian masculine values and worry that his brother will be considered a feminine unemployed man who recently had a mental breakdown. Despite these associations, Richard becomes very well-known throughout London by regularly visiting the British Museum, butcher markets, and picture and book auctions. People begin to refer to Richard as the 'Gentleman about town'.[87] In addition to his appearances around London, Taylor decides to offer his domestic talents to women: 'I am a domestic, an in-door reformer. Could I once proselytize all the women and children, I doubt not but I should soon wield the fierce masculine democracy, as far as I wish.'[88] The above passages display Richard's gender duality. The public considers him a 'Gentleman about town' but he also has a reputation for assisting new housewives with their domestic

[84] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 6.
[85] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 7. (original emphasis)
[86] Norma Clarke, 'Strenuous Idleness: Thomas Carlyle and the man of letters as hero' in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 25-43 (p. 39).
[87] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 1.
[88] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 7.

needs, thus displaying the ability to live in both the public and private circles of society. Additionally, he wants to reform women and children with his 'fierce *masculine* democracy' (my emphasis). Johnstone uses these gender balanced passages to demonstrate Richard's combination of masculine and feminine qualities. His success as a reformer is due to his ability to network with people throughout London as the narrator notes: 'His circle took in both extremes of society, and all that lay between them.'[89] His connections in the public enable Richard to become more intimate with families and they invite him into their homes. Although his advice to housewives is mainly economic, the newlyweds value his guidance in the form of knowledge from inside and outside of the home.

Richard Taylor's story 'Young Mrs. Roberts' Three Christmas Dinners' provides a case study of his new advisee, Mrs. Maria Roberts. As the story develops, readers learn that Richard's employment as reformer is not active like a traditional hero, but passive as in an advisory role. After a preliminary tour of the Roberts's home, in which the couple sleep in the attic to allow for a drawing room, Mr. Roberts says to Richard Taylor that he 'must come often to lecture his wife.' Taylor contemplates: 'I had a foreboding that the lectures might be required sooner than he anticipated.'[90] Mr. Roberts' open invitation to Taylor indicates that Richard is a feminized character. Mr. Roberts invites Richard to come visit his wife at their home, and since Mr. Roberts works as a financial clerk for Richard's brother, James, his wife will be alone with Richard. This invitation to visit Mrs. Roberts is very similar to the activity of women visiting each other's homes in the nineteenth century. Although women are associated with the activity of visiting, Tosh argues that men also

[89] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 2.
[90] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 14.

took on 'the routine of giving and receiving "calls"'.[91] Once Richard Taylor begins these visits, the reader quickly learns that his main advice to Mrs. Roberts is economic. He informs her that she is spending more money than Mrs. Greene, the Quaker wife and neighbour that Mrs. Roberts envies. Taylor explains to Mrs. Roberts: 'With what you call your limited income, how much comfort and leisure a Quaker family could command; but how much more enjoyment could you command with your accomplishments and taste.'[92] Through this lesson, Johnstone is also teaching her middle-class readers about monetary management. Maria Roberts becomes upset when she realizes how irresponsible she is being with the family's finances and asks Richard what she should do. He responds: 'However unfit I may be to give counsel, I am not the man to hear such an appeal with indifference.'[93] Although he claimed he had 'elder experience' to counsel Maria Roberts, in her moment of need, Richard Taylor admits that he is 'unfit' to give her domestic advice. But he does say that he cannot hear her concerns 'with indifference'. Therefore, he is not qualified to give her advice, but he will give her his opinion freely, however worthy or unworthy. He predicts that '*painful* experience' will be the way Maria Roberts learns how to manage her finances, and after an embarrassing and disorganized second Christmas dinner hosted by the Roberts, Maria becomes more financially conservative.[94] Maria's 'painful experience' at her dinner party demonstrates that although she is being advised by Taylor, she is learning from her own mistakes rather than the 'reformer.' His limited advice helps guide Mrs. Roberts to economic frugality, but Taylor admits that he is unqualified to give her counsel and it is her own missteps that she will learn from rather than her advisor.

[91] Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 124.
[92] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 17.
[93] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 18.
[94] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 22.

Taylor's unemployment and frequent visits to the new wives, which appear to be allowed by their husbands, displays him more closely to be a feminine character that the newlyweds can confide in. Additionally, his position as a frequent visitor of women authorizes readers to question masculinity as well as its stereotypes and qualifications.

The account of Richard Taylor's mental health after losing his career and reputation shows a portrayal of mental depression stereotypically associated with female characters. His brother's support in the form of re-instilling masculinity into Richard demonstrates Johnstone's utilization of dismantling stereotypical characteristics in principal male characters. Richard's depressed mental state appears soon after he loses important business papers: 'Richard had been prepared for ruin, utter ruin; but here there was disgrace, – the disgrace of culpable negligence, – and room for the suspicion of failure in that high integrity which was his pride.'[95] Richard's mental state begins to deteriorate even before he has arrived back in England to face society again. His brother James quickly comes to Richard's side when he returns to port and remains close as he recollects their father's suicide: 'If they walked on the pier, or near the water's edge, James involuntarily grasped Richard's arm, as if he expected him to make a sudden spring and plunge.'[96] Richard never attempts suicide, but the narrator discloses how his mental state drastically affects his physical appearance: 'It was Richard, the silent, moody Richard, whose hair sorrow had suddenly blanched, and whose emaciated person and sunken features told the tale his lips refused to utter, that first entered upon the trying topic.'[97] Johnstone uses bodily metaphors to describe Richard's mental state such as his 'bruised mind'.[98] His brother's presence

[95] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 3.
[96] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 4.
[97] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 3.
[98] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 4.

helps Richard recover and their bond becomes stronger: 'That firm and yet tender heart smote him now as he looked stealthily upon the troubled countenance of his affectionate watchman: smote him for the selfish, misanthropic bitterness, which thus sorely tried the love [of] his best friend, and that friend his only brother.'[99] The relationship between Richard and James demonstrates a close bond between brothers that does not often appear in literature of this period. Their common upbringing and tragic familial history make the two men not only brothers but also 'best friends'.[100] The affection shown by the brothers is mental as well as physical. James keeps information about his wife and children from Richard to save his feelings of guilt in keeping James from his family. Johnstone also depicts physical activity and affection in that James 'would not move a step in any direction, unless his arm was locked in Richard's'.[101]

James's 'strong fraternal affection' to Richard allows them to have an honest conversation about Richard's mental state.[102] Richard asks James to '"tell me I am mad – and that you think so?"' James replies to his brother: '"But, Richard, there is a temporary madness – when men, forsaken of reason, are in a moment guilty of they know not what. On your courage, your manliness, your high sense of man's worth, and man's duty, I have had reliance which should quiet all apprehensions, terribly as you have been harrowed."'[103] James shows support for his brother by explaining that men go through 'a temporary madness'. His explanation demonstrates that James expects Richard's current mental state to be temporary and his suggestion of such shows his attempt to help his brother recover

[99] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 4.
[100] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 4.
[101] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 4.
[102] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 4.
[103] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 5.

quickly. James also aims to make Richard feel blameless for his depression. He says men are 'forsaken of reason, are in a moment guilty of they know not what'. The brother seeks to explain that Richard did not bring his depression upon himself and his current confusion about his position in life is normal for men in this 'temporary madness'. James's efforts to make Richard feel guiltless are echoed in Pedlar's '*The Most Dreadful Visitation': Male Madness in Victorian Fiction* (2006). Pedlar claims that in the nineteenth century there was 'an awkward borderline state' between 'nervous breakdown', and 'actual insanity'. Nervous breakdown, also known as 'breakdown, shattered nerves, broken health, nervous collapse, exhaustion', entered society with 'greater respectability' and therefore 'absolved the sufferer from moral blame'.[104] Johnstone appears to recognize the varying degrees of mental health states and clearly defines Richard's condition as a breakdown rather than 'insanity' from Richard's reply: '"I am not mad, James – I am not the kind of men who run mad. I have purposes in life to fulfil. I shall neither die nor go mad."'[105] Richard's recognition that he is not mad signals to readers that Richard is facing depression, but does not cross into the category of 'insanity.' The most noticeable aspect of James's speech to Richard is his repeated emphasis on masculinity. James reminds Richard of his 'manliness', 'high sense of man's worth', 'and man's duty', but does not define these terms. Pedlar argues that in the nineteenth century 'madness is attributed to women on the basis of qualities and aspects of behaviour that are simply not-male.'[106] James appears to be defining madness as a non-male characteristic since he repeatedly reminds Richard of his masculinity and uses masculinity as a tool to help Richard end his depression. James

[104] Pedlar, p. 5.
[105] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor,' I, p. 5.
[106] Pedlar, p. 14.

pushes a masculine agenda onto Richard in order to 'cure' him from his mental depression. Richard's struggle with mental health and his brother's attempt to reinvigorate Richard with masculinity demonstrates Johnstone's tactic of giving the main character, and also the 'hero', feminine characteristics. Due to short fiction's experimental tendencies, Johnstone is able to play with the male heroic narrative by displaying the varying degrees of masculinity. Richard is said to be facing depression, but denies insanity, which was associated with women. The author's recognition of the many variations of mental ailments aligns with her reflection of different variations of gender, as seen in Richard's character. Her demonstration of changing the hero narrative paradigm is seen additionally at the end of 'Mrs. Robert's Three Christmas Dinners' as Maria Roberts makes her transformation into the actual hero of the story.

Maria Roberts as a Hero

Richard's biographical preface to his anthology and his place as a guide for new housewives insinuates that he will become the hero of 'Mrs. Robert's Three Christmas Dinners' after it is revealed Mr. Roberts owes money to his boss, Richard's brother James. However, Johnstone changes the hero narrative by transitioning Mrs. Maria Roberts from a lost housewife to a more proactive character who is able to save her own family from debt. Throughout the story, Richard Taylor gives economic advice to Maria about how to manage a household budget. Richard disavows her bedroom in the attic to allow more entertaining space for guests, her French clothing, and expensive dinner parties. Richard's monetary guidance allows Johnstone to convey to readers the frivolities of fashion and consumer culture. Richard rummages through Maria's account book to find that she has

recently purchased 'one *irresistible* French summer bonnet and scarf, and an indispensable autumn evening shawl; but as it turned out there were fifty other trifles, bits of lace, and joining lace, morsels of ribbon, scrapes of gauze, gloves, shoes, &c. &c. that came, when summed up, to above £8.'[107] Johnstone demonstrates her sarcasm by using emphasis on the word 'irresistible' and describing an autumn evening shawl as 'indispensable' to mock the superfluous items. At first, Maria attempts to defend her spending by quoting Richard's favourite writer, Leigh Hunt: 'What says he – "I love ornament: all nature is full of it."' Richard responds: '"And so do I, love the ornament with which all nature is full: its colours, odours, forms; all its exquisite beauty, intricate or palpable, universal or minute – cannot be enough admired and glorified…So when you quote Leigh Hunt against me, Maria, in favour of changeful fashions, as well as profuse ornament, you must quote in the spirit."'[108] Richard interprets Hunt's quote as an appreciation of nature's ornaments rather than fashionable or domestic ornaments. Johnstone conveys to readers that ornament of nature should be valued in society over ornament of fashion. Maria's spending habits end when it is discovered her husband owes his employer money. When Richard arrives at the Roberts's residence to discuss this with Maria, she asks him a favour: '"I have a great favour to beg of you: I have a few trinkets," she said: "presents and gifts of one kind or another. It would be such a kindness in you to dispose of them for me, that I may help Roberts so far. There is the piano, too, and other *useless* things"'.[109] This passage demonstrates how Johnstone uses the plot to help unfold her lesson on economic frugality. Although her husband did not approve of Maria selling her goods to help pay his debts, she

[107] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, pp. 19-20. (original emphasis)
[108] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 20.
[109] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 29. (original emphasis)

becomes proactive and uses Richard to sell her items anyway. Johnstone shows readers through this passage that frivolous goods are not essential in the home. This is especially indicated by her emphasis on '*useless* things'. Richard suggests she sell a suit of pearls which he believes will earn enough money to pay off the debt. His opinion of Maria quickly changes after this discussion from economically ignorant to 'an uncommonly clever young woman, – generous, candid, and well-principled, – and most anxious to do her duty, so far as she understands it'.[110]

Richard explains Maria's personal transformation as a housewife who decides to control the fate of her own family. This passage also demonstrates Maria's position as the actual hero of Richard's story. Although Richard gives Maria advice and guides her, Maria actively decides to sell her goods even though her husband disavowed the idea. Moreover, Maria bravely asks Richard for help in selling the goods, most probably thinking that he will be able to bargain for a better price. Since Maria is revealed to be the hero of Richard's story, his place in the narrative becomes a supporting role. He is in a 'fairy godmother-like' position by helping Maria become an economically savvy housewife and also allowing her to learn her lesson though her own mistakes. Her 'generous sacrifice' teaches Maria to appreciate a simpler and less frivolous lifestyle while her husband, 'at first ashamed and angry' at Maria's actions, quickly appreciates her eager dedication to their family and agrees to be more open about their finances.[111] At the Robertses' third Christmas dinner party, Maria is able to host a less expensive gathering with a smaller group of their true friends. Richard declares: 'The spell of fashion was broken – […] and Maria was one more proof that a well-principled character, an intelligent and active mind,

[110] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 30.
[111] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 30.

when its energy is roused, will be found in every circumstance equal to the common duties of life.'[112] Johnstone conveys to readers that the way to a happy middle-class home is through an avoidance of fashion and careful budgeting of finances. Johnstone creates a male main character with female qualities whose undetailed domestic experience does not make him an adequate hero. Instead, his position as a guide or 'fairy godmother-like' character allows readers to re-evaluate what they consider to be a masculine Victorian man. Richard Taylor does not save the day, but he helps the female hero transform into the woman she needs to be in order to save the day. Johnstone's use of Maria as the hero of the story also advocates for women to take more control of finances in the home. Johnstone demonstrates to middle-class families that Maria is not only the hero of the story, but also the hero of her own home.

Shaping Masculinity

Richard Taylor's further stories narrate the lives of other London acquaintances who are more forgettable than his own biography and 'Young Mrs. Roberts's Three Christmas Dinners.' Like Mrs. Roberts' story, Richard intrudes on the lives of his acquaintances Mary Anne, Governor Fox, Miss Fanny Bethel, and Mr. Frankland, but the narrator takes a much more passive role by storytelling rather than being an active participant in the story. While some characters appear to embody traditional Victorianness, others are more queer, in the sense discussed above; however, none of the other stories' main characters are as strange as Richard Taylor himself. In a journalistic style, Johnstone decided to put her most entertaining story first and follow it with less interesting narratives and characters. His

[112] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 31.

second story after ‘Mrs. Roberts’ is ‘Mary Anne’s Hair’, in which Richard Taylor relates the coming-of-age of his goddaughter. As in the story of Mrs. Roberts, Johnstone depicts a woman who has agency and actively sacrifices her famous long hair in exchange for money to pay for her lover’s attorney. As stated, Richard plays more of a storytelling role rather than participating character, but he does step in as a third parent to Mary Anne when her actions come into conflict with her strict parents. Richard’s third story, ‘Governor Fox’ introduces readers to an unlikeable titular character, Governor Fox. He assaults his staff, threatens to tar and feather people, and is described as hating Jews, Frenchmen, Scots, Irish, and Americans. Johnstone’s position towards her character becomes clear when the narrator says: ‘Governor Fox was essentially a humane man – if my readers can reconcile humanity with the exercise of moderate flogging.’[113] Scholars who have studied Johnstone know that flogging, especially in the military, was an important issue for the writer and she even included the scene of a lieutenant flogging his subordinate in her novel *Clan-Albin*. Richard Taylor’s narration in this story reads more as a stream of consciousness rather than an organized narrative. Governor Fox’s story ends abruptly and does not provide an uplifting remark about his friend: ‘–Perhaps I have said too much about my old friend: – but, in spite of his superfluous use of expletives, and frequent reference to his Satanic majesty, there are many worse men talked of in the world and figuring in books than Governor Fox.’[114] Johnstone’s unpleasant character could be a personification of some of the social issues, such as flogging and slavery, which she rallies against in her writing.

Richard Taylor’s fourth and fifth stories are similar to the previous two in that the narrator briefly implants himself into the plots of the short stories. Johnstone’s use of

[113] Johnstone, ‘Richard Taylor’, I, p. 68.
[114] Johnstone, ‘Richard Taylor’, I, p. 92.

intertextuality is confirmed when Governor Fox is mentioned in the next story, 'Little Fanny Bethel', and the titular character 'Frankland the Barrister' is mentioned in Richard Taylor's preface to his anthology. These characters crossing story boundaries demonstrates how Richard Taylor is giving readers insight into his world and showing that the characters do not live in isolation from one another. In Johnstone's only courting story within this anthology, 'Little Fanny Bethel' narrates the maturation of Fanny, a young woman whose brother discovers that the poor artist he thought his sister was falling in love with is actually the heir to an estate. The story is dissimilar to the others in its courting plot, but readers discover Fanny's agency, similar to Johnstone's other female characters, when it is revealed that she knew the two love interests were the same person and went along with her younger brother's meddling to teach him a lesson. Richard Taylor's final story, 'Frankland the Barrister', narrates the later life and death of Mr. James Frankland. Richard Taylor tells Frankland's story from when he met the barrister to Frankland's marriage with Helen Vane. Richard's habit of reforming new housewives is briefly seen again when he narrates his first impression of the new Mrs. Frankland: 'My philosophy, or my cynicism, was melting away under the winning grace of her simple manners, and the sweetness of her voice; but the interview had not closed before it became too evident that this insidious charmer, with all her beauty and amiability, was not the helpmate for a man like my friend.'[115] Just as Richard's remark resembles his character in 'Young Mrs. Roberts' Three Christmas Dinners', Frankland's story also grapples with the devastating effects of fashionable life. Richard Taylor describes the price paid for Mrs. Frankland and other ladies' continual demand for dresses:

[115] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 129.

> Poor things! A dray-horse, or a coal-heaver required less strength of constitution than the damsels on Madame Royet's staff, at this busy season. The little girl of whom I speak, soon became sickly, consumptive, and distorted in the spine, and dropped into the grave before she was twenty, still regretting to me, on her deathbed, that Mrs. Frankland had the misfortune to have gone out on that day.[116]

Johnstone's aggression towards consumer culture becomes more dramatic than demonstrated in 'Young Mrs. Roberts' Three Christmas Dinners'. Richard Taylor narrates the subplot of a dressmaker who died after working so hard to get dresses ready that 'were so required for Church and Park'.[117] Johnstone creates a character to embody and become an example of the arduous effects of fashionable consumption. Furthermore, this subplot and other non-narrative parts of Richard's story demonstrate his diary-like writing. At several moments in the plot, the narrator breaks away from storytelling and begins to reveal his personal feelings on certain topics. In one stream of thought, Richard shares his feelings on morals: 'Why not at once dethrone the proud usurper, Intellect, and instal [sic] Virtue in what ought to be her own high place? Why not proclaim Goodness as the supreme on earth, and Genius as not more than her noblest minister? [...] But leaving this grand moral revolution – which might place a gray-haired peasant above a court preacher […]– I must return to my friend.'[118] Richard's frank ending shows his thoughts wandering from narration to a discussion of morals. His opinions demonstrate an urge to value character over intellect in Victorian society. Taylor's insight on character echoes Johnstone's efforts to demonstrate what a Victorian man's character should and should not be. While Richard Taylor's kindness towards Mrs. Roberts is an amiable quality, Governor Fox's malice and Mr. Frankland's consumerism are clearly described by the author to be unfavourable.

[116] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 132.
[117] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 132.
[118] Johnstone, 'Richard Taylor', I, p. 135.

Johnstone, as elsewhere in her oeuvre, expounds on her idea of the various shades of masculinity. Her array of male characters demonstrates the inaccuracy of Victorian stereotypes as the men encompass various personalities; however, Johnstone's descriptions of unlikable characters tells readers the specific characteristics a Victorian man should have.

Johnstone attempts to shape the middle-class Victorian man in her *Tait's* article 'What Shall We Do With Our Young Fellows?' (1834) where she gives career advice to middle-class men who are trying to find their paths in life. Her instructions detail the type of characteristics young men should acquire to succeed in their careers. Like Richard Taylor's 'Mrs. Roberts' story, she combines the topics of masculinity and economy. Johnstone's opening question asks: 'What shall we do with our young fellows? That is, how shall we place our genteel young fellows out in the world, giving them a pursuit which will at once accord with their feelings, and provide for their wants?'[119] More specifically, Johnstone asks how men in the newly formed middle class shall find their way in society. As opposed to upper-class men who inherit estates, middle-class men have a harder time finding a place for themselves once they reach adulthood. Johnstone writes: 'Thus, then, we have briefly sketched the nature and cause of the exigency in question, viz: –That the class is greatly increased, who, whether they have, or have not, adequate private fortunes, think themselves above their pursuits which are proper to the great mass of middle-class society, –and claim for themselves a profession which combines distinction and profit.'[120] She suggests that since there is not a clear path for middle-class men to follow when they

[119] Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'What Shall We Do With Our Young Fellows?', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 1 iss. 8, September 1834, 527-30, (p. 527).
[120] Johnstone, 'Young Fellows', p. 529.

reach adulthood, they often reach too far above their station. Then Johnstone suggests a solution to lost middle-class British men: '– English commerce is paramount, and without a rival in the world; and besides its other great functions, the great means of carrying forward the most noble and gratifying of all purposes – that of communicating to the remotest and most abject nations the blessings of civilization and liberty.'[121] She suggests middle-class men join commerce as a career and makes the profession appear as a patriotic duty by saying commerce is a 'blessing[s] of civilization and liberty'. She continues by arguing that although men should not initially aim for a profession above their station, they can gradually raise their economic status through hard work. Johnstone claims: 'To such a one I would say, – The secret of raising yourself from your subordinate situation is simply this: Make yourself useful, necessary to your employer, and capable of higher functions; the result will be certain and rapid promotion.'[122] Johnstone demonstrates that men can change their economic class by becoming useful to their employers and gaining promotions. Her use of combining masculinity with economy shows how she associates male identity with having an occupation. More specifically, a Victorian middle-class man should have a career in British commerce and through hard work obtain a higher station. This characteristic is the opposite of Johnstone's example of the unusual and unemployed Victorian man Richard Taylor. Although Taylor did not have traditional employment, he was employed with the task of assisting new housewives and maintaining their household economically. As discussed earlier, Richard Taylor gave Maria Roberts advice on controlling a budget for her family's household expenses. Then, when her husband is in debt, Taylor helps Maria sell her pearls to ease her husband's liability. Richard Taylor's

[121] Johnstone, 'Young Fellows', p. 530.
[122] Johnstone, 'Young Fellows', p. 530.

employment allows him to support new families and ensure they maintain income and employment to keep the country's economy running smoothly. Therefore, Taylor's employment is not traditional but it does occupy him in a way that is advantageous to his friends and community.

Johnstone demonstrates that employment of some form is valuable in a man. She also shows readers the traits that are unfavourable in a Victorian man. Johnstone uses a different technique in her other short story, 'Violet Hamilton; or, The "Talented" Family' (1846) to display the antithesis of her ideals of masculinity. 'Violet Hamilton' was first published in *Tait's* and serialized from January 1840 to November 1841.The story ridicules fashionable characters and particularly aims her dislike towards dandies. Re-published in the second volume of *The Edinburgh Tales*, the story follows Violet Hamilton, an orphan who is taken in as a pupil to the musically gifted Cripps family. Like 'Richard Taylor,' the story is a long short story and occupies over 200 pages in the second volume. Violet, who the Cripps rename Mademoiselle Gabrielle, joins the family in their move to London and meets the Cripps's dandy son, Jack Quintin. Upon meeting the eldest Cripps in London, Violet remarks:

> Every point about him – person, features, and equipments – appeared the very caricature of exaggerated low dandyism: his mother's large nose – not Roman, but approaching the order – was in Jack enlarged to absurdity; an eyeglass, fixed permanently in his left eye, could not conceal a comical, rather than disagreeable, obliquity of vision; and from the bristly jungle covering the most of his face, those features looked fiercely forth, the whole crowned by the admired and studied disorder of a redundant fell of coarse black hair.[123]

[123] Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'Violet Hamilton; or, The "Talented" Family' in The *Edinburgh Tales* ed. by Christian Isobel Johnstone, 3 vols (Edinburgh, London, and Dublin: William Tait; Chapman and Hall; and John Cumming, 1845) II, p. 201.

Johnstone echoes the exaggerated features of dandies that were often drawn in newspaper cartoons of the time.

J Le Petit, *A group of well known dandies/ A group of would-be dandies*, c. 1820, hand-coloured etching, 342 x 246 mm, British Museum, London.

The cartoon held at the British Museum entitled *A group of well known dandies/ A group of would-be dandies* (shown above) from around 1820 displays the 'enlarged' noses Johnstone refers to in her story as well as the full head of 'coarse black hair'. Violet also describes Jack Quintin's 'embroidered satin cravat, the ditto waistcoat, the snip-tailed, amber-coloured coat, the French *bootikins*…and the badge of the order, the yellow (soiled) gloves.'[124] Johnstone's depiction accurately echoes the cartoon in which the dandies are

[124] Johnstone, 'Violet Hamilton', II, p. 201. (original emphasis)

seen wearing yellow gloves. But the dandy's appearance is not the only exaggeration Johnstone emphasises. During their first conversation, Jack Quintin says to Violet: 'Chawming mawning this, Ma'm'selle!'"[125] Johnstone phonetically writes Jack Quintin's accent to amplify his forced dandy persona. The narrator mocks his accent as he says: '*Parr-k* with a running fire of r's like a Norman or Northumbrian'.[126] Jack Quintin's father, Mr. Cripps notices his son's new façade and says to him: 'Have you forgotten how to speak English since you came to London, Jack […] Say *Park,* if you please, sir, and leave under-bred persons to establish their claims to fine breeding by slang and superfine pronunciation.'[127] His accent perpetuates Johnstone's caricature of the dandy for her readers' amusement. Through Mr. Cripps' correction of Jack's accent, Johnstone highlights the inauthenticity of dandyism. She articulates how Jack's persona was recently acquired upon his move to London and is not his authentic self. Her amusing attacks at Jack display her disapproval of the dandy appearance and deception. This character, like Governor Fox and Mr. Frankland, is an example of the dislikable Victorian man that Johnstone is attempting to dissuade her readers from embodying.

The drastic difference between her male characters indicates that the tone of Johnstone's 'Richard Taylor' is genuine despite his strange personality traits appearing as comedy. Taylor is a proud bachelor, traditionally unemployed, and spends his days with new housewives – quite some distance from the images of Victorian men familiar today. His rejection of heroes and his mental health problems associate him with feminine characteristics, but he is not completely unmasculine. I contend that Johnstone asks readers

[125] Johnstone, 'Violet Hamilton', II, p. 202.
[126] Johnstone, 'Violet Hamilton', II, p. 203.
[127] Johnstone, 'Violet Hamilton', II, p. 203.

to consider a different type of masculinity that could live in her world. Opposed to Richard Taylor, Johnstone's male characters from other stories are strikingly flawed. Taylor's acquaintance Governor Fox is openly racist and threatens his household staff while Mr. Frankland indulges in consumerism. Johnstone's exaggerations of Jack Cripps's dandy appearance and new accent signals to readers that he should not be emulated. Johnstone does not show flaws in Richard Taylor, but highlights his oddities which make him different from traditional Victorian society. The array of flaws and virtues in male characters allow Johnstone to create her own image of the ideal Victorian man: sensitive, non-consumerist, non-dandy, and contributing to the community around him.

Chapter Two

‘A Great Intuitive Genius’: Catherine Gore and the Evolution of a Literary Career

In May 1846, William Makepeace Thackeray said of Catherine Gore: ‘How does she come by her knowledge is the wonder. She knows things which were supposed hitherto to be as much out of the reach of female experience as shaving, duelling, or the bass viol.’[1] Thackeray’s comment came after the publication of her *Sketches of English Character* (1846) in which she depicts the lives of nineteenth-century British citizens in a series of short narratives. These were created by either ‘patient consequence of labour or the brilliant result of a great intuitive genius,’ Thackeray said admiringly.[2] Despite such praise, Gore is often classified today as a silver fork novelist and largely sidelined by literary history. The silver fork novel, or fashionable novel, was a popular genre of literature from the 1820s to 40s. Writers of silver fork fiction were usually from, or appeared to belong to, the London upper classes, and their novels depicted the social and material culture of aristocratic urban life. The subgenre started with primarily male writers then evolved into a female dominant literary circle. These authors, including Lady Blessington, Lady Charlotte Bury, and Catherine Gore, used publisher Henry Colburn to have their works enter a primarily middle-class marketplace.[3] Despite Gore’s vast output of sixty novels, in addition to manuals and plays, her name in the literary canon was soon forgotten after her death.[4] Gore

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[1] William Makepeace Thackeray, ‘Sketches of English Character’, in *Thackeray’s Contributions to the* Morning Chronicle, ed. by Gordon N. Ray (Urbana and London: University of Illinois Press, 1966), pp. 139-142, (p. 139).
[2] Thackeray, p. 140.
[3] Winifred Hughes, ‘Silver Fork Writers and Readers: Social Contexts of a Best Seller’, *Novel: A Forum on Fiction,* 25.3 (1992), 328-47 (p. 329).
[4] Molly Englehardt, ‘“Novelist of a New Era”: Deepening the Sketch of Catherine Gore’, *Victorian Review,* 42.1 (Spring 2016), 65-84 (p. 65).

has reappeared in literary scholarship in the last few decades, mostly regarding her most successful novel *Cecil; or, the Adventures of a Coxcomb* (1841). Although fashionable women writers were criticized for not understanding the Regency dandies they wrote about, Gore proved her ability to do so with the success of *Cecil*. I argue that her reputation for writing silver fork novels, as well as plays, short fiction, historical novels, and more, demonstrates her ability to adapt to the most recent literary trends of the transitional early nineteenth century in order to maintain her popularity as the century progressed. Gore's ability to transform her narrative voice from a female author to her dandy Cecil Danby shows how she was able to defy silver fork critics while also maintaining feminine propriety by keeping authorship of the novel anonymous.

The Life of Catherine Gore

Gore's progress from humble beginnings to the upper echelons of London society allowed her to use her surroundings as inspiration for her silver fork novels. From the 1820s to the first half of the 1830s, Gore established herself as a writer by continuously producing work in various genres and teaming up with one of London's most infamous publishers. Catherine Moody was born in London in 1789, the daughter of Charles Moody, a wine merchant. When her father died, her mother remarried a London surgeon. Gore spent three years of her childhood with her mother's cousin, Lady Frances Wentworth, where she received 'an early familiarity with titled nobility,' as Winifred Hughes has said.[5] She married Lieutenant Charles Arthur Gore in 1823 and they had ten children together, but only two survived. Hughes argues that after Gore's early historical fiction in the 1820s, she

[5] Winifred Hughes, 'Gore [née Moody], Catherine Grace Frances (1798-1861)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* < https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11091>, pp. 1-2.

'came into her own' with her silver fork novel *Women As They Are, or Manners of the Day* (1830). The novel was a catalyst for her silver fork career, and the publisher Henry Colburn helped establish her name in the literary marketplace. As Hughes claims: 'The Colburn formula, which Gore perfected, called for scenes of aristocratic high life, set in the Regency or its aftermath and tailored to the expectations of an emerging middle-class readership.'[6] *Mothers and Daughters* (1831), *Pin Money* (1831), and *The Hamiltons* (1834) were Gore's best-known works of the early 1830s, alongside which she wrote short fiction, plays, and periodical literature during her career. Hughes argues that Gore 'seems to have been the chief breadwinner' for her family and attributes her literary success to being 'professional and a shrewd businesswoman, alert to the commercial aspects of publishing'.[7]

In the latter half of the 1830s, Gore was an established author. Her family's move to Paris inspired her to write her mature novels and led to her most notable work of fiction, *Cecil*. In 1832, Charles moved his family to Paris and the family remained there for eight years. Catherine was able to continue writing while socializing amongst fashionable Parisian society. Hughes considers *The Diary of a Désennuyée* (1836), *Mrs Armytage, or Female Domination* (1836), *Memoirs of a Peeress* (1837), and *The Cabinet Minister* (1839) as some of her most notable works of the time, and suggests that most of the popularity surrounding Gore's *Cecil* can be attributed to the speculation around its anonymous author. She says Thackeray and Benjamin Disraeli were two authors often rumored to be its writer. Despite the gossip from the public, Hughes claims the novel was not as successful as expected: 'Perhaps the wit, cynicism, and highly reproachable conduct of the dandy made

[6] Hughes, 'Gore', pp. 1-2.
[7] Hughes, 'Gore', pp. 2-3.

it too provocative a mix for an early Victorian audience.'[8] However, the novel went into several editions and Gore produced a sequel, *Cecil, A Peer* in the same year.

In Gore's late career, she continued producing a wide range of writing in different genres. After her death, as Hughes notes, her credibility was challenged by the public, but her obituaries gave her very favourable descriptions. Gore's later literary output includes novels and sketches while she also contributed to Christian Isobel Johnstone's *The Edinburgh Tales* (1845-6). Gore spent much of her time in Paris or Brussels, but after her husband died in 1846, she moved back to Great Britain and lived in Hampshire with her daughter. In 1855, Gore lost most of her fortune, around £19,000, when her bank failed. Hughes explains: 'Strangely enough, she had plotted an almost identical scenario, involving a fraudulent banker, in *The Banker's Wife, or, Court and City* (1843), which she had dedicated to her personal banker and trustee, Sir John Dean Paul, who was then engaged in cheating her along with the other depositors.'[9] Gore lived the last years of her life blind and died in Hampshire in 1861. Without knowledge of her early life, the public questioned her credibility as a member of upper-class fashionable society. However, as Hughes says, many obituaries praised Gore as a novelist and socialite: 'All the contemporary accounts of her career cite the accuracy of her portraits of society, as well as her extraordinary longevity and productivity as a popular novelist.'[10] The longevity critics pointed out exemplifies Gore's adaptable career in which she changed genre and narrative voice to accommodate an evolving reading public. Not only did Gore adapt her literature

[8] Hughes, 'Gore', p. 3.
[9] Hughes, 'Gore', p. 3.
[10] Hughes, 'Gore', p. 4.

to the tastes of a new generation, but the silver fork subgenre went through a transformation as well.

Silver Fork Novels in Transition

Many academic critics have pointed out how the 1820s-40s were transitional decades between the Romantic and Victorian periods. Richard Cronin describes how Lord Byron – and Byron's death in 1824 – affected the literature written during these decades. Cronin also evaluates the rise of silver fork fiction and how newspapers helped reinforce these novels' commodity culture.[11] Cronin reflects on the many writers who acknowledged Byron's death in their letters and diaries. Bryon's literature was not the only part of his persona to live on after his death. Silver-fork writers, including Gore, embedded Byron into their literature as a character and demonstrated his significance to the Regency society they depicted. Cronin argues that not only did Byron's death effect a major change in the literary marketplace, but this time period also saw the transition of literature into a commodity: 'The commodification of culture is a topic much like the rise of the middle classes: as soon as it is identified it begins a retrogressive journey through the years. It has currently reached the beginning of the eighteenth century. But it was in this period that writers first began to flaunt the status of their productions as commodities.'[12] As I will discuss more in depth, many early nineteenth-century writers were concerned with the effects of consumer culture on society. Cronin uses Byron as a special example of a writer who felt the influence of consumer culture in the literary marketplace. He notes that Byron did not expect payment for his first two cantos of *Childe Harold*, but years later, he wrote

[11] Richard Cronin, *Romantic Victorians, English Literature, 1824-1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 7.
[12] Cronin, p. 11.

to his publisher John Murray asking to be paid for recent works. Cronin says: 'It is predictable, though it may seem odd, that Byron's recognition that poetry was a commodity sharpened in his last years, as he felt that his popularity was waning.'[13] He claims that Byron's later cantos in *Don Juan* also reflect the poet's acknowledgement of a changing society. Cronin adds that Byron's character expresses how much London had transformed since he was there eight years earlier.[14] The shifting society, as seen through the literary marketplace, displayed a change in dominance from Romantic poems to the periodical press: 'Poems once promised immortality to those they celebrated, but this is a role that has been usurped by the newspapers.'[15] Newspapers accelerated the commodification of literature and the readers' feeling of time itself.

The periodical press and silver fork fiction had a very intimate and beneficial relationship during the early nineteenth century. But just as the news expires daily, fashionable novels offered a fast-paced reading experience with a short expiration date. Henry Colburn is cited by Cronin as the publisher who advertised many of the silver fork novels through his own magazine. He argues that Colburn made most of the novels anonymous after seeing the speculation and success surrounding Scott's anonymous 'Scotch Novels.'[16] In another advertising strategy, Cronin claims Colburn used Byron to entice readers by stating that Disraeli's *Vivian Grey* was 'a sort of Don Juan in prose'.[17] Edward Bulwer and Disraeli were 'fervent Byronists', Cronin notes, though he does not mention Gore's fascination with the poet as well.[18] Gore used Byron as a character in

[13] Cronin, pp. 110-1.
[14] Cronin, p. 113.
[15] Cronin, p. 113.
[16] Cronin, p. 11.
[17] Cronin, p. 115.
[18] Cronin, p. 115.

several of her novels, including *Cecil*, where Byron accompanies Cecil around his continental tour, and her short story 'The Separate Maintenance,' where the main heroine meets him at a party. But Byron was not the only early century literary figure to influence this literary trend. Cronin says Scott had an impact on both Colburn and the silver fork writers:

> In its insistent contemporaneity and in its concentration on the ephemeral, silver fork fiction is a reaction against the historical novel, and in particular the novel practiced by Scott. And yet the fashionable novel cannot quite free itself from Scott's influence. The novelists retain, but in a new form, the historical sense that Scott had made central to fiction. They become the historians of the contemporary.[19]

These novelists became 'historians for the contemporary' because, like Byron, they 'daringly refuse[d] to address themselves to posterity'.[20] Cronin suggests this ideology might be one reason why the literary trend only survived around fifteen years, from 1825-1840.[21] Another reason for the subgenre's short lifespan was the shift from late-Georgian to early-Victorian society in which the silver fork writers lived. Cronin adds: 'The novelists often describe their age as marked by an accelerated process of change.'[22] As discussed earlier, newspapers worked with fashionable novels for content and book sales. Cronin notes how similar the two kinds of media became due to their recognition of each other in their writings and their 'ephemeral identities'.[23] In conjunction with the short lifespan of news, Cronin argues that silver fork novels followed suit, moving 'with an unusual rapidity, so that to turn to them after reading a novel by Scott is to experience the equivalent of the

[19] Cronin, p. 117-8.
[20] Cronin, p. 118.
[21] Cronin, p. 118.
[22] Cronin, pp. 118-9.
[23] Cronin, pp. 118-9.

metrical acceleration that one notices when laying down *The Prelude* and picking up *Don Juan*'.[24]

By the 1830s, parody novels began to emerge as criticisms of the fashionable novel. These parody novels, and other silver fork critics, exemplify how the subgenre's consumerist ideals contributed to its demise. Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1833-4) and Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (1848) both mock the literary trend of silver fork novels. Cronin demonstrates how Carlyle uses *Sartor Resartus* as a condemnation of the silver fork novel through his German character Teufelsdröckh, a clothes loving, dandy type.[25] Hughes suggests Thackeray's satire on the silver fork trend manifests from his dislike of the exclusivity associated with the subgenre. She highlights this passage from *Vanity Fair*: 'Dear brethren, let us tremble before those august portals. I fancy them guarded by grooms of the chamber with flaming silver forks with which they prong all those who have not the right of the *entrée*.'[26]

Another satirical writer whose work exaggerated the consumerist values of the Regency era was Thomas Love Peacock. Gore's genre-changing career is reflected in Peacock's transition from poetry to prose in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, while Gore never explicitly states that she was influenced by Peacock, she borrows a phrase from his novel *Melincourt* (1817) to express her feelings toward the reading public. Although Peacock was close friends with Percy Bysshe Shelley, Peacock's poetry never received the same critical acclaim as his friend's. H.F.B Brett-Smith's edition of Peacock's *The Four Ages of Poetry* (1820) indicates the author began to resent the standard for poetry in the

[24] Cronin, p. 119.
[25] Cronin, p. 126.
[26] William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*, ed. by Geoffrey and Kathleen Tillotson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), p. 484. (original emphasis)

early nineteenth century after the *London* critic did not include him as one of the best poets of the age. Brett-Smith's assessment suggests Peacock's discouraging reviews from critics persuaded the author to focus on novels.[27] In their prose, both Peacock and Gore form worlds which mirror the English aristocracy and create characters that satirize the worst personalities from the upper classes. Peacock names his characters in the style of Restoration drama by inserting the characters' functions into their names. For example, he creates Dr. Killquick, the doctor who regularly attends to hypochondriac Mr. Hippy, and Rev. Portpipe who 'often passed the night' with 'three bottles of Madeira'.[28] One of Peacock's satiric characters is Mrs. Pinmoney, a term used to show her eagerness for wealth. Gore also used the term 'pin money' in the title of her 1831 novel about a wife who quickly loses the allowance her husband has given her.

The most memorable character in *Melincourt* is Sir Oran Haut-ton. The 'wild man of the woods' turned baronet was taken in by Mr. Forester and taught to act like an aristocratic Englishman.[29] Sir Oran joins the election to become the MP for the district of Onevote and wins although he made no speech to the district's constituents. Gore also creates exaggerated Regency characters, such as the ignorant spinster Miss Broadsden, in her story 'The Separate Maintenance' which was published in her collection of short stories, *The Fair of May Fair* (1832). Furthermore, Gore and Peacock find inspiration from Alexander Pope as both borrow his phrase 'the many-headed monster' from *The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace Imitated* (1737).[30] In *Melincourt*, Peacock writes:

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[27] See Thomas Love Peacock, 'The Four Ages of Poetry', ed. by H.F.B Brett-Smith (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), pp. xi-xii.
[28] Thomas Love Peacock, *Melincourt* in *The Novels of Thomas Love Peacock*, ed. by David Garnett (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1948), pp. 103-343 (p. 104).
[29] Peacock, *Melincourt*, p. 127.
[30] Alexander Pope, *The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace Imitated* (London and Dublin: George Faulkner, 1737), p. 14.

'The public, the public in general, the swinish multitude, the many-headed monster, actually reads and thinks!!!! Horrible in thought, but in fact most horrible!'[31] The 'many-headed monster' is echoed in Gore's Preface to *The Fair of May Fair*, when she speaks directly to her readers: '– and now, a word or two in exposition of the views and nature of my Public. Yes, many-headed monster! – *mine* or any body's! – Sir Walter is at Naples; – you are to be let or sold; – to be had cheap, like other crazy tenements, on a repairing lease… – you are accused of an aptitude to play the huffing despot among your hirelings.'[32] Gore uses another 'monster' phrase years later in an 1844 *Blackwood's* article, 'The Monster-Misery of Literature'. In Gore's 1832 Preface and her 1844 article, she expresses her anger at circulating libraries and the reading public for regulating the types of literature writers have to produce in order to be published and sold. Although Gore also uses the same 'monster' phrase as Peacock, she does not use it in the same style. That Peacock's 'many-headed monster' conveys sarcasm is confirmed when his character finds it 'horrible' that the public reads and thinks. Gore's berating of the reading public was genuine, and her *Blackwood's* article twelve years later demonstrates the animosity she still carried for the reading public's power to determine what authors wrote. Gore and Peacock's use of Pope's exact phrase highlights the bitterness both authors felt towards reading audiences and how they voiced these frustrations in prose. Despite the evidence of Gore's anger toward her reading audience, her fiction also demonstrates how she adjusted writing styles and contributed to literary trends in order to appease the same audience.

[31] Peacock, *Melincourt*, pp. 280-1.
[32] Catherine Gore, *The Fair of May Fair*, 3 vols (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1832), I, p. v. (original emphasis)

Gore's Literary Transition

Bonnie Anderson has noted that Gore prolonged the silver fork genre's popularity and her career due to her retrospective look on Regency life, as seen in the *Cecil* novels.[33] By publishing her most famous works in the 1840s, Gore brought the Regency back into the minds of Victorians to contribute to the literary trend of retrospection. As Matthew Whiting Rosa put it in his 1936 study of the silver fork genre: 'In 1841, in *Cecil*, she goes back to 1800, and brings the coxcomb actually into the reign of Victoria , but even after a quarter century of the Victorian *milieu*, Mrs. Gore is emphatically of the "twenties," that important and neglected transitional period when most of the Romantics were dying and their successors had not yet appeared.'[34] Gore's Cecil becomes a fictional embodiment of the historic Regency period for Victorian readers. Josephine Richstad adds that Gore also uses the technique of retrospection in her other novels as an attempt to adapt the silver fork genre in the new age of Victorianism. Gore's political novel *The Hamiltons* was written in 1833, then published in 1834, and produced in the popular silver fork three volume set. She then redrafted and republished the novel in 1850 to fit into the literary style of that decade. Richstad says, 'It is therefore not surprising that Gore, a consummate careerist, conducted a sustained reworking of her book to fit a new age by removing dated references, modernizing the punctuation, and excising quantities of dialogue.'[35] Richstad explains that Gore's edits are an indication that she was aligning with a mid-century trend in which novels depicted the recent past, such as Charlotte Bronte's *Shirley* (1849), set in the 1810s;

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[33] Bonnie Anderson, 'The Writings of Catherine Gore', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 10.2 (Fall 1976), 404-23 (p. 406).
[34] Matthew Whiting Rosa, *The Silver Fork School: Novels of Fashion Preceding Vanity Fair* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 126.
[35] Josephine Richstad, 'Genre in Amber: Preserving the Fashionable Novel for a Victorian Decade, Catherine Gore's *Hamiltons* (1834 and 1850)', *Modern Philology* 111. 3 (February 2014), 549-65 (pp. 549-50).

Benjamin Disraeli's *Coningsby* (1844), set in the early 1830s; and Charles Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (1855-57), set in the 1820s.[36] Richstad also notes that Gore uses retrospection again when she compares herself to Jane Austen in the preface to her novel *Pin Money* (1831): 'Exhibiting an attempt to transfer the familiar narrative of Miss Austin [sic] to a higher sphere of society, it is, in fact, a Novel of the simplest kind, addressed by a woman to readers of her own sex; – by whom, as well as by the professional critics, its predecessor, "The Manners of the Day," was received with too much indulgence not to encourage a further appeal to their favour.'[37] Not only does she admit to borrowing from Austen, but Gore also declares she is writing for a specific audience. She states that she is writing 'to their favour' which indicates an effort to appease the reading public rather than her own authorial will. More specifically, Gore's Preface attempts to bring the writing styles of Austen to her upper-class readers in the 1830s. However, Gore fails to address the middle-class readers who were also loyal consumers of the silver fork subgenre. Rosa claims that there are similarities between the two authors in their use of irony and character sketches; but their settings, such as Austen's "provincial society" in the English countryside and Gore's settings in upper-class areas of London, are vastly different.[38] He adds that although Gore attempts to embody the writing styles of Austen, Gore's use of ostentatious words and her advertisements of London consumer culture demonstrate her authorial identity with the silver fork subgenre rather than striving to identify as the next Austen. Rosa concludes, 'She probably felt an intellectual kinship which blinded her to the immense differences between Jane Austen's understanding of provincial society and her own conception of

[36] Richstad, p. 550.
[37] Catherine Gore, *Pin Money*, 3 vols (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), I, n.p.
[38] Rosa, p. 128.

Regency gilt.'[39] Richstad and Rosa's analyses demonstrate Gore's attempts to take literary success from the past and re-package it for a new Victorian readership. This further displays how Gore strove to remain popular in the Victorian age by targeting a new generation of readers and providing them with material released before their time.

Gore's two Cecils allow readers to recall the Regency period and contemplate 'the rapid decline of Regency mores', as Winifred Hughes says.[40] Gore's desire to cease novel writing and pursue a variety of literary modes shows her efforts to shape her career around the developing mid-century literary culture. But not everyone in Gore's literary circle was pleased with her expanding body of work. Gore received literary critiques from her publisher Henry Colburn. But as she diversified her writing, and drifted away from the profitable novel writing, her reviews from him suffered. Englehardt claims Colburn created the *New Monthly Magazine* to guarantee his novels received the best critiques.[41] In its review of Gore's novel *The Banker's Wife* (1843), the *New Monthly* said the following: 'Mrs. Gore has here drawn a picture more moving and impressive to the moral sense than the loftiest fiction of old romance, or the most soul-subduing dream of modern "sentiment."'[42] Gore's novel, published by Colburn, received a rave review. However, Gore continued to experiment with different genres based on the diversity of texts she published in the 1830s and 1840s. She branched out to plays, but did not receive the same reception from the *New Monthly* in its review of *Lords and Commons* (1832). While edited by Gore's silver fork contemporary, Bulwer, the magazine said: 'If, therefore, the

[39] Rosa, p. 128-9.
[40] Hughes, 'Elegies', p. 192.
[41] Englehardt, p. 67.
[42] [Anon.], Rev. of 'The Banker's Wife', *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist, Jan.1837-Dec.1852,* vol. 69 iss. 274, October 1843, pp. 286-8 (p. 287).

accomplished writer of "Pin-money," "Mothers and Daughters," &c. writes for amusement merely, let her abstain from attempting to educe it (for herself we mean) from the regular Drama, but keep to novels, "fashionable" ones, if she must, or philosophical ones, as she may, or (best of all) those pretty-fancy and fanciful tales.'[43] Colburn's magazine helped Gore's novels obtain positive reviews, and theoretically higher profits for Colburn. Tamara Wagner says his novels were 'immensely profitable'.[44] But once Gore deviated from her profitable novel writing, her reviews did not favour her.

Although the *New Monthly* advised her to keep writing fashionable novels, Gore continued to modify her canon. Her tendency to diversification was not new to the nineteenth century as it was commonly employed by Gore's predecessors of the eighteenth century. Charlotte Lennox is mostly known for her novel *The Female Quixote* (1752), but Betty Schellenberg notes that she wrote at least three other novels, poetry, translations, and a periodical called the *Lady's Museum.*[45] In addition, Frances Burney is recognized as a very versatile writer. Burney is best known today as an author of four novels, but she also wrote many plays, although only one made it on the stage during her lifetime.[46] Despite her wide range of literature, Gore is still mainly known by scholarly critics as a novelist. In 1843, Gore won £500 from the Haymarket contest for her play *Quid Pro Quo*.[47] She also wrote several historical novels, including *The Hungarian Tale* (1829) and *Queen of*

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[43] [Anon.], 'The Drama', *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, vol. 36 iss. 133, January 1832, pp. 23-4 (p. 23).
[44] Tamara S. Wagner, 'From Satirized Silver Cutlery to the Allure of the Anti-Domestic in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing: Silver-fork Fiction and its Literary Legacies', *Women's Writing*, 16.2 (2009), 181-90 (p. 183).
[45] Betty Schellenberg, *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 102.
[46] George Justice, 'Burney and the literary marketplace', in *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*, ed. by Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.147-62 (p. 147).
[47] Alan Fishler, 'Drama', in *A Companion to Victorian Literature & Culture*, ed. by Herbert F. Tucker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) pp. 339-55, (p. 341).

Denmark (1846), and sketches such as *Sketch Book of Fashion* (1833) and *Sketches of English Character*. She also wrote a gardening guidebook, *The Book of Roses, or The Rose Fancier's Manual* (1838), which Englehardt says 'is considered a classic today by rose enthusiasts'.[48] The manual received positive reviews in 1838 as well: 'Mrs Gore's elegant book must be a desideratum to all who either admire or wish to cultivate "the Queen of Flowers."'[49] Although it is not known whether Gore read her literary critiques, the diversification of her writing in the 1830s and 40s shows that she was writing according to her own authorial will. She continued to write fashionable novels and expanded her genre repertoire into the 1850s in order to adapt her writing for an emerging Victorian audience. The criticism silver fork literature received from the 1820s into the 50s displays why Gore wanted to shift away from the subgenre and experiment with other types of fiction.

The Reception of Silver Fork Novels

Written during the transition between Georgian and Victorian society, the silver fork genre can be defined by its socioeconomic complexity. Its depictions of aristocratic life were written to entertain two different socioeconomic classes.[50] The societal focus from the aristocratic to lower class audiences can be seen when analyzing the pre and post-Reform Bill culture in which the silver fork novels were written. The term silver fork was first introduced by William Hazlitt in the *Examiner* in 1827. Since the phrase was coined, the silver fork label has described a type of fiction which narrates the lives of those in the upper echelons of society, yet is mainly read by those in lower socioeconomic classes. As Hughes

[48] Englehardt, p. 65.
[49] [Anon.], Rev. of 'The Book of Roses, Or Rose Fancier's Manual', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 5 iss. 57, September 1838, pp. 610-1 (p. 611).
[50] Hughes, 'Silver Fork', p. 329.

says: 'Under such conditions, the act of reading itself became an encounter between classes, a reflection in microcosm of the escalating conflict between an entrenched aristocracy and the bumptious, not to mention curious, orders below.' With two audiences to please, the silver fork novelists were able either to celebrate or satirize the aristocratic culture depending on the reader's point of view.[51] Gore's satire on the aristocracy can be seen in her novel *Cecil* when the main anti-hero describes the relationship between his parents, Lord and Lady Ormington: 'The only point on which they seemed to feel in common, was a detestation of Ormington Hall: perhaps because, at the family place, there was no pretext of parliament or parties to keep them asunder.'[52] Gore satirizes the Ormingtons' aristocratic and carefree lifestyle during the previous decades of the Regency. However, Edward Copeland notes that Gore's novels published after the controversial Reform Bill passage in 1832 create characters from different socioeconomic classes. Two characters he points out specifically, governess Miss Winston from *Stokeshill Place* (1837) and the vicar Dr. Grant in *Mrs. Armytage* (1836), are 'brought forward to teach her young aristocrats, puzzled and thoroughly clueless, about political and social changes in post-Reform Britain'.[53] Although Gore published *Cecil* after the Reform Bill as well, the novel takes place in the early nineteenth century and shows the growth of the middle class from the pre to post-Reform Bill society. For Copeland, Gore's post-Reform characters exemplify the literary changes she made to her fiction as the century progressed. His

[51] Hughes, 'Silver Fork', p. 329.
[52] Catherine Gore, *Cecil; or, the Adventures of a Coxcomb,* 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1841), I, pp. 9-10.
[53] Edward Copeland, *The Silver Fork Novel: Fashionable Fiction in the Age of Reform* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 167-8.

statement that Gore wrote to 'teach her young aristocrats' displays how she developed different types of characters for a new reading audience in post-Reform Act Britain.

Nineteenth-century literary critics criticized the silver fork novel for being too occupied with material culture. Even before these fashionable novels were called silver fork, newspapers expressed their concern about how this consumer culture would affect readers. When coining the term 'silver fork', Hazlitt meant to denounce the subgenre for romanticizing London's consumer culture: 'You have no new inlet to thought or feeling opened to you; but the passing object, the topic of the day (however insipid or repulsive) is served up to you with a self-sufficient air, as if you had not already had enough of it.'[54] Hazlitt argued that early nineteenth-century readers had the power to use print culture as a vehicle for political change during the 1810s and 1820s.[55] However, 'The Dandy School' article displays his fears that fashionable novels are eroding the sympathetic feelings he wanted readers to embody in order to create change. As Gunzenhauser explains: 'Sympathy, in Hazlitt's view, is central to effective readerly judgement and, by extension, to collective political life, because sympathy allows a citizen to imagine multiple and shifting political possibilities.'[56] Hazlitt's article was published in the same year as Lord Liverpool's resignation as prime minister and the dismantling of the Tory party.[57] Hazlitt was expressing his anxiety that fashionable novels were making readers uninterested in politics at a time when parliament edged closer to reform. Hazlitt blamed contemporary writers for the loss of readers' individual opinions and substituting public opinion for them.

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[54] William Hazlitt, 'The Dandy School' in *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt* ed. by P.P. Howe., 2nd edn, 21 vols (London and Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1930-4) XX (1934), pp. 143-9 (p.144).
[55] Bonnie Gunzenhauser, '"A Very Rational Animal": William Hazlitt on the Romantic-Era Reading Public', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 57 (2008), 66-88 (p. 67).
[56] Gunzenhauser, p. 78.
[57] Copeland, p. 66.

Gunzenhauser says: 'Because modern comic writers overlook the individualist strain of identity in order to posit a group identity in which all are defined by "a common stock of ideas," they reduce their audience to, as Hazlitt puts it, "mere readers."'[58] Hazlitt expresses this idea in 'The Dandy School': 'Far from extending your sympathies, they are narrowed to a single point, the admiration of the folly, caprice, insolence, and affectation of a certain class.'[59] Hazlitt argues that fashionable novels are influencing readers to be apathetic towards ideas other than emulating the upper echelons of society. He considers this narrowing of ideas, Gunzenhauser claims, as 'a dangerous unanimity of feeling'.[60] Hazlitt's article shows his fears that readers will be emulating the upper class: ' – so that with the exception of people who ride in their carriages, you are taught to look down upon the rest of the species with indifference, abhorrence, and contempt.'[61] Instead of sympathizing with others, Hazlitt assumed fashionable novels were creating intolerance.

In 'The Dandy School,' Hazlitt voices his anxieties about fashionable novels, but instead of merely criticizing the novels, he also attacks the personal lives of their authors. He switches between chastising the novels and the authors themselves, which blends the two together and persuades readers that the writers exemplified the upper classes they are writing about. However, both of Hazlitt's target writers, Theodore Hook and Disraeli, were born into middle-class families. Hazlitt begins his chiding with:

> It was formerly understood to be the business of literature to enlarge the bounds of knowledge and feeling; to direct the mind's eye beyond the present moment and the present object…Of late, instead of this liberal and useful tendency, it has taken a narrower and more superficial tone. All that

[58] Gunzenhauser, p. 76.
[59] Hazlitt, p. 144.
[60] Gunzenhauser, p. 78.
[61] Hazlitt, p. 144.

> we learn from it is the servility, egotism, and upstart pretensions of the writers.[62]

He begins the sentence by discussing literature, then by the end of the sentence has changed the subject to fashionable authors, linking Hook and Disraeli to the upper classes they write about. Gunzenhauser points out that Hazlitt also switches subjects in *The Spirit of the Age* (1825). In the case of 'The Dandy School', Hazlitt's technique allows readers to re-focus their aggressions easily on the authors and the upper classes. In another sentence, Hazlitt says: 'We soon grow tired of nature so treated, and are glad to turn to the follies and fopperies of high life, into which the writer enters with more relish, and where he finds himself more at home.'[63] Using sarcasm, Hazlitt draws the reader's attention towards the 'fopperies of high life' that they are attempting to emulate. By opposing these 'follies' to the topic of nature, he makes readers feel foolish for wanting to mimic the fashionable upper classes. Hazlitt's efforts to discredit silver fork writers demonstrates his overall attempt to discourage readers from admiring fashionable society.

Hazlitt uses attacks about the authors' personal socio-economic status to weaken readers' sympathies for the writers and their novels. Hazlitt specifically reprimands Hook who had recently published *Sayings and Doings* (1824). Hazlitt says: 'It is well that the Editor of the *John Bull* wrote the *Sayings and Doings*. It solves the problem with how small a quantity of wit a person without character or principle may set up for a political mouthpiece.'[64] Instead of critiquing Hook's novel, Hazlitt attacks Hook's socio-economic status and lack of polite manners. Contrary to the upper-echelon society depicted in their silver fork novels, Disraeli and Hook were born into middle and working-class families,

[62] Hazlitt, p. 144.
[63] Hazlitt, p. 145.
[64] Hazlitt, p. 148.

respectively. Disraeli was the son of a solicitor and had 'a strong dislike of the mundane lifestyle of the English middle classes', in one critic's words.[65] Years after Hazlitt's article, Disraeli became Prime Minister and Queen Victoria did not give him the title of Earl of Beaconsfield until 1876. Hook was born into a working-class family. He was born the son of a musician, and wrote *Sayings and Doings* in a debtor's prison.[66] Hazlitt specifically takes issue with Hook's 'under-bred tone' and how 'the undue admiration of external circumstances breaks out and betrays the writer.'[67] While chiding Hook, Hazlitt also created the term that would define the subgenre: 'he considers it a circumstance of no consequence if a whole country starves: but these privileged persons are not surely thinking all the time and every day of their lives of that which Mr. Theodore Hook has never forgotten since he first witnessed it, *viz*. that *they eat their fish with a silver fork.*'[68] Copeland and Andrea Hibbard explain that silver forks differentiated the aristocracy, who ate their fish with two forks, from the middle class, who ate with a fork and knife.[69] Thus, Hazlitt created the term which highlights the culture he is criticizing: the socially ambitious middle class mimicking the upper echelons of society.

Additionally, while reprimanding Hook and Disraeli, Hazlitt praises Sir Walter Scott. He says, 'So say Mr. Theodore Hook and the author of *Vivian Grey*. So says not Sir Walter. Ever while you live, go to a man of genius in preference to a dunce; for let his prejudices or his party be what they may, there is still a saving grace about him.'[70] Hazlitt

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[65] Jonathan Parry, 'Disraeli, Benjamin, earl of Beaconsfield' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/7689> pp. 2, 27.
[66] Harriet Devine Jump, 'General Introduction', in *Silver Fork Novels, 1826-1841*, 6 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2005), I, pp. ix-xxii (p. xii).
[67] Hazlitt, p. 147.
[68] Hazlitt, p. 146.
[69] Andrea Hibbard and Edward Copeland, 'Introduction', in *Silver Fork Novels*, ed. by Harriet Devine Jump, 6 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005) VI, pp. ix-xxxiii (p. xxiii, footnote 1).
[70] Hazlitt, p. 144-5.

uses Scott as a model writer during the early nineteenth century. However, Scott's political allegiance makes him a hypocritical example for Hazlitt to use. Hazlitt says he is willing to excuse Scott's 'prejudices or his party', yet he is not able to excuse Hook's. Like Scott, Hook aligned himself politically as conservative. Hazlitt is willing to overlook Scott's political preference, but then attacks Hook for touching 'the pathetic with his pen as if it were with a pair of tongs'.[71] Moreover, Hazlitt excuses Scott for his prejudices, 'be what they may'.[72] Yet, he does not forgive Hook and Disraeli for their faults which Hazlitt pointed out as being 'servile', 'egotistic', and 'pretentious.' Hazlitt uses Scott's 'genius' as the prime example of what a Regency writer should emulate. But Scott's similarities to Hook display how Hazlitt's bias towards Scott appears hypocritical. Thirty years after Hazlitt's article, George Eliot would pick up where his criticism left off and express her concerns about how fashionable novels were affecting women in the mid-nineteenth century.

Eliot famously critiqued female silver fork novelists in her *Westminster Review* article 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists' (1856). Her article, written three years before Darwin's *On the Origins of Species* (1859), uses a scientific approach to reprimand female novelists and how they represent the female intellect: 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists are a genus with many species, determined by the particular quality of silliness that predominates in them – the frothy, the prosy, the pious, or the pedantic.'[73] Amy M. King's study on Eliot and science demonstrates that it should be no surprise Eliot uses words such

[71] Hazlitt, p. 145.
[72] Hazlitt, p. 145.
[73] George Eliot, 'Art. VI.-- Silly Novels by Lady Novelists' in *The Essays of "George Eliot" Complete*, ed. by Nathan Sheppard (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883), pp. 178-204 (p. 178).

as 'genus' and 'species' to describe early nineteenth-century female authors.[74] By using these terms, Eliot categorizes 'silly' female novelists as a separate class of females due to their characteristics of being 'frothy', 'prosy', and 'pedantic.' She uses mid-century female authors such as Elizabeth Gaskell, Currer Bell, and Harriet Martineau as examples of excellent literary women who have not received the same harsh criticism as silver fork writers.[75] Eliot raises several other reasons why she disapproves of 'silly' female novelists, including the use of the vernacular and how the silver fork novels represent the female intellect. She notes that female novelists use sophisticated, yet irregular, speech: 'The colloquial style of these novels is often marked by much ingenious inversion, and a careful avoidance of such cheap phraseology as can be heard every day.'[76] Eliot says some readers find this speech, along with the authors' overuse of exclamations, 'pointed and pungent'.[77] Eliot's main concern with 'silly' female novelists is that their novels are influencing readers to imitate the heroines they read about, thereby demeaning the female intellect. She says: 'On this ground we believe that the average intellect of women is unfairly represented by the mass of feminine literature, and that while the few women who write well are very far above the ordinary intellectual level of their sex, the many women who write ill are very far below it.'[78] Eliot explains how contemporary female fashionable readers are acting: 'In the same way very ordinary events of civilized life are exalted into the most awful crises, and ladies in full skirts and *manches à la Chinoise*, conduct themselves not unlike the heroines of sanguinary melodramas'.[79] By examining women in full skirts and manches à

[74]See Amy M. King, 'George Eliot and science', in *The Cambridge Companion to George Eliot*, ed. by George Levine and Nancy Henry, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 175-94.
[75] Eliot, p. 202.
[76] Eliot, p. 187.
[77] Eliot, p. 187.
[78] Eliot, p. 202.
[79] Eliot, p. 191.

la Chinoise, or sleeves in the Chinese style, Eliot is pointing out the consumerist women in society who read these 'silly' novels. Eliot's use of scientific words demonstrates how she considers female silver fork writers a separate, and less intelligent, group of women compared to mid-century writers.

The Reception of Gore's Novels

Eliot's focus on female fashionable writers demonstrates how silver fork fiction was written predominantly by women by the mid-nineteenth century. Literary criticism from the 1830s shows how silver fork fiction started as a male authored subgenre then transitioned into a female led one. With *Cecil; or, the Adventures of a Coxcomb*, one of the most famous silver fork novels, Gore challenged the idea that only men could write about dandies. Jump claims Hook's *Sayings and Doings*, Thomas Lister's *Granby* (1826), and Edward Bulwer's *Pelham* (1828) were some of the novels that started the subgenre.[80] Reviews from Leigh Hunt and William Wallace demonstrate how female authors such as Lady Blessington, Lady Charlotte Bury, Caroline Norton, and Gore gained more popularity in the 1830s. Hunt's favourable review of fashionable novels and Gore in 1832 demonstrates the respect female authors were receiving as silver fork writers. However, his use of masculine pronouns shows how he identifies literary talent as a male characteristic. Hunt says of fashionable novels' marketable system: 'The principle is as fair as it is intelligible: it is applied invariably to every other article of foppery and luxury in this country…and why should the Fashionable novel prove the only exception?'[81] Hunt's

[80] Jump, pp. xii-xiii.
[81] Leigh Hunt, 'Mrs. Gore's Fair of May Fair', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 1 iss. 4, July 1832, pp. 389-98 (p. 389).

defense of fashionable novels shows how the subgenre was targeted by literary critics, as seen in the Hazlitt and Eliot articles. After commending fashionable novels for their efficient commerce, he compares fashionable authors to other artists in trades such as jewellers, upholsterers, and milliners. Hunt points out that in opposition to fashionable novelists, these tradesmen and women do not have their products judged as harshly for their value: 'We cannot, therefore, join in the outrageous outcry against even the humblest of the ingenious artists who labour in this profitable vocation'.[82]

When Hunt mentions these artistic trades, he attaches gendered pronouns to them: the jeweller and upholsterer are a *he* and the milliner is a *she*. The artist Hunt uses in comparison to these trades is not gendered and is used as an inclusive term for these tradesmen and women. But later he attaches a masculine pronoun to the artist:

> When, as in the instance of Mrs. Gore, the artist is evidently equal to the accomplishment of something better and more enduring; when, instead of the fantastic fopperies and contemptible extravagancies of fashionable society, he might give us pictures of general life, and sketches of the first specimens of humanity, one does regret to see him tied down to employment so little congenial to his taste.[83]

Hunt genders 'artist' as masculine, then aligns Gore to a masculine ideal. Hunt insinuates that the talent of an artist, which he connects to literary talent, is a masculine trait. This is also seen earlier in the article when Hunt identifies a novelist as being masculine: 'as the novelist who studies the taste of his customers'.[84] He says the trait of studying customers is a male characteristic. However, Gore understood the struggle of writing to please her audience. In 'The Monster-Misery of Literature' article in *Blackwood's*, she complained of circulating libraries: '"Invent another Vicar or another Crusoe," say the critics, "and you

[82] Hunt, p. 389.
[83] Hunt, p. 390.
[84] Hunt, p. 389.

will see." We should NOT see! No bookseller would publish them, because "no circulating library would take them;" for these bibliopoles know to a page what will be taken.'[85] Gore's article displays her knowledge of the business of publishing. She knew what types of novels had to be written in order for publishers to consider them. Although Hunt is praising the 'clever' author, he is persuading her to leave the female prominent silver fork subgenre and to join a more respected, and most likely male dominated, subgenre.[86] Hunt's article displays the transition taking place in silver fork fiction as women received more recognition for their novels, but with men still being considered the celebrated authors of the subgenre. On one hand, his article is completely dedicated to Gore's work and he recognizes her as an individual literary talent rather than grouping her together with other female writers. However, her literary talent is gendered as masculine and Hunt's idea of an artist is still male.

In an 1836 *British and Foreign Review* article, William Wallace also demonstrated this shift from male to female predominance by recognizing and critiquing the 'lady novelists', but doing so by comparing their work to Bulwer's. Like Eliot, Wallace did not approve of fashionable novels: 'Flimsy or vapid dialogue, made up of certain cant terms relating to Tattersall's, the opera, Crockford's and Almack's […] all these will continue to flourish forth novels of high life, in three volumes, whilst there are people ignorant and foolish enough to be gratified, or duped by them.'[87] Not only does he criticize the entire subgenre, he also insults the readers buying the novels. Although he has a negative

[85] Catherine Gore, 'The Monster-Misery of Literature', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. 55 iss. 343, May 1844, pp. 556-60 (p. 558). (original emphasis)
[86] Hunt, p. 390.
[87] William Wallace, 'Article VII. Pelham; or the Adventures of a Gentleman, &c. &c. &c.', *The British and Foreign Review: or, European Quarterly Journal,* vol. 3 iss. 6 (October 1836) pp. 477-510 (pp. 481).

disposition toward fashionable novels and their readers, he gives a mixture of disrespect and respect for the 'lady novelists' Lady Morgan, Lady Blessington, Lady Bury, Norton, and Gore. In the title of this article, Wallace groups the women into one entity, thereby reducing their significance. Additionally, he names Mr. Bulwer as a single entity and this allows Bulwer to have more merit compared to the female authors. In this context, the word 'lady' appears belittling and affected, as in Eliot's article in which 'lady novelists' are attached to 'silly novels.' He does eventually discuss the 'lady novelists' at the end of his article, though Wallace uses the first twenty-two pages to critique Bulwer while the last eleven pages are used for Morgan, Blessington, Bury, Norton, and Gore. Wallace gives the female authors compliments on their novels, but does so by comparing them to a man: 'Of the distinguished female novel writers of the age, the most like Mr. Bulwer, in all that constitutes intellectual stamina, as well as manner, or a school, is, in our judgement, Lady Morgan.'[88] Wallace's definition of an accomplished writer is one like Bulwer. In order to critique Morgan's own writing skill, he has to involve a male author to compare her writing to. Wallace's comparison displays how literary critics wanted female writers to strive to write like their male counterparts. As seen in the Hunt article, female silver fork writers had to have a masculine quality to their writing in order to be considered successful.

Although Wallace gives the female authors individual compliments, he criticizes the lady novelists collectively for their ignorance: 'Female writers venture to give descriptive and dramatic scenes from clubs and gaming-houses, the morning orgies and afternoon breakfasts…of which they could not, without insult to them, be supposed to know more than they do of what passes in a lodge of freemasons.'[89] Despite this

[88] Wallace, p. 499.
[89] Wallace, pp. 481-2.

contemporary criticism, Gore is known today as a literary figure who could change her authorial identity and shift her career to meet the tastes of the literary marketplace. From Thackeray to modern literary scholars, critics have noted Gore's specific ability to take on a masculine persona.

Gore's Performance of 'Narrative Drag'

As discussed earlier, silver fork critics voiced their concerns that women could not understand the lives of Regency dandies. However, Gore would be praised in the 1840s for her ability to understand the mind of a Regency dandy in *Cecil*. Gore published her novel about dandy Cecil Danby anonymously to maintain what Hughes calls 'an unauthorized intrusion on masculine territory'.[90] Gore uses an autobiographical narrative to convey the thoughts of an old Cecil as he reminisces on his Regency days. Thackeray's praise of Gore in his 1846 article is the opposite of what Wallace said female authors could not do: understand the lives of men. Thackeray says: 'She is so familiar with the bow-window of White's, that you might fancy she had, by special permission, been allowed to take a place amongst the exceedingly venerable dandies there.'[91] Thackeray's remark emphasizes the gender duality that Gore achieved in her writing. This duality is also reflected in the initial purposes of the bow window at the historic London club, White's. Jane Rendell's analysis takes a gender studies approach to the architecture of London's early nineteenth-century clubs. Rendell states that clubs were 'male-only places of upper-class leisure and

[90] Winifred Hughes, 'Elegies for the Regency: Catherine Gore's Dandy Novels', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 50.2 (1995), 189-209 (p. 190).
[91] Thackeray, p. 140.

consumption in west London'.[92] She says that 'the famous "Bow Window at White's"' was installed at White's Club in 1811 when the club was being refurbished. Rendell reports the main entrance hall was taken out and the bow window replaced it by being situated above the entrance. She argues that the window served a dual purpose of demonstrating the club's exclusivity while also wanting attention from the outside: 'The bow window was a place for men to see and be seen.'[93] She adds that later, other clubs copied the architectural feature such as Boodle's in 1821 and Crockford's in 1828.[94] Rendell goes more in depth into the idea of clubs' public and private identities:

> On the one hand, the demand for ground floor bow windows in clubs to provide places of display on the street, suggests a desire that spaces of a private and exclusive nature be made visually accessible to the public. On the other hand, the careful protection of entry to subscription and gambling rooms and their physical remoteness from the street, suggests a social and spatial hierarchy where the most private places are the ones kept most secret.[95]

Thackeray's quotation about Gore and her association with the bow window demonstrates her dual position as a female spectator and a male-like participant. Rendell displays how clubs' exclusivity left out women and other men from their premises: 'In order to define a superior public position for men, patriarchy excludes women, physically and ideologically, from certain urban spaces, while fratriarchy excludes certain groups of men, by establishing allegiances or rivalries of class, politics, sport, and nation from and within specific places.'[96] As a woman, Gore would have been excluded from the clubs and would have been an observer on the streets. However, Thackeray indicates that she understood

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[92] Jane Rendell, 'The Clubs of St. James's: places of public patriarchy – exclusivity, domesticity and secrecy', *The Journal of Architecture*, 4.2, (01 Jan 1999), 167-89 (p. 167).
[93] Rendell, p. 172.
[94] Rendell, p. 172.
[95] Rendell, p. 168.
[96] Rendell, p. 168.

club culture, including the bow window and private spaces, so well that she could have had a place inside 'by special permission' if women were permitted. Her outsider knowledge of London clubs demonstrates how Gore would be able to maintain a feminine identity and her writing appears to be masculine enough that she could have entered the male-only club.

One of the appealing features of the silver fork subgenre for contemporary readers was its ability to narrate fictional storylines that very closely mirrored the real-life aristocracy. Regency dandy George 'Beau' Brummell became an infamous member of the ton and his reputation for fashion, gambling, and connections with famous friends made him an inspiration for several silver fork writers. Matteo Fabbris expresses a widely held view that Brummell was 'the archetypal dandy' in the early nineteenth century. Although he was not raised amongst the aristocracy, Fabbris suggests Brummell's 'refined' fashion sense earned him a position as close friend to the Prince Regent and, subsequently, an infamous figure around the ton.[97] Ellen Moers agrees with Fabbris' definition of the dandy as independent: '…the dandy – a creature perfect in externals and careless of anything below the surface, a man dedicated solely to his own perfection through a ritual of taste. The epitome of selfish irresponsibility, he was ideally free of all human commitments that conflict with taste: passions, moralities, ambitions, politics, or occupations.'[98] Cultural and societal changes, Fabbris argues, sparked by the effects of the American and French Revolutions, saw a shift in values that allowed the dandy to receive societal prestige that

[97] Matteo Fabbris, 'Screening the Dandy: Beau Brummell Between History and Glamour' in *Adaptation, Intermediality and the British Celebrity Biopic*, ed. by Márta Minier and Maddalena Pennacchia (London and New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), pp. 142-56 (pp.143-4).
[98] Ellen Moers, *The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), p. 13. See Fabbris, p. 144.

was based on characteristics other than wealth and title.[99] Moers adds that 'wealth and birth' became trumped by 'style and pose…to justify the stratification of society.'[100]

Brummell's focus on, or obsession with (as Moers describes it), physical appearance and manners demonstrates the performative aspect of the dandy role in society.[101] This performance became easily transferable to literature as Brummell became the inspiration for early silver fork dandy novels. James Eli Adams explains the dandy as 'theatrical' as his day to day life involves performing for 'the audience he professes to disdain.'[102] Moers also demonstrates how dandies, including Brummell, prioritized their appearance: 'The dandy's independence is expressed in his rejection of any visible distinction but elegance; his self-worship in self-adornment; his superiority to useful work in his tireless application to costume.'[103] Brummell was a legendary figure, Moers explains, who became the model for dandies in silver fork novels such as Thomas Henry Lister's *Granby* (1825) and Bulwer's *Pelham* (1828).[104] Lauren Gillingham argues that Pelham broke away from the 'Corsair-styled Byronic heroes' popular in literature of the 1810s seen in Bryon's *Don Juan* (1819-24) and Walter Scott's Waverley novels.[105] The dandy heroes in silver fork novels embraced polite manners and earned a reputation for their constant rotation of women. 'The dandies of the silver-fork school,' Gillingham adds, 'flaunt the increasingly performative bases of gentlemanly status, and prove themselves willing,

[99] Fabbris, p. 145.
[100] Moers, p. 12.
[101] Moers details how dandies spent hours in their 'toilette' preparing their appearance for the day's events. She argues: 'No society ever gave more time, more thought, more pages to male dress than the Regency,' p. 61.
[102] Adams, James Eli, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 21-2.
[103] Moers, p. 21.
[104] Moers, pp. 22-3, 32.
[105] Lauren Gillingham, 'The Novel of Fashion Redressed: Bulwer-Lytton's Pelham in a 19th Century Context', *Victorian Review*, 32.1 (01 Jan. 2006), 63-85, (p. 74).

moreover, to fashion themselves self-consciously as spectacle'.[106] Twelve years after Pelham became the most famous dandy of literature, Gore created Cecil, a literary dandy who mocked the Brummell-inspired manners, performances, and fashions of Regency's past. Gillingham discusses the tenets by which Pelham lives in order to succeed in the upper echelons of society.[107] Gore ridicules dandies through Cecil as he struggles to abide by some of the gentlemanly manners society would expect, such as when he instantly walks away from a woman who has just been sick in front of him. Furthermore, Cecil rejects several love interests in a Brummell-like fashion, as Moers describes, but Gore takes this a step further, and when Cecil tries to rekindle his relationship with them, the women have been killed off from the plot.[108] Gore's ability to write a dandy novel with wit and sarcasm that makes the audience question the values of the Regency era displays her profound understanding of the time period and the major characters who performed within it.

Thackeray's review and the popularity of *Cecil* show how Gore's gender-bending risk was a success. 'With her sarcastic, club-going, peripatetic, womanizing alter-ego, she belies the critical commonplace that novels by women authors were inevitably sentimental, unassuming, and autobiographical,' Copeland and Hibbard suggest.[109] Gore wrote her most famous novel the way literary critics had wanted: like a man. The first-person male narrative allowed Gore to get inside the head of a Regency dandy. Before her name was announced as the author, Copeland and Hibbard report that many attributed her work to Thackeray or Disraeli and it received positive reviews.[110] The *Athenæum* said: 'Who could

[106] Gillingham, p. 67.
[107] Gillingham, p. 76.
[108] Moers, p. 55.
[109] Copeland and Hibbard, p. xv.
[110] Copeland and Hibbard, p. p. xvi.

have expected that "Cecil" would turn out clever enough to have dispensed with such preliminary flourishings?'[111] And the *Examiner* said: 'The writer has also a vein of humorous exaggeration, at which we have laughed heartily, and his picture of high London life could only have been drawn by a thorough proficient in its sordid jealousies and utter want of heart.' Although the *Examiner* writer says the author of *Cecil* is a he, the writer guesses that the author could be Gore, Disraeli, or Bulwer. [112] Additionally, Gore's narrative risk allowed readers to look back at the Regency before emerging into the Victorian period. Copeland and Hibbard consider *Cecil* 'one of English literary history's most brilliant performances of narrative drag' within a 'Victorian sexual economy in which gender roles had become so polarized that they could only be imagined in terms of entirely separate spheres.'[113] Mimicking her dandy's performative lifestyle, Gore dons a male disguise and showcases her own performance as the author of *Cecil.* Gore challenges herself to articulate a male narrative voice in a dandy novel – a subgenre traditionally written by male authors earlier in the century. Her extensive knowledge of the upper echelons of London society, and the dandies who roamed amongst it, allowed Gore to convincingly portray a male dandy as he narrates his autobiography. In addition, her male authorial voice is satirical enough for readers to know Cecil is the anti-hero of the novel 'celebrating' the Regency era.

Critical speculation surrounding Gore's masculine persona is evident from Gore's Preface to the second edition of *Cecil*. The author embodies the dandy outside of her fiction

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[111] [Anon.], Rev. of 'Cecil, or the Adventures of a Coxcomb', *The Athenæum*, iss. 697, 6 March 1841, pp. 185-7 (p.185).
[112] [Anon.], Rev. of 'Cecil; or the Adventures of a Coxcomb', *The Examiner,* iss. 1728, 14 March 1841, p. 165.
[113] Copeland and Hibbard, pp. xv, xviii.

and uses him as a façade to condemn her critics. The Preface begins with Cecil declaring himself 'King of the Coxcombs' and situating himself 'From the Throne of Cecil I.'[114] This introduction allows Gore to mimic her pretentious character while also showing readers her fascination with royalty. The novel's retrospective view of dandies and the Regency demonstrates Gore's analysis and criticism of the period. By calling her character the 'King of the Coxcombs,' Gore mocks Cecil by giving him a royal title for a dying lifestyle as society approaches the Victorian era. This anointing also pushes aside all previous dandies of the earlier nineteenth century, such as Granby and Pelham, and places Cecil as the most significant of his peers. Cecil reveals his purpose for addressing the audience before the commencement of the second edition: 'In meeting you again at the commencement of a New Edition, I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that I continue to receive from the leading critics of the day, ass-urances of their friendly disposition, and their earnest desire to maintain peace.'[115] Cecil's address to his critics appears very condescending, especially when he specifically separates *ass-urances* to highlight his feelings towards them. Cecil continues by claiming to have found a way to maintain peace between literary critics and publishers: 'Serious differences have arisen between the "Spectator" and the Publishers, about the execution of a tacit treaty between those Powers for regulating the preliminaries of Puffery. Both parties have accepted my mediation; and I hope to be able to effect a reconciliation between them upon terms honourable to both.'[116] Gore considers herself to be the perfect mediator between these two factions because she was a member of both. As a writer for various periodicals including *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, New Monthly*

[114] Gore, *Cecil,* p. iii.
[115] Gore, *Cecil,* p. iii.
[116] Gore, *Cecil,* p. v.

Magazine, *Bentley's Miscellany*, and others, she contributed a combination of fiction and literary reviews. Under the pseudonym Toby Allspy, Gore wrote a review of the French play 'La Camaraderie': 'One of the most sagacious writers of modern times […] has recently put forth a spirited comedy, under the title of "La Camaraderie," illustrating the paltry spirit of fraternization, by which the literary and professional quacks of Paris puff each other into reputation or notoriety.'[117] Through this article, Gore demonstrates her talent for relaying fashionable Parisian news to her readers in Great Britain while she was living on the continent. Ironically, she criticizes the 'professional quacks of Paris puff,' but Gore's publisher Colburn, Hughes argues, had a reputation for puffing his own publications.[118] On the other side of the disagreement, Gore also identified as a writer in the literary marketplace and had professional relationships with several publishers including William Tait and Richard Bentley, with whom she had ongoing correspondences.

Although she attempts to be impartial to calm the dispute between critics and publishers, Gore uses Cecil to favour the side of the publishers. Cecil announces that he has created a document entitled the *Martyrdom of Authors* which lays out a critique of literary critics. The document is addressed to the House of Commons but is specifically addressed to Henry Pelham, Vivian Gray, and Brookside Milnes, all literary dandies from the early nineteenth century and penned by Bulwer, Disraeli, and poet Lord Houghton. Interestingly, Cecil specifically addresses his dandy peers after declaring himself their king. Cecil's address to his dandy peers suggests Gore is making more of a mockery out of her pretentious character or she is using Cecil to ask her peers for support. Cecil continues

[117] Toby Allspy, 'The Confederation of the Boudoir', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 4 iss. 47, November 1837, pp. 726-8, (p. 726).
[118] Hughes, 'Silver Fork', p. 335.

by accusing literary critics from the quarterlies: 'Such Tartuffes, too, as they are; – highwaymen, who, like Robin Hood, pillage and plunder disguised in the demure weeds of a churchman!'[119] Gore accuses the critics of being *Tartuffes*, or 'hypocritical pretenders' according to the *OED*.[120] Gore's statement appears hypocritical itself as she is disguised as her alter-ego Cecil and uses him as the mouthpiece to denounce the critics. After her assessment of literary critics, Gore declares, 'I dare their worst,' and encourages them to engage with her accusations.[121] Gore's statements did not do Cecil's reputation damage since she went on to write his sequel, *Cecil, A Peer* (1841), soon after. Gore's Preface demonstrates how she employed the male character to vocalize her opinions. Gore's novel was published anonymously, so an anonymous voice speaking to its audience would not have been as powerful or respected as a male voice, like a king, lecturing his peers in the literary marketplace.

Intentionally or not, Gore took the advice of literary critics one step further than they had anticipated. Instead of taking on the literary traits of a male author, she embodied one through her dandy autobiography. This is just one example of Gore shifting her writing persona to fit the needs of the market. Closer examination of Gore's oeuvre reveals how she changed her writing topics, characters, and genres to fit the shift from Regency to Victorian society. To align her fiction with literary trends, she included more working-class characters in her novels and set her novel *The Hamiltons* in the recent past. The incorporation of these literary trends and her male narrative voice illustrate the steps Gore was willing to take in order to remain popular in the literary marketplace.

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[119] Gore, *Cecil*, p. vii.
[120] 'Tartuffe/ Tartufe, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary*, <https://oed.com/view/Entry/197997?redirectedFrom=tartuffes#eid> [accessed 26 Nov 2020].
[121] Gore, *Cecil*, p. ix.

Chapter Three

Abandoning Gothic: The Heroine in Catherine Gore's 'The Maid of Honour'

Before novels began to dominate the literary landscape in the mid-nineteenth century, short stories had a comfortable position as a popular form of fiction. While most short fiction was found in periodicals, some were also collated into book collections. Christian Isobel Johnstone's series of volumes *The Edinburgh Tales* (1845-6) includes a ghost story from Catherine Gore, a choice that reflected the popularity of this subgenre. Often derived from gothic literature of the late eighteenth century, Victorian ghost stories usually encompassed female ghosts, or women with ghost-like traits. These supernatural women were often depicted with negative connotations and described as murderers, hags, and insane. This chapter examines Gore's 'The Maid of Honour', the story of Helen Percy who discovers that the ghost haunting her country estate is actually Theresa Marchmont, the 'mad' living first wife of her husband, Lord Greville. The story's experimentation with the bigamy plot allows Gore to reexamine the hierarchy of women in families. Moreover, Gore's heroine in 'The Maid of Honour' is reflected in the female protagonists that appear in Anne and Charlotte Brontë's novels of the mid-century. The similarities between these works of literature show how the authors contributed to the ghost story tradition by altering the position of women in these stories from 'mad' women to self-reliant protagonists.

The Short Story

In 1842, Edgar Allan Poe attempted to define the short story in his review of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Twice-told Tales* (1842). Poe believed that short prose should be consumed

within a half-hour or up to one or two hours of reading: 'In the brief tale, however, the author is enabled to carry out the fulness of his intention, be it what it may. During the hour of perusal the soul of the reader is at the writer's control. There are no external or extrinsic influences – resulting from weariness or interruption.' Poe places this feeling of 'totality' in opposition to novels where focus is often interrupted and 'would, of itself, be sufficient to destroy the true unity'.[1] Since the mid-nineteenth century, the short story has been compared and contrasted to the novel. Dennis Denisoff argues that although short stories reached the height of their popularity in the Victorian era, authors 'preferred writing novels because they were more lucrative and received higher critical respect'.[2] Dominic Head adds that short stories have lacked respect for centuries due to the idea that the genre can be 'formulaic': 'This compounds the idea that the short story is a minor form, or a training ground for the more serious business of novel writing.'[3] Victorian readers preferred novels, Denisoff claims, but many still enjoyed reading both genres. He explains: 'For starters, short stories were often aimed at a different, more specific audience than novels, such as young readers or those partial to a specific set of values.'[4] The short story's lack of popularity is due to what Denisoff describes as 'allusiveness' in definitions and subgenres.[5] He argues the term 'short story' has been interchangeable with 'tale,' 'story,' and 'sketch', although he provides specific definitions for these categories: a 'tale' is 'a work that focuses primarily on the course and outcome of events,' while a 'sketch' is described as 'a work that captures relatively static scenes, and limits character and narrative

[1] Edgar Allan Poe, 'Review of *Twice-Told Tales*' in *Essays and Reviews*, ed. by Gary Richard Thompson (New York: Library of America, 1984), pp. 569-77 (p. 572).
[2] Denisoff, p. 16.
[3] Dominic Head, *The Cambridge History of the English Short Story* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 3.
[4] Denisoff, p. 16.
[5] Denisoff, p. 25.

development'.[6] Victorian short stories' wide variety of subgenres such as comic, gothic, ghost story, adventure, fantasy, children's stories, 'New Woman' writing, and others allowed authors to combine subgenres and create hybrids.[7] Denisoff also claims that the short story's ambiguity benefitted authors who felt 'hindered by the status quo' and 'resulted in a range of works reflecting a spirit of creativity, diversity, and disruption that undermines attempts at classification'.[8] Denisoff gives various reasons why authors chose to write short stories: 'For one, they took less time and therefore could be more easily completed amid other work and responsibilities. Also, while novels were more profitable, it was easier to get a short piece published because of the reduced financial risk to the publisher should a work not prove popular.'[9]

The short story's flexibility allowed it to come in and out of fashion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Harold Orel claims that although at least 15,000 'brief narratives' – defined as less than 12,000 words – were published in periodicals of the eighteenth century, the short story 'matured as a genre' in the nineteenth century.[10] Orel cites a number of factors that contributed to the rise of the Victorian short story. In order to evade duties imposed by the Stamp Act in 1710 and 1725, many publishers transitioned their newspapers into periodicals. Since 'public news' was now taxed, writers who wanted to have their political pieces published needed to 'learn how to place the didactic message within an innocent-seeming or allegorical wrapping, or run the risk of government displeasure'.[11] Orel argues that prose was more commonly seen in periodicals in the second

[6] Denisoff, pp. 14-5.
[7] Denisoff, pp. 17-8.
[8] Denisoff, p. 25.
[9] Denisoff, p. 17.
[10] Harold Orel, *The Victorian Short Story: Development and Triumph of a Literary Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 1.
[11] Orel, pp. 4-5.

half of the eighteenth century. He says, 'If we review the years between 1740 and 1815, we can identify only nine periodicals that specialized in prose fiction; all appeared between 1780 and 1810.' However, he also adds that 'during these 75 years some 470 different periodicals […] printed fiction of some kind.'[12] Magazines specializing in fiction became more common in the early nineteenth century. Orel mentions the *Athenaeum*, the *Dublin and London Magazine*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and *Bentley's Miscellany* as a few of the magazines that helped promote the work of John Galt, Edward Bulwer, George Eliot, and Dickens.[13]

Dickens's work, particularly *A Christmas Carol* (1843), helped perpetuate the subgenre of ghost stories in the nineteenth century. Ghost and supernatural stories evolved from the gothic novels of the late eighteenth century by featuring not only ghosts and vampires, but also 'mad' women. They originated 'in local lore and oral tradition', as Head notes, from countries such as Ireland, Scotland, Germany, and America.[14] As fewer Victorians attended church regularly, fascination with the supernatural and spiritualism grew. As Head puts it: 'Such interests in the supernatural established a cultural context that allowed the spectral to become one of the most popular topics in short fiction. It meant that ghost stories were not read simply as flights of fancy but as narratives of the paranormal tinged with the potential of fact.' Denisoff states that ghost stories developed from gothic literature, which focused on 'foreign' settings, isolated castles and monasteries, becoming 'neo-gothic' by the late nineteenth century and focusing on 'psychological disturbances or anxieties within local contexts'.[15] *The Cambridge History of the English Short Story* uses

[12] Orel, p. 6.
[13] Orel, p. 8.
[14] Head, pp. 5-6.
[15] Denisoff pp. 20-1.

the literary terms *gothic* and *ghost story* interchangeably although it does recognize authors such as Elizabeth Gaskell whose ghost stories veered away from the gothic formulas. Jessica Cox describes nineteenth-century gothic as being associated with vampires and ghosts, and although they are 'side-lined in the novel, they frequently take centre stage in the short story'.[16] As frequently as vampires and ghosts appear in supernatural tales, the haunting 'mad' woman also performs a significant role in stories by several authors. Sir Walter Scott wrote 'The Tapestried Chamber' for *The Keepsake* of 1829 and the story perpetuates the theme of female insanity. The story follows General Browne as he discovers the estate of his childhood friend, Lord Woodville, and is invited to stay. The general is given the 'old-fashioned' chamber which contains 'curtains of faded silk, heavily trimmed with tarnished gold'.[17] The next morning, Browne informs his friend that he must leave due to a 'fiendish hag' that visited his apartment during the night.[18] The lord reveals that rumors of a supernatural being entering this particular room had been present and he used Browne as the subject of his experiment to discover the truth. To establish the ghost's identity, Lord Woodville takes Browne around his family portrait gallery where the general recognizes the ghost as one of the lord's ancestors. Woodville explains the 'wretched ancestress' committed a murder in that bedroom and now haunts its occupants.[19] The adjectives used to describe the 'fiendish hag' and 'wretched ancestress' display how female ghosts became 'other' and villain-like.[20]

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[16] Jessica Cox, 'Gothic and Victorian Supernatural Tales' in *The Cambridge History of the English Short Story*, ed. by Dominic Head (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 49-66 (p. 52).
[17] Sir Walter Scott, 'The Tapestried Chamber' in the *Edinburgh Edition of The Waverly Novels: The Shorter Fiction*, ed. by Graham Tulloch and Judy King, 30 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), XXIV, p. 80.
[18] Scott, p. 85.
[19] Scott, p. 88.
[20] Other well-known stories with female ghosts from this time period include Elizabeth Gaskell's 'The Old Nurse's Story' (1852) which tells the tale of a nurse who encounters a family of ghosts when she and her

In these ghost stories, female ghosts or women with ghost-like characteristics are also usually described as being 'mad.' The trend of 'mad' women in mid-century literature reflects the increased ratio of women to men in mental asylums during this period. As Elaine Showalter explains, 'The mid-nineteenth century is the period when the predominance of women among the institutionalized insane first becomes a statistically verifiable phenomenon.'[21] She adds that institutionalized women outnumbered men throughout the second half of the century and in the 1871 census 'there were 1,182 female lunatics for every 1,000 male lunatics'.[22] Catherine Gore's short story 'The Maid of Honour' begins as a typical nineteenth-century ghost story with gothic settings and a female ghost haunting an ancient castle; however, she creates a sane counterpart who pities and cares for the 'mad' woman. Gore's view of insanity in 'The Maid of Honour' is reflective of how, according to Showalter, the stigma of mental illness was changing:

> The differentiation began at the end of the eighteenth century, when a significant shift occurred in the way that madness was viewed and treated. Whereas lunatics had formerly been regarded as unfeeling brutes, ferocious animals that needed to be kept in check with chains, whips, strait-waistcoats, barred windows, and locked cells, they were now seen instead as sick human beings, objects of pity whose sanity might be restored by kindly care.[23]

The story also presents how class was a strong determinant for the outcome of a 'mad' patient's life. As Showalter explains: 'The rich could avoid the stigma of certification by keeping mad relatives at home, or by seeking private care. Among the wealthier classes, bizarre behavior would be described as nervousness or eccentricity until the patient became

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charge move to a new home. Charles Dickens's 'The Black Veil' (1836) also features a female ghost-like veiled figure who mysteriously asks a doctor to tend to her son.

[21] Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830-1980* (London: Virago, 1987), p. 52.

[22] Showalter, p. 52.

[23] Showalter, p. 8.

unmanageable, suicidal, or violent.'[24] 'The Maid of Honour' reflects the advantages that the upper classes had in mental health care. The characters' status in the aristocracy allows the 'mad' woman, Theresa Marchmont, to be privately cared for by Helen Percy and also demonstrates the bond they develop.[25]

Gore's 'The Maid of Honour' is a recycled story originally published in 1824 by J. Andrews with the title *Theresa Marchmont, or, the Maid of Honour: A Tale*. The simplified title of 'The Maid of Honour' in *The Edinburgh Tales* demonstrates an attempt to adjust the focus of the story from Theresa Marchmont to Helen Percy. The story reveals that Theresa was a maid of honour in King Charles II's court and Gore's original title recognizes 'the Maid of Honour' as Theresa. The shortened title years later deletes Theresa's name from its association with maid of honour. Upon first approaching the story, mid-century readers will be unaware of who the 'Maid of Honour' is. Gore, it appears, dropped Theresa's name from the title to redirect the association of the word *honour* from Theresa to Helen Percy. Readers discover that Helen's character is honourable when she decides to care for the 'mad' Theresa upon the discovery that she is alive. Gore establishes the honourable duty of caring for mentally ill patients rather than dismissing them, echoing what Showalter claimed in her study. Additionally, the redirection from the older Theresa to the younger Helen suggests a shift in literature from the early to mid- nineteenth century. By shortening the title of the story, Gore shifts the focus from the mentally ill Theresa to the proactive female protagonist Helen. This shift reflects a transition from ghost stories depicting women as 'insane' ghosts, as seen in Scott's 'The Tapestried Chamber,' to the

[24] Showalter, p. 26.
[25] Charles Dickens's *American Notes* (1842) describes the author's experiences visiting an asylum while visiting America.

creation of independent female protagonists who institute agency. Independent female protagonists were seen more commonly in broadly realist novels of the mid-century by other female authors.

Gore and the Brontës

Several components of Gore's short story are echoed in the works of Anne and Charlotte Brontë's novels *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (1848) and *Jane Eyre* (1847). Although we do not know if the Brontë sisters read 'The Maid of Honour', the writers did read gift annuals, often written by silver fork writers, in their youth. It is likely the Brontës were exposed to Gore's work, and the work of her contemporaries, from a young age. Brontë scholars have discovered that Charlotte exchanged letters intermittently with Gore from 1850-1852. On 1 August 1850, Brontë says in a letter to George Smith, 'The lady who left the parcel for me in Gloucester Terrace was, it seems, Mrs. Gore. The parcel contained one of her works, "The Hamiltons," and a very civil and friendly note, in which I find myself addressed as "Dear Jane…"'[26] A few weeks later, Brontë writes to Gore and shares her review of the novel:

> The book had for me its own peculiar value as a work often-heard-of and long-wished-for: I have now read it: it has given me much pleasure, because I found in its pages, not the echo of another mind – the pale reflection of a reflection – but the result of original observation, and faithful delineations from actual life. Such a book informs while it interests. I knew nothing of the circles you describe before I read "The Hamiltons" but I feel I do know something of them now.[27]

[26] Charlotte Brontë, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë: With a Selection of Letters by Family and Friends, Vol. 2: 1848-1851*, ed. Margaret Smith, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), II, p. 434.
[27] Charlotte Brontë, *Letters*, p. 456.

Although Brontë claims she did not know anything about the aristocratic circles Gore writes about, it is likely that silver fork writers had an influence on her juvenilia, as Elaine Arvan-Andrews argues. Early in her career, Brontë read gift annuals which were often written by silver fork authors such as Lady Charlotte Bury, Lady Blessington, Bulwer-Lytton, Disraeli, and Gore.[28] These consisted of engravings accompanied by poetry and prose.[29] Gaskell confirms Brontë's hobby: 'The way she weakened her eyesight was this: when she was 16 or 17, she wanted much to draw; and she copied niminipimini copper-plate engravings out of annuals […] After she had tried to *draw* stories, and not succeeded, she took the better mode of writing'.[30] Arvan-Andrews contends that the author's descriptions of her character's clothing allows Brontë to 'both closely reproduce[s] and satirize[s] the feminine consumption of material excess'.[31] Brontë's silver fork-like novelettes and her letters to Gore display her fascination with the genre. The two authors attempted to meet again while Brontë was in London in 1851. On 21 June, Brontë informed Gore that she was in London, but only for a few more days. She hoped that she would be in if Gore were to call, adding that 'To miss the opportunity of seeing you would be no ordinary disappointment – Believe me.'[32] Gore replied in a note asking Brontë to extend her stay in London so they could dine together.[33] On 24 June, Brontë answered: 'I <u>cannot</u> again change my plans, and must submit – with whatever regret – to forego the pleasure

[28] Elaine Arvan-Andrews, 'The "Lure of the Fabulous": Gift-Book Beauties and Charlotte Brontë's Early Heroines,' *Women's Writing*, 16.2 (2009), 263-82 (p. 264, p. 266).
[29] For a more detailed discussion of annuals and gift books in the period, see Barbara Onslow, 'Gendered Production: Annuals and Gift Books' in *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 66-83.
[30] Gaskell, *Letters*, p. 249. (original emphasis)
[31] Arvan-Andrews, p. 267.
[32] Charlotte Brontë, *Letters*, p. 645.
[33] Charlotte Brontë, *Letters*, p. 647, note 1.

your invitation holds out.'[34] By 28 June, Brontë had left London and was already in Manchester when she wrote next to Gore: 'I had however no alternative and must content myself with the hope of being able at some future day better to reconcile duty and inclination.'[35] In their last correspondence, on 28 May 1852, Brontë wrote: 'I have no thoughts of visiting Town this Summer. The past Winter and Spring proved somewhat trying to me, and I am now at the Seaside endeavouring to regain lost ground.'[36] The proposed encounter between Brontë and Gore did not happen before Brontë's death in 1855. Their letters display a fraction of the wider network of female authors writing, reviewing, and influencing each other's work during the nineteenth century.

Gore's concurrences with the Brontë sisters, specifically Charlotte and Anne, is not only seen through letters, but through their novels as well. The similarities in *Jane Eyre*, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, and 'The Maid of Honour' suggest the gift annuals read by the young Brontës helped shape their own writing styles. Moreover, the resemblances most likely display a confluence of themes that were emerging in the early Victorian period. Gore and Charlotte Brontë contribute to ghost story traditions by setting up their narratives with dark mansions and ghosts, then develop these conventions by means of proto-feminist female protagonists. These characters, including Anne Brontë's Helen Huntingdon, show development from the 'insane' ghosts often found in ghost stories to women who engage their individual agencies in order to leave domestic situations. The most noticeable similarity between Gore's 'Maid of Honour' and *Jane Eyre* is the climatic revelation that the 'ghost' of each respective household is actually the living first wife of the main male

[34] Charlotte Brontë, *Letters*, p. 647.
[35] Charlotte Brontë, *Letters*, p. 653.
[36] Charlotte Brontë, *Letters*, p. 49.

character. Maria McAleavey examines the different resolutions that evolve from bigamous plots in nineteenth-century novels, short stories, and poems. She argues that in some cases, the main husband and wife remain together, as seen in *Jane Eyre*, while in other cases the husband is removed from the domestic situation, as in the 'Maid of Honour'. Either way, as McAleavey points out, the 'third wheel' is always abandoned and the narrative is 'forced' to make a choice.[37] She adds that bigamous plots were seen as threatening because bigamy offended the sanctity of marriage: 'What is at stake is not simply unruly sexual passion but also the dominance of the properly monogamous married couple. Marriage renders another marriage illegitimate; one compromised ceremony threatens to compromise all ceremonies.'[38] McAleavey also displays the works of literature in which the traditional union of husband and wife is not the resolution to the domestic situation. She uses Gore's 'Maid of Honour' as an example of a story in which 'it is the husband who becomes a marriage's unnecessary third wheel.'[39] This domestic solution also appears in George Eliot's *Romola* (1863), in which two wives from the same man decide to raise the second wife's illegitimate children together. The bigamist plots found in Victorian literature, McAlveavey argues, 'reveal a British respect for marriage and a love of clean, cautious, and legalistic plots,' but they also show instability: 'Looking at the Victorian family through the window of bigamy reveals its fragility. Framed by erotic wish-fulfillment and the danger of competing attachments, monogamous marriage could be shattered by a scream.'[40] Bigamy plots helped develop self-sufficient female characters in

[37] Maria McAleavey, 'Inconvenient Husbands and Superfluous Wives', *Victorian Review*, 39.2 (Fall 2013), 35-8 (p. 38).
[38] McAleavey, p. 37.
[39] McAleavey, p. 38.
[40] McAlveavey, pp. 37-8.

the nineteenth century. When forced to make a choice of which two characters will survive from the bigamist relationship, the female relationships display that male characters are not necessary for the stories' resolutions. Authors who display a two female relationship demonstrate the prosperity of women who decide to lead a self-sufficient life.

Both male characters, Lord Greville and Mr. Rochester, reveal that their first wives, respectively Theresa Marchmont and Bertha Mason, were 'mad' and accordingly locked away and hidden from society. Both authors adapt ghost story conventions in the beginning of their narratives, then reveal the 'ghosts' are alive and the stories transition from supernatural to bigamist plots. In 'The Maid of Honour', Greville makes the revelation: '"Helen! It was no vision – no idle dream – it was a living form, a breathing curse to thee and me…Helen! My wife still lives, and I am not thy lawful husband."'[41] In *Jane Eyre*, Jane nearly marries Mr. Rochester before their nuptials are interrupted by Bertha's brother, Richard: 'Mr. Rochester continued, hardily and recklessly: "Bigamy is an ugly word! – I meant, however, to be a bigamist: but fate has outmaneuvered me."'[42] While Jane Eyre avoids bigamy, Helen Percy does indeed become the second wife to Greville, who was still married to his 'mad' first wife. Their home, Greville Cross, which was a former Benedictine monastery and became known for its 'large iron cross which stood in the centre of the court-yard', becomes an ironic religious location for the bigamist story plot.[43] Not only is it revealed in the home that Lord Greville has sinned by becoming a bigamist but their son also becomes a bastard. Moreover, both husbands kept their first wives locked away and looked after by attendants, Alice Wishart and Mrs. Poole, respectively, though

[41] Catherine Gore, 'The Maid of Honour' in *The Edinburgh Tales*, ed. by Christian Isobel Johnstone, 3 vols (Edinburgh, London, and Dublin: William Tait; Chapman and Hall; and John Cumming, 1845-6), I, p. 210.
[42] Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, ed. Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) p. 291.
[43] Gore, p. 203.

in somewhat different conditions. Lord Greville keeps Theresa Marchmont in his ancestral home of Greville Cross which is described as a 'mansion on the coast of Lancashire'.[44] The ghost story told by the Grevilles' son and Theresa's 'ghostly' entrance into the lady's chamber implies that she roamed the house and was not secluded in one room. Alternatively, Jane Eyre narrates that Rochester 'lifted the hangings from the wall, uncovering the second door: this too, he opened. In a room without a window, there burnt a fire, guarded by a high and strong fender, and a lamp suspended from the ceiling by a chain.'[45] Although Theresa Marchmont is being held in seclusion, her ability to roam the deserted mansion allows more freedom than Bertha Mason's domestic situation.

The depictions of the women's dwellings are also reflective of the amount of guilt each married man feels. After holding a fictitious funeral for Theresa, Lord Greville says: 'I shuddered, too, when I contemplated the shame which awaited me, should some future event, yet hidden in the lap of time, reveal to the world the secret villainy of the man who had borne himself so proudly among his fellows.'[46] Greville's shame differs from Mr. Rochester's self-victimizing: 'Briggs, Wood, Mason, – I invite you all to come up to the house and visit Mrs. Poole's patient, and *my wife*! – You shall see what sort of a being I was cheated into espousing.'[47] Greville's guilt for lying about his wife's death motivates him to leave Theresa free to roam in his ancestral mansion. On the other hand, Mr. Rochester has sympathy for his first wife, though his anger at being deceived by the Mason family motivated him to put Bertha in a windowless room. Charlotte Brontë's bigamy conclusion to a hetero-normative marriage between Jane and Mr. Rochester is very

[44] Gore, p. 203.
[45] Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, p. 292.
[46] Gore, p. 220.
[47] Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, p. 292.

different from the sister-like relationship that forms at the end of 'The Maid of Honour'. Despite these different conclusions, both authors crafted similar female protagonists in Jane Eyre and Helen Percy. Although both stories begin with ghost story traditions, which often limited the scope of female agency, both characters establish their own agencies by leaving their domestic situations and creating a new path in life.

In *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, Anne Brontë aligns her main character, Helen Huntingdon, very closely with Gore's heroine Helen Percy. Through their associations to religion, their maternal protection, and the bravery to leave their husbands, both Helens abandon their domestic situations for a hopefully better and less predictable life. Not only do the two characters have the same first name, both are associated with religious attitudes. In 'The Maid of Honour' Helen Percy prays to 'divine aid' to protect her son.[48] In *Wildfell Hall*, Helen Huntingdon is often described as an angel by Mr. Hargrave: '"I don't know how to talk to you, Mrs. Huntingdon," said he smiling; "you are only half a woman – your nature must be half human, half angelic."'[49] Ironically, Helen Huntingdon's religious morals are what guide her to reject Mr. Hargrave's advances. When he attempts to gain her affections, while she is still married, she orders him to '"sin no more"'.[50] In addition, the two Helens' maternal instincts are what motivate the characters to channel their agencies. Helen Huntingdon is finally persuaded to leave her husband when Mr. Huntingdon's rakish behavior begins to influence her son:

> My greatest source of uneasiness, in this time of trial, was my son, whom his father and his father's friends delighted to encourage in all the embryo vices a little child can show, and to instruct in all the evil habits he could acquire […] and I need say no more to justify my alarm on his account, and

[48] Gore, p. 221.
[49] Anne Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, ed. Herbert Rosengarten (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 281.
[50] Anne Brontë, p. 271.

> my determination to deliver him at any hazard from the hands of such instructors.[51]

Helen describes how her son is taught to swear, drink, and 'have his own way like a man'.[52] Although Helen Percy's son does not have these influences in 'The Maid of Honour', both Helens similarly aim to protect their sons' innocence. Both sons are children, at an impressionable age. The bad behavior taught to Arthur and the social scandal faced by the Greville son could affect their developing personalities and future inheritance.

Furthermore, both wives make the decision to leave their husbands and risk their social reputations. While Helen Percy writes to her husband and instructs him to leave her at Greville Cross, Helen Huntingdon takes months planning an escape from her husband. Helen concludes: 'But this should not continue; my child must not be abandoned to this corruption: better far that he should live in poverty and obscurity with a fugitive mother, than in luxury and affluence with such a father.'[53] Helen Huntingdon receives the aid of her brother and finds a hiding place for her and her son to escape. Instead of living in poverty, Helen starts a career in painting to earn money. She abandoned her husband and started a new life. However, Helen Percy ordered her husband to abandon her while she stayed at Greville Cross with his first wife. Although Helen Percy's decision appears to be founded on guilt and a punishment to herself for the family's situation, she clearly places the blame on Lord Greville: 'And if at times the stigma of his birth should present itself to irritate your mind against his helpless innocence, – as, alas! I have latterly witnessed, smite him not, Greville, in your guilty wrath; – remember he is come of gentle blood, even on his mother's side – and ask yourself to *whom* we owe our degradation, – and from whose

[51] Anne Brontë, p. 296.
[52] Anne Brontë, p. 296.
[53] Anne Brontë, p. 298.

quiver the arrow was launched against us!'[54] Likewise, Helen Huntingdon distances herself from the blame: 'No, never, never, never! – he may drink himself dead, but it is NOT my fault!'[55] Both Helens refuse responsibility for their husbands' sinful behavior and misjudgments. Therefore both stories display the similarity between two women who start out as dependent wives and grow into independent and sacrificing mothers. Jane Eyre also transitions from a shy governess into a position of independence and wealth. The representations of these women display an advancement from the 'insane' female ghosts trapped in haunting homes. All three characters display the progress of female protagonists as they all have the agency to leave their domestic situations for an uncertain future. Although these fictions were written during a time commonly associated with domestic stability, the authors challenge the ideal of domesticity by allowing the characters to physically flee from lives they do not desire.

Gore's Heroine

In 'The Maid of Honour' Gore tells the story of Lord and Lady Greville who leave their home of Silsea Castle in Kent to visit their ancestral home, Greville Cross. They encounter the 'ghost' of Greville Cross, Lord Greville's deceased first wife Theresa Marchmont and after seeing the 'ghost', the current Lady Greville, Lord Greville's second wife, Helen, learns that the apparition is in fact the living Theresea Marchmont whom Lord Greville had hidden in the mansion after she became mentally unstable years earlier. Disgusted by his own behaviour in marrying Helen under false pretenses, he writes her a letter explaining that he met and fell in love with Theresa while he was a courtier in King Charles II's court.

[54] Gore, p. 222. (original emphasis)
[55] Anne Brontë, p. 274.

Although she was betrothed to a seaman, who was Helen's older brother Hugh Percy, Theresa agrees to marry Greville and they leave the king's court after their marriage. Later, Lord and Lady Greville receive a letter announcing the death of Hugh Percy and Lady Greville's grief causes her to lose her unborn child and then her mental stability. Although heartbroken over his wife's condition, Lord Greville attempts to progress from his first marriage by arranging a false funeral and moving Lady Greville to Greville Cross where she is secretly taken care of by his childhood nurse. After learning this history, Helen decides to write to Greville demanding he take their son back to Kent to be educated and become the heir of Greville's estate. Helen declares that she will stay at Greville Cross to avoid social scandal and also care for his first wife. Lord Greville agrees to her requests, but upon arriving back in Kent, he dies a few months later. Helen moves back to Silsea Castle with Theresa to care for her and her son. Helen is framed as the heroine of the story who saves her son from scandal, Lord Greville from loneliness, and Theresa from being uncared for in her condition. Helen embodies the heroic trait of self-sacrifice in order for her family to be socially acceptable. Gore's female hero dismantles gender stereotypes by reconfiguring the domestic hierarchy and showing that females are the dominant sex of the Greville/Percy family.

Like Helen Huntingdon, Helen Percy's son inspires her to sacrifice her position in life in order to save his innocence and future. Not only does she save her son, but Greville explains how Helen saved him from loneliness and it is also revealed that Helen saves Theresa by becoming her caretaker. The trait of self-sacrifice, often seen in male heroes, displays Gore's ability to create a female hero who saves her family. Helen saves her son from social scandal while also sacrificing her relationship with him, thus allowing him to

one day inherit the Greville estate. After reading the letter from Lord Greville, Helen's first instinct is to find her son: 'Her first impulse, worthy of her gentle nature, was to rush to the bed-side of her sleeping boy, and there, on her knees, to implore divine aid to shelter his unoffending innocence, and grace to enlighten her mind in the choice of her future destiny.'[56] Helen tries actively to save her son's innocence by calling to a higher power. In a 'saint-like' manner, Helen gets on her knees to pray for 'divine aid to shelter his unoffending innocence'. Now that Helen has discovered that Lord Greville's first wife is alive, her marriage to Greville is void and her son is a bastard. Helen prays that a divine power will protect her son from the scandal that his parent's illegitimate marriage could create. Helen then decides to take responsibility for the fate of her family. She uses the heroic quality of sacrifice to ensure her domestic domain avoids social scandal. Helen replies to Greville's letter stating that she will stay at Greville Cross to care for Lady Greville, but her son must return to Kent: 'And since my son will shortly attain an age when seclusion in this remote spot would be prejudicial to his interests, and to the formation of his character, I pray you take him from me at once, that I may have no further sacrifice to contemplate.'[57] By separating herself from her son, Helen actively decides to save her family from public defamation and ensure her son's future inheritance. While Helen remains at Greville Cross, she is able to hide her illegitimate marriage from society and also dissociate her son from the scandal. At the same time, the separation allows her son to continue his education and social life in Kent for the 'formation of his character'. Helen fears that the 'remote spot' of Greville Cross will prevent him from developing in society.

[56] Gore, p. 221.
[57] Gore, pp. 221-2.

Helen prays for 'divine aid' to protect her innocent son from illegitimacy; however, she becomes the hero who saves his reputation by sacrificing her relationship with him.

Before Helen executes a plan to save her son's honour, Greville says that Helen rescued him from loneliness. Greville's letter reveals that Helen was a passive hero who unconsciously brought him happiness after the 'death' of his first wife. While describing his life after his first wife's 'death', Greville says: 'In my hour of loneliness and sorrow, I had no kind friend to whom to turn for consolidation…Helen! it was then, in that moment of disappointment and bitterness, that the remembrance of thy loveliness, and the suspicion of thine affection, conspired to form that fatal passion which has been the bane of thy happiness, and the origin of my guilt.'[58] The 'death' of his first wife might not have been physical, but he insinuates that her mental instability was a metaphorical death for the person she was. He continues: 'The remembrance of Theresa, – not in her present state of self-abstraction, but captivating as when she first received my vows before God.'[59] Greville could no longer confide in the wife he once had and his lonely state ensued. Soon after explaining his domestic isolation, he addresses Helen and says her loveliness and affection created their passion and made him happy once again. Greville admits that Helen becomes a replacement for Theresa: 'I trembled when I heard my Helen addressed as Lady Greville; when I saw her usurping the rights, and occupying the place of one, who now appeared a nameless "link between the living and the dead."'[60] Both women have similarities beyond their shared title as Lady Greville. Theresa and Helen become victims of loss: Theresa loses her lover while Helen loses her legitimate marriage; however, they react to loss in

[58] Gore, p. 219.
[59] Gore, p. 220.
[60] Gore, p. 220.

different ways. After Theresa learns her lover died at sea, she falls into deep grief which culminates in mental instability. On the other hand, after Helen learns her marriage is illegitimate and her son is a bastard, she creates a plan to remove herself from the domestic domain in Kent which allows her son to retain his respectable name in society. Helen determines that she must sacrifice more than just the relationship with her son in order to keep domestic peace and avoid societal disapproval. By staying at Greville Cross, she also removes herself from her marriage with Lord Greville. In her letter to him, Helen replies: '"Greville! I was about, in the inadvertence of my bewildered mind, to address you once more by the title of husband; but that holy name must hereafter perish on my lips, and be banished like a withering curse from my heart."'[61] Not only does she physically create distance between herself and Greville, she also abandons the idea of him as her husband. Helen now considers herself an adulteress and her son 'as the nameless offspring of shame'.[62] She sacrifices her relationship with Greville by remaining at the Cross to hide her disgrace and shame.

Helen's decision to care for Theresa at Greville Cross displays the sisterly bond the two women share. Helen sacrifices her livelihood to be an attendant for her brother's former betrothed, Theresa. Although readers do not receive Theresa's story directly from her, Greville says they both endured suffering: 'And that, had she been spared the blow which deprived her of reason, her dutiful regard, and, in time, her devoted affection, would have been mine as firmly, as though the vows which gave them to my hopes had been untainted by any former passion. As it was, we were both victims – I, to her misfortunes –

[61] Gore, p. 221.
[62] Gore, p. 221.

she, to the brutality of the king.'[63] Greville portrays the couple as victims of their misfortunes in life. Helen saved both Lord and Lady Greville from the sufferings the letter describes. Greville suffered from his wife's grief and unreturned love. As mentioned earlier, Helen married Greville allowing him to feel passion and affection again after the 'death' of his first wife. Theresa's suffering from the king comes in the form of unwanted advances from him and also in the form of his influence. Unknown to Theresa, the king requested Hugh Percy's ship to remain at sea 'in a distant and unhealthy climate' in order to keep Theresa away from her lover.[64] The king's actions cause Hugh to die before he can come home and reunite with his lover. Although Helen cannot resurrect her brother, her familial ties to him give Theresa tranquility. The narrator says of Theresa and Helen's first interview: '"I know you," she said on beholding her; "you have the look and voice of Percy; you are a ministering angel whom he has sent to defend his poor Theresa from the King, now that she is sad and friendless. You will never abandon me, will you?" continued she, taking her hand, and pressing it to her bosom.'[65] Helen becomes a representation of Hugh and her new status as Theresa's caretaker allows the representation of Hugh to be joined again with Theresa.[66] Therefore, Helen rectifies the King's actions by bringing a metaphorical Hugh back to his lover.

The conclusion of 'The Maid of Honour' displays how Gore uses the story to dismantle typical domestic hierarchy. Not only does she use Helen as her hero, she also creates a significant female space, kills off the main male character, and places a woman

[63] Gore, p. 217.
[64] Gore, p. 217.
[65] Gore, p. 223.
[66] Gore gives the siblings, Hugh and Helen Percy, similar names to demonstrate their likeness. The similar names also signal how Helen, the embodiment of Hugh to Theresa, will become the caretaker to Theresa as Hugh would have been if he were not killed.

as the head of the Greville/Percy family to present women as the dominant sex of the family. Gore gives Theresa dominance over 'the lady's chamber' at Greville Cross. The narrator says of the room: 'And it had long ensured the preference of the ladies of the house of Greville, and obtained the name of the "lady's chamber," by which it is even to this day distinguished.'[67] As well as being named for the ladies of the Greville family, the room is the significant setting for Theresa's ghostly appearances in the story. While reiterating a story he heard about the ghost of Greville Cross, the Grevilles' son says: 'And they say it was her doom, and that she must die of her present sickness. Ay,- 'twas in this very room too – the lady's chamber.'[68] Then later, Theresa physically appears in the chamber after Helen sings the song her brother Hugh wrote for his lover. Theresa's presence in the lady's chamber during the son's legend and after Helen's song shows the dominance Theresa has over the room. The lady's chamber becomes the setting of one of the climaxes in the plot and a significant space for Theresa to exercise her agency when she appears in front of Lord Greville and Helen. Furthermore, Gore's conclusion kills off Lord Greville and leaves two female main characters to thrive at his estate. Greville's will allowed their son to inherit the estate and the two women to occupy the castle. The narrator specifies that: 'In the commencement of the ensuing reign he obtained the royal sanction to use the name and arms of Percy; and in his grateful affection, and the virtuous distinctions he early attained, his mother met with her reward.'[69] The Greville son obtains his maternal family name and arms instead of keeping the patriarchal name. This further displays Gore's efforts to show the matriarchal dominance in the Greville/ Percy family. Moreover, the continuance of the

[67] Gore, p. 204.
[68] Gore, p. 207.
[69] Gore, p. 222.

Percy name is described as a reward given to his mother, the hero of the story, for her journey and sacrifices. Gore's story also dismantles the formulas for ghost stories by allowing Helen to thrive as the hero instead of sidelining women as 'insane' ghosts.

Traditional Heroics

Throughout 'The Maid of Honour', Helen actively and passively demonstrates her heroic qualities by saving different characters from potential misfortune. However, the bildungsroman typically told the stories of heroes who were on a personal journey. As Margery Hourihan describes it, 'changing conditions provided more opportunities for advancement from relatively humble beginnings, and it owes much to the contemporary enthusiasm for self-help and the Protestant work ethic which conflated moral and material progress.'[70] While Gore's story is not fully a bildungsroman, Helen has the traditionally heroic characteristic of what Hourihan calls fighting 'for what he knows is "right"'.[71] By staying at Greville Cross to avoid scandal and maintaining an illegitimate marriage, Helen allows her moral code to decide her fate. Helen's sacrifices for others also display how the female nineteenth-century heroine differs from the male counterpart. While the traditional male hero might be on a journey to discover what Hourihan calls 'what it means to be a man', Gore's hero shows how the woman's journey is for the benefit of others.[72] Helen's sacrifice of staying in isolation benefits her son, Lord Greville, and Theresa. Helen also differs from the traditional hero in that she is a female hero in a lead role. Hourihan argues

[70] Margery Hourihan, *Deconstructing the Hero: Literary theory and children's literature* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 63.
[71] Hourihan, p. 67.
[72] Hourihan, p. 69.

that the traditional hero in Western literary culture is white, upper-class, male, and young.[73] She adds that although there are stories involving female heroes, such as Joan of Arc, they embody male characteristics: 'Stories about female warriors such as Boadicea and Joan of Arc may appear to be exceptions but in most retellings of their exploits they are little more than honorary men who undertake male enterprises in a male context and display "male" qualities: courage, single-minded devotion to a goal, stoicism, self-confidence, certitude, extroversion, aggression.'[74] Helen's role as a woman, mother, and saviour, rather than a male character on a journey of self-discovery, shows how Gore reconstructs the idea of what it means to be female hero for the ghost story.

Gore uses Helen as a heroic figure; however, Peter Larsen Thorslev argues that 'the Romantic Age was our last great age of heroes'. He contends that military leaders such as Washington, Wellington, and Lord Nelson were living legends who inspired Romantic poets to place heroes in their literature.[75] Thorslev adds, 'The literary tradition died in England almost with Byron,' even if Napoleon 'left his shadow across Europe not only in his lifetime, but through the entire nineteenth century'.[76] He names Gore's silver fork contemporary Benjamin Disraeli and his works *Vivian Grey* (1826) and *Venetia* (1837) as examples of literature with characters who have 'heroic characteristics' and even the character of Byron himself.[77] Thorslev also includes *Jane Eyre*'s Rochester as a 'descendent of the Gothic Villain-Hero' and *Wuthering Heights*' (1847) Heathcliff as 'not

[73] Hourihan, pp. 58-72.
[74] Hourihan, p. 68.
[75] Peter Larsen Thorslev, *The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), pp. 16-7.
[76] Thorslev, pp. 16, 192.
[77] Sarah Wooton's *Byronic Heroes in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing and Screen Adaptation* (2016) also analyzes the Byronic hero as seen through the novels of female authors such as Jane Austen, Elizabeth Gaskell, and George Eliot.

only Byronic, but a great literary achievement'.[78] Thorslev defines Romantic heroes as having two qualities: individualism and isolation. He argues: 'one article of faith in every Romantic's creed was that the artist was solitary and superior, a hero and leader above the common herd.'[79] Helen possesses both these qualities throughout her journey in 'The Maid of Honour.' She is described by Lord Greville as having 'unfeminine superiority to all ideal terrors'.[80] And the narrator adds, 'Helen's was no common character. Young, gentle, timid as she was, the texture of her mind was framed of sterner stuff.'[81] Helen is illustrated as a unique character who is different from other females. Furthermore, Helen locates agency to define her life and decides to isolate herself in Greville Cross with Theresa Marchmont. Although Thorslev does not include any female heroes, Helen's individuality and separation from society gives her the Romantic characteristics that he describes.

A Different Type of Ghost Story

Gore's contribution to the English ghost story tradition displays her urge to align with the sub-genre's conventions while also breaking free of them in aspects such as plot. She sets up the story with traditional gothic and ghost story motifs then abandons the literary traditions and develops a different type of ghost story. The opening sentence sets the expectation that this will be a traditional gothic tale: 'It was a gloomy evening, towards the autumn of the year 1676, and the driving blasts which swept from the sea upon Greville Cross, a dreary and exposed mansion on the coast of Lancashire, gave promise of a stormy night, and added to the desolation which at all times pervaded its vast and comfortless

[78] Thorslev, p. 192.
[79] Thorslev, p. 18.
[80] Gore, p. 209.
[81] Gore, p. 206.

apartments.'[82] Gore creates a very dark setting and uses key descriptions ('a gloomy evening', a 'stormy night', and 'a dreary and exposed mansion' with 'comfortless apartments') to create the beginnings of a gothic tale. She also sets in motion the ghost story plot with the rumor that 'there is the figure of a lady in rich attire, but pale, very pale, who glides in the gray twilight through the apartments.'[83] When the ghost appears, Helen recognizes the woman from her portrait in Silsea Castle: 'She beheld, with panic-struck and breathless amazement, a female figure standing opposite…silent, and motionless, and with fixed and glassy eyes gazing mournfully on herself.'[84] After Gore has built up these conventions, she changes the plot by revealing the 'ghost' is not dead.

'The Maid of Honour' sets itself apart from earlier gothic literature by abandoning the narrative conventions it has introduced in order to create a proto-feminist agenda. While Gore creates an eerie evening for the story to take place, she keeps its location in England rather than a foreign setting often shown in gothic literature. All of the characters are English, and foreign characters are not present. This is in comparison to Ann Radcliffe's novels, such as *A Sicilian Romance* (1790), which often take place on the Continent. The most unusual aspect of Gore's ghost story is its change in trajectory from a ghost story to a realist bigamy plot. Soon after Helen discovers Theresa Marchmont is not a ghost, the narrative changes and Lord Greville takes over the narration. A large portion of the story is dedicated to Lord Greville's explanation of his history with Theresa and how she came to be the ghostly figure in their mansion. In his history, Greville admits he committed bigamy by marrying Helen while he was still married to Theresa. As McAlveavey argues,

[82] Gore, p. 203.
[83] Gore, p. 207.
[84] Gore, p. 208.

there is no room for three people to exist in the marriage and Greville eventually dies to create space for Helen and Theresa to thrive. Gore's contributions to literature in the 1820s and 30s and its similarities to the Brontës' works demonstrates how these female authors were able to progress the gothic and ghost conventions of the generations before them.

Although Gore's story is set in the seventeenth century, she creates an independent female hero for Victorian readers, particularly female readers, as an inspiration to channel agency. As a younger version of Theresa, the traditional 'mad' ghost, Helen exemplifies a new generation of self-reliant women in literature. At first, Helen embodies traditional maternal expectations that have been placed upon women for centuries. She sacrifices her relationship with her family in order for their lives to advance in society, and by doing so she hides away in Greville Cross to avoid scandal. However, her decision to separate herself from her husband, and, upon his death, live and tend to his first wife is a more unusual conclusion to a Victorian plot. Gore's ability to embrace conventions of the Victorian ghost story, then enhance them for a contemporary audience, is seen in Gore's two main characters. Her employment of old and new is used again when the characters Helen and Theresa are analyzed. Cox argues: 'Vampires function in a similar way to ghosts: haunting, potentially threatening, signifying a liminal space somewhere between life and death, and representing metaphors for cultural tensions and anxieties.'[85] Theresa's pale physical description and haunting routine at Greville Cross demonstrate her representation as a ghost-like figure, occupying a space between living and dead. Readers are forced to compare Theresa to Helen as each other's opposites. Although they both obtain the title of Lady Greville, Theresa and Helen represent two different generations.

[85] Cox, p. 52.

Theresa's ghost-like character symbolizes the women of centuries that have passed. Her history in King Charles II's court, and his manipulation over her love life shows how Theresa is a portrayal of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century women who lacked agency. On the other hand, Helen is younger than Theresa and stands for a new generation of women. Helen's agency allowed her to separate herself from Lord Greville and she is rewarded by obtaining his estate and her son acquires her maiden name. Gore applies Helen as an opposite of Theresa by giving her agency and honouring her for using it. Helen represents the young Victorian women reading 'The Maid of Honour' and Gore hopes to inspire a new generation of women to engage their agency.

The short story's flexibility with hybrid genres and experimentation of plot allowed writers like Gore to play with the diverse depictions of women in the mid-nineteenth century. The 'mad' women shown stereotypically in ghost stories as hags and ghosts develop into images of mothers, sisters, and lovers. The main female characters of these stories developed more complex personalities and actively participated in the direction of their lives by making their children and their own lives a priority. The similarities between these evolving representations of women further demonstrates the connections between the writers of these characters. Gore's Helen Percy, Anne Brontë's Helen Huntington, and Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre show resembling characteristics that suggest a progression of individualistic female characters in literature. Furthermore, these likenesses display attempts to defy marital expectations and domestic traditions.

Chapter Four

Christian Isobel Johnstone's Campaign for a Seat at the Literary Table

Obituaries of Christian Isobel Johnstone give few details of her personal life, but testify to her reputation and standing in, and beyond, literary circles. Upon her death in 1857, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* wrote: 'And although her lamented death occurred so near to the date of this publication, we cannot postpone a notice, however brief, of one who was, alike by her character and talents, an honour to the land she lived in.' The magazine identifies kindness as one of her most notable assets: 'Even the good she did was often concealed from those for whom it was done. Many persons now occupy respectable positions in the world, who are indebted exclusively to the plans of this gentlewoman – devised without solicitation, and untold when they were successful.'[1] The notice in *Tait's* pays tribute to Johnstone's demure personality and willingness to help others without recognition, suggesting her ability to maintain feminine propriety while also succeeding in her literary career. Pam Perkins's chapter on Johnstone in *Women Writers in the Edinburgh Enlightenment* (2010) is the most detailed published study of the author to date. Perkins takes an interest in the contradictory personas Johnstone presented as a private woman and as a public figure. Perkins argues: 'Christian Johnstone's ability to pull off this difficult balancing act between shaping a literary career in the combative world of the Edinburgh Press and maintaining her reputation as an impeccably feminine woman might, paradoxically enough, have in fact owed something to the separation of the public from the private life.'[2] Perkins uses Johnstone's letters to editors George Boyd and William

[1] [Anon.], 'Mrs. Johnstone', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, September 1857, pp. 573-5 (pp. 573-4).
[2] Pam Perkins, *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), p. 228.

Blackwood to investigate the practical and political issues surrounding her time as an editor. My analysis of Johnstone's career seeks to add to the groundwork Perkins has laid. While Perkins describes the two voices Johnstone employed as a female editor, I would like to consider why she used her voice in journalism and correspondence to express her views. I argue that Johnstone used her public platforms in *Tait's* and in her letters to campaign for her seat at the literary table. To prove her value as an editor in the British literary world, Johnstone wrote articles that demonstrated her editorial knowledge and offered advice to other magazines. She establishes her editorial voice by writing articles alongside editing and advocates for the issues she is passionate about. Later in her career, Johnstone's letters show her continued, sharp, and profuse knowledge of the marketplace by referring to her literary connections with other writers and editors. Although Johnstone worked behind the scenes as an editor and writer, she used her articles and letters as media to exert her voice, campaign for herself, and advance her career.

The Power of the Periodical

While the novel has generally been considered to be the dominating prose genre of the nineteenth century, scholars have increasingly turned their attention to the rapid success of the periodical press in the early part of the century. Magazines provided writers with the opportunity to create a career from the periodical press with advantageous options such as anonymity, regular payment, and the possibility of literary success. Literary participants, including Johnstone, were aware of the periodical's popularity. In her article, 'On Periodical Literature' (1833), Johnstone wrote: 'Thus millions of paltry ephemeras arise and die; and so much have they defiled the older literary costume, that it is not to be

wondered at if some of our best intellectuals, scared from the idea of separate publication, have fled for shelter and respectable company to the lover of periodical journals.'[3] Johnstone recognizes the appeal of periodical writing to writers who are looking for an easier opportunity for work. Although dozens of periodicals circulated throughout Great Britain, many scholars pay particular attention to the leading magazines of the early nineteenth century, notably *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, and *Fraser's Magazine*. Through these publications, literary scholars have attempted to convey the significance of this genre to the British culture of this time. Mark Parker argues that 'literary magazines should be an object of study in their own right;' however, he does recognize that attempts to bring more attention to periodicals has been difficult due to the overflowing amount of material involved.[4] David Stewart contends that: 'The magazines of this period contain much that remains untouched or undervalued by scholarship.'[5] As new magazines established themselves across Britain, they gave writers more opportunities for regular employment. The vast array of magazines and contributing writers presents scholars with the difficult task of assessing the multiplicity of material from the nineteenth-century periodical press.

In its own time, and in recent scholarly discussion, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* is a key, distinctive, and in many respects the leading periodical of the early nineteenth century. Ian Duncan asserts that the magazine's innovative style enabled it to

[3] Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'On Periodical Literature', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 3 iss. 16, July 1833, pp. 491-6 (pp. 494-5).
[4] Mark Parker, *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1-3.
[5] David Stewart, 'The Magazine and Literary Culture', in *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 31-46 (p. 46).

become the model for its subsequent competitors.[6] Stewart claims the magazine's relaunch in 1817 from the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* was the moment when 'magazine writing changed in the early nineteenth century'.[7] Well-known names such as John Gibson Lockhart, John Wilson, James Hogg, and John Galt were associated with the magazine. Stewart continues by arguing that *Blackwood's* impacted a wide range of writers and publishers and describes the magazine as: 'riotous, silly, inventive, aggressive, politically reactionary, up to the minute on literary culture and delightfully inconsistent.'[8] The magazine, which Stewart notes was known as a 'virulent Tory scandal rag,' had a specific formula underpinning its success. Duncan remarks: '*Blackwood's* […] not only published fiction in varying styles and formats but juxtaposed poems and tales with essays and reviews, rather than segregating them as had been the practice in earlier magazines, and introduced fictional into nonfictional articles.'[9] Duncan adds that the publication's editor William Blackwood, who found prosperity in novels and periodicals, was able to compete with Archibald Constable and went on 'to become the most prolific publisher of fiction in Edinburgh'.[10] Magazines in Edinburgh could also attribute their popularity to the decline of the Scottish novel. Duncan elaborates that 'the 1826 crash had destroyed one of the genre's principal publishers, Constable, as well as ruining its major author, and the book trade remained depressed well into the 1830s.'[11] These factors, Duncan contends, allowed magazines to thrive and *Blackwood's* 'style and format' was imitated by the *London*

[6] Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 21.
[7] Stewart, p. 34.
[8] Stewart, p. 34.
[9] Duncan, p. 27.
[10] Duncan, p. 22.
[11] Duncan, p. 289.

Magazine and *Fraser's Magazine* in the hopes to capture *Blackwood's* eminence in the periodical marketplace.[12]

Britain's other leading periodicals attempted to demonstrate their own personalities while also maintaining the *Blackwood's* formula. Stewart claims the *London Magazine* was 'deliberately', and acknowledged by *Blackwood's*, to be copied from the Edinburgh magazine.[13] The *London*, Tim Killick says, was an English 'rival' to the Scottish magazine.[14] Stewart describes the *London* as: 'witty if less silly and far more muted in politics and became best known for the quality of its individual contributors, including Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, Thomas Hood and Thomas De Quincey.'[15] The *New Monthly Magazine* relaunched in 1821 with Henry Colburn as its editor. Stewart says the magazine 'was almost wholly apolitical, light, gentle, inoffensive and the home of many of the best writers in part because it paid contributors so well'.[16] *The Wellesley Index* reports that Colburn was well-known for his tricky use of advertising, or 'puffing.' Like Blackwood, Colburn also published novels and his latest would usually have favourable reviews and 'lengthy notices' in the magazine.[17] In another attempt to ensure success, Killick says the *New Monthly* 'stole' Hazlitt and Lamb away from the *London* and recruited other names such as '[Mary Russell] Mitford, Cyrus Redding, B.W. Proctor, and [Theodore] Hook to write narrative prose'.[18] Although these descriptions are helpful to

[12] Duncan, p. 21.
[13] Stewart, p. 34.
[14] Tim Killick, *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Rise of the Tale* (Aldershots, Hants: Routledge, 2008), p. 26.
[15] Stewart, p. 34.
[16] Stewart, pp. 34-5.
[17] 'The New Monthly Magazine, 1821-1854', *The Wellesley Index of Victorian Periodicals*, <http://wellesley.chadwyck.co.uk.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/toc/toc.do?id=JID-NMM&divLevel=1&action=new&queryId=#scroll>, [accessed 06 May 2020].
[18] Killick, p. 28.

present day readers, Stewart iterates that it is difficult to narrow down a unified summary of a periodical: 'Descriptions such as these are possible, though it is worth remembering that a magazine is a miscellany, and no single description fits all of its contents; indeed magazines in this period made a point of being various.' He continues that the magazines' varieties are what created a diverse group of readers.[19] The periodicals described above demonstrate how influential the established magazines of early nineteenth-century Britain, especially Edinburgh, were. Johnstone worked her way into the periodical community by editing and writing for smaller magazines and slowly increasing the quality and esteem of the magazines she edited and contributed to. Through years of experience, Johnstone eventually made professional relationships with many of the key individuals in the periodical press and rose to become their equals, professionally. Once established at *Tait's*, Johnstone helped other writers, especially women, become published as well.

The early to mid-nineteenth century was a climactic time for the professionalization of writing. Women especially found fresh opportunities to write for a living even with some opposing societal expectations. Richard D. Altick states the profession attracted many people because of its inclusivity. He adds: 'Full-time authorship, especially novel-writing, appeared to be a viable (and, to the inexperienced, easy) way to make a good living. There was a great deal more money in the literary pot and increasing numbers of authors competing to share it.'[20] Peter Garside claims female authors usually took the form of two types of women who needed income: 'the widowed mother with a large family and the

[19] Stewart, pp. 35-6.
[20] Richard D. Altick, 'Publishing', in *A Companion to Victorian Literature & Culture*, ed. Herbert F. Tucker (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), pp. 289-304 (pp. 297-8).

single woman having to survive without parental support'.[21] J. Haythornthwaite observes that in the nineteenth century women writing was considered 'unwomanly' and to make a living appeared 'unladylike'. [22] James Raven says anonymous reviews demonstrate how various women writers were mocked: 'Reviews often reveal a sense of malicious fun in constructing flippant and ostentatiously horrified opinions. In addition to the amusing quips advising young women to return to churning butter rather than novels (amongst many such taunts), serious interventions warn of exposure to moral danger by reading fiction.'[23] Despite the ridicule from reviewers, writing for magazines became a more acceptable opportunity for women to earn money. Joanne Shattock argues: 'Writers of both sexes were able to earn a living by writing for the periodical press without a loss of status, which had been a risk in the 1820s and earlier'.[24] Johnstone's position at *Tait's* demonstrates the growing opportunities for female writers. Like the other periodicals, she had to find the magazine's target audience and voice. As the next section will show, Johnstone was able to make *Tait's* editorial voice her own.[25]

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[21] Peter Garside, 'Authorship', in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English: Volume 2: English and British Fiction 1750-1820*, ed. by Peter Garside and Karen O'Brien, 12 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 29-52 (p. 51).
[22] J. Haythornthwaite, 'A Victorian Novelist and her Publisher: Margaret Oliphant and the House of Blackwood', *The Bibliotheck: A Scottish Journal of Bibliography and Allied Topics,* 15.2 (1988), 37-50 (p. 38).
[23] James Raven, 'The Anonymous Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1830' in *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Robert J. Griffith (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), pp. 140-66 (p. 156).
[24] Joanne Shattock, 'Researching Periodical Networks: William and Mary Howitt' in *Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press* ed. by Alexis Easley, Andrew King, and John Morton (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 60-73, (p. 60).
[25] While this thesis predominantly focuses on Johnstone's periodical works, other scholars have focused their studies on the author's novels, specifically *Clan-Albin.* Some enriching journal articles include Dorothy McMillan's 'Figuring the Nation: Christian Isobel Johnstone as Novelist and Editor', Andrew Monnickendam's 'The Good, Brave-Hearted Lady: Christian Isobel Johnstone and National Tales', and Jennifer Marie Van Vliet's 'Transatlanticism and "Natural Sympathy" in Christian Isobel Johnstone's *Clan-Albin: A National* Tale (1815).'

Johnstone's Campaign

Johnstone's letters demonstrate her role as a key figure in not only the Edinburgh literary marketplace, but also the British literary inner circles. The voice in her periodical articles for *Tait's* reaffirms this as she shows intimate knowledge of the country's most popular periodicals. Her voice also displays her awareness as a female literary player who has the authority to influence the mainly male-dominated periodical press. The voice that comes across in her articles is politically campaign-like in which she is campaigning on two fronts: for change in the periodical press and respect for her position in the marketplace. In Perkins's analysis of Johnstone's career, she also elaborates on Johnstone's identity and voice as a journalist. She gives conflicting descriptions of Johnstone's journalistic traits, but this reflects the complex persona female writers had to embody in the public. Perkins argues: 'The voice that Johnstone developed in her fiction and journalism was, in other words, often surprisingly removed from the demurely retiring tones associated with late Georgian concepts of domestic femininity.'[26] However, she also contends that Johnstone's journalism identity is more reserved than her explicit identity as a novelist. Perkins points out that many of Johnstone's contributions are anonymous, but she suggests that this becomes an advantage as her journalistic voice is free from gendered literary stereotypes. Perkins also claims that although magazines had multiple voices being contributed throughout the publications by writers, the editor was the single main embodiment of the magazine's voice. She continues that Johnstone's journalistic voice was unique in that her heavy involvement as an editor and writer for three publications, the *Schoolmaster, Johnstone's Edinburgh,* and *Tait's*, allowed her voice to 'shape' the voices of the

[26] Perkins, p. 208.

periodicals 'rather than merely having to make a place for her work in a relatively heterogeneous mass of other anonymous writing'.[27]

Johnstone used her editorial voice to discuss many topics, but, specifically, her contributions regarding the periodical press demonstrate the change she was campaigning for in the magazine marketplace. Her articles advocate for cheaper magazines while also maintaining high literary standards. Johnstone's campaign for less expensive literature would mean better access to magazines throughout middle and lower economic classes, an idea she thought very highly of, as Alexis Easley has pointed out.[28] Perkins has noted that Johnstone's voice was sometimes seen as 'assertive.'[29] This is demonstrated in her magazine articles as she publicly named authors or periodicals that she agreed or disagreed with. As seen in the 'Fashionable Novelism' (1833) article, she names Catherine Gore as one of the fashionable novelists who is 'correctly' using satire to expose the upper echelons of society. Similarly, Johnstone uses her article 'Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine: The Cheap and Dear Periodicals' (1834) to address the magazines that are lowering their prices and those that are still expensive, and therefore, unattainable to the middle and lower classes. Conveniently, she uses her own magazine, *Johnstone's Edinburgh*, as the standard cost and literary quality that other magazines should model from. Johnstone claims: 'The experiment of monthly periodicals, combining great literary merit with extreme cheapness, was first conducted by Mr. Tait, our publisher, in the case of Johnstone's Magazine.'[30] The acknowledgement of her own magazine is an opportunity for free advertisement and boast:

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[27] Perkins, pp. 247-53.
[28] Alexis Easley, '"Tait's Edinburgh Magazine" in the 1830s: Dialogues on Gender, Class, and Reform', *Victorian Periodicals*, 38.3 (Fall 2005), 263-79 (p. 263).
[29] Perkins, p. 208.
[30] Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine: The Cheap and Dear Periodicals', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 4 iss. 22, January 1834, pp. 490-500 (p. 496).

'To beat the Penny Magazine in cheapness, is no slight achievement; and, at the same time, to equal the best of the expensive monthly periodicals in the excellence of its literary contents, as Johnstone's Magazine is admitted, by the best judges, to have done, constitutes a claim on public favour, such as no monthly periodical has hitherto preferred.'[31] She commends the weekly magazines such as *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, the *Penny*, and *Saturday Magazine* for reducing their prices and proclaims that when this event happened 'a new era in literature had evidently commenced.'[32] Johnstone shares with readers how publications need to operate in this 'new era': 'To secure a large circulation, it is not enough that a work be very good and very cheap: There must be a large number of people who look to reading for a regular source of gratification, and whose intelligence and means correspond with the contents and price of the work presented.'[33] Essentially, Johnstone says readers are looking for a periodical which matches their interests and intellectual level as well as one that provides them with 'value for money.'

Johnstone's article continues with her publicly revealing which 'expensive' magazines are declining in sales. Her first example is the *New Monthly Magazine* in which she blames its declining circulation numbers on high prices: 'The New Monthly Magazine was once as high as 4,500 or 5,000 but speedily fell. To arrest its declension, Mr. Lytton Bulwer, one of the first writers of the day, was engaged as editor. The magazine improved greatly under his management; but the price was 3s. 6d., and the circulation continued to fall.'[34] She diverts blame for the period's failing circulation from the editor, Edward Lytton Bulwer, to the periodical's price; thus avoiding confrontation with a colleague. Johnstone

[31] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 490.
[32] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 491.
[33] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', pp. 490-1.
[34] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 493.

then takes aim at *Fraser's Magazine* and its expensive prices: 'Yet Fraser's great drawback is not so much that Blackwood was before him, as that half-crowns are now scarce, and thirty shillings a-year a consideration to even that wealthy class to which Tory periodicals are addressed.'[35] With regard to *Fraser's*, Johnstone claims its prices are too high for even the magazine's target audience: the upper echelon readers. She indirectly blames these magazines and their high prices for forcing readers to rent periodicals from circulating libraries and book clubs rather than purchasing them, as done traditionally. Therefore, Johnstone uses her platform to advocate for cheaper periodicals. The expensive periodicals are forcing readers to rent magazines – a move that does not just affect the costly periodicals, but the cheap periodicals as well. Johnstone names the expensive periodicals in an attempt to shame them into lowering prices. Her campaign for lower prices does not just benefit her own cheap periodical, but is also a way to sustain the periodical press collectively.

Johnstone continues to prove her argument by displaying a table of figures listing magazines and their declining circulation numbers. She then uses her platform to suggest strategies her competitors can implement to compete in the evolving marketplace. Johnstone provides readers with two tables listing the most popular magazines of the day, their prices, and circulation numbers. The article becomes more business-like as Johnstone presents data, although we are unsure where this data was acquired from, and uses it to prove her argument. From her tables she concludes: 'Here we find the circulation proportionately rising as the price decreases.'[36] Again, Johnstone does not iterate where she obtained this information so her data could be skewed to align with her conclusion or

[35] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 494.
[36] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 495.

mere coincidence. Although readers might question the validity of her data, Johnstone does attempt a fair analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the popular periodicals around Britain, including her own. She observes: 'Johnstone's Magazine, from having no politics, has perhaps one advantage over Blackwood, Tait, and Fraser, by being addressed to every class; but then, Johnstone, and all works of that kind, have the corresponding disadvantage of being without political friends.'[37] Despite the allusions to her own periodical, she takes a moment to show its disadvantage in an attempt to show vulnerability to readers and a fair analysis of some British periodicals. After publicly displaying the publications that are declining in circulation, she offers a few suggestions to her fellow periodicals on money saving strategies. Of all the expenses a magazine spends, Johnstone argues that three costs can be manipulated to save money. She says costs of paper, 'printing at press', and 'sewing, stitching or binding' can be reduced. Johnstone reasons that 'increase of expense is not always in proportion to the increase of the impression.'[38] In order to reduce expenses but also maintain physical quality, Johnstone says: 'A sheet of paper, of the ordinary size used for Magazines and Reviews, is printed at the common printing press, and charged at the rate of 16s. per 1,000 copies; but a sheet one-half larger, or even twice as large, may, if the impression is great, be printed, by means of the newly invented printing machine, at the rate of ten or twelve shillings per thousand.'[39] Johnstone's suggestion of increasing the paper size to decrease the price per one thousand pages sets out the advantages of buying in bulk. She uses the same idea with the cost of sewing by claiming that the price of sewing decreases when a large quantity is purchased. Johnstone then points out that, unlike printing

[37] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 496.
[38] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 497.
[39] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 497.

and sewing, the price of paper does not cost less if more is purchased. Therefore, to save money on magazine paper, she asserts:

> By making the paper thinner, or of less fine quality, or both, its cost may be considerably diminished […] Again, by the same increase of the size of paper, double columns in the printing become necessary; and a double-columned page holds more matter than an ordinary page, as it requires less margin, and admits of a smaller type than looks well, or can be easily read in long lines. In this way a great saving of paper can be effected.[40]

She claims using paper of less quality and using less paper by formatting smaller print into double columns will save money for publications. Johnstone calls this 'the economical secret of the cheap periodicals'.[41] Although she names the expensive periodicals in an attempt to shame them into lowering their prices, she uses the second part of her campaign to offer advice. I argue that Johnstone purposefully uses statistics and money-saving advice to impress her colleagues. Additionally, the article demonstrates that she is business savvy enough to take on the role of editor. It displays professional skill and acumen.

For Johnstone, cheaper periodicals do not mean devaluing literary content. According to Perkins, the Johnstones supported the idea of providing knowledge for the working classes as also promoted by Henry Brougham's Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. However, Perkins claims that the Johnstones differed from Brougham's Society in that their idea of what kinds of knowledge the working classes obtained was much broader than Brougham's.[42] Johnstone's article gives readers insight into her thoughts on educating readers. She blames circulating libraries for decreasing the number of private subscribers and also for demanding 'lighter' literary material. Johnstone explains:

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[40] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 498.
[41] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 498.
[42] Perkins, pp. 259-60.

> This aim at the library readers has injured the Magazines. Their contents are too slight and ephemeral a character. Lightness of matter is now so much regarded as the necessary property of the whole contents of a monthly periodical, that every really valuable, because useful article, that appears in a Monthly, is denounced as "heavy," or "unsuitable for a magazine." Why unsuitable? The same kind of matter that is suitable to a Quarterly should not be out of place in a Monthly, if confined to moderate space.[43]

This passage demonstrates Johnstone's commitment to educating all classes with not just entertaining but useful information. The article demonstrates how Johnstone advocates for cheaper periodicals with high quality content to allow readers in the middle and lower economic classes to purchase magazines and inform themselves with useful knowledge. In the conclusion to her article, Johnstone reveals it is 'cheering' to see cheap periodicals thriving while expensive periodicals are declining. This ominous conclusion from Johnstone might carry sinister implications, insinuating that her joy derives from failing magazines. This admission from Johnstone demonstrates her competitive nature. From the statistics in the article, she shows the periodical press that she does stay up to date with the conditions of her magazine competitors. Although ambitious, Johnstone advocated for the decline of expensive periodicals and their transformation into cheaper periodicals rather than completely going out of business.

As discussed earlier, Johnstone tries to gain publicity and earn a reputation for her periodical, *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine,* by using it as an example of a cheap periodical with high literary content which other periodicals should use as a model. Like her advocacy of her publication, her magazine articles also show her campaign for herself as a female editor. She becomes a leader for the middle and lower classes by showing concern and promoting their interests. This strategy allows Johnstone to gain readers who

[43] Johnstone, 'Dear Periodicals', p. 499.

feel they are represented by the periodical and their loyalty is obtained. She sets up her campaign by demonstrating to readers who she is. Early in her editorial career, readers were given insight to who the true leader of *The Schoolmaster* magazine was. Johnstone's position as a female editor soon became an open secret to those in the Edinburgh literary circles. The article 'Cheap Periodicals' (1832) reviews the various inexpensive periodicals around the country. The author's identity appears to be disputed by Perkins who claims Tait wrote the article and *The Wellesley Index* which identifies Johnstone as the writer. Either way, the article reveals: 'the domestic duties of "The Schoolmaster" (Schoolmistress?) will be admirably performed'.[44] The writer could be using the term 'Schoolmistress' in relation to the domestic duties the periodical will perform. However, Perkins observes this word also displays the periodical title's inaccuracy by revealing the magazine is conducted by a woman – the Schoolmistress.[45] The next year, Tait conveyed his approval of *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine* by mentioning both Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone as conductors of the publication, but Tait specifically endorsed Christian at length. Along with an extensive description of Christian's previous works, Tait writes: 'In a word, if there be any author of the day, whether male or female, better qualified than another to conduct a periodical intended to combine instruction with amusement, and to render the latter the vehicle of the former, that author is Mrs. Johnstone.'[46] Tait's lengthy endorsement of Christian further displays her role as primary editor of *Johnstone's Edinburgh* compared to the brief mention of her husband. The support from Tait, an

[44] Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'Cheap Periodicals', in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 1 iss. 6, September 1832, pp. 721-4 (p. 724).
[45] Perkins, p. 264.
[46] Christian Isobel Johnstone and William Tait, 'Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine: prospectus', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 3 iss. 18, September 1833, pp. 783-94 (p. 784).

established editor in Edinburgh, helps Johnstone gain the credibility she needs from the public to fulfill her role as editor of her own periodical.

Johnstone sets up her platform and displays the issues she is passionate about early in her career. She effectively uses her editorial voice to disseminate information across all economic classes and, simultaneously, advance her career. In 'Cheap Periodicals', she says *The Schoolmaster* will provide 'moral tact, rich powers of illustration, and a rarely equaled flow of humour […] and that, if sterling honesty, great shrewdness, and a heart void of guile, are of any avail, his political tuition will be equally valuable.'[47] This passage demonstrates the characteristics her periodical will display. As Perkins has noted, the voice of the magazine often aligned with the voice of its main editor. Therefore, the qualities Johnstone describes for the magazine are also the characteristics she will display. If Johnstone is campaigning for her career, she has just established her candidacy and who she is to the public. As discussed earlier, she takes up the topic of cheaper periodicals as her main issue. She claims the call for cheaper periodicals is to allow people of all socio-economic classes to purchase the information they need to educate themselves. In a very political-like move, she rallies for her readers and attempts to create change in the periodical marketplace for them. This move allows Johnstone to become a respected figure amongst the middle and lower economic class readers and she seeks to obtain their loyalty to her and her publication by advocating for them. Johnstone's editorial experience allowed her to gain promotions in her career as she became co-editor of *Tait's* in 1834. Easley has noted that while at *Tait's,* she continued to work for the people by lowering *Tait's* price and including working-class writers in the periodical.[48] Johnstone's articles demonstrate

[47] Johnstone, 'Cheap Periodicals', p. 724.
[48] Easley, pp. 264-6.

how the editor promoted herself and the issues she was passionate about to a public audience. As her career flourished into the late 1830s and early 40s, she continued to show her value as a member of the British literary inner circles in her letters.

Johnstone's Literary Connections

Not many archives from Johnstone's life remain, but the ones that do provide a view into her professional life in Edinburgh. Very few scholars have analyzed Johnstone's letters in the National Library of Scotland. Various letters are held in the archive of Edinburgh publishers Oliver & Boyd while one is placed in the Blackwood archive. All the letters in the Oliver & Boyd archive are addressed to George Boyd, one half of the publishing house that produced Johnstone's *Cook and Housewife's Manual* (1826) and her children's book *Nights of the Round Table* (1832). Her letter in the Blackwood archive also shows her relationship with the famous Edinburgh publisher William Blackwood who published her early novel *Elizabeth de Bruce* (1827) and also helped finance the Johnstones' magazine *The Edinburgh Chronicle*. Johnstone occasionally mentions her husband, John Johnstone, and relates his well-being to the letter recipient. Many of her letters to Boyd demonstrate her editorial skills even before she combined her periodical, *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, with *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*. She describes the struggle for new writers to get published and suggests book topics that might create high sales. But just as Boyd valued Johnstone's opinion, she also depended on him for advice. She asks him what size her pages should be in her next publication and admitted, as Perkins notes, that writing is 'a most vexatious trade to make bread by'.[49]

[49] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (NLS), Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/198, 2 November 1836 and Perkins, p. 220.

Johnstone's letters between colleagues demonstrates her involvement in one of the thousands of epistolary networks circulating around Britain. Although Johnstone's business letters are the only correspondence that has been found so far, the letters display how they allowed her to network as her eighteenth-century predecessors did. Lindsay O'Neil's *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (2015) analyses the different types of epistolary networks from the eighteenth century and evaluates the roles members played within them. O'Neil claims there are two types of networks that emerge from letter writing in the Georgian period. The first are letters sent and received between family and friends defined as 'constant networks' and are 'maintained over time.' The second are what the critic calls 'ephemeral' and occurred occasionally when a solution to a problem was needed. 'Recently scholars have pointed to the continued importance of informal networks of assistance,' O'Neil asserts, 'and argued that informal chains of reciprocal obligation expanded during the early modern period even as the world became more centralized and institutionalized.'[50] While Johnstone, and Gore, whose letters will be discussed in the next chapter, write in the nineteenth century in a friendly tone with their colleagues that would appear intimate, their correspondence is mostly ephemeral and often involves discussions about lending money or literary advice. O'Neil's study not only investigates the relationships between letter writers and receivers, but also incorporates those mentioned in letters as a part of the epistolary networks: 'Acknowledging this second layer of the connection broadens the scope of the epistolary world and helps reveal how it functioned.'[51] As seen in Johnstone's nineteenth-century

[50] Lindsay O'Neil, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 78-98.
[51] O'Neil, p. 79.

letters, the function of writing letters about a third party carried on into the next century. Later, this chapter discusses Johnstone's letter in which she mentions Gore and Leigh Hunt. Although they are not the senders or the receivers in the correspondence, Gore and Hunt become embedded in the social network.

O'Neil demonstrates the significance of not only ephemeral correspondence, but of familial and business networks that surfaced in the eighteenth century. The 'constant networks,' the critic describes, were stronger relationships than the briefer connections between supplicants and patrons in the eighteenth century. O'Neil argues that familial and friendly relationships became more important as 'the world of the British elite became more mobile and geographically expansive.' She continues: 'the value of these networks rested not on the affection they could provide, but on the actions they could perform.'[52] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, those in business became more dependent on letters to communicate. O'Neil claims: 'These letters were usually more straightforward and plain in style, like the nature of the connection they nurtured […] It was the only way to conduct business or hold together an associational body at a distance.'[53] Johnstone's letters with her editors display how business letters evolved from the plain style seen in the eighteenth century to a more personal and cordial style in the nineteenth century. Although her letters to colleagues were occasional and only written when her husband was not around to conduct her business, Johnstone wrote elaborate letters that demonstrated her extensive literary network and intellectual abilities as an editor.

[52] O'Neil, p. 96.
[53] O'Neil, p. 141.

Johnstone's efforts to remain connected with the Edinburgh, and wider British, literary circles continues the traditions of eighteenth-century women writers who created networks with their literary peers. Women writers such as Charlotte Lennox and Sarah Fielding used connections with more well-known writers, particularly male authors, to maintain their careers in a time when society increasingly dissociated middle-class women from ideas of work, whether manual or intellectual. Schellenberg highlights the roles of Samuel Johnson and Samuel Richardson, for example, in supporting women writers: 'The pattern is that of a complex network, whereby sourcebooks are exchanged, subscriptions promoted, and publishing opportunities watched for, in a spirit of facilitation that was fostered, rather than doled out towards subordinates, by Johnson and Richardson with their valuable trade connections.'[54] Lennox and Fielding became connected with Johnson and Richardson, but as Schellenberg observes, they also had deliberate plans for executing their careers as seen through 'internal indicators in their texts and through private and public representations of their work.'[55] Akin to Lennox, Johnstone was actively involved with her literary peers. Schellenberg explains that Lennox 'practiced a more openly professionalized model of the writer […] and aggressively work[ed] her collegial networks to obtain both opportunities with booksellers and patronage from social leaders.'[56] While Johnstone's professional situation was publicly known, her work as a behind-the-scenes editor for *Tait's* displays the gradual progression of female professionalization and the continuous struggle to reconcile public and private lives.

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[54] Betty Schellenberg, *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 11.
[55] Schellenberg, *Professionalization of Women Writers,* pp. 95-106.
[56] Schellenberg, 'The Professional Female Writer', p. 48.

In her analysis of Johnstone's letters, Perkins discusses the author's relationships with editors Blackwood and Boyd as well as highlighting the perception of Johnstone through other writers such as Thomas Carlyle and Thomas De Quincey. What Perkins does not mention is Johnstone's references to other previous and contemporary writers and editors in her letters. Perkins pays close attention to Johnstone's membership of Edinburgh literary circles. However, Johnstone's acknowledgement of other literary figures, including Anna Barbauld, Maria Edgeworth, Henry Colburn, Leigh Hunt, and Catherine Gore, display her place as not only an insider in Edinburgh literary circles, but the entire country's literary network. In an 1828 letter to Boyd, Johnstone shares her eagerness to publish a *Juvenile Book* and asks the publisher: 'I am anxious to have it out of my hands and I would certainly prefer you for the publisher, and surely so small an affair can be easily arranged […] My anxiety to have the publisher fixed is that in copying out I can give the thing a [curt] more or by suited to the Scottish or London Market.'[57] These business letters depict how quickly Johnstone became immersed and well-known in Edinburgh literary circles through her heavy involvement as an editor and writer. But her references to other literary contemporaries inside and outside Edinburgh, and the passage above, show that she was invested in the success of London as well as in Edinburgh literary circles. Johnstone's letters display she was a capable businesswoman who was constantly proving her place in the literary marketplace by displaying her knowledge of past authors, making attempts at career advancement, and establishing connections with the literary elite of her time.

One of Johnstone's earliest references in her extant letters mentions Anna Laetitia Barbauld and Maria Edgeworth. Although not Johnstone's contemporaries, her mention of

[57] Edinburgh, NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/194, 24 April 1828. Words in brackets signify the most likely transcribed word.

them displays Johnstone's literary knowledge base and recognition of the female writers who came before her. In the 1827 letter to Boyd, Johnstone writes of how she read Elizabeth Strutt's piece *Mary Harland* (1828) with 'much pleasure'.[58] Later, she says : 'I dare say the other volume is a very good thing of the kind, but I have so little knowledge of that style of writing since the books of Mrs. Barbauld and Miss Edgeworth, that I could not form an opinion of what a new book should be for children.'[59] Johnstone alludes here to Barbauld's and Edgeworth's children's literature published in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Children's literature, which, as M.O. Grenby has shown, had become a 'commodity' in the mid-eighteenth century, continued to develop in various forms through the nineteenth century.[60] Claudia Nelson claims that early nineteenth-century children's literature 'emphasized either Evangelical religion or secular rationalism'.[61] Just by looking at the titles of Barbauld's and Edgeworth's literature for children, such as Barbauld's *Lessons for Children* (1778-9) and Edgeworth's *Early Lessons: In Two Volumes* (1820) one can see that their works aimed to teach children and align with Nelson's definition: 'After all, a major function of children's literature is to explain to the young the principles, ethical as well as practical, by which the society that has produced it works or should work.'[62] In Johnstone's 1827 letter to Boyd, she continues to praise *Mary Harland* by calling it 'useful' and writing: 'but it is a beautiful story, its religion without cant and its morality stories without [pharisaical] severity, and I should have no fear of it

[58] Perkins, p. 219.
[59] Edinburgh, NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/193, 3 September 1827.
[60] M.O. Grenby, 'The origins of children's literature' in *The Cambridge Companion to Children's Literature*, ed. by M.O. Grenby and Andrea Immel, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 3-18 (pp. 1-6).
[61] Claudia Nelson, 'Growing Up: Childhood' in *A Companion to Victorian Literature & Culture*, ed. by Herbert F. Tucker, (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), pp. 69-81 (p. 74).
[62] Nelson, p. 75.

selling.'[63] Johnstone's passage aligns with Nelson's definition and relates to Barbauld's and Edgeworth's children's stories on religion and teachable lessons. Johnstone's reference to these two writers and their children's literature implies that their pieces are the standard Johnstone regards with that subgenre. Throughout her career, Johnstone also wrote children's literature. Earlier in the 1827 letter, Johnstone wrote: 'I am sure it [*Mary Harland*] ought to succeed, and believe it must. Yet the sale must be circumscribed to a certain age and [day] – It is not a children's book like "my early days" and many ladies won't like it.'[64] It is not completely clear what Johnstone means by 'my early days'; either she is referencing the works of early nineteenth-century authors such as Barbauld and Edgeworth or she is citing her own literature for children, including *The Diversions of Hollycot; or, the Mother's Art of Thinking* (1828) and *Nights of the Round Table Table; or, Stories of Aunt Jane and Her Friends*. Due to a lack of research on children's literature by Johnstone, it is more likely Johnstone's 'early days' refers to the works of early-century writers. The inclusion of these names is another way Johnstone tries to prove her worth as a capable editor of a major British periodical. Her reference to the literary women who came before her pays homage to their efforts. Moreover, Johnstone demonstrates her publishing knowledge by examining *Mary Harland's* potential popularity with consumers.

Johnstone's letters indicate that as her career developed into the 1830s, she became more connected with her editorial contemporaries. In two of the letters to Boyd, she makes remarks about Henry Colburn, the editor and publisher who often published silver fork literature. Johnstone makes it known that she keeps up to date on what her silver fork contemporaries are publishing and her article in *Tait's*, 'Fashionable Novelism', informs

[63] NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/193, 3 September 1827. (original emphasis)
[64] NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/193, 3 September 1827.

readers of her opinion towards the controversial subgenre. Johnstone's article on fashionable novels was published anonymously in September 1833. Instead of criticizing the subgenre itself, she displays disapproval of the critics who do not understand the novels' purposes. Johnstone writes: 'The democrats of the critical press, – to whom, for the most part, little is known of lords and ladies […] – mistake the *surface* for the *thing*;– and, overflowing with the bile generated by mingled envy and contempt, fall upon the first fashionable novel that courts the notice of their pen.'[65] She claims that critics of the subgenre do not understand the society of 'lords and ladies', and thus, judge the novels and their depictions of upper-class society for the '*surface*' or in a literal sense. She also accuses jealous critics of introducing their own bias into criticisms of the upper echelons of society. Johnstone goes on to explain why critics are incorrectly judging fashionable novels by writing: 'Wo to such narrow views of the use and purposes of fiction!'[66] This passage reiterates her claim that critics are not looking beyond the '*surface*' of the novels. Although she continues with what might appear to be insults by calling the novels 'satires upon the nobility of the realm' and 'gaudy pantomimes of fashion', she praises the purpose of fashionable novels by writing: 'Like the highest order of caricature, there lurks a moral in their parodies.'[67] Johnstone argues that fashionable novels serve the purpose of 'expos[ing] the fashionable classes to contempt; while some affect the nobler aim of their amendment'.[68] Johnstone is able to view the novels beyond their '*surface*' and conclude that the satire is used to condemn and inspire change in the upper echelons of society. She

[65] Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'Fashionable Novelism', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 3 iss. 18, September 1833, pp. 729-31, (p. 729). (original emphasis)
[66] Johnstone, 'Fashionable Novelism', p. 729.
[67] Johnstone, 'Fashionable Novelism', p. 729.
[68] Johnstone, 'Fashionable Novelism', p. 729.

recognizes authors such as Bulwer, Susan Ferrier, Hook, Gore and others who are writing the subgenre in the 'exposed' manner she explained. However, she comments on authors who are not writing fashionable novels in the way she believes is right. Johnstone refers to some novels 'with those inundations of trash, with names "too tedious to mention," as the advertisements say […] – where nothing is enthroned, and nothing to be learned, but vulgarity and meanness'.[69] She emphasizes that satire is the key to the success for fashionable novels: 'In truth, it is to the delineation of aristocratic life, – to the sins of the law-makers and law-breakers, – that modern satire must direct its wholesome strictures.'[70] She explains that satire is able to examine the 'wholesome strictures' or the façade '*surface*' that she mentioned earlier. Johnstone's attraction to silver fork novels and her ability to see beyond their surface echoes her position as a female editor. Although no known criticism of Johnstone's employment has been found, one can assume she received reprimand from a section of society that did not find it appropriate for a woman to work in a public position. Similarly to how Johnstone views the silver fork's purpose behind its consumerist values, she also wished for her contemporaries to see her worth as an editor beyond her physical appearance as a woman.

Johnstone's letters that make reference to Colburn demonstrate her recognition of the editor's and fashionable novels' influence and popularity in the early part of the century. In the earliest letter to Boyd which comments on Colburn, August 1829, Johnstone starts by sharing the background of Mr. [Harties] – a soldier turned tutor who educated the Madagascar princes during a period Johnstone calls 'the most important in the history of

[69] Johnstone, 'Fashionable Novelism', p. 730.
[70] Johnstone, 'Fashionable Novelism', p. 731.

the Island'.[71] Johnstone's letter indicates that she was campaigning for the publication of the manuscript of Mr. Harties' diary on behalf of the man's friends who 'wished the work to appear in London'.[72] The letter suggests Johnstone is trying to persuade Boyd to take on the manuscript by revealing: 'I mentioned to you that no bookseller had seen the papers some three parts given to Mr Colburn – …I have an idea that a good deal contained in the Diaries may in another form have been sent home to the Colonial Office, but this is merely conjecture.'[73] By stating that Colburn has three parts of the manuscript, Johnstone is enticing Boyd to take on the Diaries in order to compete with the London publisher. In the second part of the passage, she even suggests that more material may be found with the Colonial Office inferring that the work could be developed even further. Johnstone employs the same tactic with Boyd again a few years later. In her letter on 1 December 1832, she informs Boyd on the current status of cookbooks in the literary marketplace: 'This is a bad time of year to be out of cookery books […] Before giving you copy I should like to see Colburn's Book Dolby's Cook's Dictionary is I think the name. There is also an American book published by [Jegg] – By the same token the Spectator [abused] it about four months back, but I forget its name.'[74] Johnstone's 'copy' must refer to the next edition of *Cook and Housewife's Manual* which went into numerous editions in the mid-nineteenth century. As in the earlier letter, Johnstone applies pressure to Boyd by referencing other publishers, specifically naming Colburn, who are also publishing cookery books. Since the letter is dated 1 December, Johnstone keeps in mind the additional cooking involved during the Christmas season and the possibility of an increase in cook book sales. Both of these

[71] NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/195, August 1829.
[72] NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/195, August 1829.
[73] NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/195, August 1829.
[74] Edinburgh, NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/196, 1 December 1832.

passages involving Colburn display how Johnstone takes advantage of the competition between publishing houses. She uses Colburn's name and his books to imply that the London publisher is producing more material and thus persuades Boyd to publish her own work in order to keep up with the competition.

The type of gentle manipulation Johnstone applies to Boyd is unlike the proper woman that other writers described her as. Her extremely polite letter to Blackwood also shows Johnstone controlling the outward perception of herself. On the 5 October 1824, Johnstone wrote a letter to Blackwood on behalf of her husband. Unlike her letters to Boyd, Johnstone is very formal and refers to herself as Mrs. Johnstone rather than using personal pronouns. She does not begin her letter with short discourse, but quickly addresses her request: 'Mrs. Johnstone presents compliments to Mr. Blackwood, and requests as a particular favour, that he will have the goodness to receive at 17 Princes' Street any letters that may come there addressed G. M.'[75] Johnstone's formal manner is shown when she 'presents compliments' to the publisher and reminds him of his 'goodness.' The author's compliments are an attempt to please Blackwood with words and hopefully have a better chance of him agreeing to her favour. To counteract her overt courtesy, she demonstrates her courage in writing to the established Edinburgh publisher: 'Mr. J –s absence from home devolves the task of making this troublesome request on Mrs. J – but she has the same confidence in doing so, as she believes Mr. Blackwood will be pleased to hear that a young female friend for he [sic] took a similar trouble three years ago has been ever since in the family of the Low President and is much esteemed.'[76] Johnstone continues the formality by calling Blackwood 'he' rather than using 'you.' The letter shows how Johnstone's

[75] NLS, MS 4012, fol. 210.
[76] NLS, MS 4012, fol. 210.

manners do not allow her to address him directly. Moreover, her statement of having the confidence to write to Blackwood, rather than waiting for her husband, shows the publisher that she is not an ordinary female editor. Her confidence to write directly to Blackwood situates her as his colleague. Johnstone's position as an editor for the *Inverness Courier* is not as established as Blackwood's, but she is writing to him as an equal. The official tone of the letter is different from the informal tone of the letters to Boyd. In these, she uses personal pronouns when referring to herself and Boyd. She also shows more vulnerability to Boyd like when she says that she does not remember the name of a book. The casualness of the letters to Boyd displays a more personal connection between the two. Johnstone's letter to Blackwood demonstrates how her demeanor and female voice fluctuated when she addressed different colleagues.

Johnstone's letters not only signal her relationship with fellow editors around the country, but with her writer colleagues as well. In a letter to Boyd, she refers to contemporaries Leigh Hunt and Gore who regularly contributed to *Tait's*. Her employment of Hunt and his literature in several other pieces of her writing show her respect for Hunt and further investigation reveals their similar career beginnings. Born, and dying, only a few years apart, both began their careers as editors of their own periodicals. Johnstone and her husband wrote and printed magazines, such as the *Inverness Courier*, *Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Magazine,* and *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, from 1817 through to their union with *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*. Hunt also started the *Examiner* with his brother in 1808 and while Johnstone circulated between several magazines, Hunt maintained his presence at the *Examiner* for thirteen years. Within their published work, both writers display similar interest in the topic of military flogging. As Nicholas Roe

notes, Hunt wrote 'One thousand lashes!!' for the *Examiner* in 1810 to denounce the practice. Five years later, Johnstone also took up the topic in her first novel *Clan-Albin* (1815) and in an 1837 article for *Tait's* entitled 'Remarks on Military Law and the Punishment of Flogging.' Furthermore, Roe suggests that after Hunt's release from prison in 1815, the *Examiner* increased its literary content and published pieces of fiction as well as literary reviews and analyses by William Hazlitt.[77] It was Hunt himself, Robert Morrison argues, who persuaded Tait to expand his magazine's agenda beyond politics. But before persuading, Hunt insulted both *Tait's* and *Johnstone's*: 'We must show, however, that this is not the case with ourselves, by stating that it is not in our power to say a word, at present, of our friends *Tait* and *Johnstone*, whose Magazines have not arrived as usual.'[78] In an attempt to undermine the magazines, he gives them a poor performance review and sets up his next move to effect their union. In a letter to Tait, Hunt said: 'Politics are undoubtedly the great thing just now, and long may they continue to be so […] but a magazine, I am sure, is the better for having a good deal of its ground broken up into smaller and more flowery beds.' After Hunt's letter, Tait combined his magazine with *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine* and made Johnstone its co-editor.[79] Morrison's argument demonstrates how Hunt planted the idea of merging by forcing the magazines to question their individual performances then making the suggestion to Tait to expand his magazine's topics. Easley argues that during Johnstone's editorship, the magazine 'developed a stronger literary emphasis'. She explains: 'As editor, Johnstone's definition of reformist

[77] Nicholas Roe, 'Hunt, (James Henry) Leigh (1784-1859)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/14195>, pp. 4-6.
[78] Leigh Hunt, 'A Glance at the Magazines', *The True Sun Daily Review*, 12 December 1833, p. 3 qutd. in Robert Morrison, *The Selected Writings of Leigh Hunt*, vol. 3 *Periodical Essays, 1822-38*, ed. by Robert Morrison and Michael Eberle-Sinatra, 6 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2003), III, pp. 203-4.
[79] Luther A. Brewer, *My Leigh Hunt Library: The Holograph Letters* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1938), p. 198 qutd. in Morrison, pp. 203-4.

journalism was premised on the idea that positive social change would result if the literary taste of the general public were improved.'[80] Johnstone's copious articles suggest she attempted to improve the quality of literature in the magazine.

Although Hunt wrote various poems and Johnstone produced prose, several pieces of her work indicate that she drew some inspiration from him. After researching both writers, one might speculate that Johnstone was an enthusiast for Hunt, and not only read his work, but also agreed with his sentiments. In her 1836 letter to Boyd, Johnstone praises a piece the editor sent her to include in *Tait's* but she replies that there is no room in the magazine for new writers. She explains that the magazine is using well-known authors to fill the columns and 'Veterans like Mrs. Gore, Leigh Hunt, or those, are of course higher paid than new hands – or new beginners.'[81] Her recognition of Gore and Hunt displays her relationship with the 'veterans' of magazine writing and is also a slight boast of the writers she is able to recruit. Johnstone's admiration for Hunt goes beyond the professional as she also includes one of his passages in her short story 'The Experiences of Mr. Richard Taylor'. In this story, analysed more fully in Chapter One, Johnstone's main character, Mr. Richard Taylor, helps Mrs. Roberts become an organized and economical housewife by explaining that ornament found in nature is more valuable than fashionable ornament. Taylor's phrase, 'when you quote Leigh Hunt against me', emphasizes that Taylor shares Johnstone's appreciation for Hunt.[82] Johnstone's inspiration from Hunt can also be seen in her writing style. Perkins notes that the *Tait's* article 'Female Letter-Writers' (1832) is

[80] Easley, p. 265.
[81] NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/198, 2 November 1836.
[82] Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'The Experiences of Mr. Richard Taylor', in *The Edinburgh Tales*, ed. by Christian Isobel Johnstone, 3 vols (Edinburgh, London, and Dublin: William Tait; Chapman and Hall; and John Cumming, 1845-6) I, p. 20.

attributed to Hunt by *The Wellesley Index*, though she argues that Johnstone is its true author. Perkins explains that although the 'features such as its somewhat luxuriantly phrased delight in the literary spectacle of the suffering, abandoned women' might suggest that its author is male, references in the article are made to John Paul Jones and 'Delia' from the biography Johnstone was working on and the letters she received from Jones's niece, Miss Taylor. Perkins concludes that 'those manuscripts seem to have passed from Miss Taylor to the Johnstones and then back again'.[83] Although Perkins' argument focuses on the difficulty of assigning writers to anonymous magazine articles, she also shows how Hunt's writing is reflected in Johnstone's. Johnstone's Hunt-like writing style could come from reading the writer often and consciously or subconsciously mimicking his prose. But this relationship was not one sided. As we have seen in Chapter One, Hunt was aware of the Johnstones and wrote of the similarities between *Tait's* and *Johnstone's* before their merger. Hunt's detailed descriptions of *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine* show that he read the periodical and possibly wrote for it. Hunt appears to know of the Johnstones, and possibly have a professional relationship, before Christian became editor or *Tait's*. Johnstone's connections with Hunt via personal sentiments, interest in his literature, and contributions to *Tait's*, uncover her professional relationship with Hunt and the satisfaction she finds in his association with *Tait's*.

In the 1836 letter to Boyd, Johnstone mentions Mrs. Gore alongside Hunt as the 'veterans' in the magazine writing inner circle. Johnstone's multiple references to Gore and her work provide clues to a previously unanalyzed relationship between the two writers. According to the *Wellesley Index*, seventy-three articles for *Tait's Edinburgh*

[83] Perkins, p. 247-8.

Magazine are attributed to Gore in the years 1832-46. These years align almost exactly with Johnstone's editorship at *Tait's* from 1834-46. Throughout Gore's career, the *Wellesley Index* indicates that she wrote many magazine articles and serialized stories for not just *Tait's*, but also for Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine* and Richard Bentley's *Miscellany*. Johnstone's 1836 letter to Boyd reveals that Gore's story, 'The Beggar's Wallet' (1834-7), was one of *Tait's* most popular pieces. After refusing to take on a new writer in *Tait's*, Johnstone replies: 'They might answer for Tait's Magazine, but the plague is that we have so many story-tellers already, and a lot on hand of Beggar's Wallets &c. that [new] authors must elapse before their turn can come.'[84] Johnstone displays how popular Gore's story was due to her description of authors attempting to mimic her style. Gore indicates in a letter to William Tait that she was also aware of the story's popularity. In an 1842 letter to the publisher she discusses an upcoming novel he is to publish and says: 'If you use my name otherwise than as "The Author of The Beggar's Wallet," or "Toby Allspy," I must alter my story, as it is scarcely fiddle faddle enough for what is required from me–'[85] Gore demonstrates that she used 'The Author of The Beggar's Wallet' as a pseudonym to dissociate her name from the content of her work. This also signifies how she used the title of her previous story to attract more readers who enjoyed 'The Beggar's Wallet' and persuade them to read her newest piece of work. Johnstone's reference to 'The Beggar's Wallet' and the numerous writers attempting to mimic the story allows her to boast about the amount of attention her publication is receiving. Not only are more people reading the magazine, but amateur writers are sending in their stories hoping to contribute to *Tait's* and become the next Mrs. Gore.

[84] NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/198, 2 November 1836.
[85] Edinburgh, NLS, MS 3713, fols. 130-1.

Additionally, Johnstone mentions ‘Mrs. Gore’, as she is commonly called, in her article ‘Fashionable Novelism.’ According to Johnstone, Gore is one of the ‘fashionable’ authors who are writing the subgenre in a way that exposes the upper echelons of society by using satire. Johnstone and Gore’s relationship continues into the 1840s as they both contribute their short stories to Johnstone’s *The Edinburgh Tales* (1845-6). Although there are no known letters between the two, evidence beyond what I have shown here displays a more intimate professional relationship. I will go into more detail about their connections and collaborations in the concluding chapter. Johnstone’s references to Gore in her letters and article further displays Johnstone’s placement as an editor who had professional relationships with well-known literary figures. The tone of her letter about Hunt and Gore suggests Johnstone was proud to have them as regular writers for *Tait’s*. Johnstone used this platform to boast about her effectiveness as a writing recruiter and editor. Johnstone used these two popular London writers as examples of the high standard of work she implemented in the magazine. This expression of pride is another demonstration of Johnstone’s uniqueness as a female editor. Although bragging is not a traditionally lady-like quality, Johnstone recognizes her own success and does not hesitate to impress her friend by showing off her editorial accomplishments.

Although Johnstone is most commonly associated with *Tait’s*, her literary career crossed paths with editors and writers in the Edinburgh and London literary scenes. To become a significant member of these literary circles, Johnstone had to establish her voice and positions on a range of disparate topics. She used her experience as an editor on the periodicals with her husband to advocate for the cheap periodical. According to her obituary, her efforts were a success: ‘The cheap publications, which have now become so

important and influential, originated in that office, we believe, by Mrs. Johnstone, and in a great measure matured by her husband.'[86] Her significant contributions to cheap periodicals, her confidence to write to William Blackwood, and attempts to brag about her editorial abilities demonstrate her uncommon feminine character. These examples display the bravery she exhibited in order to become a successful female editor, rather than as a figure whose efforts were 'matured' by her husband. Despite her influence on the increase of cheap periodicals, Johnstone's letters reveal she continued to campaign for herself and demonstrate her worth as a significant literary contributor. The letters to Boyd demonstrate her abundance of knowledge of the literary marketplace, including valorizing the work of precursor female writers, assessment of competition with other publishing houses, and knowledge of popular contemporary writers. The letters reflect insecurities she might have had as a woman in a male-dominated marketplace, but several comments display how respected she was. William Anderson's *The Scottish Nation* (1863) shares the same sentiments other publications noted on Johnstone's feminine disposition. He also records a remark made by Thomas De Quincey about the author: 'De Quincey speaks of her as "our own Mrs. Johnstone, the Mrs. Jameson of Scotland," and cites her along with "Joanna Baillie, Miss Mitford, and other women of admirable genius," as an example of a woman "cultivating the profession of authorship with absolutely no sacrifice or loss of female dignity."'[87] The juxtaposing images of Johnstone as a reserved author who did not want the spotlight and the passionate campaigner for the middle and lower classes displays the

[86] 'Mrs. Johnstone', p. 574.
[87] William Anderson, *The Scottish Nation; or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours, and Biographical History of the People of Scotland*, 3 vols (Edinburgh and London: A. Fullarton & Co., 1863) III, p. 714.

complex personas she had to juggle in order to be recognized as a significant member of the British literary marketplace.

Chapter Five

The Professional Correspondence of Catherine Gore

While Gore's extensive oeuvre of fiction demonstrates to readers the Regency world in which she lived early in her career, her letters allow today's readers and researchers different perspectives on her inner thoughts and emotions. The letters that have been recovered and archived are correspondence with various acquaintances such as the sixth Duke of Devonshire and Mary Ann Disraeli. More of Gore's letters have survived compared to Johnstone's correspondence with George Boyd and William Blackwood. Like Johnstone, Gore sent business letters to her editors (specifically William Tait, editor of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, and Richard Bentley, editor of *Bentley's Miscellany*). These letters to her editors present us with examples of how women writers often formed a personal bond with their professional peers. Gore's discourse with Tait and Bentley is on business, but unlike Johnstone, she often transitions into friendly conversation by discussing personal matters. Gore's correspondence with her editors differs from several other nineteenth-century women writers in that all current evidence displays that she was the sole manager of her own career. In contrast to many of her peers, Gore did not rely on her husband or another male relative to negotiate with editors and publishers. Many of Gore's letters to editors reveal she was in control of the creative and business aspects of her career. This is seen through discourse regarding negotiating payment, complaining over the lack of advertising, and the gender pay disparity in the literary marketplace. These types of business discourse display an overall sense of anxiety Gore felt over her place as a writer. Several letters show she was eager to write and demonstrate how she advertised herself to

editors. Gore's large collection of books and magazine articles reflect one way in which her anxiety manifested itself. To remain relevant in the literary marketplace and maintain the attention of editors, Gore consistently wrote novels, short stories, and magazine articles throughout her thirty-year career. Her letters are a reflection of the career she strove to make a success. Gore's letters mimic her literary career as they demonstrate her private life as a mother in the upper echelons of society and her professional life as a literary businesswoman. Since Gore played the roles of writer and business manager, her correspondences reveal aspects of both characters. Through her letters, first, it becomes apparent that Gore purposefully made her editors aware of her knowledge of salary and the literary marketplace she was competing in. Second, the author balanced assertiveness when discussing her fiction with friendly feminine propriety that would have been expected from her. And third, Gore demonstrates creative 'literariness' in her letters which suggests her attempts to persuade the editors to take actions that would be advantageous to her career. All of these conditions display combination of assertiveness about business matters and a residual anxiety about the role of the woman writer.

Women of Letters

Gore's ability to conduct business via letters is in part due to the efforts of eighteenth-century women who made correspondence part of their larger social network. Lindsay O'Neil argues that although eighteenth-century women were less influential authority figures in society than men, women could still use letters to influence familial relations. She writes: 'The period of 1600 to 1800 saw an expansion of educational opportunities for women of the upper and middling classes and a growing number of works catered to a

female audience.' She adds several reasons why women became more associated with reading and writing letters and she explains that as men were increasingly likely to use the vernacular and to write in an italic hand, 'women no longer needed to know other languages or exotic hands in order to read or write letters.' Although women's positions in society often limited their influence on familial networks, O'Neil claims 'they helped the social, political, and economic world turn: they too wielded power and could help form an interest using the same tools as men.'[1]

Jordan Lavers' chapter in *Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century* (2014) challenges O'Neil's argument that women's influence was limited. Through German Romantic writer Karoline von Günderrode, Lavers analyses the real-life experience of a female writer in the eighteenth century. While O'Neil argues the letter did not allow women to reach beyond the family networks, Lavers' claim differs: 'The letter is less relevant as a way to represent Günderrode's limitations or exclusion and more as a means to step over those spatial, temporal, and intellectual limitations and absences.'[2] Lavers highlights the social aspect to epistolary networks saying they are an 'audience-orientated tool' rather than an isolating activity. In his case study of Günderrode, Lavers examines how the epistolary network allows her to pursue her career and argues she would not have been able to as an isolated individual. As the eighteenth century progressed, Lavers explains the letter replaced traditional public social interactions and allowed 'contact during absences caused by travel and change in geographic location.' The critic concludes: 'In this sense,

[1] Lindsay O'Neil, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 110-1.
[2] Jordan Lavers, 'The Epistolarity of a Social Network: Simulating a Romantic Network Community in Letters by Karoline von Günderrode' in *Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century: Clubs, Literary Salons, Textual Coteries,* ed. by Ileana Baird (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), pp. 149-74, (p. 156).

Günderrode's letters are not a mere representation of reality; they simulate a reality and become real, building a Romantic network community in which Günderrode played a central role.' Lavers' argument resonates more with Gore and her early nineteenth-century female contemporaries' experiences with letters. Correspondence with editors and literary colleagues allowed female writers to maintain a career at a geographical distance and also attempt to conceal their private lives.

Scholarship on Victorian letter writing reveals writers' awareness of a letter's public and private identities. Although letters are usually intended to be, and understood as, private discourse, the letters written by several Victorian women writers display the women's knowledge of the more public potential of the form. Many critics have noted the literariness seen in letters written by authors, while a pattern of censorship and discard of correspondence suggests knowledge that the contents could be seen by other people besides the receiver. Brenda Glascott's study on letter writing in the nineteenth century argues that this form of private writing did not allow women the liberties of voicing their opinions. Although Glascott specifically studies American writers, her analysis of the writing mode can be applied more generally: 'Letter-writing rhetoric attempted to create a colonized emotional and mental landscape in which women could not conceptualize – let alone express – unpleasant, self-indulgent, or angry thoughts or emotions.'[3] Elizabeth L. Barnes also describes the censorship involved in women's letter writing: 'They were also, however – and paradoxically – a means by which one's gentility was evaluated. The goal became to express oneself sincerely, but with good taste; to write within the boundaries of prescribed

[3] Brenda Glascott, 'Revising Letters and Reclaiming Space: The Case for Expanding the Search for Nineteenth-Century Women's Letter-Writing Rhetoric into Imaginative Literature', *College English*, 78.2 (Nov 2015) 162-82 (p. 162).

epistolary etiquette, and yet to be completely genuine.'[4] Research on the letter writing of canonical women writers displays these paradoxes of publicity in the 'private' discourse of letter writing.

Scholars have also noted how a consciousness of literariness is seen in many letters by women authors. Their discourse in letter form reflects their fictional writing in novels, indicating that their letter writing was as much a literary performance as novel writing was for authors who presented their fiction to readers of the public. Carol Houlihan Flynn describes how Austen's letters often entailed details on the author's 'mundane' daily tasks, though Austen's writing style makes casual conversation sound exciting. Flynn adds that various sentences in Austen's letters are so literary they could have been written by Jonathan Swift or Samuel Beckett.[5] Gaskell too is described as being able to bring her literary talent to letter writing. D'Albertis argues: 'Reading Gaskell, either in works intended for publication or in her private correspondence, is a tantalizing exercise in limited capacity. The letters, composed in domestic *medias res*, are detailed, colloquial, apparently unreserved.'[6] Gaskell's friend Charlotte Brontë had a similar ability to write her letters as if they were to be published. Karen E. Laird shows that after her brother's death, Brontë wrote to publisher and confidant W.S. Williams to share her grief: 'Charlotte's letter functions like a requiem, and it fluently incorporates religious language and biblical imagery […] This letter also serves as a remarkably candid obituary, as it openly discusses

[4] Elizabeth L. Barnes, 'Mirroring the Mother Text: Histories of Seduction in the American Domestic Novel', in *Anxious Power: Reading, Writing, and Ambivalence in Narrative by Women,* ed. by Carol J. Singley and Susan Elizabeth Sweeney (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), pp. 157-72 (p. 165).
[5] Carol Houlihan Flynn, 'The Letters', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen,* ed. by Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 97-110 (p. 100).
[6] Deirdre D'Albertis, 'The Life and Letters of E.C. Gaskell', in *The Cambridge Companion to Elizabeth Gaskell,* ed. by Jill L. Matus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 10-26 (p. 11).

Branwell's prodigal ways.'[7] Brontë's ability to write in a literary style in a letter of grief demonstrates how these women's writing abilities might have been manifested consciously or unconsciously. Whether the women were showing off their literary talents to letter recipients or writing without motive, the literary discourse shows an awareness of the performance aspect of letter writing. Women writers appear to write in a similar way in letters, which have one reader, as they write in novels, which can have hundreds or thousands of readers. One reader or hundreds demonstrates that both letters and novels are being written for an audience. With this in mind, women writers indicate censorship and disguise in their letter writing to keep emotions and inner thoughts private.

Letter-writing manuals urged women to write in a particular style that allowed their writing to come across as polite and feminine to readers. The pressure to maintain femininity required women writers to censor their letter writing by taking on different personalities, different aliases, or urging letter receivers to discard the letters after being read. Laird argues that Charlotte Brontë 'adopts a unique persona to each of her central correspondents' in which she 'tailored her subjects and style'.[8] One of the author's personalities is shown by Laird when she explains Brontë's correspondence with her peers: 'Letters to her publishers at Elder, Smith, & Co. reveal her developing critical voice as she comments upon the books which the firm lent to her.'[9] She also describes how Brontë's letters reveal restraint: 'She allows herself the relief of describing a traumatic memory, but then calls upon her willpower to curtail her emotions and compose herself once again.'[10]

[7] Karen E. Laird, 'The Letters and Brussels Essays', in *A Companion to the Brontës*, ed. by Diane Long Hoeveler and Deborah Denenholz Morse (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), pp. 265-82 (pp. 276-7).
[8] Laird, pp. 272-3.
[9] Laird, p. 274.
[10] Laird, p. 277.

While Brontë displays various versions of herself depending on who she was writing to, George Eliot took a different approach at censorship by disguising herself entirely. Donald Gray demonstrates why Eliot donned an alias in letter writing as well: 'Unquestionably, Eliot wanted to appear to maintain a distance from the business of her vocation. She wrote anonymously or behind a pseudonym, and often negotiated with her publisher not only through [George Henry] Lewes but sometimes in his voice.'[11] In the two examples displayed by Laird and Gray, the critics suggest women writers felt pressured to come across as more professional, or masculine, when writing to their male publishers in order to be taken seriously. A more common form of personal concealment in letter writing is seen through the disposal of letters.

While some authors asked the letter recipients to burn their letters, other recipients took control of the manner in which the public would eventually view the authors by either extracting or keeping letters after the death of an author. Flynn shows that in the case of Jane Austen, the author's family members took it upon themselves to determine the public's view of Austen after her death. Flynn claims: 'Readers coming to her [Austen's] letters usually find something "missing" that vexes them.'[12] She suggests that the 'something "missing"' from Austen's letters has to do with Austen's sister, Cassandra. Flynn references R.W. Chapman who blames Cassandra for destroying Jane's letters that people would find interesting. 'By blaming Cassandra,' Flynn writes, 'for keeping us from the "real" Jane Austen, we are able to sustain an idea of the writer regardless of materials,

[11] Donald Gray, 'George Eliot and her Publishers', in *The Cambridge Companion to George Eliot,* ed. by George Levine and Nancy Henry, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) pp. 57-75 (pp. 57-8).
[12] Flynn, p. 97.

or lack of materials, that occlude the portrait of the artist.'[13] Flynn suggests how this interference by Cassandra, along with James Edward Austen's Leigh's *Memoir of Jane Austen* (1869), displays how Austen's family members took action to control how the reading public viewed their famous relative. Many authors attempted to control the public perception of themselves by asking letter recipients to burn the letters after reading. Laird reports that Charlotte Brontë asked Mary Taylor to burn her letters describing Currer and Acton Bell's trip to London, but Taylor did not.[14] Critics claim Elizabeth Gaskell went to many lengths to ensure some of her particular letters were discarded. Deirdre D'Albertis argues: 'The […] entirely practical, reason we know so little about Gaskell's most private thoughts and relations is that she habitually requested that correspondents destroy her letters. Gaskell enjoined not only her children, but also her professional associates to discretion.'[15] The author, D'Albertis continues, went so far as to create 'an elaborate system of coding' with her publisher George Smith to designate which letters to keep and which to dispose of.[16] The remaining letters from women writers disclose intense emotions and inner thoughts the authors did convey in writing. According to Laird, Brontë resisted the notions of polite female letter writing: 'She often refused to write the conventional domestic letter which would have been expected of a middle-class Victorian woman. More typically, Charlotte's letters describe her inner life – her fears, spiritual struggles, and requests – in unflinching detail. Even in her professional correspondence, Charlotte's remarks on literature always seem to return her to questions of feeling.'[17] In particular,

[13] Flynn, p. 97.
[14] Laird, p. 266.
[15] D'Albertis, pp.11-2.
[16] D'Albertis, p. 12.
[17] Laird, p. 272.

Charlotte projected her feelings of grief when her sisters died and letter writing became 'indispensable therapy'.[18] The evidence of burnt letters and disguised personas demonstrates the caution women writers took to conceal their emotions and inner feelings in letter writing. Such measures suggest women writers knew their private letters could easily become public knowledge. Because of this risk, women could not be completely authentic in their correspondence. When writers conveyed authenticity and asked the letters to be discarded, there was also a chance instructions would be ignored by the recipient. To avoid private conversations from becoming public, many women writers appear to have a small circle of trusted correspondents, such as close relatives, friends, and editors, to whom they could convey personal and business matters.

Women Writers and their Editors

The collections of letters written by women writers will show frequent correspondences with editors and publishers. Letters have allowed many scholars to study the unique relationships Victorian women writers had with their publishers. Richard Altick writes that although writers and publishers were often skeptical of each other, some relationships became 'half-professional, half-personal friendships'.[19] Linda H. Peterson analyses the prosperous relationships between women writers and their publishers and also demonstrates the struggle other women faced to publish their work without a cordial bond. Peterson remarks on the professional and private relationships that emerged in the nineteenth-century literary marketplace: 'Whatever their origins or destinations, most

[18] Laird, p. 276.
[19] Richard D. Altick, 'Publishing', in *A Companion to Victorian Literature & Culture*, ed. Herbert F. Tucker (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), pp. 289-304 (p. 299).

Victorian publishers knew their authors personally, supported their professional careers, and helped advance their status in the literary realm.'[20] She adds that continuing a friendly relationship with publishers was 'crucial' for women authors to have successful careers.[21] Peterson explains the benefits to establishing this positive relationship: 'This assurance enabled them to place work in their signature genres, develop skills in others, and consolidate their literary reputations.'[22] She uses the Brontë sisters' differing experiences with publishers as examples of the beneficial and disappointing relationships women writers encountered. Peterson points out that Charlotte Brontë's editors George Smith and William S. Williams supported the author professionally and privately. Although they declined publishing *The Professor* (1857), Smith and Williams accepted *Jane Eyre* (1847) 'and published with phenomenal success'.[23] Peterson demonstrates how Charlotte's correspondence with the two publishers differed. She argues that Charlotte and Smith's discourse remained professional as seen through his frequent delivery of recent books to the writer. On the other hand, Charlotte's correspondence with Williams became more personal as she gave his daughter advice on becoming a governess and he gave the writer comfort when her sisters died. While Charlotte developed a fruitful bond with her publishers, her sisters Emily and Anne did not have a similar experience. Emily and Anne had difficult occurrences, Peterson says, with their publisher Thomas Newby who asked for £50 as a deposit to publish their novels. She explains that the publisher never returned the money when Charlotte asked him after Emily and Anne's deaths. Newby replied by

[20] Linda H. Peterson, 'Working with Publishers', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. by Linda H. Peterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 43-58 (p. 43).
[21] Peterson, p. 48.
[22] Peterson, p. 49.
[23] Peterson, p. 44.

claiming he made a loss through paying for advertisements. Peterson concludes that Charlotte's publisher Smith became involved in 1850 and purchased new editions of *Wuthering Heights* (1847) and *Agnes Grey* (1847) for republication: 'Indeed, both might have sunk into oblivion without Smith, Elder's intervention.'[24]

Research into the second half of the nineteenth century displays other canonical female authors who had personal as well as professional relationships with their publishers. Edinburgh editor John Blackwood had close relationships with his writers George Eliot and Margaret Oliphant. Altick declares one of the most successful writer-editor relationships of the nineteenth century was between Eliot, George Henry Lewes, and John Blackwood. He continues: 'Their voluminous correspondence is replete with discussions of production and sales, of authorial problems on her side and suggestions on such matters as style and characterization on his.'[25] J. Haythornthwaite states that Margaret Oliphant also had a positive relationship with Blackwood, but had a more difficult relationship with his successor William Blackwood III. Oliphant and the Blackwood family developed a personal relationship early on. When her husband died while they were living in Rome, Haythornthwaite states that John Blackwood sent Oliphant £200 to help her and her family return to England. As time progressed Oliphant would often stay at the Blackwoods' home in St. Andrews while they would also stay with her in Windsor. Oliphant and John Blackwood developed a cordial professional relationship as well. Haythornwaite explains: 'John Blackwood offered £200 for the whole copyright of *Katie Stewart*, or £150 to be paid to her in two parts with an additional sum for the copyright to be settled later, providing

[24] Peterson, p. 45.
[25] Altick, p. 299.

that the book was a success.'[26] Peterson suggests that women writers would have a more prosperous literary career if their relationship with the publisher was cordial: 'Those [women writers] of high achievement usually found the ways and means to establish productive author-publisher relations.'[27] It is no coincidence that most canonical women writers had congenial relationships with their editors. Gore's letters are one example of how women writers valued a friendly relationship with their editors professionally and personally.

Gore's Archives

Although Gore was a well-known and continuously productive contributor to the early nineteenth-century literary marketplace, only a few pieces of her correspondence remain. The National Archives records indicate that the surviving sets of correspondence are between Gore and William Cavendish, the sixth Duke of Devonshire and son of Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire; Mary Ann Disraeli, wife of Benjamin Disraeli; Richard Bentley, and William Tait. While the correspondence with the Duke of Devonshire and Disraeli are not discussed in this thesis, one can assume the matters discussed would be more personal compared to the professional material discussed in the letters to Bentley and Tait. Gore's letters to Bentley range from 1831-1853. She wrote to Henry Colburn and Bentley while they were partners from 1829-1832. Years after the two separated their business partnership, Bentley published several of Gore's novels and she continued to contribute fiction to *Bentley's Miscellany*. Gore's correspondence with Tait ranges from

[26] J. Haythornthwaite, 'A Victorian Novelist and her Publisher: Margaret Oliphant and the House of Blackwood', *The Bibliotheck: A Scottish Journal of Bibliography and Allied Topics,* 15.2 (1988), 37-50 (pp. 41-5.)
[27] Peterson, p. 56.

1838-1848. She contributed copious articles and serialized stories to his magazine as well as short stories in *The Edinburgh Tales* (1845-6) which was published by Tait. Both correspondence between Gore and her editors demonstrate a combination of professional and personal discourse. Gore appears to be on cordial terms with both editors and demonstrates the trustworthiness she felt with them, especially regarding her anonymity. Trust was not always present in editor-writer relationships as seen, for example, between Frances Burney and her publishers who she felt manipulated her.[28] In the letters to Tait, Gore discusses the serialized stories to be published in his magazine, such as 'The Queen's Comfit Maker' (1839), and often adds friendly conversation. One example of Gore's personal anecdotes is in an 1841 letter in which she says to Tait: 'We have two more Monthly Miscellanies starting in London under great auspices; as if there were not enough already!'[29] The passage displays how Gore provided conversation on professional matters in her letters as well as her personal opinions surrounding the British literary marketplace. The letters between Gore and Bentley are mainly professional with a few moments of personal discourse. The professional correspondence consists mostly of Memoranda of Agreement which include Gore selling her novels and short stories to Bentley for publication. A few examples of these Memoranda involve the sale of *Pin Money* (1831), *The Opera* (1832), and *The Fair of May Fair* (1832) for £400 each, *The Dowager* (1840) for £250, and *The Ambassador's Wife* (1842) for £300. The contracts do not explain the reasoning for the variation in prices, but some do indicate that the manuscripts are expected to be ready for press. Therefore, some novels might have been sold for less money if they

[28] George Justice, 'Burney and the literary marketplace', in *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*, ed. by Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) pp. 147-62 (pp. 154-5).
[29] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (NLS), MS 3713, f. 128.

required the process of editing before publication. These agreements between Gore and Bentley further confirm the author's requirement to remain anonymous. Most of her Memoranda of Agreement include a clause which explains the novels must be labeled as by 'The Author of Mothers and Daughters,' Gore's 1834 novel published by Bentley.

Gore's correspondence with Bentley is unique not only because most of the contents are contracts, but in addition, the author's editing marks and post scripts are seen on many items. On the agreement for *The Dowager*, Gore's handwriting appears in the blank space between paragraphs. The end of the paragraph reads: 'And the said work it is agreed shall form three volumes Post [8v0] equal in extent to the "Cabinet Minister," and the same shall be completely written and ready for press by the month of February next ensuing.' Gore's edit adds to the end of the sentence: 'in the course of which month it is to be published by Mr. Bentley.'[30] Later, in the same agreement, an entire paragraph regarding Bentley's reprinting rights is crossed out. The excluded paragraph describes how Bentley is allowed to reprint the novel if he decides to do so and, in this circumstance, Gore would be paid £50. It is unclear which party crossed out the clause; however, Gore would be the most likely to do so if she did not feel £50 was enough payment for the possible reprint of the novel or she wanted the sole reprinting rights. In addition, Gore edited her contracts by adding clauses as post scripts at the bottom of the pages. At the end of her agreement with Bentley regarding *The Ambassador's Wife*, the author's handwriting appears and states: 'The said Richard Bentley further agrees that, in consideration of the above arrangement, the said novel of Cecil shall be published not later than the 31st day of [Jany.] 1841, and shall not under any circumstances be put forward or announced as the work of the said

[30] London, British Library (BL), MS 46613, vol. LIV, fol. 189. Words in brackets signify the most likely transcribed word.

Mrs. C. F. Gore, [otherwise] the said agreed to be paid.'[31] Gore's signature 'Catherine Frances Gore' is signed below the passage indicating that she did include the new clause. These signs of editing by Gore are unique compared to Memoranda of Agreement with Bentley's other authors. Minor editing marks appear in a Memorandum between Bentley and Lady Charlotte Bury; however, they are not as detailed and elaborate as Gore's. Lady Bury's contract from 1835 states that she will write a collection with three stories for £300. The contract declares that Lady Bury has already received £200 from the total payment. The author adds 'and fifty CMB' after the word 'two hundred' to signify her receipt of £250 and correct the error on the contract. Her initials 'CMB' demonstrate her verification of the change in the document. She corrects the agreement again a few lines later by crossing out the words 'one hundred' and writing 'fifty pounds CMB' to denote that Bentley owes her a remaining £50.[32] Other contracts between Bentley and people such as Mary Russell Mitford and Henry Thomas Austen, brother to Jane Austen, do not have editing notes. Mitford's and Austen's contracts also differ from Gore's in that they are signed by male relatives for the female authors. Dr. Mitford and Henry Thomas Austen make business deals for their literary relations whereas Gore signs her contracts herself. The practice of managing one's own career as a woman was not new to the literary marketplace; as Betty Schellenberg notes, Sarah Fielding also sold her own novels to publishers in the eighteenth century.[33] Gore's edits, much more extensive than those of others, display her particularity for detail and accuracy when it came to business

[31] BL, MS 46614, vol. LV, fol. 7. Words in brackets indicate the most likely word transcribed from the original archive.
[32] BL, MS 46612, vol. LIII, fol. 194.
[33] Betty Schellenberg, *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 99.

transactions. By adding clauses, Gore ensured her interests were fulfilled, such as remaining anonymous, and showed Bentley the close attention she gave her career. The marks denote her heavy involvement with business matters and how she was able to manage her own career without the assistance of a male acquaintance.

Gore and Money

Gore's letters reveal how, like her nineteenth-century female contemporaries, discourse often transitions from professional to personal and back again. One subject that heavily dominated professional and personal discussion was money. Although she was not born into wealth (her father Charles Moody was a wine merchant), she spent several years of her childhood with a distant relative in the upper echelons, Lady Frances Wentworth. She began writing at a young age and continued even after marrying Lieutenant Charles Arthur Gore in 1823. Harriet Devine Jump writes that the Gores had ten children and Hughes adds that Catherine wrote to support her family.[34] Several sources confirm that the Gores moved to Paris in 1832, but the reasoning behind the move varies from economizing to Charles's declining health.[35] Several of Gore's letters reveal she asked for payment from her work or asked for advance payments. On the 12 July 1839, she remarked to Tait: 'It will be an act of friendship to me to enclose me a bill for the 2 sheets, as I am in want of the [amt].'[36] The letters 'amt' could be an abbreviation for the word *amount* since Gore was asking for a bill from her latest piece of work. Gore's blunt request displays that she was honest about

[34] Winifred Hughes, 'Gore [née Moody], Catherine Grace Frances: (1798-1861),' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, < https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11091>, pp. 1-3.
[35] Hughes contends in her *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry (p .4) that the Gores could have moved for economic reasons while Jump points out the family moved due to Charles's health. Harriet Devine Jump, *Nineteenth-Century Short Stories by Women: A Routledge Anthology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 56.
[36] NLS, MS 3713, fol. 94.

her financial situation and would rather ask for money than wait. She also asked for money when she was most desperate. In an 1843 letter to Bentley, Gore explains that she just received news that her daughter had died while travelling abroad. She asks him: 'Will you [advance] me the price of 2 sheets in the Miscellany; [25]£, to be prepaid by these sheets before Xmas – of Albany Poyntz? – I will give you in deposit [my] [translation] of The History of Monarchy or MS of 500 pages – if you like – but I have nothing ready for the Miscellany – only grave papers!'[37] In this passage, Gore reveals the tension between being a professional writer while also preserving her anonymity. Two of Gore's most common pseudonyms were Albany Poyntz and Toby Allspy. Her plea to Bentley shows the lengths she went to earn money, but simultaneously, doing it on her own terms by insisting on anonymity. In an 1842 letter to Tait, she reveals that her success has come from remaining nameless: 'The whole [merit] of "Cecil" (by far the best and best paid of my works) consists in the freedom imparted by my strict incognito.'[38] Gore's confession demonstrates her ideology that being 'incognito' has financial benefits. Furthermore, Gore's 1839 letter to Tait and her 1843 letter to Bentley demonstrate the friendly relationships she had with the editors. Similarly to the canonical authors discussed earlier, Gore's discourse with her editors was professional and personal. In the letter to Bentley, she reveals the personal tragedy of the death of her daughter. Gore's loosely-formed and sometimes illegible handwriting in the letter demonstrates that she was writing in distress. This insight into the author's personal life shows readers that she allowed herself to be vulnerable when writing to Bentley. The two specific letters demonstrate how Gore was not afraid to ask for money;

[37] BL, MS 46614, vol. LV, fol. 215.
[38] NLS, MS 3713, fol. 130.

an indication of comfort and reliability in their relationships. Gore's letters also reveal that the subject of money reoccurred in her fiction almost as much as it did in her real life.

Gore's professional and personal lives were both greatly influenced by money. As Jump states, many of Gore's works discuss money, including *Pin Money* (1831), *The Banker's Wife* (1843) [39], *The Money-Lender* (1843), and *Men of Capital* (1857), in which Gore writes: 'Few will deny that the age we live in is the age of Money-worship'.[40] Gore appears to have become focused on money as seen by the titles of her works and the way she discusses money in her letters. Gore discusses money and business matters often. From bragging about an inheritance to begging for an advance payment, Gore's letters indicate that she has always been in control of the business side of her profession. On 20 May 1844, Gore wrote in a letter to Tait: 'As you may have seen by the papers, I have just inherited the estates of my uncle [Sir] John Wentworth; but having great expenses to encounter in [advance] my [to] [Sir] Charles's will, (whose name I am to take) I am gathering together my last literary [crumbs].'[41] Gore reveals that she has inherited from her distant relations, and therefore, has no further need to write for money. The rare use of Mrs. Charles Arthur Gore as her signature on this letter, opposed to the usual CFG or Mrs. Gore, suggests the inheritance must have been enough for the author to decide to be known and rely on her married name rather than her authorial name. Jump also reports that Gore gained another inheritance of £20,000 in 1850.[42] It is unclear whether she obtained two inheritances, in 1844 and 1850, or if there is an error in scholars' timeline of the author. Scholars do agree, and Hughes explains, that she lost almost all of her inheritance earnings in 1855 when the

[39] Jump, p. 56.
[40] Catherine Gore, *Men of Capital*, 3 vols (London: James Blackwood, Paternoster Row, 1857), I, p. iii.
[41] NLS, MS 3713, fol. 157.
[42] Jump, p. 56.

bank Strahan, Paul, and Bates failed. Hughes says: 'Strangely enough, she had plotted an almost identical scenario, involving a fraudulent banker, in *The Banker's Wife, or, Court and City* (1843), which she had dedicated to her personal banker and trustee, Sir John Dean Paul, who was then engaged in cheating her along with the other depositors.'[43] This event displays how Gore's professional and personal life were reflected in one another. The author continued to write after losing the money and commonly used the name 'Mrs. Gore' to be recognized by her loyal readers. Despite the financial scandal, Gore was able to remain consistently present in the marketplace, and make more money, by re-introducing her works to different audiences.

The memoranda of agreements between Colburn and Bentley and their female authors outline how much they were paid for various pieces of work. However, in order to receive all the money agreed upon, their works had to have an enduring effect on contemporary readers. Compared to her female contemporaries, Gore made slightly more money for her novels. In 1830, Gore mentions to Bentley that she was paid £500 for a copyright, then was paid £450 for her novel *Pin Money*, and in 1831 received £400 for *The Opera*.[44] This is significantly more than Gore's female contemporaries in the 1830s. Mary Mitford's father, Dr. Mitford, was authorized on Mary's behalf to be paid £300 by Bentley for her work *Our Market Town* in 1834; and Lady Charlotte Bury was paid £250 for a collection of three stories in 1835.[45] These agreements between Richard Bentley and the authors display how Gore's work was valued more by the editor, and perhaps wanted more by the reading public, although her work is barely mentioned in today's literary canon.

[43] Hughes, p. 4.
[44] BL, MS 46611, vol. LII, fols. 92, 186, 226.
[45] BL, MS 46612, vol. LIII, fols. 72, 194.

Gore earned more than her contemporaries of the early nineteenth century: however, pay rises for women writers have not been linear throughout history. Judith Johnston and Hilary Fraser note that Ann Radcliffe received £800 for her 1797 novel *The Italian*. Then, into the mid-nineteenth century, George Eliot 'was initially offered' £10,000 from George Smith for her novel, *Romola* (1862-3).[46] Both writers were paid more than Gore for these works even though they are not the pieces they are best known for in literary study today. Jan Fergus's analysis of Austen's emphasized morality after her death displays an example of how society's reaction to women earning money varied within the nineteenth century. Austen's brother, Henry, reveals in his *Biographical Notice* (included in an 1818 edition of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion)*: 'She could scarcely believe what she termed her great good fortune when "Sense and Sensibility" produced a clear profit of about £150.'[47] Fergus points out that Henry's *Notice* directs the readers' perceptions of the author to be 'ladylike, unmercenary, unprofessional, private, delicate and domestic'.[48] This claim aligns with Joanne Wilkes' argument that Austen's work became canonized due to its contemporary modesty. Wilkes says: 'The overall consensus was that, however brilliantly and even creatively Austen handled her material, that material still had its limitations, and she never demonstrated a capacity to move beyond it. Hers was a self-effacing, restricted – and therefore unthreatening – kind of genius.'[49] Wilkes reveals that Austen's

[46] Judith Johnston and Hilary Fraser, 'The professionalization of women's writing', in *Women and Literature in Britain 1800-1900*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 231-50 (p. 236).
[47] Henry Austen, 'Biographical Notice of The Author', in *Northanger Abbey: and Persuasion* by Jane Austen (London: John Murray, 1818), p. xiii. Quoted in Jan Fergus, 'The Professional Woman Writer', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. by Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster, 2nd edn (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1-20 (p. 1).
[48] Fergus, p. 1.
[49] Joanne Wilkes, 'Remaking the canon', in *Women and Literature in Britain 1800-1900,* ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 35-54 (p. 40).

canonization developed from her ability to write within society's moral expectations for a woman writer. She suggests that Austen's success did not stem from how much money she earned or how many copies she sold within her lifetime, but from writing within the moral boundaries and societal context her novels lived in after her death. As Austen's family had to appease society with a morally advantageous depiction of their relative, Gore also attempted to appease nineteenth-century society by fluctuating with literary trends. Evidence from Gore's memoranda of agreement with Henry Colburn and Bentley and her works trace the height of the silver fork genre's popularity; then its decline and Gore's attempts to distance herself from the once fashionable novels.

Although these contracts state how much the authors would get paid, there was no guarantee that the writers would receive all the money specified. This 1831 contract between Colburn and Bentley and Gore explains:

> The said Mrs. Gore agrees to dispose of the said Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, for their sole use and benefit, the entire copyright of a work in three volumes post $8^{\underline{00}}$ to be entitled "The Fair of May Fair", and to consist of six separate stories called respectively, "The Flirt of Ten Seasons" "The Separate Maintenance" "Diamonds and Hearts" "My Granddaughter" "The Special Licence [sic]" "A Divorcée", for the sum of four hundred pounds; that is to say, three hundred pounds for the first-edition of one thousand copies to be paid in manner foll. viz. one hundred pounds by a promissory note at twelve months from the present date, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged; and two hundred pounds by a promissory note at 12 months from the day of publication. The remaining one hundred pounds to be paid on the publication of a second edition, should it be deemed advisable by the publishers to print the work a second time.[50]

The memorandum shows that authors were paid in several payments rather than all at once. Additionally, authors were only given the full amount if the publishers decided to run a second edition. Gore's novel *Cecil; or, the Adventures of a Coxcomb* ran its second edition

[50] BL, MS 46611, vol. LII, fol. 248.

by Richard Bentley in 1841 after first being published earlier that year. Gore also had several novels published as new editions several years after their original publication. Josephine Richstad contends that Gore heavily edited and republished her novel, *The Hamiltons* (1834) in 1850 to coincide with the literary theme of retrospection at the time. Richstad believes Gore made these attempts to 'preserve' her novel.[51] Gore conducted a similar republishing several years after *The Hamiltons* with her novel *Memiors of a Peeress; or the Days of Fox* (1837) but instead of aligning with a literary 'generic structure,' as Richstad calls it, she republishes in an attempt to please the literary audiences.[52] Gore's name does not appear on the cover of *Memoirs of a Peeress*, however: it records Lady Charlotte Bury as editoress. This is Bury's second known attempt at editing, the first involving Caroline Lucy Scott's *A Marriage in High Life* (1828). Both pieces edited by Bury were published by Colburn. A new edition appeared in 1859 by publishers Knight & Son with Gore's name as author and revisor. She explains in the Preface that: 'The "Memoirs of a Peeress" have been frequently attributed, in library catalogues, to the pen of Lady Charlotte Bury […] This error is the consequence of her Ladyship's name having been placed by Mr. Colburn on the title-page of the first edition, as "Editress;" [sic] an arrangement made during my residence on the Continent, to which I strongly objected.'[53] Gore's statement leads one to conjecture that Colburn purposefully placed Bury's name on the two novels for higher sales. Peter Garside claims: 'In more run-of-mill cases, it was often the publisher rather than the author who decided the final wording of

[51] Josephine Richstad, 'Genre in Amber: Preserving the Fashionable Novel for a Victorian Decade, Catherine Gore's *Hamiltons* (1834 and 1850)', *Modern Philology*, 111. 3 (February 2014), 549-65 (p. 550).
[52] Richstad, p. 550.
[53] Catherine Gore, *Memoirs of a Peeress; or The Days of Fox* (London: Knight & Son, Clerkenwell Close, 1859), p. iv.

the title page.'[54] One reason Gore decided to re-publish the novel was to attach her name to the work and dismantle the connotation that Lady Bury was the author. While Gore did ask to remain anonymous for many of her works early in her career, her name appears on later works of the 1840s and 50s when she was more established as an author. Moreover, Gore adds in the Preface: 'As well as to remark that at the time the book was written, (in the reign of William IV.,) the title of Prince of Wales having become temporarily extinct and fallen into desuetude, did not seem to retain, what it has since regained, a claim to public and personal deference.'[55] Resurgence in the popularity of the title the Prince of Wales decades after its attachment to George, Prince of Wales (later George IV) seems to be another motivation for Gore to re-publish her new edition. Gore's awareness of the literary marketplace and its current tastes allowed her to gain income from her works years after they had already been published. Although Gore was able to manipulate the money she earned in her professional life, the money she inherited, then lost, in her personal life seems to have happened out of her control.

Gore's Other Business Maneuvers

Not only did Gore control the direction of her career financially, but she also used marketing as a way to coerce her editors. She marketed herself to her editors by showing that she was keen to write while also advertising her reputation so they would continue to use her work. Several passages in Gore's letters demonstrate her eagerness to write. In a letter to Tait in 1838, Gore says: 'If as publisher or connected with publishers, you should

[54] Peter Garside, 'Authorship', in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English: Volume 2: English and British Fiction 1750-1820*, ed. by Peter Garside and Karen O'Brien, 12 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) II, pp. 29-52 (p. 36).
[55] Gore, *Peeress*, p. iv.

ever have work to dispose of within my scope of ability, pray remember that I have the pen of a ready and unemployed writer.'[56] This passage's declaration 'I have the pen of a ready and unemployed writer' is reminiscent of Queen Elizabeth I's Tilbury speech. The reference allows Gore to align herself with the queen.[57] Gore knew she was not royalty, but the comparison allows her to identify with some of Queen Elizabeth's traits as set out in the Tilbury speech. By comparing herself to the queen who had 'the heart and stomach, of a king,' Gore is also declaring to her editors that she has the passion and courage to be a professional writer.[58] With regard to marketing herself, Gore's passage to Tait demonstrates she wants to write and is advertising her skill and stamina to her editors. This is one example of how Gore advertises her work and herself. Her willingness to write conveys to editors that she is a flexible author and is willing to comply with their requests. Gore demonstrates that her fiction and her image as a writer are commodities in the literary marketplace.

In letters to Tait and Bentley, Gore appears to be advertising her fiction and her reputation to entice the editors to publish more of her work. After she reveals her new inheritance to Tait, and that she is 'gathering together my last literary [crumbs],' in 1844, Gore continues with: 'If you are inclined to take this play in the way proposed, pray enclose us a cheque for it to the care of Edward [Moreau] Esq. 44 Duvall Piccadilly.'[59] Gore implies that she will no longer be writing as a profession since she has inherited an estate.

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[56] NLS, MS 3713, fol. 89.
[57] Another interesting reference made by Gore in her letters is to William Shakespeare's *Othello.* In 1838, Gore describes her dismay to Tait that the reading public is no longer interested in novels and publishers take on the work of writers who do not need income or those who pay their own expenses. This leads Gore to exclaim: 'Othello's occupation is therefore gone.' No obvious connections between Gore and Shakespeare or *Othello* could be found besides occasional references in fiction and epigraphs. NLS, MS 3713, fol. 89.
[58] London, BL, MS Harley 6798, fol. 87.
[59] NLS, MS 3713, fols. 157-8.

Therefore, she attempts to persuade Tait to publish her play by insinuating it will be one of the last literary works she creates. Gore uses the rules of supply and demand to suggest the editor could profit from her fiction once she ceases to write. Moreover, Gore informed her editors of the favourable reviews she received from her work. In 1830, she wrote to Bentley: 'I am also happy to find that several of the best judges, both literary and [just] humble, have declared vehemently in favour of The Manners of the Day.'[60] Gore is referencing King George IV's opinion of the novel *Women As They Are, or The Manners of the Day* (1830) in which the *New Monthly Magazine* claims he said it was the '*best-bred* and most amusing novel published in his remembrance.'[61] For an author who writes about aristocrats and the upper echelons of society, a favourable review from the King of England is the highest compliment one can receive. Gore made editors aware of her success and used it to advertise her work. Hughes claims that Gore continued to write until her death in 1861 and notes that 'all the contemporary accounts of her career cite the accuracy of her portraits of society, as well as her extraordinary longevity and productivity as a popular novelist.'[62] Therefore, Gore's use of marketing and creating a brand for her work seem to have had long-term success. Not only did she market her fiction, but she also marketed her popularity and reputation as a writer to persuade her editors to use her work. Although Gore was successful at marketing, it would not have been successful without her knowledge of the contemporary literary marketplace that she was competing in.

Hughes states that Gore 'appears to have enjoyed her celebrity status, with its access to London society' and was able to socialize with prominent contemporaries such

[60] BL, MS 46611, vol. LII, fol. 93.
[61] [Anon.], 'Memoir of Mrs. Gore', *New Monthly Magazine and Humourist*, vol. 49 iss. 195, March 1837, pp. 434-5 (p. 434). (original emphasis)
[62] Hughes, p. 4.

as Benjamin Disraeli and Edward Bulwer.[63] Moreover, archives display her correspondence with other authors such as Charlotte Brontë and those connected to her literary circles such as Mary Ann Disraeli. Her awareness of the literary marketplace, including new pieces being published by her contemporaries, allowed her to negotiate with the editors. According to her letter to Bentley in 1830, Gore took notice of the advertisements his publishing firm created. She stated: 'The book has been very scantily advertised […] and coming after the [florid] claptraps that have been lavished upon The Exclusives, you could scarcely expect it to have a marked [screef] in three days.'[64] Gore uses a few uncommon phrases to turn Bentley's attention towards how disappointed she is with her book's lack of advertising. She uses the word *claptrap,* which the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) defines as: 'A trick or device to catch applause; an expression designed to elicit applause.' This use of the word was more common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the *OED* reports Gore's contemporary Thackeray's use of the term in *The Book of Snobs* (1848). The *OED* adds another definition: 'In modern use passing into sense "nonsense, rubbish"' and the word was used in this form by Lord Byron in *Don Juan* (1819-24) and Disraeli in *Endymion* (1880).[65] Gore is using the former definition of the word *claptraps* to explain that Bentley's advertising of *The Exclusives* (1830) by Lady Charlotte Bury has been used to gain praise for her novel. Gore appears to imply that readers have been 'tricked' into buying Bury's novel as the definition suggests. Gore's other uncommon phrase, *marked screef,* is also found in the *OED* under *screef mark.* This is a forestry term which dates back to the nineteenth century and is defined as: 'a small area of ground from

[63] Hughes, p. 3.
[64] BL, MS 46611, vol. LII, fol. 92.
[65] 'claptrap, n.', *OED Online*, < https://www-oed-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/view/Entry/33794?redirectedFrom=claptrap#eid >, [accessed 17 Jul 2019].

which the surface vegetation has been cleared, or that has otherwise been prepared for planting.'[66] Gore uses an analogy to make her point clear to Bentley. The analogy explains that her latest piece needs space in the literary marketplace (via advertising) to gain popularity and 'grow' like the screef mark that is created to plant vegetation. Gore refers to Lady Charlotte Bury's novel, *The Exclusives*, which was also published by Colburn and Bentley. Although Bainbridge claims 'exclusives' was a term for 'those cold hearted fashionables' in society, the novel appears to have been very popular due to its second edition within the same year it was first published. [67] Gore was obviously aware of the attention her contemporary's novels obtained and wanted to ensure her works were given adequate advertisement space. This passage also shows that she defended her novels and fought to ensure they were given as much attention as her contemporaries'. In the same letter, Gore continued: 'With respect to the 500£ given for the copyright, when I compare it with the sums you have recently given for other novels of no great merits originally, and requiring the subsequent expense of corrections, I cannot consider myself overpaid; nor am I regarded in that light by the literary world in general.'[68] Again, Gore is comparing herself to her peers and arguing that her work has more monetary value than what she is being paid for. She also mentions 'the subsequent expense of corrections'. Gore must have known writers who wrote but did not edit their own works which forced another person to edit the piece before it was printed. An 1839 memorandum of agreement between Gore and Bentley states: 'And the said work it is agreed shall form three volumes post 8^{00} equal in [extent]

[66] 'screef, n.', *OED Online*, < https://www-oed-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/view/Entry/173435?rskey=vUyDWp&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid24075735>, [accessed 16 Jul 2019].
[67] Clare Bainbridge, '"Unwholesome Tissues of False Sentiment": Jane Austen, the Silver Fork Novel, and Fashions of Reading', in *After Austen: Reinventions, Rewritings, Revisitings*, ed. by Lisa Hopkins (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), pp. 19-41 (p. 28).
[68] BL, MS 46611, vol. LII, fols. 92-3.

to the "Cabinet Minister," and the same shall be completely written and ready for press by the month of February next ensuing.'[69] This agreement insinuates that Gore wrote and edited her own work so it was ready to be printed when it was delivered to Bentley. Therefore, she uses her editing skills as an argument for her work to be paid at a higher rate. Additionally, she claims, 'nor am I regarded in that light by the literary world in general.' Gore repeats to Bentley that she is knowledgeable of the literary marketplace and claims the 'literary world' does not consider her work overpriced or overrated.

Gore's letters indicate that she was conscious of the income disparity between herself and her male peers. Altick states that Anthony Trollope earned £4,500 a year for his novels in the 1860s and Disraeli was paid £10,000 for *Endymion* (1880). Moreover, he states that Dickens and poet Alfred Tennyson were 'millionaires in their day' due to their 'gifted business acumen'.[70] Gore's silver fork contemporary Bulwer also earned more for his novels after he used Colburn to publish his works. John Sutherland reports that he was paid £1,000 for each piece he wrote, and in 1855, he received 'the largest single deal in British literary history' by selling the reprint rights for his novels to Routledge.[71] In an 1842 letter to Tait, Gore makes clear her awareness of this salary imbalance:

> I agree with you that Mr. Warren writes carefully, as much as [any], but his publishers make it worth his while. Blackwood has [presently] offered him 2,500 for a new tale – and he had 1,000 for the "Diary of L. P." D. [Lever] of [Brupels] has just signed an agreement for 4,500 for his new book in the style of "Harry [Lorreguir]." This is making it worth a man's while to accept authorship as a profession![72]

[69] BL, MS 46613, vol. LIV, fol. 189.
[70] Altick, p. 298.
[71] John Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), pp. 62, 69.
[72] NLS, MS 3713, fols. 130-1.

Gore not only shows that she is aware of the gender pay gap in literature, but she also makes a case about writing styles. She claims 'Mr. Warren writes carefully', and that this is a writing strategy 'worth his while'. She implies that men could write cautiously and still be paid more than their female peers. Gore, on the other hand, had to take risks with her writing in order for her to earn more money. With her novel *Cecil; or, The Adventures of a Coxcomb* (1841), she takes on a male narrative voice and also publishes anonymously. These risks did pay off as the novel shows its success through its second edition in the same year.

Bentley's archives reveal that Dickens was paid a similar amount to Gore in 1836, but the money he earned was not conditional. The agreement between Bentley and Dickens states that the author will receive £500 for a novel: 'That is to say, upon delivery of the said work in a complete state for the press, to pay the sum of four hundred pounds in two promissory notes at six and nine months date of two hundred pounds each, and the remaining sum of one hundred pounds upon the sale of the said work reaching 1,450 copies sold at the usual price, in a promissory note at six months date.'[73] In contrast to many of Gore's novels, Dickens's piece did not have to run a second edition in order for him to be paid in full. His publication had to reach 1,450 copies and then he would be paid the remaining £100. Additionally, Dickens appears to be paid much sooner than Gore. His payments for £200 came at six and nine months after the work was sent to Bentley for printing. Gore, on the other hand, appears to have been usually paid one payment upon submitting her work to Bentley, then another payment at twelve months from its publication, and her final payment if the editors chose to run a second edition.[74] Gore

[73] BL, MS 46,612, vol. LIII, fol. 291.
[74] BL, MS 46611, vol. LII, fol. 248.

demonstrates that not only did men get paid more for their literature, but they also received their money in a more efficient manner.

Early in her career, Gore relied on anonymity to sell her novels. She strategically chose which pieces should remain anonymous and which should use a pen name; however, the success she gained later in her career allowed the author to rely on her trademark name: Mrs. Gore. Peter Garside's study in *The Oxford History of the English Novels* reveals the statistical and cultural evidence of anonymity and pseudonymity from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. He defines a pseudonym as 'an assumed name distinct from the main narrative'.[75] Garside reports that over 60 percent of novels published for the first time between 1770-1819 used a pseudonym or remained anonymous. He adds that amongst today's well-known authors who first published anonymously are Samuel Richardson, Frances Burney, and Jane Austen, to name but a few. Garside writes:

> Pseudonymous authorship is virtually unheard of up to 1800, though a shift in this direction is evident in the new century. Novels carrying the author's name on the title page came more fully into view with the 1790s, actually outnumbering anonymous and pseudonymous titles in the 1800s. However the resilience of anonymity is again apparent in the 1810s, when unattributed titles once more outnumber those with names on the title page, albeit narrowly so.[76]

He claims one reason for anonymity becoming fashionable again could be Walter Scott's anonymous *Waverley* (1814).[77] Garside says women used anonymity and pseudonymity: 'Many women writers evidently felt a threat to their respectability in avowing authorship, and so associating themselves with trade and the pursuit of financial gain, not least in

[75] Garside, p. 38.
[76] Garside, p. 29.
[77] Garside, p. 37.

relation to a form generally held to have low literary status.'[78] Beyond Garside's study, some women writers continued to invest in pseudonyms into the mid nineteenth century; famous names include Currer Bell and George Eliot. Gore also used the male pseudonym Albany Poyntz in her magazine entries. She reveals her pseudonym in a letter to Bentley discussed earlier where she asks for an advance to prepare for her daughter's funeral and writes that she will repay him by writing a piece 'of Albany Poyntz'.[79] Gore wrote several pieces for *Bentley's Miscellany* in the 1840s under this name including 'The Dear-Slayer', 'The Children of The Mobility, Versus The Children of the Nobility', and 'The London Banker.'

Pseudonyms were not just false names, but also commonly used to claim to be the author of a previous work. Stephanie Eckroth argues: 'Often, an "author of" signature acted as a trope offering extra publicity to recognized novel writers – an attempt to sell two novels instead of one.'[80] Gore often used this technique early in her career. Her novel *Pin Money* is signed 'By the Authoress of "Manners of the Day"' and *Cecil, A Peer* (1841), the sequel to her famous novel *Cecil; or, the Adventures of a Coxcomb*, is said to be 'By the Same Author.' In an 1842 letter to Tait, she requests for a pseudonym to be used: 'If you use my name [otherwise] than as "The Author of The Beggar's Wallet," or "Toby Allspy" I must alter my story, as it is scarcely fiddle faddle enough for what is required from me.'[81] Interestingly, Gore asks to associate her piece to a magazine entry and not her well-known novels such as *Cecil* or *Pin Money*. Her strategic choice supports Richard Sha's argument

[78] Garside, p. 36.
[79] BL, MS 46614, vol. LV, fol. 215.
[80] Stephanie Eckroth, 'Walter Scott and the Authoress: Anonymity and the Nineteenth-Century Novel Market', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105.4 (December 2011), 503-29 (p. 514).
[81] NLS, MS 3713, fol. 130.

that women were required to write in specific genres in order to maintain their female propriety. Sha writes that '"masculine" genres included politics, science, philosophy, and classical authors' and sketches became a socially acceptable genre for women to write because 'sketching did not detract from primary domestic duties'.[82] He claims: 'Sketching offered women legitimate space for public display so long as they outwardly adhered to rules of propriety; it also provided a way for women to cite self-consciously the features of the proper lady in order to restore readerly faith in them as model women despite their occasional lapses.'[83] Although the letter does not indicate which type of genre Gore was referring to, her use of the phrase *fiddle faddle* shows she did not like her own piece or was being modest. Molly Englehart claims Gore would depreciate the value of her pieces to editors as a 'reverse psychology' strategy.[84] While Gore might be using this psychological strategy on Tait, I also believe Gore is demonstrating how she considers the piece and its genre to be trivial. The previously mentioned story "The Beggar's Wallet" was published in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* from 1834-7 under the name 'Mrs. Gore.' Her name and the new 'fiddle faddle' she is discussing with Tait will be associated with 'The Beggar's Wallet" and not her novels which were published anonymously. After asking Tait for her request, Gore writes: 'The whole merit of "Cecil" (by far the best and best paid of my works,) consists in the freedom imparted by my strict incognito.'[85] She credits anonymity for the success of *Cecil* and it appears she intends to remain 'incognito.' Therefore, Gore

[82] Richard Sha, *The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998) pp. 117, 108.
[83] Sha, p. 108.
[84] Molly Engelhardt, '"The Novelist of a New Era": Deepening the Sketch of Catherine Gore', *Victorian Review*, 42.1 (Spring 2016), 65-84 (p. 69).
[85] NLS, MS 3713, fol. 130.

knew she would have to associate her magazine entries with 'Mrs. Gore', even if they were 'fiddle faddle', and keep her novels anonymous in order to continue her success.

A Balancing Act in Letters

As the feminist scholarship discussed in this thesis has emphasized, Victorian professional female writers had to level two contradicting ideas: that women could be authors and also maintain a societal expectation of feminine propriety. Various women wrote anonymously and pseudonymously to uphold both juxtaposing ideas. Evidence of this 'balancing act' is represented in Gore's fiction and her letters to Bentley and Tait. The letters, with evidence of Gore acting as writer and business manager, act as a balanced scale themselves since she attempts to embody both roles within the same letter. More specifically, Gore's correspondence demonstrates how she acts as her own manager by demanding money or complaining about the lack of advertising then embodying the feminine writer by giving compliments and making friendly conversation.

Three examples of Gore's dual persona are displayed, particularly, in two letters to Tait and one to Bentley. In her 1839 letter to Tait, Gore uses the first paragraph to inform the editor that she has sent her most recent story 'The Queen's Comfit Maker' and other stories which she thinks 'he will like'. Gore uses the next paragraph to ask Tait for an advance payment for the stories and considers it 'an act of friendship' as she is 'in want of the [amt]'.[86] The two-paragraph letter displays examples of the feminine propriety and business sense Gore must exhibit. The first paragraph shows the author appeasing Tait by sending him stories that she thinks he will approve of. It appears Gore was writing stories

[86] NLS, MS 3713, fol. 94.

that she knew Tait would like and approve of for publication or she is complimenting his taste for her fiction. Then in the second paragraph, she asks for an advance payment and reminds the editor of their personal relationship as friends. Gore's letter showcases her strategic letter-writing skill of complimenting the editor before asking for a favour. The two-paragraph letter also physically displays Gore's two personas manifested on paper. The first paragraph displays her cordial persona and the second showcases her businesswoman side. Gore writes a similar two paragraph letter to Tait in 1841; but instead of starting with appeasement, she starts by lamenting. The author begins her letter by explaining that she has sent the editor a story, but she has not heard a reply from him and she is 'anxious.' She then begins a second paragraph in a more cordial tone by saying two more monthly miscellany magazines have appeared in London 'as if there are not enough already!'[87] Again, Gore displays a balance of business managing and friendly discourse. She addresses her concerns that Tait has not replied to her most recent story. As Hughes states, Gore was the main income earner for her family and the 'anxious' remark shows her desire to keep publishing fiction to continue her income.[88] She counteracts this display of publishing distress by making conversation, in a banter-like style, regarding the addition of more magazines in the periodical press. This letter displays how Gore's assertive business discourse had to be reined in with friendly discourse in order for Gore to appear less forceful. Additionally, Gore places herself at both extremes of being an assertive businesswoman and a warm friend in her letter to Bentley in 1830. She criticizes Bentley for the poor advertising her book is receiving and compares it to 'the florid claptraps that have been lavished upon The Exclusives'. She continues to reprimand the editor and

[87] NLS, MS 3713, fol.128.
[88] Hughes, p. 3.

advocate for the monetary worth of her literary talent by declaring that she does not 'consider herself overpaid; nor am I regarded in that light by the literary world in general'. A few lines later, Gore's tone changes and signs the letter off saying: 'I shall be very happy to see you when you are well enough to go out'.[89] The author ends the letter on a warmer note than her earlier critical remarks. The laments at Bentley display Gore in her most assertive tone and her friendly sign off demonstrates an attempt to end the conversation positively. The balance between the opposing roles of businesswoman and friend that Gore portrays in her letters creates a third position for the author to encapsulate. By displaying both personas in the correspondence, Gore shows how Victorian women could be both feminine and professional. The remarks to Tait and Bentley signify that Gore was a professional female writer who was able to maintain a long career by remaining polite and ensuring her authorial success through forceful conversations with her editors.

Literariness in Letters

Embedded within Gore's correspondence of business with her editors, she writes in a creative style which reflects her talent for fiction. Using extracts from Gore's novel *Cecil*, I will demonstrate how the criticism, alliterations, and punctuation utilized in the author's most successful novel are also used in her letters to create emphasis and exaggeration. Early in *Cecil*, readers become aware that the novel parodies Regency society. Gore uses her anti-hero Cecil Danby to despair at the 'struggles' of the aristocracy: 'I was really in despair at the closing of the Continent! *Bonbons, maréchale* powder, *chocolat de santé,*

[89] BL, MS 46611, vol. LII, fols. 92-3.

pommade à la vanille – how were we to exist without the necessities of life?'[90] By describing French sweets and hair products as 'necessities,' the author employs sarcasm to emphasize that the 'struggles' Cecil is depicting are not. Within one sentence, Gore's sarcasm allows her to highlight and criticize the luxurious priorities of the English aristocracy. In a different context, Gore similarly applies criticism of publishers in a letter to Tait. In 1842, one year after the publication of *Cecil*, Gore names her male colleagues who are being paid large sums of money to write 'carefully.' She ends her argument with: 'This is making it worth a man's while to accept authorship as a [profession!]'[91] In distinction to the example from her novel, Gore does not employ sarcasm in this sentence as she is genuinely noting how easily men can earn money from authorship. This sentence is similar to the *Cecil* example in that with one sentence, Gore is able to highlight and criticize the disparities in salary between male and female authors. Although she does not mention the sums of money women writers were earning at the time, she does emphasize that men could take on writing as a profession, without having literary talent, and they will be paid handsomely. She did not need to mention women's salaries to suggest that women were being paid less than their less-talented male peers. Gore's ability to creatively criticize her contemporary world in fiction and in letters demonstrates her assertive and blunt personality traits. She used multiple platforms such as novels, letters, and magazines to voice her opinions and publicize her criticisms of the British aristocracy and the gender pay gap in Victorian literature.

[90] Catherine Gore, *Cecil; or, the Adventures of a Coxcomb*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1841) I, p. 10. (original emphasis)
[91] NLS, MS 3713, fols. 130-1.

Criticisms were not the only way Gore would draw attention to her arguments. As seen in *Cecil* and her letters, the author also employed alliterations in her writings to make the sentences sound harmonious. In *Cecil,* Gore uses alliterative sentences several times to manipulate the way readers feel about the subject of her sentences. In one example, she writes: 'For the horrible Dalilah by whom my clustering curls had been curtailed, talked of corduroys, high lows, and a leathern cap, in case I was refractory.'[92] In this passage, Cecil is describing his traumatic childhood experience when a teacher at his boarding school cut off his hair. Gore uses several words that begin with a harsh *c* sound such as *clustering, curls*, and *curtailed*. The repetition of the harsh *c* sounds is purposely used to sound unharmonious when reading the sentence and make readers feel uncomfortable by the non-harmony. The uncomfortable feeling then becomes associated with the subject of the sentence which, in this case, is the teacher Cecil has a dislike for. In another example, Cecil says: 'One of the wicked wits of the wickedest and wittiest of times has said that, "there is something in the misfortunes of our dearest friends not altogether displeasing to us.'" [93] Gore uses an alliteration of *w* sounds to introduce a quotation from Lord Byron. The repetition of words that start with *w* are more harmonious than the *c* sounds in the first example. The fluid alliteration, Byron's complimentary introduction, and Gore's use of Bryon as a character in the novel, demonstrate that the author wants readers to feel comfortable when the sentence is read. The harmonious repetition creates a comfort that Gore wants readers to associate with the poet. Gore also employs alliterations in her letters to manipulate how the reader will feel when reading a sentence. In an 1830 letter to Bentley, Gore expresses her dismay at the editor for how her recent novel is being advertised: 'The

[92] Gore, *Cecil*, I, p. 12.
[93] Gore, *Cecil*, III, p. 13.

book has been very scantily advertised – scarcely at all previous to the subscription; and coming after the florid claptraps that have been lavished upon The Exclusives, you could scarcely expect it to have a marked screef in three days.'[94] The passage encloses two sections – both of which have alliterations. In the first part of the passage, Gore discusses the advertisement of her own book and uses words that start with *s* such as *scantily*, *scarcely*, and *subscription*. By understanding the context of the sentence, readers know Gore is upset at Bentley for the advertising treatment of her book, but the repetitive *s* sounds are harsh and also indicate that the author is wanting readers to feel uncomfortable when reading this. In the second part of the passage Gore explains that Bentley has not advertised her book to the extent that he did for Lady Charlotte Bury's novel, *The Exclusives*. She uses a repetitive *l* sound in the words *florid*, *claptraps*, and *lavished*. The *l* sound is more harmonious and was used to make the reader sympathize with Gore. The compatible sounds in Gore's alliterations allow readers to feel comfort or discomfort when reading them. Gore uses alliteration in her novel and letters to indirectly tell readers how they should feel about a subject. This manipulation with words further demonstrates Gore's ability to manage her own career as a professional writer by persuading editors to accept her requests.

Another form of literary style that is revealed in Gore's letters is her use of dashes an indicator of a parenthesis. The text between the two dashes becomes supplemental information that reads as an intimate aside comment between the narrator and audience. In *Cecil*, the dandy describes a woman by saying: 'Never had I seen so sweet a face, so graceful a figure! – Falling shoulders, trimly waist, a profusion of chestnut curls, falling

[94] BL, MS 46611, vol. LII, fol. 92. (original emphasis)

from the smallest head I have ever seen, on either side a throat as white as it was slender – all were exquisite!'[95] Between the two dashes, the narrator gives readers more details about the subject he is discussing in an attempt for them to better visualize his description. In another passage, Cecil says: 'But to leave her alone in her glory, – to leave her, when the kindnesses lavished upon you have been the means of keeping more assiduous beaux from the field, – is an "ungrateful injury," past all forgiveness!'[96] Again, the narrator uses the information between dashes as an aside comment to readers giving them insight into his intimate thoughts. The author used this sentence format in a letter to Bentley as well. In 1843, she wrote a letter to Bentley revealing the death of her daughter and asked for an advance payment for a future piece of work for his *Miscellany*. Gore writes: 'But I have nothing ready for the Miscellany – only grave papers!'[97] In both examples of dashes applied in *Cecil* and in her letter to Bentley, Gore ended the sentences with an exclamation point. The exclamation points signify the emphasis and exaggeration the author wanted to place on the sentences. The exaggeration indicates to the reader the intense emotions that Cecil and Gore are attempting to convey. In both of Cecil's passages, he is showing readers the affectionate feelings he is having towards the women in his life and Gore demonstrates the distress she is feeling at the loss of her daughter. The dash, concluding phrase, and exclamation point all display the emphasis Gore is placing on the emotions she and her character Cecil are expressing. The author employed this sentence structure in her novel and letters to highlight the main ideas and arguments she is attempting to convey in her writing.

[95] Gore, *Cecil*, I, p. 46.
[96] Gore, *Cecil*, I, pp. 130-1.
[97] BL, MS 46614, vol. LV, fol. 215.

The peculiar literariness in Gore's letters displays how the author's writing talent transferred from fiction to non-fiction. In an attempt to impress her editors and entice them to take her work, she advertises herself as an active and courageous female writer who was ready to take on any work. Her eagerness to write shows a symptom of anxiety that came from being one of many writers in the nineteenth century. As seen in her letters, Gore was afraid of being displaced by writers who did not need the income, and therefore, could give the highest profit to publishers. To ensure her position as a major player in the literary marketplace, Gore managed her career and was aware of the business aspects of her profession such as money, marketing, and the literary marketplace she contributed to. She also constructed her letters in an assertive, manipulative, and literary manner to persuade her editors into creating the outcome that was advantageous to her career. The author's ability to control her own profession allows her to stand out amongst some of her other female peers who had husbands or other male acquaintances manage their careers. Gore's letters allow readers to evaluate the personal aspect to the author's life and understand how her fruitful career developed from the anxiety of becoming unemployed in the literary marketplace.

Chapter Six

The New Landladies of the Cleikum Inn: The Indirect Collaborations of Catherine Gore and Christian Isobel Johnstone

In 1826, Christian Isobel Johnstone published her latest work of fiction, but instead of continuing in the genres of historical novel and national tale, evidenced in *Clan-Albin* (1815) and *Elizabeth de Bruce* (1827), she took an alternative approach. Taking inspiration from Walter Scott, she produced *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*, a spin-off to *St. Ronan's Well* (1824). Johnstone's fiction takes Scott's secondary characters, as well as a character from Susan Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818), and continues their stories after the original's ending. Ian Duncan's study of Johnstone demonstrates the ways in which the secondary characters from Scott's novel continue their stay at Meg Dods' inn and decide to create '"the Cleikum Club," a convivial society dedicated to gastronomic improvement'.[1] Published by Oliver & Boyd, a publishing house Johnstone was professionally intimate with, the *Manual* received positive reviews from critics. The *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany* described it as 'a very lively production' and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* wrote: 'The individual who has ingeniously personated Meg Dods, is evidently no ordinary writer, and the book is really most excellent miscellaneous reading.'[2] The success of her *Manual* led Johnstone to use the narrative frame again in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* with a series of three stories entitled 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan's' in 1837. Instead of writing all these stories herself, she

[1] Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 287.
[2] [Anon.], Rev. of 'Meg Dods' Cookery', *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany*, vol. 18, April 1826, pp. 468-71 (p.468), and [Anon.], Rev. of 'Meg Dods's Cookery', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 9 iss. 113, June 1826, pp. 651-60 (p. 651).

recruited her contemporary Catherine Gore and an unknown writer to write one story each to accompany her own. By entrusting Gore to contribute to the Cleikum Inn narrative, the 'Tales' open up the intriguing possibility of a closer professional relationship between them than has yet been recognized or explored.

Upon researching *The Edinburgh Tales* and its contributors, one discovers that Gore and Johnstone have been continuously contextualized in literary scholarship as two female writers from opposite ends of the country, writing in completely different genres and literary circles, with their only connection being *The Edinburgh Tales.* Gore, a well-known Londoner, is often positioned in literary history as a silver fork author while Johnstone is described as an Edinburgh editor and writer of various novels. Although academia has separated these two authors into different literary groups, their professional relationship is much closer and more complicated than previous scholarship has indicated. The most obvious likeness between the two authors is their shared status as professional female writers who had successful careers during an increasingly gender polarizing century. Moreover, both authors have relationships with the same literary figures during the early nineteenth century; displaying a literary circle that exceeds country borders. But the most surprising connection Gore and Johnstone have is their recognition of each other in their fiction, non-fiction, and letter writings. These acknowledgements of each other display a professional intimacy in which the authors endorse each other's fictions. The endorsements signal a relationship beyond professional and a mutual appreciation for each other's fictions. Subsequent collaboration suggests the authors had similar motivations and sentiments they aimed to portray in their literature. In this chapter, I will elaborate on the success of Johnstone's *Cook and Housewife's Manual* then go on to argue how Gore

contributed to this success. I will discuss the parts of their careers that collide and how their relationship demonstrates their involvement in and contributions to the wider British literary network. This will lead to an analysis of their collaborative works in *The Edinburgh Tales* and 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn.' I argue that in 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn,' like their stories in *The Edinburgh Tales*, Johnstone and Gore present female heroines that directly and indirectly use agency to create their own favourable resolutions. The tales also display female characters supporting other females and this is a reflection of the mutually encouraging professional relationship between Johnstone and Gore .

St. Ronan's Spin-off

According to Duncan, Johnstone found her greatest professional success with *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*.[3] This success allowed Johnstone to associate with Scott, indirectly, and find a permanent place for herself in the early nineteenth-century Edinburgh literary marketplace. Johnstone's name was withheld from the title page, but, according to Andrew Monnickendam, readers became aware of Johnstone as the novel's author in an advertisement for the *Manual* in the standard editions of the Waverley Novels.[4] Johnstone's *Manual*, and portions of her career, has more connections with Scott and his works than just his characters and advertisements. Pam Perkins notes that Johnstone's novel went into sixteen editions in the nineteenth century with help from the popularity and subsequent commercialization of Scott's works.[5] Perkins claims: 'It openly turns literature into a form

[3] Duncan, p. 289.
[4] Andrew Monnickendam, 'Eating Your Words: Plate and Nation in Meg Dods's *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* (1826)', *Scottish Studies Review*, 6.1 (Spring 2005), 33-42 (p. 35).
[5] Pam Perkins, 'A Taste for Scottish Fiction: Christian Johnstone's *Cook and Housewife's Manual*', *European Romantic Review*, 11.2 (2000), 248-58 (p. 249).

of advertising, as Scott's and Ferrier's characters and the *Blackwood's* style draw attention to the cookbook, and make it stand out from a mass of competitors.'[6] As she notes, Scott 'endorsed' Johnstone's book in the Notes of the 1832 edition of *St. Ronan's Well* and wrote: 'And in bearing this testimony, we protest that we are in no way biassed [sic] by the receipt of two bottles of excellent sauce for cold meat, which were sent to us by the said Mrs. Dods, as a mark of her respect and regard, for which we return her our unfeigned thanks, having found them capital.'[7] Perkins states that Scott's approval is an example of Scottish writers creating their own literary culture.[8] Johnstone also helped diversify the Scottish literary scene through the concept of Meg Dods's *Manual* as a literary spin-off.

Johnstone's spin-off is unique because it continues the stories of Scott's secondary characters, rather than main characters, only a few years after they were originally published.[9] Critics have attempted to define the *Manual* which combines originality with borrowed elements. I contend that the *Manual* is a spin-off rather than a sequel to *St. Ronan's Well*. Johnstone's focus on *St. Ronan's* secondary characters allows for a subplot to develop from *St. Ronan's* main plot. This new stream of narrative 'spins' from the original. In a sequel, the original plot with its main characters continuing their story would have been maintained. The novel could also be defined as fan fiction in which fans of a certain piece of media create their own stories based on the original media content. As seen

[6] Perkins, 'Scottish Fiction', p. 248.
[7] *Introductions and Notes from the Magnum Opus: Ivanhoe to Castle Dangerous*, ed. by J. H. Alexander with P. D. Garside and Claire Lamont, *The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels*, vol. 25b (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 341-2 (p. 342).
[8] Perkins, 'Scottish Fiction', p. 249.
[9] Birgit Spengler's book *Literary Spinoffs: Rewriting the Classics-Reimagining the Community* (2015), examines twentieth- and twenty-first century American spin-offs of nineteenth-century canonical novels including *Moby Dick* (1851), *Little Women* (1868-9), and *Huckleberry Finn* (1884). Although Spengler's study addresses American literature, she has been one of the few critics to analyze and define literary spin-offs.

in Johnstone's professional repertoire, it is safe to say she was an enthusiast of Scott. Later in this chapter, I will discuss how Scott influenced her work in many ways, but in the instance of the *Manual*, Johnstone uses her knowledge of Scott and his *St. Ronan's* universe to create an additional narrative from his original content. Duncan's analysis of *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* points out that 'the book begins by posing as a sequel to a recent novel by the Author of Waverley.'[10] His observation demonstrates Johnstone's advertising technique of acting like a sequel to a Scott novel in order to attract his readers. Duncan also attempts to explain the *Manual's* unique categorization: 'Johnstone's techniques of formal parody (of Scottish novels and historiography) and of mixing kinds and discourses, blurring the boundaries between fiction and reference, are characteristic of the magazine genre of the symposium, a major forum for experimental writing in the 1820s.'[11] Duncan's definition points out Johnstone's simultaneous use of multiple genres. Her journalistic and literary works demonstrate that she did not have a genre-specific stylistic form when writing one or the other. As Duncan argues, her magazine techniques made their way into her novels and, as discussed earlier, her radical political agenda, often seen in periodical articles, found a home in her fiction as well. Perkins argues that *Tait's* 'aimed itself' toward audiences who enjoyed politics and audiences who found interest in fashion. She concludes that: 'Johnstone's fiction in *Tait's* is a clear attempt to bridge any gap that might be presumed to exist between these two audiences.'[12] Alternatively, Johnstone wrote fiction in her and her husband's magazines and Easley has remarked how she added literary flare

[10] Duncan, p. 287.
[11] Duncan, p. p. 289.
[12] Pam Perkins, *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), p. 270.

when she merged with *Tait's* in 1834.[13] To Johnstone, it appears that all forms of literature were an equal opportunity for entertainment and information. The combination of different genres along with the implementation of the spin-off style in the *Manual* displays the layers of experimentation Johnstone applied to her fiction.

Conversing Through Literature

Gore and Johnstone have a unique relationship that demonstrates obvious and hidden connections. The lack of evidence surrounding Johnstone and Gore's relationship made it a difficult topic to research, but, as more collaborative literature was uncovered, it added enriching complexities to previous research on these authors. On one hand, Gore and Johnstone's partnership demonstrates a different variation to the types of female writing collaborations usually discussed. On the other hand, there is no research on Johnstone and Gore's partnership and also few comparable relationships examined by scholars of literary collaboration. The biggest difficulty in researching Gore and Johnstone's relationship was that any direct correspondence between the two writers has yet to be found. Not only did that make my argument more difficult to prove, but it also made research into previous academic literature harder to find. There are dozens of case studies involving literary partnerships; many of them regarding more prominent relationships between well-documented colleagues such as William Wordsworth and Samuel Coleridge in Nicholas Roe's *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years* (1990), siblings as seen in Jane Aaron's *A Double Singleness* (1991) on Charles and Mary Lamb, or lovers such as the various studies of Percy and Mary Shelley. The significance of these relationships are

[13] Alexis Easley, '"Tait's Edinburgh Magazine" in the 1830s: Dialogues on Gender, Class, and Reform', *Victorian Periodicals*, 38.3 (Fall 2005), 263-79 (p. 265).

difficult to compare to the much lesser known Johnstone and Gore. Studies of two early nineteenth-century female writers who collaborated but have no record of correspondence have proved difficult to find. However, scholarship on two literary figures who critiqued one another but never met has been conducted. In *Meeting Without Knowing It: Kipling and Yeats at the Fin de Siècle* (2016), Alexander Bubb analyses the parallel career paths of W.B. Yeats and Rudyard Kipling and their love/hate relationship. Bubb's study explores how two twentieth century contemporaries were able to communicate indirectly through the literary marketplace and influence each other at a distance. Research on acclaimed literary figures fails to provide a model for addressing the untraced collaborations of lesser-known figures.

Bette London's *Writing Double: Women's Literary Partnerships* (1999) gives closer insight into professional literary female relationships in the nineteenth century. London gives several examples of female authorial collaborations from the mid nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. These, mostly, non-canonical partnerships include the juvenilia of the Brontë sisters; Katherine Bradley and Edith Cooper, also known as Michael Field; and Edith Sommerville and Violet Martin, also known as Somerville and Ross. London also touches on female mediums, such as Georgie Yeats, and their abilities to team with spirit writers. London's analysis of female collaborations provides further insight into why the relationship between Johnstone and Gore has not re-emerged earlier. London argues that 'the higher the literary values associated with a work, the less collaborative authorship has generally been credited.'[14] London's claims force readers to consider that many, if not all, of the most canonized writers in literature are solo writers. Some of the

[14] Bette London, *Writing Double: Women's Literary Partnerships* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 3.

collaborations most commonly known are Wordsworth and Coleridge and the Brontë sisters, and even with the Brontës, they are usually praised for their individual novels rather than their collaborative juvenilia. This idea of literary value in solo writing allows London to conclude that: 'It would be safe to assume that unacknowledged collaborations must have far exceeded the acknowledged ones.'[15] Although Johnstone and Gore have both been acknowledged for their individual accomplishments in novels and magazines, their collaborative partnership has not appeared in literary scholarship. Later in this chapter, I will explore the fine details in their common careers and analyze their literary partnership and collaborative works.

I argue that the start of this female partnership - ironically - began with a man: William Tait, editor of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*. Gore's relationship with Tait can be dissected through their series of correspondence from 1838-1848. As analyzed in my previous chapter, Gore's letters to Tait demonstrate her proactive and blunt personality which helped propel her career as a writer. *The Wellesley Index* indicates that Gore's first article in *Tait's* was published in 1832. Therefore, we can assume their correspondence could have begun sooner than 1838. Johnstone and Gore's paths crossed with the help of Tait and his magazine. As already noted, Johnstone was co-editor of *Tait's* from 1834-1846, so Gore's contributions were to a magazine directed, creatively, by Johnstone. As co-editor with Tait, one would think Johnstone and Gore would have corresponded; however, Fred Hunter has noted how Tait was in charge of business affairs with the magazine, including correspondence, while Johnstone chose which articles were

[15] London, p. 9.

published.[16] *The Wellesley Index* estimates that Gore contributed 73 pieces to *Tait's* throughout her career. Although they might not have been communicating with each other directly, Johnstone was reading Gore's early work and choosing to place her articles in the magazine. One of Gore's most popular contributions in *Tait's* was her serialized story 'The Beggar's Wallet' which was published from May 1834 to October 1837. Evidence of the story's high regard is seen in Johnstone's letter to George Boyd in which she claims that 'the plague is that we have so many story-tellers already, and a lot on hand of Beggar's Wallets &c.'[17] Johnstone's remark indicates a slight disparaging towards the popular story and its various mimicked versions; but she also shows how the story gained enough high praise to inspire other authors to imitate Gore's work. Gore also used the fame created by 'The Beggar's Wallet' to help sell her novels. Early in her career, Gore wished to conceal her identity from her novels and used various pseudonyms. Along with male pseudonyms, she often proclaimed herself as the author of her previous work. In a letter to Tait, Gore says: 'If you use my name [otherwise] than as "The author of The Beggar's Wallet," or "Toby Allspy," I must alter my story, as it is scarcely fiddle faddle enough for what is required from me –'[18] Gore's message to Tait shows that she relied on the fame of her story to advertise and entice readers to buy her latest novel. Gore wrote other stories for *Tait's* that were also used as pseudonyms in later works and incorporated in Johnstone's *The Edinburgh Tales*. Johnstone and Gore's connections with *Tait's* demonstrates how it was one of the publications which encouraged Gore's career as a writer and also indirectly

[16] Fred Hunter, 'Johnstone [née Todd; *other married name* M'Leish], Christian Isobel', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14957>, p. 1.
[17] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (NLS), Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/198, 2 November 1836.
[18] Edinburgh, NLS, MS 3713, f. 130.

introduced the two writers to each other. Alexis Easley claims Johnstone helped perpetuate the careers of her contemporary writers.[19] This relationship with Gore through the magazine demonstrates how Johnstone helped support Gore's career by including her pieces in *Tait's*. Johnstone would take this support a step further by showcasing and publicizing Gore's name to help stimulate her career.

Later into their careers, both writers referenced each other's names and literary titles in their writings. What started as a one-sided relationship appears to develop into a mutually beneficial one in which Johnstone and Gore are advertising each other's works in their pieces. As mentioned earlier, Johnstone references Gore's story 'The Beggar's Wallet' in her letter to Boyd. And as discussed in the previous chapter, Johnstone praises Gore and calls her a 'veteran' of magazine writing alongside contemporary writer Leigh Hunt.[20] She also compliments Gore and her fashionable novel contemporaries in her article 'Fashionable Novelism.' When the article was published in 1833, Gore had already written several of her well-known titles including *The Manners of the Day* (1830), *Pin Money* (1831), and *Mothers and Daughters* (1831). Johnstone's review of fashionable novels demonstrates her familiarity with the genre: she is likely to have read Gore's novels alongside those of many other contemporaries. But Johnstone was not the only one well versed in the popular fiction of the day. Gore makes a reference to Johnstone and her story 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor' in their collaborative series 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan's.' In the first of the three-storied series, entitled 'The Christening Cloth,' Gore uses the voices of Johnstone's borrowed characters to discuss her work. As Major Jekyll and the Nabob are persuading Meg Dods to allow them to write a story about the

[19] Easley, '"Tait's Edinburgh Magazine"', p. 274.
[20] NLS, Oliver & Boyd Publishers Archive Acc. 500/198, 2 November 1836.

Cleikum Inn, the Nabob says: "I can, I believe, engage the aid of the author of the '"Experiences of Richard Taylor,"' if worth our while." Meg Dods replies: '"Na, tak Maister Taylor by all manner of means," cried Meg; "I'm glad to hear o' a man o' experience among ye. And what's the natur o' his Experiences?"'[21] This exchange demonstrates an awareness of other characters from different stories created by the Cleikum Inn's borrowed author: Johnstone. Readers soon learn that Johnstone has borrowed these characters then recreated their world by adding a layer of intricate intertextuality. In another example, Major Jekyll admits that he gets his authorial inspiration from "the admirable author of '"The Beggar's Wallet,"' '"Mrs Armytage,"' and '"Mothers and Daughters"'.[22] Interestingly, Jekyll is referencing works from the author who is currently writing his story: Gore. These references to the literary works in this inner circle also serve as an advertising device for Johnstone and Gore. The allusions act as footnotes for readers to reference and potentially buy the fictions if they like the current story they are reading. Now that the characters have been passed on from Johnstone to Gore, they also mention their original author: Walter Scott. After Jekyll and the Nabob tell Meg Dods they are writing a story, she suggests more professional writers for the job: "If ye *are* to begin – and if, moreover, the credit of my Public at St. Ronan's is to be concerned – let us make a wiselike job o't. Sir Walter, to be sure, is awa; and even James Hogg o' the Ettrick, puir fallow! But, if ye can get Allan Kinnygemm or John Galt to countenance ye."[23] Not only do the characters praise Scott for his writing ability, but the reference also allows Johnstone and Gore to pay tribute to their literary source. With the characters of the

[21] Catherine Gore, 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan's: The Christening Cloth,' *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 4 iss. 37, January 1837, pp. 41-54 (p. 42).
[22] Gore, p. 42.
[23] Gore, p. 42.

Cleikum Inn directly and indirectly citing their own creators, authors themselves become characters embedded and entangled in the story. Johnstone and Gore use the material from *St. Ronan's Well* to expand upon its narrative and create an elaborate web of fictions, authors, and characters that all connect to each other in one way or another.

Johnstone, Gore, and the Wider Reaching Literary Network

Despite being well-known writers during the height of their careers, Johnstone and Gore did not become canonical or able to maintain literary longevity after their deaths. Their connections to other contemporary canonical writers display how far their works reached in the literary world, but, I argue, their works developed from a specific time and place which interested contemporary readers, but failed to obtain interest from readers in future generations. Gore's fame in the early nineteenth century reached all the way to America where other famous writers were reading her work. Kevin J. Hayes discusses Edgar Allan Poe's admiration of Gore and how the American poet used her work as inspiration for his short story 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue' (1841). First, Hayes points out that Poe mentions Gore in a few of his works including an 1841 review of *Joseph Rushbrook: or, The Poacher* and in his story 'Thou Art the Man' (1844) in which Poe writes about 'crack novels:' '– in those of Mrs. Gore, for example, (the author of "Cecil,") a lady who quotes all tongues from the Chaldæan to Chicksaw'. Hayes demonstrates that this passage was meant as praise and defense of Gore's use of languages after it was criticized by R. H. Horne.[24] Later, Hayes displays Poe's recognition of Gore in his personal life as well. In a letter to Annie Richmond in 1849, Poe writes:

[24] Edgar Allan Poe, 'Thou Art the Man' in *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe: Volume II: Poems and Miscellanies* (1850), published by the Edgar Allan Poe Society of

> You ask me Annie, to tell you about some book to read. Have you seen "Percy Ranthorpe," by Mrs. Gore? You can get it at any of the agencies. I have lately read it with deep interest, and derived great *consolation* from it also. It relates to the career of a literary man, and gives a just view of the true aims and the true dignity of the literary character. Read it for my sake…[25]

Hayes points out that Poe misattributes the novel *Ranthorpe* (1847) to Gore when it was actually written by George Henry Lewes. He explains the mistake was not Poe's since the edition he read, published by H. Long & Brother, was purposefully misattributed to Gore in an effort to increase sales in 1848. In his main argument, Hayes claims there are significant parallels between Poe's story 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue' (1841), which he emphasizes 'is considered the first detective story in literary history,' and Gore's story 'The Scrap-Stall,' which was written in her collection *Mary Raymond, and Other Tales* (1838).[26] Although Poe, the canonical American poet and storyteller, appears to have drawn inspiration from Gore, she was not able to obtain the canonical status that he did. Molly Englehardt has commented on how Gore's literary legacy did not survive after her death despite the popularity she maintained with readers in the first half of the nineteenth century.[27] As my thesis has shown how Gore's reputation was recognized by prominent literary figures, such as Poe and Charlotte Brontë, Johnstone's work also spread throughout the country and was personally acknowledged by one of her most significant contemporaries.

Baltimore,<https://www.eapoe.org/works/tales/thartc.htm>, [accessed 06 Aug 2020], pp. 418-32, (p. 425) qutd. in Kevin J. Hayes, 'Mrs. Gore and "The Murders in the Rue Morgue"', *Notes and Queries*, 58.1 (Mar 2011), 85-7 (p. 85).

[25] 'Edgar Allan Poe to Annie L. Richmond – about January 21, 1849 (LTR-301)', the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore, < https://www.eapoe.org/works/letters/p4901210.htm>, [accessed 06 Aug 2020], qutd. in Kevin J. Hayes, p. 85.

[26] Hayes, pp. 85-6.

[27] Molly Englehardt, '"Novelist of a New Era": Deepening the Sketch of Catherine Gore', *Victorian Review*, 42.1 (2016), 65-84 (p. 65).

Walter Scott had a large influence on Johnstone and she used his work to help propel her literary career. Although Johnstone never became the literary heavyweight that Scott did, he personally acknowledges her work in his public and personal writings. But Scott's acknowledgement of Johnstone was not enough recognition for her to receive the literary acclaim that he has obtained. Earlier in this chapter, I explored Johnstone's connections with Scott from her perspective. Not only did she write her successful spin-off *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* from Scott's *St. Ronan's Well*; she also, as Perkins notes, copied the style of his famous pseudonym, The Author of *Waverley*, by publishing *Elizabeth de Bruce* as 'by The Author of *Clan-Albin'*. She argues that Johnstone's borrowing techniques are used to 'build an authorial identity that both builds upon and "corrects" Scott'.[28] But this relationship is not as one-sided as it seems. Scott acknowledged Johnstone on several occasions. As mentioned earlier, he speaks directly to Meg Dods in a note to the Magnum Opus edition of *St. Ronan's Well*. He not only displayed public recognition of Johnstone, but private acknowledgement as well in his personal journal. On 23 January 1827, Scott briefly mentions in his journal that he read *Elizabeth de Bruce* – 'part of it, that is'. Then on 27 January, Scott elaborates on his criticism of the novel: 'Read Elizabeth de Bruce; it is very clever, but does not show much originality. The characters, though very entertaining, are in the manner of other authors, and the finished and filled-up portraits of which the sketches are to be found elsewhere.'[29] Despite his critical review, Johnstone was a Scott enthusiast and his journal entries show their relationship was not

[28] Perkins, *Women Writers*, p. 243.
[29] Walter Scott, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott: From the Original Manuscript at Abbotsford*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1890-1), I, pp. 344-7.

entirely one-sided. Johnstone and Scott display the complex network of writers reading and reviewing each other's fictions in the early nineteenth century.

Scott's remarks in his journal entry demonstrate one reason why writers like Johnstone and Gore were not able to harness fame after their deaths. Both writers modeled their novels from well-known genres that were in demand during their careers. Not only did their novels become recycled literary products, but the years of cultural transition they lived in and wrote about went out of fashion quickly. As discussed, Johnstone's historical fiction novels were influenced by Scott's acclaimed novels of the 1810s and 1820s. But Duncan insinuates that her work was so similar to Scott's that a German translator mistakenly credited Scott as the author of *Elizabeth von Bruce*.[30] Gore's novels were also not as original as her predecessors in the silver fork genre. While Gore received many favourable reviews from contemporary critics as an individual author, the literary trend she was a part of often attracted much criticism.[31] From William Hazlitt's 'Dandy School' article in 1827 to George Eliot's 'Silly Novels' article in 1856, critics from the first half of the nineteenth century scorned fashionable novels for their snobbery, materialism, and exclusiveness. William Wallace generalizes the genre by commenting: 'Flimsy or vapid dialogue, made up of certain cant terms relating to Tattersall's, the opera, Crockford's and Almack's […] all these will continue to flourish forth novels of high life, in three volumes, whilst there are people ignorant and foolish enough to be gratified, or duped by them.'[32]

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[30] Duncan, p. 290.

[31] In 1837, one critic wrote that he wished 'Mrs. Gore could change her sex, and become M.P. for some borough, that would be honoured in its representative. She would make an admirable member of parliament, for she displays all the most brilliant elements of one in every page of her writing; and moreover, she would have no rival in her peculiar vein.' [Anon.], 'Mrs. Gore', *The Court Magazine and Monthly Critic*, vol. 10 iss. 2, February 1837, pp. 124-8 (p. 124).

[32] William Wallace, 'Article VII. Pelham; or the Adventures of a Gentleman, &c. &c. &c.' *The British and Foreign Review: or, European Quarterly Journal,* vol. 3 iss. 6, Oct. 1836, pp. 477-510, (pp. 481).

Wallace demonstrates the repetitiveness of fashionable novels which often highlighted the clubs, operas, and shops which were in vogue at the time.

Additionally, the changing time period Johnstone and Gore lived in meant their culture was not stable enough to be recognized as a distinct moment in history. In between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of Victorian period, both authors lived during decades which saw the Reform Act and other culturally transitional events. Future generations of readers found it difficult to relate to the parties, operas, shopping, and clubs that silver fork writers detailed during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Antony H. Harrison points out that mid-century readers gravitated towards realist fiction by William Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, Eliot, and others. Harrison explains: 'The work of these writers was readily embraced by bourgeois audiences, whose interest in their own progress toward financial prosperity and enhanced social status was boundless.'[33] The evolving culture from the early to mid-nineteenth century also meant a change in values and literary taste that Johnstone's and Gore's work did not align with. Despite their attempts to support each other's literary pieces through intertextuality, Johnstone and Gore's literature did not remain popular after their deaths. Their lack of literary acclaim after the mid-nineteenth century further points out their similar careers as professional women writers who somewhat relied on literary trends to sell their works. Apart from the literature that was in vogue, both Johnstone and Gore also challenged their normal writing styles to try more unusual types of writing, such as interpolation and borrowed characters, as seen in the 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn.' The authors' attempts to make their writing stand

[33]Antony H. Harrison, '1848', in *A Companion to Victorian Literature & Culture,* ed. by Herbert F. Tucker (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999) pp. 19-34 (p. 25).

out from their contemporaries echo the agency demonstrated by their main heroines in the 'Cleikum Inn' tales.

Johnstone and Gore: The New Owners of the Cleikum Inn

Before collaborating in *The Edinburgh Tales*, Johnstone and Gore also worked closely on a series of short stories for *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* entitled 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan's.' Published in 1837, the short stories use the Cleikum Inn narrative frame from Johnstone's *Manual* to set up their newest pieces of fiction. Interestingly, as Perkins has pointed out, the stories have no connections to the Cleikum Inn framing, and therefore the characters and setting of St. Ronan's are used simply to entice readers.[34] Perkins argues: 'Meg Dods the character is a shrewd Scottish peasant, the embodiment of solid, old fashioned values, and her name on the title page alerts readers not only to the homely, down-to-earth practicality of the basic subject matter but also, and just as importantly, to the sophisticated literary play of the framing material.'[35] Out of all her female colleagues, Johnstone trusts Gore to use her narrative framing, which is narrative framing originally from Scott's *St. Ronan's Well*. Johnstone and Gore continue to play with genre since these stories are spin-off tales from a spin-off. They also combine the contemporary Cleikum Inn narrative framing with historical and regional tales. The three stories were not attributed to authors in *Tait's*, but *The Wellesley Index* has attempted to assign authorship. In the next section, I will demonstrate how all three stories contain specific clues that help determine which author wrote each story. Johnstone and Gore's 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn' not only demonstrate their professional intimacy through collaboration, but it also shows how they

[34] Perkins, 'Scottish Fiction', p. 250.
[35] Perkins, *Women Writers*, p. 243.

used short fiction to experiment with narrative. These specific tales demonstrate how the authors were dismantling the gender norms of pre-Victorian society by writing female-driven plots and creating female saviours. The aid given from older female characters to the younger ones echoes the real-life support given from, mostly, Johnstone to Gore throughout their professional careers.

The first story in the Cleikum Inn series, published anonymously in January 1837, is entitled 'The Christening Cloth' and is attributed to Gore in *The Wellesley Index*. Without the attribution, one could guess the author was either Gore or Johnstone from the various references they make to each other's works which I discussed earlier. Gore begins her tale at the Cleikum Inn with Scott's characters attempting to persuade Meg Dods to allow them to write a novel about her inn. The characters enter a discussion on who should write the novel and where their writing inspiration comes from. This is where Gore makes reference to the titles of her work and Johnstone's to suggest the characters take their writing inspiration from them. An Englishman named Bagshaw volunteers to tell a story of his travels and entitles it 'The Christening Cloth.' Bagshaw shares the story of his journey through Belgium when he meets Mina and her infant son at an outdoor shrine. There is a change of narrator as Mina begins to tell Bagshaw the story of her life. Mina explains that her mother was a talented spinner and even sent a sample of her work to the Princess of Orange who sent back a letter thanking her for the exquisite piece of finery. She became ill and died soon after Mina's birth, leaving Mina to be raised by her father. As Mina grew up, she and her father became attached to their poor neighbour, Bernhard, who was drafted to serve in the army. Bernhard returned from war and asked for Mina's hand in marriage despite her father's disapproval. Without her father's support, Mina married Bernhard,

moved in with his regiment, and they had a son. While the newlyweds were settling into their new life, Belgium's former monarchy returned to the throne and Bernhard deserted the army when he discovered he had been assigned to serve in a distant land. Bernhard and Mina travelled all night to find refuge and they eventually settled in France until Bernhard was discovered as a deserter and jailed in Belgium. Bagshaw becomes the narrator again and describes how he helps Mina free her husband by pleading to the reestablished Belgian monarchy. Remembering the gift Mina's mother gave to the Princess of Orange, the monarchs agree to let Bernhard free.

Although this story and its two counterparts were published anonymously, the authors left evidence in their tales for modern readers to indicate who wrote each piece. These authorial clues not only give insight into the writers, but they also demonstrate why the women decided to publish anonymously in the first place. *The Wellesley Index* has attributed the first story, 'The Christening Cloth', to Gore and I agree with this authorial assignment. The most obvious piece of evidence to make this conclusion is the references to her story 'The Beggar's Wallet,' and novels *Mrs. Armytage* (1836) and *Mothers and Daughters* (1831). As stated earlier, these references would have allowed Gore to advertise her own previous pieces of work. The story also includes references to Johnstone's 'Mr. Richard Taylor' story: however, I believe this mention is more of a nod or sign of respect to Johnstone, who built this narrative framing, rather than evidence that it was written by her. Another clue to indicate this story was written by Gore is her fascination with royalty. Gore includes William V, the Prince of Orange and his wife Wilhelmina, Princess of Orange as minor characters in the story. The main character Mina is named after the princess, her parents are royalists, and Marjory sent the princess a present of her fine cloth.

Wilhelmina eventually becomes one hero of the story by saving Mina's husband from military punishment. This heavy involvement of royalty with the plot is similar to Gore's story 'The Maid of Honour' where Lord Greville and Theresa Marchmont were involved in Charles II's court. Royalty also plays a heavy role in this story as the king's unwanted interest in Theresa cause her fiancé to become lost at sea by the monarch's orders and forcing her to marry Lord Greville. These royal narratives are reminiscent of Gore's silver fork writings in which, Hughes has pointed out, authors attempted both to emulate and to satirize the upper echelons of London society.[36] Gore's references to herself and her own work in the first Cleikum Inn story contradict her anonymity when published in the newspaper. The use of royalty and similarity to 'The Maid of Honour' in addition to her literary references allow today's readers to decipher her authorship. The Cleikum Inn's next story does not give readers as much clarity when it comes to assigning its authorship.

The Cleikum Inn's second story, 'The Edinburgh Doer's Tale', was first published in February 1837. It differs from the first in that the *St. Ronan's* narrative framing is not reintroduced. The anonymous author is depending on the reader's existing knowledge of the previous tale and the *St. Ronan's* context. The story begins immediately with the newest narrator, an attorney whose name we never learn, extensively discussing practices of the law and what it means to be an 'honest attorney.'[37] The ramblings appear unimportant - even Meg Dods is described as leaving the discussion to attend other duties - but his preaching becomes useful towards the end of the tale. The attorney then narrates his story of a Scottish farmer who is being evicted from his property and comes to the attorney for

[36] Winifred Hughes, 'Silver Fork Writers and Readers: Social Contexts of a Best Seller', *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, 25.3 (Spring 1992), 328-47 (p. 329).
[37] 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan's: The Edinburgh Doer's Tale', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 4 iss. 38, February 1837, pp. 97-109 (p. 97).

help. At first, the attorney is uninterested, but then he discovers the evictor is the same man who unfairly gambled against his father and took £5,000 from his family fortune. He discovers that the farmer's wife is unknowingly an heir to the landlord's entire estate, and that when the landlord learned this, he made several attempts to evict the family and force them to emigrate. The attorney travels to the landlord's grand estate to settle his own family's debt by using the newly discovered inheritance cover up as blackmail. When the landlord learns his deception has been uncovered by the attorney, he agrees to pay back a portion of his father's debt in exchange for the inheritance to remain a secret from the farmer's wife and the family can remain on their land. When the attorney tells the farmer and his family the good news, they are happy to maintain their farm, but never learn their true inheritance. The reader realizes that the narrator is not the 'honest attorney' that he was emphasizing in the beginning of the tale.

'The Edinburgh Doer's Tale' is like the other tales in that it was published anonymously. However, it differs in that *The Wellesley Index* has not attributed it to any author. Based on Johnstone's various attempts to support female authors, I believe this was written by Gore or by a third unknown female author. The implementation of a professional class attorney as the main character of this tale is uncharacteristic for Gore, but his resentment towards his profession indicates she could be the author. In several parts of the tale, the attorney suggests his father's debt 'forced' him to take on a profession:

> But the fervour with which I began it had been cooled by the associations called up in my mind by the reference to the man who had, by unfair play, deprived my father of that money which I ought to have inherited, and which might have saved me from the necessity of devoting my time and talents to a profession which is generally deemed destructive of the moral feelings of those who are obliged to follow it for a livelihood, as it would

> have been of mine if I had not nobly struggled against the demoralizing influence.[38]

Although the main character is in a profession, he has resentment towards his uncontrollable financial situation. The idea of a man who could have been wealthy enough not to need a profession signals that authorship could be Gore's. Moreover, this bitterness towards his employment demonstrates that the author is most likely not Johnstone. As Easley pointed out, Johnstone often wrote in support of the middle and working classes and even included working-class writers in *Tait's*.[39] The attorney's disposition towards his career is uncharacteristic of Johnstone's feelings towards professions.

Having an attorney as narrator and his extensive use of Latin terms illustrate why a third female author would want the tale to be published anonymously. The first half of this tale involves the attorney lecturing the residents of the Cleikum Inn about the characteristics of an 'honest attorney.' The narrator uses Latin proverbs: '"It has been generally used in two senses; first, ironically, as indicating that the thing represented has no objective existence *in rerum natura*, but like *lac gallinaceum*, *corvus albus*, *noctuinum ovum* – begging your pardon, Mistress Dods, for the unknown tongues – and other ideal existences, is to be found only in the brains of mortals."'[40] One proverb, 'lac gallinaceum,' once translated is 'hen's milk' which the *OED* describes 'as a type of something extremely rare, unattainable, or non-existent,' such as an 'honest attorney.'[41] It is not exactly clear why the author chose to be anonymous, but the use of Latin proverbs and the likelihood of

[38] 'The Edinburgh Doer's Tale', pp. 102-4.
[39] Easley, 'Tait's Edinburgh Magazine', p. 263.
[40] 'The Edinburgh Doer's Tale', p. 97. (original emphasis)
[41] 'hen's milk, n.', *OED Online*, < https://www-oed-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/view/Entry/83772423?rskey=3wLWlf&result=1&isAdvanced=true#firstMatch>, [accessed 16 January 2022].ur

the author being female might be one. Although the writer put effort into mocking the pretentious attorney, she likely wanted to remain anonymous to protect her feminine reputation. Easley explains: 'Famous women authors were often held accountable to confining definitions of "female authorship", which constrained their choice of subject matter and exposed their personal lives to public scrutiny.'[42] She emphasizes that female authors had to be particular about their choice of topic. The author likely did not want the reading public to associate her as a female author who understood the life of a professional man.

The series' third tale, entitled 'The Weird of the Winrams,' was published in *Tait's* in June 1837 and *The Wellesley Index* has attributed the story to Johnstone. Like the previous story, the narration begins almost immediately without reintroducing the Cleikum Inn narrative frame. The readers are told that it was another evening at St. Ronan's when the Dominie decided to tell a story about Rutherford of Redheugh, a widowed Laird who marries another widow, Lady Lochkeltie. Both spouses have children from their previous marriages, and as the step-siblings grow up, they fall in love with each other and are betrothed. When Redheugh's rival, Sir Marmaduke Winram, learns of the union between the Laird's son and his stepdaughter, Magdalen, who will also inherit her family's estate, he creates a plan to prevent the marriage and usurp the inheritance. On a journey with Redheugh, Magdalen is captured by Sir Winram and he offers his hand in marriage. Although she refuses, he explains that he will force her to marry him. When the news of Redheugh's death reaches Winram, he quickly takes Magdalen to the church to be married, but instead of a wedding ceremony, they enter the funeral taking place for her step-father.

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[42] Alexis Easley, *First Person Anonymous: Women Writers and Victorian Print Media, 1830-1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 1.

Magdalen sees her betrothed in the church and she is rescued from the control of Winram when he suddenly dies of poisoning given to him the night before by a family member.

Tait's published this story anonymously in 1837, but Johnstone later revealed herself to be the author when the story was re-published in the third volume of *The Edinburgh Tales* in 1846. Although Johnstone later disclosed herself as author, the length of the tale and its seventeenth century setting demonstrates her authorship. Although she keeps the *St. Ronan's* narrative framing, she slightly changes the title of the story to take the focus off of the Cleikum Inn. The story's *Edinburgh Tales* version is entitled 'The Weird of the Winrams: A Tale of the Persecuting Times; As Related by the Dominie of St. Ronan's.' Although *The Edinburgh Tales* does not have the other two stories in the Cleikum Inn series, Johnstone might have decided to keep the narrative framing as another advertisement for her *Cook and Housewife's Manual*. Besides Johnstone's admission of authorship, other clues allow readers to connect her with the anonymous tale in *Tait's*. The length of the short story is characteristic of Johnstone's fictional work. The third tale in the series is over double the length of the first two tales; the first tale is fourteen pages, the second tale is thirteen pages, and the third tale is thirty-two pages. This 'long' short story correlates with Johnstone's other fiction of length such as 'The Experiences of Mr. Richard Taylor, Esq.' in the first volume of *The Edinburgh Tales*. Not only does the tale's length suggest Johnstone is the author, but its historical setting also allows readers to make assumptions about authorship. At the beginning of the tale, the author states: '"It might be in the latter year of the godless and gainless reign in Charles Stuart, the second of that unhappy name, or in the first year that his black-hearted, Papistical brother bore sway in

this ancient realm"'.[43] Johnstone's early novels also had historical settings and her inclination towards history connects her with another early nineteenth-century author: Walter Scott. Johnstone's enthusiasm for Scott and his fictions, including his historical novels that were likely inspiration for her own novels, leads readers to suspect the author of this tale is Johnstone.

Similarly to their later *Edinburgh Tales,* Johnstone and Gore take advantage of the short story genre to dismantle gender norms and create female-driven stories. Female empowerment not only happens in the fiction, but is also exemplified in the professional relationship between the two women writers. In the first and third Cleikum Inn stories, attributed to Gore and Johnstone, respectively, by *The Wellesley Index,* there are two female main characters who demonstrate agency to determine the paths of their own lives. In 'The Christening Cloth,' the main character Mina flees France with her infant son in an attempt to rescue her imprisoned husband. She explains to Bagshaw:

> As soon as the health of my child permitted, sir, I fled from Isigny, the place where trouble had overtaken us. But I resolved, on my way to Namur, where Bernhard lies in prison awaiting his court martial, to turn aside to Florennes, and throw myself, for the last time, at the feet of my father. It may be superstition, sir; but it seems to me, that if *his* curse were recalled, the wrath of the Almighty would be appeased![44]

At first, Mina leaves her home to rescue her husband in Namur; then, she redirects herself towards Floreness to beg for her father's forgiveness. By making amends with her father, she hopes to lift a curse, which she believes was created by her father's wrath, and end her hardship. Instead of remaining idle in France, Mina actively decides to help her husband the best way she knows how. She decides to ask for her father's forgiveness

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[43] Christian Isobel Johnstone, 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan's: The Dominie's Tale; or, The Weird of the Winrams', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 4 iss. 42, Jun. 1837, pp. 357-88 (p. 357).
[44] Gore, p. 52. (original emphasis)

and at the same time destroy the bad luck placed upon her family. Mina does not make it to her father's house, but instead, she encounters Bagshaw who helps her rescue Bernhard. Bagshaw leaves Mina and her son at an inn, takes Mina's christening cloth, and spends five days searching for a way to rescue Bernhard. Upon his return, Mina has disappeared and he finds her in Namur where her husband is prisoner. She says to Bagshaw in Namur: '"After you left me, every minute seemed likely to be its last. But the time is almost expired, and I could tarry no more. I have left my boy to the pity of strangers, to hasten to *him*."'[45] Again, Mina uses her agency to travel to Namur and find a solution. She does not rely solely on Bagshaw to release her husband from prison. Although Bagshaw attempts to use his influence to help Mina and her husband, Mina's mother, Marjory, becomes the true hero of the tale. While finding a way to release Bernhard, Bagshaw was given an audience with the monarchs of Belgium and Holland to plead the soldier's case and showed them the christening cloth made by Mina's mother. At Bernhard's trial, he was acquitted with the help of Wilhelmina of Prussia who remembered the fabric given to her by Marjory. In a letter, Wilhelmina wrote: '"The sight of the very curious specimen of damask, forwarded by the Sieur Coquerel of Numar, forcibly recalled to my mind the eventful moment (the birth of my son) when Madam Regenhart's valuable gift reached the Hague."'[46] Gore ends her tale by demonstrating that not only did Marjory save Bernhard from death, but it was also the reminder of her talent and trade skills as a spinner which persuaded the monarchy to release him. Gore highlights Marjory's artistry skills and makes it a plot point in the story. By making Marjory's fine fabric an important aspect of the plot, and the title of the story, the author celebrates women's artistic

[45] Gore, p. 53. (original emphasis)
[46] Gore, p. 54.

achievements. Gore's story challenges gender norms during the early Victorian period by depicting a woman with agency and also creating a female character whose manual skills make her the hero of the tale.

Johnstone's Magdalen in 'The Weird of the Winrams' has an agency comparable to that which Mina displays in 'The Christening Cloth.' Although she becomes a stereotypical damsel after she is captured by Sir Winram, Magdalen is saved without help from her lover. Magdalen's agency and sense of honour are vocalized when she declines Sir Winram Marmaduke's offer of marriage. Despite expressing anger at Magdalen and his threat of violence, she still maintains her composure and refuses to accept his proposal: '"The extent of your power I am aware of, though, thank Heaven! It is that which endureth but a moment; from your mercy I expect nothing – ask nothing; and, though discourse is lost between us, I will avow to your face, Sir Marmaduke, once and for ever, that the solemn engagement which it pleases you to deride […] will be upheld by every faculty of my mind"'.[47] She vows to remain faithful to her fiancé James although she knows refusing Sir Winram could place her in danger. This main character parallels Gore's Mina as both women put themselves into potential harm in order to achieve their goals. Johnstone and Gore display the women as strong and courageous when faced with obstacles. Their tales encounter another similarity in the perception of the heroes of the tales. As Gore used a minor female character to become the hero of 'The Christening Cloth', Johnstone also employs a minor female character to save Magdalen from Sir Winram. The day before his wedding, Sir Winram takes a drink of wine from his elderly relation, Mistress Anne. The next day, everyone discovers that poisoning has become Winram's undoing: '"Let him

[47] Johnstone, 'Winrams', p. 377.

alone. See how he writhers and foams! He is poisoned, I tell you. That hell-bitch who has gone before him has been his death.”’[48] Sir Winram’s death allows Magdalen to be returned to her family and ultimately marry her fiancé. Like Gore, Johnstone experiments with the short story genre by changing the ending common in heroic tales. Instead of the man rescuing the lady, a minor character uses her agency to poison the villain and enable Magdalen to be set free. The employment of Mina’s mother and Mistress Anne as the heroes of the stories displays the abilities of women who appear powerless. Both minor characters work indirectly to provide a ‘happy ending’ for the female protagonists. Mina’s mother’s cloth persuades the monarchy to spare Bernhard and he is able to reunite with Mina. Although she has died, Mina’s mother indirectly orchestrates the story’s favourable resolution. Similarly, Mistress Anne poisons Sir Winram and his death allows Magdalen to be set free and reunite with her fiancé. She did not directly bring the couple together, but Mistress Anne’s murder of Sir Winram set the circumstances for the protagonist to join her mate. Moreover, the two women demonstrate the abilities of minor characters who appear to be in insignificant positions to the plot. Mina’s mother dies early in the story, but the surviving pieces from her manual labour provide the resolution at the end of the story. Mistress Anne is described as an elderly woman on her deathbed; however, she still has the ability to manipulate the story and she becomes the force that determines the outcome. By incorporating these characters, which appear as useless, and giving them the indirect ability to resolve their stories favourably, Johnstone and Gore challenge readers to consider the abilities of minor characters.

[48] Johnstone, ‘Winrams’, p. 387.

Mina's mother and Mistress Anne are also fictional exemplars of women supporting women. The elder females indirectly use their faculties to help enhance the lives of the younger females in their stories. The female support which is exhibited in the short stories is reflected in the collaboration between Johnstone and Gore. When these stories were published in 1837, Johnstone was an established editor in Edinburgh while Gore's position as an author was becoming more influential in the literary marketplace. Gore had several novels published by this time, but she had not yet hit the peak of her career, which would come with *Cecil* in 1841. Easley claims that Johnstone used her influence to help other female authors establish their careers.[49] Johnstone helped Gore and other female writers progress their careers by publishing their short stories in *The Edinburgh Tales*. In addition, the Cleikum Inn collaboration between Johnstone and Gore illustrates how Johnstone allowed Gore to contribute to her successful *St. Ronan's* spin-off.[50] By permitting Gore to write the first of the Cleikum Inn series, Johnstone entrusted Gore to maintain the creditability of her most celebrated novel. As stated earlier in this chapter, the narrative framing was used as an advertising device for Johnstone's *Manual*. It is unclear whether Gore's input into the Cleikum Inn narrative added to its success and the continuation of its ten editions; however, her tale added intertextuality and complexity to the *St. Ronan's* narrative web. Therefore, the professional relationship between Gore and Johnstone is not as one-sided as it appears. Johnstone allowed Gore to have more space for her writings to be published and, coincidingly, Gore helped Johnstone's fiction to maintain its popularity through the mid-nineteenth century. The collaboration shown by Johnstone and Gore demonstrates how their support for one another was mutually beneficial.

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[49] Easley, *First Person Anonymous*, p. 274.
[50] Duncan, p. 289.

A closer look into the professional relationship between Johnstone and Gore demonstrates the similar genres and writing styles both authors adopted. Both took advantage of the periodical press's success in the early part of the century to publish numerous articles and short stories. Their combined works in the 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn' series displays an attempt to support each other's careers. The 'Cleikum Inn' tales also allowed Johnstone and Gore to associate themselves with Scott's popular fiction while also experimenting with genre. The series is a spin-off from Johnstone's *Manual* spin-off and has a dual purpose of gaining popularity from an established narrative frame while also forming unusual plots. In the 'Cleikum Inn' tales, both authors tell uncommon stories by empowering their female characters and reconfiguring the traditional heroic plot. Although Johnstone and Gore could not maintain their popularity into the second half of the nineteenth century, their influence and literary outreach appears in the personal and professional writings of other canonical writers. These connections demonstrate that the work Johnstone and Gore put into creating their literary reputations as an established Edinburgh editor and popular silver fork writer allowed them to be recognized by their contemporaries in the British literary network.

Conclusion

This thesis opened with the short story collection *The Edinburgh Tales* (1845-6), edited by Johnstone, that brought together in three volumes a range of stories contributed by authors from the 1820s on. It has taken the *Tales* as the introduction to an investigation into two authorial careers and the ways in which they intersect in the published literary culture of a period 'in and in between' Romanticism and Victorianism. In particular, the thesis has explored Johnstone's and Gore's use of three genres (short stories from the *Tales*, letters to editors, and collaborative fictions), to tell the story of their resilience to maintain authorial careers amid a shift in reading audiences and tastes from the 1820s to the 1840s. Johnstone and Gore indirectly addressed an emerging mid-century audience by recycling their short stories, originally published in the 1820s and 30s, and repackaged them in *The Edinburgh Tales*. Johnstone's 'The Experiences of Richard Taylor, Esq.' and Gore's 'The Maid of Honour' both employ main protagonists who defy socially constructed gender norms. These protagonists, alongside unusual plots, suggest the literary risks the authors took in order to engage readers with issues they thought important..

This thesis has also explored Johnstone and Gore's navigation through the periodical press, a dominant literary platform in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Johnstone immersed herself in the network of Edinburgh's magazine culture by editing several newspapers with her husband. Experience from these publications lead her to co-edit *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* with William Tait and made her one of the first female editors of a major British periodical.[1] Johnstone was the co-editor for *Tait's* while Gore

[1] Alexis Easley, *First Person Anonymous: Women Writers and Victorian Print Media, 1830-1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 62.

was contributing short stories and journalism to the periodical. Although she also contributed to Henry Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine* and Richard Bentley's *Miscellany*, Gore found her greatest periodical success writing 'The Beggar's Wallet' (1834-7) in *Tait's*. Editing and writing within the periodical presses in Edinburgh and London involved the authors in regular correspondence with their editors. Johnstone's letters to George Boyd and William Blackwood and Gore's letters to Tait and Bentley addressed business and personal matters (the latter more evident in Gore's letters than in Johnstone's). Both authors faced the challenge of writing with the assertiveness business sometimes requires while maintaining the politeness expected of women. To obtain the respect of being professional writers, Johnstone and Gore used the correspondence to emphasise their knowledge of past and contemporary literary figures and texts and to make clear their close involvement in literary networks.

Johnstone created her own literary network by extending the narrative of Sir Walter Scott's *St. Ronan's Well* (1824) through her spin-off fiction *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* (1826). Johnstone recruited Gore to contribute to *Tait's* short story series, 'Tales of the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan's' (1837), a further extension of the *St. Ronan's* narrative, and displayed her support for Gore's literary career before their collaboration in *The Edinburgh Tales*. Johnstone and Gore, along with a third anonymous writer, used narrative framing from Johnstone's *Manual* to develop their own short stories and continued the advertisement for Johnstone's fiction. In their 'Cleikum Inn' stories, Johnstone and Gore created independent female protagonists who demonstrated enterprising agency in order to resolve the stories' conflicts. The protagonists are only able to find their 'happy endings' with the help of minor female characters whose indirect labours lead to the resolutions. The

minor characters' assistance of the protagonists reflects the unique professional relationship between Johnstone and Gore. Although there is more evidence to suggest that Johnstone helped the progression of Gore's career, rather than Gore's assisting Johnstone, both authors provided for each other by referencing their fictions as advertisements and contributing to collaborative ventures. This thesis's analysis of Johnstone's and Gore's careers, and its uncovering of their professional relationship, has sought to demonstrate the new insights and links made possible by investigating the transitional, and often less studied, years between 'Romanticism' and 'Victorianism.' Working in the margins of literary-historical narrative brings into view the less recognized literary figures and texts that built society's literary culture during the 1820s and 1830s.

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