Notes

Chapter 1

- 1 Central Library, Birmingham: MS 135.
- 2 In her novel *Dora* (1868) Kavanagh describes Rouen as if she were familiar with that city. It may be the case that her description of Rouen came from a secondary source. Normandy is also the setting for several of Kavanagh's novels, including *Nathalie* (1850). A few encyclopaedia entries suggest that the family lived in Normandy after leaving London but none of them gives specific evidence.
- 3 Correspondence from Morgan Kavanagh to the Literary Fund Society is the most reliable source for the family's movements between London and Paris: see Royal Literary Fund, [RLF] File 548 on Morgan Kavanagh, held in the British Library. There are no other primary sources available to shed light on the dates of movement between countries. Information is also taken from the earliest bibliographical records of Julia Kavanagh: H. G. Adams, ed. (1857), *A Cyclopaedia of Female Biography*, London, Groombridge, p. 433; Thompson Cooper (1875), *Men of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries, containing Biographical Notices of Eminent Characters of Both Sexes*, Ninth Edition, London, Routledge, p. 599; Sidney Lee, ed. (1892), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XXX, pp. 246–7; *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), vol. 8, London, Caxton Publishing Co., p. 613.
- 4 Charles W. Wood, 'Mrs. Henry Wood, In Memoriam', Part Three, *Argosy*, 43, June (1887).
- 5 Madeline House, Graham Storey and Kathleen Tillotson, eds (1995), *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, vol. 8, 1856–1858, Oxford, Clarendon Press. Letter from Charles Dickens to Alfred Hachette, 9 June 1856, p. 133. The editors also note that this is the first evidence that Dickens was acquainted with Lady Georgiana Fullerton and Julia Kavanagh personally. See note 7.
- 6 R. C. Terry (1983), *Victorian Popular Fiction, 1860–80*, London, Macmillan, pp. 5–6.
- 7 Terry's list also includes: Katherine Macquoid, Hesba Stretton, Florence Marryat, Annie Thomas, Ellen (Mrs Henry) Wood, Amelia Edward, Dinah Mulock (Mrs Craik), Holme Lee (Harriet Parr), Anne Manning, Emma Marshall, Anna Marsh (later Marsh-Caldwell), Elizabeth Lynn Linton,

- Mrs J. H Riddell (Charlotte Elizabeth Lawson Cowan), Matilda Betham Edwards, Sarah Tytler, Helen Mathers, Emma Worboise, Charlotte Yonge and Mrs Oliphant.
- 8 John Sutherland (1988), 'Victorian Novelists: A Survey', *Critical Quarterly*, 30: 1, 57. Sutherland's fascinating study reveals that bibliographic profiles for the 'total number of novels published can be retrieved for about 1,200 of the (estimated) 7,000 Victorian novelists' (p. 51).
 - 9 Ibid., p. 57.
 - 10 For a full discussion of Mudie's Library see Guinevere L. Griest (1970), *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press. See also Gaye Tuchman with Nina E. Fortin (1989), *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.
 - 11 Elizabeth K. Helsinger, Robin Lauterback Sheets and William Veeder (1983), *The Woman Question: Society and Literature in Britain and America, 1837–1882*, vol. III, New York, Garland Publishing, pp. 48–9.
 - 12 Rita Felski (1995), *The Gender of Modernity*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, p. 1.
 - 13 For further discussion on Romance see Janice Radway (1984), *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature*, Chapel Hill and London, North Carolina University Press. In this study Radway argues that in reading romance women can escape from the everyday limitations of their restricted lives.
 - 14 Notably Virago's successful launch of reprints of women writers in the 1970s.
 - 15 Amy Cruse (1935), *The Victorians and Their Books*, London, George, Allen and Unwin.
 - 16 Kate Flint [1993] (1999), *The Woman Reader*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
 - 17 Alison Booth (2004), *How to Make it as a Woman: Collective Biographical History from Victoria to the Present*, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press. See particularly pp. 347–87 for Bibliography of Collective Biographies of Women, 1830–1940.
 - 18 See Margaret Kelleher (2001), 'Writing Irish Women's Literary History', *Irish Studies Review*, 9: 1, 5–14. This is not to say that Kelleher is sympathetic to the 'linear model of history implicit in the concept of "foremothers" [that was] employed by many late twentieth-century feminist critics', which she rejects outright. Kelleher questions the feasibility of such arguments put forward by Margaret Ezell in her 1993 work, *Writing Women's Literary History*, when she asserts that Ezell's argument: 'contains a persuasive critique of such "linear historiography", whereby one looks for "origins" and significant turning points in an evolutionary pattern that leads up to and explains the contemporary situation'; a view of literary history in which "ancestors" serve to document "the legitimacy of current women's literary activities" [17]. This latter tendency, asserting legitimacy for the present the presences or absences of the past, is very common in the

- Irish context; many of the recent retrievals of lesser known Irish women writers are presented in these terms' (pp. 8–9).
- 19 The Bibliothèque Nationale de France holds several titles translated into French, and the British Library has most of Kavanagh's works in English. Her non-fiction works were also reproduced in English and her novels in English and German by the German publisher, Tauchnitz and in Swedish by Wasmuth Leffler. The Vatican Library also has an Italian version of her story 'By the Well' (*Al pozzo*, Palermo, D. Lao e S. de Luca, 1891). This story was originally published in *Temple Bar*, 841, April (1868), 23: 76, and later in *Forget-Me-Nots* (1878), and Mrs McQuoid (1897), *Women Novelists of Queen Victoria's Reign, A Book of Appreciations*. To date I have found three of Kavanagh's short stories from the collection *Seven Years and Other Tales* (1859) reproduced in German for a series of English/German translations entitled *Sprachen-Pflege*. The series covers translations of work by several other nineteenth-century authors including George Eliot, Maria Edgeworth, Charles Dickens and Anthony Trollope. No publication date is given but judging from the cover design it could be late nineteenth or early twentieth century.
 - 20 Letter in private ownership.
 - 21 Kavanagh was very popular in America, particularly on the East Coast where her work was published in New York, Boston and Philadelphia. *Littel's Living Age* is the only journal I have been able to trace but there may well be others.
 - 22 To put Kavanagh's productive outlet into context, John Sutherland's survey of Victorian novelists reveals that 'The per-author lifetime total breaks down to 17.6 novels per writer. Sexually, women novelists averaged 21 titles against men's 15.7.' Moreover, he also states that 'Almost half of all Victorian novels seem to have been produced by authors clocking up 40–50 titles' (p. 59).
 - 23 This enterprise was known as the Victoria Press and opened on 25 March 1860. The Press also printed *The English Woman's Journal* (1858–64) and *Transactions* (an octavo volume of 900 pages) of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science. See Adelaide Procter, ed. (1861), Preface to the *Victoria Regia*, Victoria Press, p. vii. To date no evidence has emerged to suggest that Kavanagh was associated with the Langland Place Circle; a group of middle-class women, headed by Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, who had drawn up the married women's property petition of 1856 and published *The English Woman's Journal*.
 - 24 In her study of English Women Novelists of the 1850s Monica Correa Fryckstedt notes that 'Three hundred copies were available of Miss Manning's *The Old Chelsea Bun House* (December 23, 1854, p. 1542), 400 of Julia Kavanagh's *Grace Lee* (February 24, 1855, p. 218), and 500 of Elizabeth Sewell's *Cleve Hall* (June 30, 1855, p. 770)'. See Monica Correa Fryckstedt (1987), 'Defining the Domestic Genre: English Women Novelists of the 1850's', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 6: 1 (Spring, 9–25 (11–13).

- 25 H. G. Adams, ed. (1857), *A Cyclopaedia of Female Biography*, Part 7, London, Groombridge, p. 433.
- 26 *Academy*, 10, November (1977), 449.
- 27 Julia Kavanagh, Obituary, written by Charles W. Wood, *The Athenaeum*, 2612, 17 November (1877), and *The Times*, 19 November (1877).
- 28 Mrs C. Martin, 'The Late Julia Kavanagh', *Irish Monthly Magazine*, 6 (1878), 96.
- 29 Sidney Lee, ed. (1892), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 30, pp. 246–7.
- 30 *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, p. 613.
- 31 Percy Fitzgerald (1913), *Memories of Charles Dickens*, Bristol, J. W. Arrowsmith, p. 276.
- 32 Ernest A. Baker (1937), *The History of the English Novel from the Brontës to Meredith*, no. 8, *Romanticism in the English Novel*, London, H. F. and G. Witherby, p. 109.
- 33 John Sutherland (1988), *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction*, London, Longman, p. 343.
- 34 In this context I have come across one male commentator, Joseph Kestner, who has considered Kavanagh's radical perspective in her novel *Rachel Gray* (1856). See Joseph Kestner (1985), *Protest and Reform: The British Social Narrative by Women 1827–1867*, London, Methuen.
- 35 B. G. MacCarthy (1946), *The Female Pen: Women Writers and Novelists*, vol. 1, 1621–1744, and *The Later Women Novelists*, vol. 2, 1744–1818, Cork, Cork University Press.
- 36 Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy, eds (1990), *The Feminist Companion to English Literature*, London, Batsford, p. 598.
- 37 Lorna Sage, ed. (1999), *The Cambridge Guide to Women's Writing in English*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 361.
- 38 Eileen Fauset (1996), 'The Politics of Writing', *Irish Journal of Feminist Studies*, 1: 02 (Winter), 58–68.
- 39 Elibron Classics Series, MA, USA. See also J. D. Smith, III, ed. (2006), *Women of Christianity: The Pioneer 1852 Narrative of Women's Lives in the Christian Tradition*, Eugene, OR, Wipf & Stock.
- 40 Ann Stewart, ed. (1984), *National Gallery of Ireland: Fifty Irish Portraits*, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland Publication. 'The work is by a French Academic Artist and was probably painted while she lived in Paris. It was exhibited at the Paris Salon and the Royal Academy in London in 1883' (p. 40). Personnel at the Gallery suggest that the portrait is taken from a photograph and so it could have been painted after Julia's death in 1877.
- 41 Throughout his life Morgan Kavanagh applied five times to the Literary Fund Society for financial assistance towards living costs, three of those times whilst still living with Bridget and Julia. Records show that he placed applications in 1825, 1839, 1844, 1847 and 1850. See RLF: 548.
- 42 Letter dated 3 September 1839 from Morgan Kavanagh to Octavian Blewitt, Secretary to the Literary Fund Society, London, item 7. See also

- item 11, letter from W. Hislop to Blewitt recommending Kavanagh for financial assistance. '[Kavanagh's] situation is peculiarly painful from the circumstance of an only child being afflicted with a disease in the spine which under the care of a physician here was rapidly being conquered – the costs attending which embarrassed him heavily [and] some months ago he was compelled to remove his daughter at the risk of the malady returning in full [r]igour. I earnestly hope that the Literary Fund Society will assist him to the extent of their ability.' See also item 12, letter from Henry Glenton to Octavian Blewitt, 20 October 1839. In this letter Glenton refers to Julia's stay at Dr Harrisson's Spinal Institution, Fitzroy Square, 'could have remained until her cure had been effected, but want of funds would not allow her to remain any longer and was obliged to return to Paris where her case was never perfectly healed or understood.' See also item 10, letter from Le Comte d'Ormesson to Octavian Blewitt, 20 October 1839 (original in French), The contents of this letter also refer to Julia's condition: 'The little girl who has suffered for several years has backache which has confined her to her bed and who will probably find herself in this situation for a long time to come'. RLF: 548,
- 43 Letter 565 (445) in Wise and Symington, eds (1932) *The Brontës: The Lives, Friendships and Correspondence in Four Volumes*, vol. 3, 1849–1852, Oxford, Shakespeare Head Press, Basil Blackwell, pp. 117–18.
 - 44 Phyllis Bentley (1969), *The Brontës and their world*, London, Book Club Associates, p. 45.
 - 45 Letter to Ellen Nussey, 24 December 1847, in Margaret Smith, ed. (1995), *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë with a Selection of Letters by Family and Friends*, vol. 1, 1829–1847, Oxford, Clarendon Press, p. 584. See also note 7. 'Mary Taylor's sister Martha had died in Brussels in 1842.' See also Winifred Gérin (1969), *Charlotte Brontë*, Oxford Lives Series, Oxford, Oxford University Press. In her discussion of Brontë's friendship with Martha Taylor, Gerin cites Ellen Nussey, who, speaking of Martha, states: 'so piquant and fascinating were her ways. She was not in the least pretty but something much better, full of change and variety, rudely outspoken, lively and original, producing laughter with her own good humour and affection' (p. 64).
 - 46 Charles W. Wood, 'Mrs. Henry Wood, In Memoriam', *Argosy*, 43, April (1877), 251–70.
 - 47 Ibid.
 - 48 In his preface to the poem Martin MacDermot states: 'Whether from that vanity which makes every author an admirer of his own productions, or from a total ignorance of the publishing system, he [Morgan Kavanagh] imagined, or rather was firmly convinced, that he could have no difficulty in disposing of his Poem. Accordingly, he set out from a remote part of Ireland for this city, but soon found his mistake; for instead of meeting with a publisher to purchase his production, he could not even find one who would take the trouble, or incur the expence of having it examined. [. . .]

He remained accordingly in London, unnoticed and unknown, until he was nearly reduced to his last shilling, when a mere accident introduced him to me, or rather to the gentleman by whom he was introduced. I perused his Poem, and recommended its author to a private gentleman, to whom the first and present edition of 'The Wanderings of Lucan' owes its existence, having had it printed at his own expence, for the sole benefit of the author, who is also indebted to him for many subsequent acts of favour.' In Robert Kavanagh (2001), *The Mysterious Irishman: Morgan Peter Kavanagh* (44 pages), p. 8 (document held at the National Library of Ireland: 5682). Robert Kavanagh's study is an attempt to document the life of his great-grandfather, Morgan Kavanagh.

- 49 In a letter to Octavian Blewitt of the Literary Fund Society, dated 3 September 1839, addressed from Paris, Morgan refers to his poem *The Wanderings of Lucan and Dinah* as being without merit: 'it was a very long poem composed while I was yet very young in the short space of two months but with the exception of a few passages which cost me a little trouble it was very bad indeed'. RLF: 548: 7.
- 50 Letter from Morgan Kavanagh to William Jerdan, 27 October 1825: 'Sir, Being necessitated from various pressing circumstances, to introduce myself as soon as possible to the Literary Fund Society, and understanding that on such occasions a literary advocate is necessary, I am imboldened, in consequence of what I have already expressed of your kindness, to beg that you would be so good as to lay my case before the committee at the next sitting. Having a wife and child to support besides myself, I have been for at least this half year past in a situation sufficiently wretched to authorize me to put in my claim of relief much sooner: but as I am a stranger here and without friends, it is my intention, should the Literary Fund allow me the means to remove with my family to my native country, where from being known it is likely that I should soonest obtain a livelihood.' RLF: 548: 1.
- 51 Letter from Morgan Kavanagh to Octavian Blewitt, Literary Fund Society, 3 September 1839, addressed from Paris. In this letter, Morgan states: 'for the last fourteen years I have with the exception of one year resided in Paris as professor of the English language, supporting by this means myself and family as well as I could. A more lucrative situation, the representative of a French company in England being offered me near the close of the year 1837 I willingly gave up all I possessed here to accept it. Having, through no fault of mine, had the misfortune to lose this place at the end of a year I saw myself under the necessity of removing back to Paris with my family, hoping to recover at least a part of my former connexions. But my arrival has been too late in the season for that, for though I have been here since the month of March I have not been able to obtain employment of any kind; nor do I now expect to earn a shilling before the commencement of the winter season.' RLF: 548: 7.
- 52 Ibid.

- 53 It is not known exactly when the family separated but letters written by Morgan to the Literary Fund Society suggest that they were together until around 1847. See RLF: 548.
- 54 See above, letter to Edward Walford from Julia Kavanagh, Champs Elysées, Paris, 1861.
- 55 It is possible that at some time between early 1852 and 1853 Julia and Bridget were travelling in southern Italy. See *A Summer and Winter in the Two Sicilies* (1858). They may also have travelled to northern Italy either during this period or at a later time. See Julia Kavanagh, 'A Glimpse of Northern Italy', *The Month*, 1 July (1864), 112–22.
- 56 The Franco-Prussian War lasted from July 1870 to May 1871.
- 57 *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), p. 613.
- 58 Both Julia and Bridget were buried at this cemetery. A family vault was not acquired until 28 March 1879 in the *Allée du Bruloir, Cimetière du Château*. Their bones were exhumed after 14 March 1968 (the date on which the vault was officially considered as being 'abandoned') and placed in a communal ossuary: *Archives Municipales de Nice, Registres D'Etat Civil Décès, Fiche de Depouillement*. Information is courtesy of The Princess Grace Irish Library, Monaco.
- 59 Bridget Kavanagh was born in 1802 and died aged 86 on 20 December 1888 in Nice: The Princess Grace Irish Library, Monaco.
- 60 According to the 1876 Census form for Nice, Julia's and Bridget's neighbours were English, Italian and French professional lower middle-class which suggests that the address was respectable and accommodating. Flat 93, 24 rue Gioffredo, Nice, is the address on Julia's death certificate: The Princess Grace Irish Library, Monaco.
- 61 Information is courtesy of The Princess Grace Irish Library, Monaco. Attempts to trace information concerning the beneficiaries of Bridget's Testament (Miss Kate Ray and Miss Lucy Otte, London) have proved fruitless.
- 62 In an application to the Literary Fund Society, dated 13 November 1844, Morgan gives his approximate date of birth as 1799, which would have made him twenty-two or twenty-three years of age in 1822. RLF: 548: 15.
- 63 Letter from W Sherwood to Jerdan, 27 October 1825: 'The inclosed is a letter to you from Mr. Kavanagh, who is the author of *The Wanderings of Lucan & Dinah* of which I am the publisher, I have no doubt that he and his family are at present in a distressed state, and as regards his Moral Character, I know of nothing objectionable in it.' Letter from Jerdan to Joseph Snow, 30 October 1825: 'The enclosed application for relief to the Literary Fund, will explain itself; and all that I have to add is that the work referred to is a respectable poem (a long octavo volume) displaying considerable talent – the author an unfortunate aspirant from humble life and his production much commended by several critical writers. I consider him a very proper object for relief and his necessities point to the First Meeting.' RLF: 548: 2 and 3.

- 64 Letter from Morgan Kavanagh to Octavian Blewitt, Secretary of the Literary Fund Society, 18 June 1844: Morgan's address at this time was 27 Alfred Street, Bedford Square, London: RLF: 548: 16.
- 65 Robert Kavanagh (2001), p. 21. Morgan Kavanagh Manuscript of 670 pp. (1855), held at the National Library of Ireland: 6354.
- 66 Letter is held at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.
- 67 Julia's and Bridget's address here is probably 7 Allason Terrace, Kensington.
- 68 Letter 565 (445) dated 12 June 1850, in Wise and Symington, 3, pp. 117–18. See also letters from Kavanagh to Leitch Ritchie: William and Robert Chambers, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Ref. Dep. 341.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 For a demographic study of Irish settlement in Britain see David Fitzpatrick (1989), "A Peculiar Tramping": The Irish in Britain, 1801–70' in W. E. Vaughan, ed., *A New History of Ireland: Ireland under the Union*, vol. 5, Oxford, Clarendon Press, Chapter 29, pp. 623–60; See also Lynn Hollen Lees (1979), *Exiles of Erin, Irish Migrants in Victorian London*, Manchester, Manchester University Press; see also Roger Swift and Sheriden Gilley, eds (1989), *The Irish in Britain 1815–1939*, London, Pinter Publishers.
- 73 On 19 November 1847 Morgan wrote to Octavian Blewitt concerning his application for an amount of money to cover his passage from London to Paris. In the concluding paragraph he states that he has 'an old friend residing in Lambeth'. It is possible that this person is known to Bridget and Julia: RLF: 548: 27.
- 74 On 24 November 1847 Morgan made a fourth application to the Literary Fund Society for funds to return to Paris. His address on correspondence is 15 Leicester Place, Leicester Square, London: RLF: 548: 21.
- 75 Letter from Julia Kavanagh to Mrs Williams: Trinity College Dublin, MS6235/1–177. This letter is without an address but it is likely to have been Allason Terrace, Kensington.
- 76 *Household Words*, 27 July 1850. According to the magazine's records, this story was co-written or revised by W. S. Wills. See Michael Forsyth, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 'Julia Kavanagh in Her Times', The Open University, Milton Keynes, 1998.
- 77 Hollen Lees, p. 70.
- 78 *Household Words*, 3 September (1853), 8: 8,16.
- 79 Gavan Duffy (1898), *My Life in Two Hemispheres*, vol. 2, London, T. Fisher Unwin, pp. 11–12.
- 80 Ibid., pp. 120–1.
- 81 MS. 17 745: National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

- 82 MS. S757: National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
- 83 There are no records to show how long Morgan lived at this address but correspondence suggests that it was about three years.
- 84 Yvonne Kapp (1972), *Eleanor Marx*, vol. I, London, Lawrence and Wishart, p. 23.
- 85 See above: correspondence referring to *The Hobbies*.
- 86 Other residents living at 28 Dean Street included a male cook and his wife, a male confectioner and two female servants: people whose professions suggest they would require cheap lodgings.
- 87 I am grateful to Mary Campbell who kindly allowed me to see the manuscript of an article 'Mr. Kavanagh's Lodgers – a Soho Episode' published in *The Irish Times* in the 1960s. Unfortunately attempts to trace the article have been unsuccessful.
- 88 Public Health Act 1848.
- 89 Kapp (1972), p. 23.
- 90 Ibid. p. 23 (notes).
- 91 Letter to Octavian Blewitt in support of his fifth application for financial assistance; addressed from 6 Rupert St/Coventry St, London, dated 1 May 1850: RLF: 548: 30.
- 92 RLF: 548: 33.
- 93 See Jacques-Philippe Saint-Gerand, *Morgan Kavanagh: Condylure Oublié en Histoire des Sciences du Langage?*: internet source: <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/epc/langueXIX/kavanagh/>. According to Saint-Gerard, Morgan made seven unsuccessful attempts at this prize in 1847, 1850, 1857, 1869, 1870, 1871 and 1873.
- 94 B. Nicolaievsky and O. Maenchen-Helfen (1976), *Karl Marx: Man and Fighter*, in Isaiah Berlin (1978), *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 142–3.
- 95 Maximilien Rubel, trans. (1965), Mary Bottomore, *Marx Life and Works*, London, Macmillan Chronology Series, Reference, p. 28.
- 96 Letter from Julia Kavanagh to Mrs Williams. MS6235/1–177: Trinity College, Dublin.
- 97 Coroner's Inquest on Morgan Kavanagh, Islington, 14 February 1874 (London Metropolitan Archives) reports that while waiting for a tram car, he 'stepped back to avoid a passing carriage and fell, fracturing his skull'. In Robert Kavanagh, (2001) p. 21.
- 98 Application for financial assistance to the Literary Fund Society dated 4 November 1844, RLF: 548: 15.
- 99 Robert Kavanagh (2001), p. 16.
- 100 Ibid. Martin MacDermot, 'On the Genius of Spenser, and the Spenserian School of Poetry', *The European Magazine*, October (1822), 331–41, and continued in November (1822), 431–40 (ref. 39), p. 24.
- 101 Robert Kavanagh (2001), p. 8.
- 102 *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, pp. 490–1.
- 103 Application for the sum of £25 dated 4 November 1844. RLF: 548: 15.

- 104 Robert Kavanagh, (2001), p. 4.
- 105 *The Athenaeum*, 1546, 13 June (1857), 761.
- 106 *The Athenaeum*, 1547, 20 June (1857), 792–3.
- 107 *The Athenaeum*, 1548, 27 June (1857), 822.
- 108 *The Athenaeum*, 1549, 4 July (1857).
- 109 *The Spectator*, 11 July (1857), 735.
- 110 Kavanagh gives Paris as her address in her Preface to *French Women of Letters* (1862).
- 111 The absence of a marriage certificate does not necessarily mean that Morgan and Marie-Rose did not undergo a marriage ceremony. Such a marriage would have made Morgan a bigamist. Robert Kavanagh is of the opinion that no marriage in the lawful sense took place. Robert Kavanagh (2001), p. 4.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Letter from Julia Kavanagh to L. Wiederman, dated 10 January 1868.
- 115 Robert Kavanagh (2001), p. 6.
- 116 Morgan Kavanagh (1871), *Origin of Language and Myths*, vol. 1, p. x in Robert Kavanagh (2001), p. 4.
- 117 Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace (1991), *Their Fathers' Daughters: Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and Patriarchal Complicity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 12.
- 118 Ibid., p. 11.
- 119 Ibid., p. 11.
- 120 Letter to Williams, dated 13 January 1848 signed C. Bell, in Margaret Smith, ed. (2000), *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë: with a Selection of Letters by Family and Friends* vol. 2, 1848–1851, Oxford, Clarendon Press, p. 12. See also *Brontë Society Transactions*, 91:1:18 (1981), 118–19.
- 121 For further discussion see Phyllis Bentley (1969), p. 24.
- 122 Letter to Ritchie, 6 October 1847: National Library of Scotland, Ref. Dept. 341.
- 123 Letter 342 (265) in Wise and Symington, eds (1932), *The Brontës: Their Lives, Friendships and Correspondence in Four Volumes*, vol. 2, 1844–1849, Oxford, Shakespeare Head Press, Basil Blackwell, pp. 181–2.
- 124 Ibid., letter 359 (279), pp. 200–1.
- 125 Margot Peters (1981), 'An Unpublished Bronte Letter: The Second Edition of "Jane Eyre"', *Brontë Society Transactions*, 91: 1: 18, 116.
- 126 Letter 400 (312) in Wise and Symington, vol. 2, pp. 268–70.
- 127 Ibid., letter 403 (314), pp. 286–8.
- 128 Ibid., letter 421 (329), pp. 306–7. See also Margaret Smith (2000), p. 361. Charlotte Brontë's desk contained a list of books, dated 18 March 1850, sent to Charlotte Brontë from Smith and Elder containing a copy of *Woman in France*, vols I and II.
- 129 See Tuchman, p. 118.
- 130 Letter 597 (467) in Wise and Symington, vol. 3, pp. 155–6. See also

- Margaret Smith (2000), pp. 462–3 and note 1. See also in Smith, letter from Charlotte Brontë to Mrs Gaskell, 6 August 1851, in which Brontë comments on Catholics and Elizabeth of Hungary, pp. 676–7.
- 131 Letter 761 (567) in Wise and Symington, vol. 3, p. 326.
- 132 Ibid., letter 600, pp. 158–60.
- 133 Margaret Smith (2000), pp. 224–5 (BPM 451 (356)).
- 134 Letter 603 (470) in Wise and Symington, vol. 3, pp. 161–2.
- 135 Ibid., letter 639, p. 203.
- 136 J. A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard, eds (1997), *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, Manchester, Manchester University Press. The editors have placed a question mark against the recipient's name ?Edward Coward. This could, in fact, be Edward Walford whom Kavanagh addresses above. See letter 321, p. 423.
- 137 Julia Kavanagh to George Smith: Harry Ransom Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.
- 138 British Museum. Additional MS. 46,615, Agreement between Richard Bentley and Julia Kavanagh dated 3 July 1848.
- 139 British Museum Additional MS. 46,615, Agreement dated 22 June 1848 and 46,616, Agreement dated 18 October 1852.
- 140 To put Kavanagh's earnings into perspective, in 1848, Charlotte Brontë received a payment of £100 for *Jane Eyre*. Margaret Smith notes that 'The payment of £100 was probably the firm's acknowledgment that sales of *JE* had been so good as to warrant a 2nd edn. Smith, Elder paid £500 each for the copyrights of *JE*, *Shirley*, and *Villette* in their three-volume format, though for *Villette* CB recorded the actual receipt of £480. In addition she was paid £100 for the cheap one-volume edn. of *JE* (1850) and £82. 10s. for the foreign copyright of *Villette*.' See Margaret Smith (2000), note 2, p. 29. While Kavanagh was required to make a living from her writing, it seems that she was relatively fortunate in the amounts she earned. As Tuchman has noted, 'Most authors earned little by writing. Since they had few occupational alternatives, women were more likely to be among those struggling to get by' (p. 150). Tuchman also notes that, 'Judging from the Macmillan Archives [compiled from 1866], a typical, mediocre novelist might receive from £50 to £100, equivalent to \$225 to \$450, for the sale of a novel's copyright. If an author published a book a year, this sum was sufficient to maintain a family in the middle class – not prosperous, but wealthy enough to keep more than one servant. Thus, in an age when writing for money was no longer socially condemned, increasing numbers of people would not have written novels had they not expected some modest profit' (pp. 40–1).
- 141 Elaine Showalter (1978), *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, London, Virago, pp. 19–20.
- 142 *The Athenaeum*, 2: 1622, 27 November (1858), 681.
- 143 Mary Lyndon Shanley (1989), *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, p. 4.

- 144 Anthony Wohl, ed. (1978), *The Victorian Family*, New York, St Martin's Press, pp. 9–10, in Shanley (1989), p. 5.
- 145 Shanley (1989), p. 3.
- 146 Robert A. Colby (1968), *Fiction with a Purpose: Major and Minor Nineteenth Century Novels*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, pp. 196–7. See also Shirley Foster (1988), “‘A Suggestive Book’ A Source for *Villette*”, *Etudes Anglaises*, 35: 2, 177–84.
- 147 Mrs C. Martin (1878), p. 97.
- 148 Shirley Foster (1985), *Victorian Women's Fiction, Marriage Freedom and the Individual*, London, Croom Helm, p. 19.

Chapter 2

- 1 Terry Eagleton [1975] (1988), *Myths of Power: A Marxist Study of the Brontës*, London, Macmillan, p. xix.
- 2 The concept of separate spheres is not new of course; feminist criticism of the 1970s and 1980s particularly explored many aspects of women's literary history from this perspective.
- 3 Lorna Sage, ‘The Case of the Active Victim’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 July (1974), 803–4, in Elaine Showalter (1978), p. 86.
- 4 Coventry Patmore's *The Angel in the House* (1855–56) and John Ruskin's ‘Of Queens' Gardens’ in *Sesame and Lilies* (1865) were extremely influential in spreading the ideal of womanhood.
- 5 In her study of Victorian women's fiction Shirley Foster draws attention to the fact that as early as 1842 some writers were conscious of maintaining a sexual distinctiveness. She points out that ‘Miss Stodart, in her *Female Writers: Thoughts on their proper Sphere and on their Powers* (1842) was one of the first to suggest that womanly qualities of delicacy, sensitivity, quick sympathy, and powers of observation commit women novelists to a particular literary mode – the depiction of home and family; [. . .] Anne Mozley posits that the most admirable female writers are those who turn their gifts to social and domestic account, who refrain from making themselves “exceptions from the ordinary domestic type of women”, and who write “on subjects especially open to feminine treatment” with their natural “delicate fingering . . . soft touch, and quick perception.”’ Foster (1985), pp. 2–3.
- 6 ‘The Lady Novelists of Great Britain’, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 18–25 July (1853), 18. See also J. M. Ludlow, review of *Ruth*, in *North British Review*, 19: May (1853), 169. Here Ludlow argues against the idea of unmarried women writing novels because they lack the emotional ‘wifely and motherly experience’ of their married counterparts.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 8 G. H. Lewes, ‘The Lady Novelists’, *Westminster Review*, 58 (1852), 129–33.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Elizabeth Strutt (1857), *The Feminine Soul: Its Nature and attributes with thoughts upon marriage, and friendly hints upon feminine duties*, London.

- Elizabeth Strutt said, “‘familiar and sentimental fiction’ was like ‘lyric and elegiac poetry’ – a field where women might excel with ‘felicity of tact,’ ‘acuteness of perception and apprehension,’ and ‘depth and warmth of feeling.’” In Elizabeth K Helsinger, et al. (1983), p. 48.
- 11 Lewes (1852), 134–5.
 - 12 G. H. Lewes, ‘Currer Bell’s “Shirley”’, *Edinburgh Review*, 91, January (1850), p. 155, in Foster (1985), p. 3.
 - 13 Ibid., p. 3.
 - 14 George Eliot, ‘Silly Novels by Lady Novelists’, *Westminster Review*, 66 (1856), 460.
 - 15 Ibid.
 - 16 Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), in New and Complete Edition, Arthur B. Fuller, ed., introduction by Horace Greeley, (1968) New York, Greenwood Press.
 - 17 George Eliot, ‘Margaret Fuller and Mary Wollstonecraft’, *The Leader*, 13 October (1855). See Ashley Tauchert, ed. (1995), *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* [1792], London, Everyman Series, Dent, p. 322.
 - 18 W. R. Gregg, ‘False Morality of Lady Novelists’, *National Review*, 8 (1859), 145–7.
 - 19 Florence Nightingale, *Cassandra* (1928), [1852, rev. 1859]; reprinted in R. Strachey (1978), *The Cause*; in J. M. Golby (1986), *Culture & Society in Britain 1850–1890*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 244–56.
 - 20 Cynthia Eagle Russett (1989), *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, pp. 1–2. See also in Eagle Russett: ref. to John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, *Essays on Sex Equality*, with an Introductory Essay by Alice S. Rossi (1970), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 125, 148, 149. On *The Subjection of Women*. see also Josephine Kamm (1977), *John Stuart Mill in Love*, London, Gordon and Cremonesi. See also Eugene August (1975), *John Stuart Mill: A Mind at Large*, New York, Charles Scribner & Sons.
 - 21 For a full discussion of the ‘feminine’ writers see also Elaine Showalter (1978).
 - 22 Along with Currer Bell and George Eliot they include ‘Holme Lee, Ennis Graham, F.G. Trafford, Allen Raine, Lucas Malet, John Strange Winter, Lanoe Falconer, George Egerton, Lawrence Hope, Vernon Lee, Claude Lake, Ross Neil, John Oliver Hobbes, Martin Ross, and Michael Fairless. [. . .] In public terms, the pen name reflects the novelists’ desire to protect themselves from personal attack and to win the serious respect of reviewers. In private terms, the masculine name suggests the fantasy of acquiring a more exciting identity and the guilt of choosing a vocation in direct conflict with woman’s status.’ In Helsinger et al. (1983), p. 65.
 - 23 Letter 313 (239) to W. S. Williams, 28 October 1847, in Wise and Symington, vol. 2, pp. 150–1.

- 24 Henry Fothergill Chorley. Kavanagh's works were reviewed regularly in the periodicals, most notably in *The Athenaeum* by Fothergill Chorley and Geraldine Jewsbury.
- 25 *The Athenaeum*, 1203, 16 November (1850), 1184–5.
- 26 Some reforms were met but the Acts of Parliament were few and far between and the process of change was long drawn out. The 1857 and 1878 Matrimonial Causes Acts and the 1870 Married Women's Property Act were followed in 1874 by the Married Women's Property Amendment Act, and later, the 1882 Married Woman's Property Act.
- 27 Also known as the 1857 Divorce Act. See Shanley (1989), p. 26.
- 28 Joan Perkin (1989), *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*, London, Routledge, pp. 30–1.
- 29 Valerie Saunders (1999), 'Marriage and the Antifeminist Woman Novelist' in Nicola Diane Thompson, ed., *Victorian Woman Writers and the Woman Question*, Cambridge, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth Century Literature and Culture 21, Cambridge University Press, p. 25.
- 30 Lady Caroline Norton was also instrumental in effecting some change in the laws pertaining to child custody. Her pamphlet *A Plain Letter* influenced the passing of the Infant Custody Act in 1839 and her pamphlets *English Laws for Women*, 1854, and *A Letter to the Queen*, 1855, supported the Matrimonial Causes Act (1857) and the Married Women's Property Act (1870).
- 31 Common law rules based on the doctrine of coverture stipulated that a married woman was incapable of signing any contract without being joined by her husband as co-signer. See Shanley (1989), p. 26.
- 32 Shanley (1989) outlines the unsatisfactory outcome of the Act, which failed to achieve equality for women: 'What Parliament accomplished in the Divorce Act must in the final analysis be judged in the light of what it failed to do. Usually hailed in histories of English jurisprudence as a watershed statute that created both the action for civil divorce and the new Court of Divorce, the Divorce Act also sanctioned and perpetuated a patriarchal understanding of the marriage bond. Parliament was so deeply wedded to notions of marital hierarchy that the contractarian arguments of Caroline Norton, Barbara Leigh Smith, and others for equal grounds for divorce made very little impression, even when they were advanced in Parliament by such eminent figures as Lords Lyndhurst and Brougham. When presented with proposals to allow married women to control their own property and to equalize the grounds for divorce for men and women, Parliament rejected both almost out of hand. Only in providing that a deserted or separated wife could be treated as a femme sole did Parliament grant nominally married women any legal autonomy' (p. 47).
- 33 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–7.
- 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 21–3.
- 35 Dolores Dooley (1996), *Equality in Community*, Cork, Cork University Press, p. 19. The text cited is from the *Appeal on Behalf of Women* (1825).

- 36 Jenni Calder (1976), *Women and Marriage in Victorian Fiction*, London, Thames and Hudson, p. 33.
- 37 Patsy Stoneman (1996), *Brontë Transformations*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, p. 22.
- 38 Foster (1985), p. 19.
- 39 Bird imagery also appears in Kavanagh's other novels, particularly in *Daisy Burns*, vol. 1, pp. 346–7.
- 40 Eagle Russett (1989), pp. 42–3.
- 41 Letter 639, Charlotte Brontë to Julia Kavanagh, 21 January 1851, in Wise and Symington, vol. 3, p. 203.
- 42 Mrs. Charles Martin, 'The Late Julia Kavanagh', *Irish Monthly Magazine*, 4 (1878), 98.
- 43 Michel Foucault [1976] (1984), *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, London, Penguin.
- 44 Foster (1985), p. 18.
- 45 Jane Moore (1992), 'An Other Space: A Future for Feminism' in Isobel Armstrong, ed., *New Feminist Discourses*, London, Routledge, pp. 65–79.
- 46 Nancy Armstrong (1987), *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 21.
- 47 Sally Shuttleworth (1999), *Charlotte Brontë and Victorian Psychology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 18.
- 48 See Tuchman, Chapter 8, 'The Critical Double Standard', pp. 175–202.
- 49 Letter 832 (627) to W. S. Williams, 9 March 1853, in Wise and Symington, eds (1932) *The Brontës: Their Lives, Friendships and Correspondence in Four Volumes*, vol. 4, pp. 50–1.
- 50 *The Athenaeum*, 1321, 19 February (1853), 220–1.
- 51 'The Progress of Fiction as an Art', *Westminster Review*, 60 (1853), 372.
- 52 'There is at least one other writer of considerable gifts, whose books are all so many reflections of *Jane Eyre*. We mean no disparagement to Miss Kavanagh; but from *Nathalie* to *Grace Lee*, she has done little else than repeat the attractive story of this conflict and combat of love or war – for either name will do [. . .].' Mrs Margaret Oliphant, 'Modern Novelists – Great and Small', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1: 37, May (1855), 559. There are numerous similarities between names; for example, Daisy's own name, Burns, is reminiscent of Jane's friend Helen Burns; Daisy's grandfather is a Thornton, who lives at Thornton House, echoing Thornfield; a cousin is Edward Thornton, a young aristocrat who is protective towards Daisy and whose name is an amalgamation of Edward Rochester and Thornfield Hall. Edward also has a sister, Bertha, who, unlike Bertha Mason, is sane and also extremely beautiful, a reminder, perhaps, of a once beautiful and desirable Bertha Mason. Moreover, like Jane, Daisy is also an orphan.
- 53 To avoid confusion I shall refer to her as Daisy from the beginning.
- 54 Shuttleworth (1999), p. 9.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

- 56 Ibid., p. 72.
- 57 William Michael Rossetti, ed. [1904] (1935), *The Poetical Works of Christina Georgina Rossetti*, London, Macmillan, p.330. Christina was often a model for her brother's paintings and although in this poem she is referring to Elizabeth Siddel, Dante Gabriel Rossetti's model/muse and wife, she is conscious of her own situation.
- 58 *Jane Eyre*, Chapter 14.
- 59 Westminster Review, 60 (1853), 370.
- 60 Rape seed oil was used mainly in the manufacture of lubricants for the fast growing railways throughout Europe.
- 61 Henry Fothergill Chorley in *The Athenaeum*, 2051, 16 February (1867).
- 62 R. L. Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) is probably the most well known of this type of doubling in nineteenth-century literature, but it is interesting to note that Kavanagh's text predates Stevenson by nineteen years.
- 63 The usual spelling of the English translation is Sibyl.
- 64 Marina Warner (2002), *Fantastic Metamorphoses, Other Worlds: Ways of Telling the Self*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 164.
- 65 Robert Rogers (1970), *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in Literature*, Detroit, MI, Wayne State University Press. Rogers offers an enlightening discussion of the latent and manifest double in literature from a Freudian perspective.
- 66 *Jane Eyre*, Chapter 17.
- 67 *Jane Eyre*, Chapter 25.
- 68 Helen Michie has noted that 'Elizabeth Gaskell, the Brontës, and even George Eliot use plumpness in their female characters as a sign of fallen nature. In *Villette*, Ginevra Fanshawe grows visibly fatter as she draws closer to her elopement; in fact, she often eats the "lion's share" of Lucy's bread, cream, and wine, while Lucy, silent, sanctimonious, and puritanical, refuses food throughout the novel. Hetty Sorrel is also characterized by her plumpness and by her associations with cream and other dairy products, while Dinah grows thin sharing her bread with the poor.' In Helen Michie (1987), *The Flesh Made Word: Female Figures and Women's Bodies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press., p. 22.
- 69 Shuttleworth (1999) has argued that 'Male erotic arousal is given acceptable social form by linking it entirely with the social duty of procreation' (p. 83). For further discussion on medical science, evolution and women's reproductive role see also Eagle Russett, chapters 3 and 4.
- 70 It is interesting that Hunt exhibited this painting at the Royal Academy in 1854 alongside his *The Awakening Conscience*, the first Victorian picture to embrace the notion of the kept woman, a picture which shocked the establishment in its reference to the underside of domestic life.
- 71 While *Grace Lee* was deemed 'exciting and meritorious' by *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*, *The United States Democratic Review* was of the opinion that the early sales of six

- thousand copies were sufficient proof of its literary merit and popular appeal, declaring that it is ‘a work of singular fidelity and power; the writer has realized to advantage that nature is more wonderful than art; and that, to interest human passions, [Kavanagh] must describe both human scenes and human character. Most carefully and vividly does she illustrate this axiom; and while “Grace Lee” has many scenes of the most exciting and absorbing interest, there is not one which puts a strain upon credulity. Any attempt at an analysis of plot so intricate and convolute, so versatile in progress and elaborate in its evolvment, we feel would be out of place and impossible in the limits to which we find ourselves confined. We can but recommend the book to all who prefer the truth of character and feeling to the meretricious romance of verbiage, sentiment, and situation.’ See *Putnam’s Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*, 5: 30, June (1855), 663, and *The United States Democratic Review*, 35: 5, May (1855), 413. See also *The North American Review*, 81: 168, July (1855), 263.
- 72 ‘The story is not only improbable, but the absolute impossibility of it stares the reader in the face and asserts itself in every page. [. . .] Grace Lee, the heroine, is intended to be an elaborate ideal of a woman “equal to either fortune,” sufficient to herself and queen over her own will. This may be a grand abstract idea; but the contradictions of human nature are a tribe of wild Arabs, and have never yet been brought “within the belt of rule” by any abstract idea or theory that has ever been put forth, – and to attempt it in a book professing to be a record of life and character is resented by the reader as an attempt to take him into custody. Grace Lee does not fill out Miss Kavanagh’s intentions. She is simply a fantastic, self-willed, eccentric young woman, who loves her own self better than anything else in the world, – and egoism, no matter how disguised or decorated, makes a poor figure when it comes to be dissected, as every one who knows his own heart can testify.’ *The Athenaeum*, 1429, 17 March (1855), 313–14.
- 73 For a full report on Mudie’s titles (1987), see Fryckstedt, p. 11. A first printing of 1000–1500 copies, most of which were sold to the circulating libraries, was usual for novels. The average cost of a three-volume novel was 1 guinea or 31 /6.d which meant that purchase was beyond the reach of most people. Julia Kavanagh’s earlier novel *Daisy Burns* (1853) had an initial printing of 1000 copies published by Bentley. See Bentley papers, MS.46, 616 in the British Library.
- 74 *Jane Eyre*, Chapter 37.
- 75 It is likely that Kavanagh was familiar with the Catholic scholar Lamartine, whose works she may have encountered as a young Catholic girl educated in France. Alphonse de Lamartine, *Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages, pendant un voyage en orient* (1832–1833), Brussels, Wahlen, 1836. ‘Visite à Lady Esther Stanhope’, pp. 184–209.
- 76 On a visual level, in this passage Kavanagh also alludes to imagery in Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, e.g. ‘God and light of heaven’ (III, 73); ‘The golden sun in splendour likest heaven’ (III, 572); ‘Like those Hesperian gardens

famed of old' (III, 568); 'If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite / Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that shone / In Aaron's breastplate, and a stone besides' (III, 596–8).

77 Lamartine (1836), p. 202.

78 See the *New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology* [1959] (1972), London, Hamlyn, 'Hesperides are three or four in number [. . .] Their abode was beyond the river-ocean, at the extreme western limits of the world, where they personified the clouds gilded by the setting sun. They lived in a wondrous garden and guarded the golden apples which grew there. Since, however, the Greeks had two identical words for "apple" and for "flock of sheep", it has been wondered if the Hesperide were not rather guardians of the celestial flocks which in Indo-European mythology symbolised clouds' (p.144).

79 Lamartine (1836), p. 203.

80 In this respect Mrs Chesterfield is a parody of one of Milton's fallen angels.

81 *Jane Eyre*, Chapter 35.

82 Catherine Belsey (1994), *Desire: Love Stories in Western Culture*, Oxford, Blackwell, p. 34.

83 Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House*, published in four parts, *The Betrothal*, (1854), *The Espousals* (1856), *Faithful for Ever* (1860), *The Victories of Love* (1863). It is likely that Kavanagh would have known the first two parts, which were available when *Grace Lee* was published.

84 *The Athenaeum*, 1472, 12 January (1856), 40–1.

85 Robert Kavanagh (2001), p. 21.

86 *The Leader*, 7, 5 January (1856), 19.

87 Ibid.

88 Kavanagh is not mentioned in the 1851 Census. See Chapter 1.

89 For a comprehensive discussion on conditions in the needlework industry see Helen Rogers (1997), "The Good Are Not Always Powerful, Nor The Powerful Always Good": The Politics of Women's Needlework in mid-Victorian London', *Victorian Studies*, 40:4, Summer, 589–623.

90 Kestner (1985), p. 187.

91 Helen Rogers notes that 'The 1841 Census recorded 20,780 dressmakers and milliners in London (24 Oct. 1850, Mayhew 518); by 1864 this figure had risen to 54,870 (Lord 69). Many workers were employed as sweated outworkers in the "slop" or "dishonourable trades" rather than in the "honourable" private dressmaking establishments. In 1850, Mayhew estimated that at least 10,000 dressmakers worked in the "dishonourable" sector (31 Oct. 1850), 527). The 1841 Census noted a further 12,849 females working in other needle trades, including seaming, shirt and corset-making (23 Nov. 1849, Mayhew 194–6). The terms "dressmaker," "sempstress," and "needlewoman" therefore incorporated a range of occupations employing women from different social classes' pp. 591–2.

92 The needlework industry was the topic of several influential novels during the mid nineteenth century. Charlotte Tonna's *The Wrongs of Women*

- (1844) and Charles Kingsley's *Alton Locke* (1850) are well known, as is Thomas Hood's poem 'Song of the Shirt', which became an anthem for reformers.
- 93 Public attention was alerted to the plight of the needlewomen by the Report for the Children's Employment Commission, conducted by Richard Dugard Grainger in 1843. In the Victorian imagination the underside of the 'genteel' needlewoman was one of prostitute. In her article Helen Rogers cites Grainger on the vulnerability of the needlewoman in an overstocked labour market, noting his anxieties concerning the '“proverbial” immorality among the dressmakers (F33). Grainger's use of the word “proverbial” suggests that his apparently factual findings were interlaced with powerful cultural narratives about the nature of the single woman worker' Helen Rogers (1997), p. 591.
 - 94 Sonnet XVI, in John Carey, ed. (1971), *Milton: Complete Shorter Poems*, London, Longman, pp. 327–8.
 - 95 J. M. Ludlow, 'Ruth', *North British Review*, 19 (1853) 151–74. See also Kestner (1985), p. 190.

Chapter 3

- 1 Kavanagh's information is taken from a variety of different sources and although she states these – ninety are listed – she seldom identifies a specific source in her discussion.
- 2 Kavanagh lists Saint-Beuve as one of her sources and it is likely that she was referring to his *Portraits de Femmes*, published in 1840. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt published their *La Femme au dix-huitième siècle*, 2 vols (Paris) in 1862, twelve years after Kavanagh's publication in 1850. See also Booth (2004), pp. 347–87.
- 3 *The Athenaeum*, 2 March (1850), 226.
- 4 Quarterly Review, 88, 2, 176, March (1851), 352.
- 5 *The Nation*, 16 March (1850), 458.
- 6 P. M. Hall, 'Duclos's *Histoire de Madame de Luz*: Woman and History', in Eva Jacobs et al., eds (1979), *Woman and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, London, Athlone Press, p. 143. Hall notes that this comment is 'a generalization which fails to take account of certain exceptions, such as for instance the figure of the warrior-female or the politically active queen. In these cases, the female activity is overtly intruding on activities specifically masculine and offers a rather different problem'. See note. 13, p. 263.
- 7 Susan R. Kinsey, 'The Memorialists' in Samia I. Spencer, ed. (1984), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, p. 219.
- 8 Maité Albistur and Daniel Armogathe, *Histoire du féminisme français du moyen âge à nos jours* (Paris: Editions des femmes, 1977), p. 175: in Kinsey, in Spencer (1984), p. 219.
- 9 Madame Tallien and Madame de Staël.

- 10 A period of civil war in France 1648–53 followed by war with Spain 1653–59.
- 11 Saint-Simon records that, after thirty-five years of influence and power, Madame de Maintenon's death at Saint-Cyr on 15 April 1719 passed unnoticed in Versailles and was scarcely mentioned in Paris. However, Lucy Norton in her notes states that Saint-Simon 'greatly exaggerates Mme de Maintenon's influence in the government of France'. Lucy Norton, ed. and trans. (1972), *Historical Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon* (shortened version), vol. 3: 1715–1723, London, Hamish Hamilton, p. 240.
- 12 Elizabeth Suddaby and P. J. Yarrow, eds (1971), *Lady Morgan in France*, Newcastle, Oriel Press, p. 102.
- 13 George Eliot, 'Woman in France: Madame de Sablé', *Westminster Review*, 62, October (1854), 448–73, reprinted in Thomas Pinney, ed. (1963), *Essays of George Eliot*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 56.
- 14 Ibid. George Eliot argues in favour of the superiority of French women writers over English writers in the seventeenth century, stating that 'Patriotic gallantry may perhaps contend that English women could, if they had liked, have written as well as their neighbours; but we will leave the consideration of that question to the reviewers of the literature that might have been' (p. 54).
- 15 Presumably Kavanagh is referring to Molière's *Précieuses Ridicules* (1660) and *Les Femmes Savantes* (1673).
- 16 Kinsey, in Spencer (1984), p. 215.
- 17 Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, and nephew of Louis XIV, became Regent against the wishes of Madame de Maintenon, who had favoured Louis XIV's illegitimate son to Madame de Montespan, the Duc du Maine, later legitimised by Louis.
- 18 Of the numerous accounts of the Duc d'Orléans's character, G. P. Gooch, taking Saint-Simon as his source, expands on Kavanagh's sketch: 'The best feature in his complex character was his steady affection for Liselotte [Philippe's mistress], who made allowance for the fact that he had not been permitted to choose his wife, and in that dissolute age no one expected him to be a faithful husband. "He is quite crazy about women," she reported. "Provided they are good-tempered, indelicate, great eaters and drinkers, he troubles little about their looks." When she complained of his choice of ugly women he blandly rejoined: "*Bah! Maman, dans la nuit tous les chats sont gris.*" The orgies of the Palais Royal became the talk of Europe, but, like his uncle, he allowed his mistresses no political influence. A second failing was drunkenness, though in fairness we must remember that two or three glasses were enough to upset him. A third was his licentious talk, so gross that his long-suffering wife dared not invite decent folk to their table. A fourth was his open scorn of religion, and he was said to read a volume of Rabelais during Mass. No wonder Louis XIV called him *un fanfaron de crimes* and dreaded his rise to power. On the credit side, however, there were some excellent qualities. He was gracious, human, generous, tolerant,

open-minded, deeply interested in science and art, and fully aware of France's desperate plight. No Bourbon prince came so close to the pattern of a Renaissance ruler, combining military prowess and intellectual tastes with unbridled lusts of the flesh. "He has the best intentions," reported his mother, "and he loves his country more than his life. He works all day and wears himself out. He would like to see everyone happy. For tradition he cares nothing. He is very nice to me, shows me real friendship, and would grieve to lose me. His daily visits are a joy. Histories always make me laugh. I should be an unnatural mother if I did not love him with all my heart." The fairies, she added, had been invited to his birth, and each had given him a talent; but one of them had been forgotten and, arriving later, remarked that he would possess all the talents except the capacity to use them. He pities his wife, who bore him eight children, even more than himself, for he possessed compensations which she was denied.' C. P. Gooch (1956), *Louis XV: The Monarchy in Decline*, London, Longmans, pp. 31–2.

- 19 Saint-Simon records that 'neither his mistresses, nor Mme la Duchesse de Berry, nor his *roués*, not even when he was quite drunk, ever extracted anything at all from him concerning the government or the business of the State. He lived openly with Mme de Parabère, and with many other women too. He revelled in their jealousies and complaints, but continued on equally good terms with all of them. Thus the scandal of his public harem, and the lewdness and impiety of his nightly suppers soon became generally known throughout the whole of France.' In Norton (1972), p. 64.
- 20 Norton records that Madame 'had particularly loathed Mme de Maintenon, whom she called *die alte Zote* (the old whore), which may have coloured Saint-Simon's exaggerated language when he referred to her as *la vieille ordure* (the filthy old creature). Note 2, p. 209.
- 21 Norton notes that Charlotte Aglae d'Orléans, Demoiselle de Valois (1700–61), was the Regent's third daughter and, in 1737, married the Duke of Modena (p. 157).
- 22 Kavanagh states that the Duchesse de Berri was married at a very young age. See also Gooch (1956), p. 38.
- 23 Norton notes: 'There had been a terrible scene in 1711, after Saint-Simon had warned her father about scandalous rumours of incest. Orléans had repeated his words and the Duchesse de Berry had attacked poor Madame de Saint-Simon.' See also note 1, p.63. Madame was deeply distressed by the rumours about her son and the Duchesse de Berry, but did not, of course, believe a word of them (there was never any proof). She hated to hear that notices were stuck on the Palais Royal: 'Here be Lotteries and most subtle poisonings.' 'By lotteries,' she wrote, 'they imply that my son lives with his daughter after the manner of Lot.' Gooch notes 'the Regent's passion for his eldest daughter the Duchesse de Berry, which led contemporaries to talk openly of incest and twentieth-century scholars to leave the question open' (note 1, p. 28).

- 24 Saint-Simon records Armand Auguste, Comte de Rions (1692–1741). Kavanagh's spelling 'Riom' is incorrect.
- 25 Demoiselle de Valois (1700–61) married the Duke of Modena in 1737. See Norton (1972), notes, p. 157.
- 26 Norton (1972), p. 440.
- 27 In 1703 Madame du Maine created 'The Order of the Honey Bee', an organisation devoted to the protection of the honey bee. The order was to have thirty-nine members only, each to dress in dark red satin dresses embroidered with bees. There was also a golden medal with the motto 'baroness of Sceaux, perpetual dictator of the order of the bee'.
- 28 Kavanagh gives no date for this correspondence but it is likely that it occurred after the Cellamare episode as she goes on to mention a visit at this time by the Duchess of Modena, formerly Madame de Valois, who, it has been suggested, agreed to this marriage in order to save Richelieu from punishment for his part in that Conspiracy.
- 29 Kavanagh states: 'The liberal policy, affected by the Duke of Orleans at the opening of the regency, was soon relinquished by him; with it vanished his brief popularity. The privileges granted to the parliamentary party had rendered them desirous of emulating the freedom and power of the English Commons. In order to check this spirit, the Duke of Orleans broke their edicts, and finally deprived them of the right of remonstrance. This arbitrary conduct created deep discontent in Paris. The provinces were equally inimical to the regent. The despotic centralisation of monarchy under Richelieu and Louis XIV, which led to future greatness and freedom, was still considered oppressive and tyrannical. The sense of local independence was so strong in Brittany, that the states refused to pay the taxes laid upon them by the regent, and carried on secret intrigues with Alberoni; offering to recognise his master, Philip V., regent, provided their province should become once more an independent duchy' (I: 49).
- 30 Guillaume Dubois, first minister to the Duc d'Orléans.
- 31 Kavanagh may have also read an article by G. H. Lewes, entitled 'A Charming Frenchwoman' in *Frazer's Magazine*, 2451, May (1848), 509–18. In this article Lewes discusses the content of Madame de Staal's *Memoirs*, including her early experiences, which he suggests reads like a novel and is superior to ordinary romance.
- 32 Judith Curtis, 'The Epistolières', in Spencer (1984). Curtis's essay refers to Mlle Delaunay before she became Madame de Staal (p. 227). See also note 3, p. 239.
- 33 Marguerite Jeanne Cordier (1683–1750), known in society as Rose de Launay or Delaunay. Brought up in a Rouen convent whose family name she adopted, she was left destitute after the death of her godmother, the abbess of the convent. See Curtis, in Spencer (1984), p. 226.
- 34 Madame de Staal-Delaunay, née 'Marguerite Jeanne Cordier, *Mémoires*, ed. G. Doscot (Paris: Mercure de France, 1970), p. 29. See Kinsey, in Spencer (1984), p. 215.

- 35 See G. Doscot (1970), p. 29: 'Mon âme, n'ayant pas pris d'abord le pli que lui devait donner la mauvaise fortune, a toujours résisté à l'abaissement et à la sujétion où je me suis trouvée: c'est là l'origine du malheur de ma vie.' (My soul, not having acquired in the beginning the bent that an ill fortune was to impose on it, has always resisted the humble and subordinate position in which I have found myself: therein lies the source of all my unhappiness). See Curtis in Spencer (1984), p. 239.
- 36 *Mémoires*, p. 230.
- 37 Kavanagh notes that M. de Ferriol's slave probably died young, for there is no other record of her fate save that she came to France with her master (I: 75).
- 38 In order to uphold the secrecy of the pregnancy, a plan was derived to prevent a scandal. Kavanagh notes that 'With the connivance of Madame de Villette [Bolingbroke's companion], who feigned to take her to England, whilst she left her in a retired quarter of Paris, she gave birth to a daughter, unsuspected. Her child was afterwards placed in a provincial convent, where she passed under the name of Miss Black, niece of Lord Bolingbroke' (I: 79).
- 39 Kavanagh records that Aïssé's scruples were probably strengthened by the destiny of the Comte de Nogent, who, having imprudently married the beautiful slave, brought, like her, from Constantinople by M. de Ferriol, had, in consequence, been subjected to the most bitter insults (I: 80).
- 40 Curtis notes that Eugène Ritter cast doubt on the standard arrangement of the letters, suggesting that sections have been shifted from their proper place in the sequence and reminding us of the possibility of other sorts of tampering as well (Eugène Ritter, 'Notes sur les *Lettres de Mlle Aïssé*,' in *Mélanges offerts . . . à Gustave Lanson* (Paris, Hachette, 1922), pp. 313–18, note 98). She also argues that some letters suggest 'a side of the writer that makes a pointed contrast with the idealized figure first presented in the 1787 biography'. Prior to those letters pertaining to her incompatible yearnings, Curtis notes that evidence suggests that Aïssé was also 'gossipy, practical, outspoken, smug about her own moral delicacy, and much less ingenuous than the commentators would lead us to believe. [. . .] Moreover, in her letters, [Aïssé] seeks to impose on her reader an ingratiating self-image, the meek, noble, pitiable image of the legend.' In Spencer (1984), p. 229.
- 41 For further information on the French romantic novel see Pierre Fauchery (1972), *La Destinée féminine dans le roman européen du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, A. Colin.
- 42 See Curtis in Spencer (1984), pp. 228–9.
- 43 See Warren Hunting Smith (1938), *Letters to and from Madame du Deffand and Julie de Lespinasse*, New Haven, Yale University Press. In his introduction Hunting Smith has noted that 'Julie was born when her mother was still the wife of the Comte d'Albon, and she was therefore technically legitimate' (p. viii). See also note 43. Kavanagh names both Ségur and Ségur, De, in her list of authors consulted.

- 44 Ibid., pp. vi–vii. See also Benedda Craveri (1994), *Madame du Deffand and Her World*, London, Peter Halban. Taking Ségur as the main source, Craveri notes that ‘Madame d’Albon who was separated from her husband at the time had already given birth to an illegitimate child [a boy] the year before Julie’s birth. Unlike her brother who was brought up secretly in a convent in Lyons and of whose fate we know nothing, Julie was given a family surname, welcomed into her mother’s house and openly recognised as her daughter. Her unknown father did not completely disappear but turned up seven years later in a remarkable new guise; he came not as Madame d’Albon’s lover, but as her son-in-law, not as Julie’s father but as her legitimate half-sister’s husband’ (p. 111).
- 45 Hunting Smith (1938) has suggested that ‘The Vichys had reasons for keeping Julie under their wing. [. . .] they couldn’t run the risk of her laying claim to the d’Albon rank and fortune. [. . .] Her mother’s husband and son were still alive, and would resent any claim on their property [. . .] Vichy did not want his scandalous connection with his mother-in-law to be made public. Furthermore, he hoped that he or his son would inherit Madame du Deffand’s comfortable fortune – Julie, in Paris, would be a rival heir’ (pp. viii–ix).
- 46 Ibid., pp. viii–ix.
- 47 Ibid., p. xiii.
- 48 See particularly Craveri (1994).
- 49 See Fernand Nozière, ‘Le Salon de Madame Geoffrin’ in *Les Grands Salons Littéraires (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles): Conférences du musée Carnavalet* (Paris: Payot, 1928), p.135, in Sara Ellen Prociuous Malueg, ‘Women and the Encyclopédie’ in Spencer (1984), p. 260 and note 5, p. 270.
- 50 Hunting Smith (1938) notes that on her removal to Paris in 1754 Madame du Deffand gave Julie an annuity of 692 livres and made a new will bequeathing her 15,000 livres (p. xiii).
- 51 Ibid., p. 164.
- 52 Ibid., p. 166.
- 53 Hunting Smith (1938) notes that ‘A few months after Julie came to Paris, two Irishmen named Taaffe were presented at Court by the English ambassador. Though their identity is not absolutely certain, it seems highly probable that they were Theobald and John Taaffe, who, according to *Notes and Queries*, were sons of Stephen Taaffe of Dublin. The family must have had property also in Dowanstown, County Meath, since John Taaffe’s will is indexed under his name with the caption “formerly of Dowanstown.”’ He suggests that John Taaffe was not the sort of man whose attentions to a young girl are to be encouraged. He was a gambler and not of good character. However, he also notes that ‘According to the Duc de Luynes, John Taaffe was inclined to be a ‘philosophe,’ and Madame du Deffand herself said afterwards that he was ‘a man of good sense and good society’ (pp. xiii–xv).
- 54 Ibid., p. 168.

- 55 Craveri (1994) argues that 'Although Madame du Deffand's behaviour was unexceptional from the point of view of form, her intervention seemed offensive to Julie. Mademoiselle de Lespinasse was naturally driven by her heart, not her head. She wanted to love and be loved and she found the brutal return to reality unbearable. To sacrifice a love affair that occupied her heart and mind to a code of behaviour which turned against her at every opportunity without ever protecting her must have been the ultimate injustice. Her reaction was one of violent hysteria. Besides Madame du Deffand's letter to Taaffe, we have La Harpe's description of Julie's condition at the time. Although La Harpe does not relate to Julie's crisis specifically to the episode with Taaffe, of which, in any case, he appears to be ignorant, his description is very effective' (p. 169).
- 56 Ibid., pp. 168–9.
- 57 Hunting Smith (1938) discusses the reasons why John Taaffe is in Paris and gives the background to his relationship with Julie: 'With Julie he flirted so violently that she quite lost her head (as she usually did when her emotions were aroused).' Referring to correspondence between Madame du Deffand and Taaffe, he notes: 'While he was writing this letter, one was already on its way from Madame du Deffand, ordering him to make honourable proposals to Julie (if his passion had really overpowered him) or else to give her up. Julie in the meantime had received such a scolding for her imprudence that she was having concussions and fainting-spells, apparently caused by an overdose of opium. She was well enough, however to read Madame du Deffand's letter before it was sent; in fact it was originally intended that she should transcribe the letter in her own handwriting. Madame du Deffand had perhaps hesitated to use Wiart as the amanuensis for this delicate and personal negotiation; the rough draft of the letter is in an unknown hand' (p. xvi).
- 58 J. F. La Harpe, *Correspondance Littéraire*, p. 385, in Craveri (1994), p. 169 and notes p. 459.
- 59 Craveri writes that P. M. Ségur had recorded that an acquaintance, Madame de la Ferté-Imbault, observed that "In her fury, the young lady took such a dose of opium that it affected her for the rest of her life." Ségur was of the opinion, however, that the overdose was "a violent *crise de nerfs* which she sought to calm by repeated doses of opium in keeping with the fatal habit which she developed then and in which she persisted for the rest of her life" (p. 169) and notes p. 459. Kavanagh presents these facts in a more sympathetic light; she states that later, 'while struggling with the torments of her soul', Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, 'sinking under the pressure of woe and disease', found opium a source of enervation, 'to which her want of rest compelled her to resort' (I: 187).
- 60 Linda Gardiner's 'Women in Science' gives a comprehensive list of Madame du Châtelet's publications, including a book on the metaphysics of natural science (the *Institutions de physique*), an essay on the nature of fire and heat (the *Dissertation sur la nature et propagation du feu*) and two short

pieces on the problem of measuring physical force. Other works include a translation of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*. She co-authored, anonymously, Voltaire's popularisation of Newtonian physics, *Eléments de la philosophie de Newton*, as well as a translation of Newton's *Principia mathematica*, with a commentary, which was published posthumously. In Spencer (1984), p. 184.

- 61 Jean François, Marquis de Saint-Lambert.
- 62 Voltaire was at Cirey from 1734 to 1749. Kavanagh makes no reference to the fact that he was given refuge at Cirey by the Marquise owing to the fact that he was obliged to leave Paris because of his criticism of French institutions.
- 63 See references to Mademoiselle Delaunay's and Madame du Deffand's letters in M. F. A. de Lescure, ed. (1865), *Correspondance complète*, vol. 1, Paris, Plon, 1865, in Curtis, in Spencer (1984), pp. 230 and notes 4 and 10, p. 239.
- 64 Whilst Kavanagh expresses a respect for Madame du Châtelet's love of science, her sympathies for this woman's involvement with Voltaire are indirectly exposed in her reference to Madame Denis, Voltaire's favourite niece with whom he developed a close relationship, whom she described as 'an ugly, agreeable woman, who wrote tragedies she could never get acted' (I: 152).
- 65 See Roseann Runte, 'Women as Muse', in Spencer (1984), p. 451ff. See also D. J. Adams, *La Femme dans les contes et romans de Voltaire*, Paris: Nizet, 1974, pp. 21–2., p. 154, in Runte, note 35.
- 66 Roland Bonnel and Catherine Rubinger (1994), *Femmes Savants et Femmes d'Esprit*, New York, Peter Lang, p. 27.
- 67 Madame d'Epinay's published work on education include *Lettres à mon fils* (1759) and *Les Conversations d'Emilie* (1774). See Rosena Davison, 'Madame d'Epinay's Contribution to Girls' Education' in Bonnel and Rubinger (1994), pp. 219–41. See also Samia I. Spencer, 'Women and Education' in Spencer (1984), pp. 83–96.
- 68 Madame Geoffrin contributed two hundred thousand livres to the Encyclopédistes' project. See Louis R. Gottschalk (1929), *The Era of the French Revolution, 1715–1815*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, p. 82. See also Runte, in Spencer (1984), pp. 149. Runte notes that in the eighteenth century it was common practice to give women names such as "mama," "little mother," or "little sister." [and] tenderness, rather than passion is evoked by the attribution of such terms. These roles evoke names in the family, not in society at large. It appears that authors sought the intimacy of the family but were obliged to seek in the family circle names for the roles of women played outside.' See Philippe Ariès, *Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en Occident du moyen âge à nos jours*, Paris: Le Seul, 1975, p. 154, also in Runte, note 30.
- 69 Stanislaus 1 of Poland (1677–1766). Stanislaus was King during the years 1704–9 when he abdicated. He became king a second time for the three years

- 1733–36 before circumstances forced him to abdicate for a second time, after which he settled at Lunéville in Lorraine and founded the Academia Stanislaus. He is also the father of Marie Leccinska, wife of Louis XV.
- 70 Kavanagh extends her argument later on, noting: ‘the gossiping Englishman’ (I: 173). Walpole’s response to the decline of the *bureaux d’esprits*: ‘Like all those who resorted to Paris for amusement, Walpole noticed this alteration with evident displeasure. “They may be growing wiser,” he pettishly observes, “but the intermediate change is dullness.” The era for bureaux d’esprit was, however, gone beyond recall. Philosophy, indeed, no longer sought the aid of their fostering care; it did not even need them as those central points whence it formerly disseminated its doctrines far and wide. The whole spirit of the nation had become philosophic; every drawing room was now a fit arena. It thus happened that when the three great bureaux d’esprit had ceased to exist, no effort was made to replace them. That such assemblies would be as needless now as they had formerly been useful, seemed to be felt almost by intuition. New wants, new feelings had arisen. Like many prouder institutions, as soon as their appointed task of good or evil was fulfilled, the bureaux d’esprit were forgotten; and their sentimental successors now spoke of them as slightly as they had probably spoken of the soirées of the Hôtel Rambouillet and the *ruelles** of the seventeenth century. *The *précieuses* of the seventeenth century generally received their morning visitors before they had risen. Their guests were thus invited to take seats in the *ruelle*, or space extending between the bed-side and the wall, and which was sufficiently wide to accommodate several persons. From this circumstance a morning conversation became known under the name of *ruelle*’ (II: 18).
- 71 George Eliot, ‘Woman in France: Madame de Sablé’ in Pinney (1936), pp. 60–1.
- 72 Madame de Genlis published over eighty books, the most important including: *Théâtre à l’usage des jeunes personnes*; *Adèle et Théodore, ou lettres sur l’éducation* (1782); *Les Veillées du Château* (1784); *Leçons d’une gouvernante à ses élèves* (1791); *Précis de la conduite de Mme de Genlis depuis la Révolution* (1796); *Mademoiselle de Clermont* (1802); *La Duchesse de la Vallière* (1804); *Mémoires*, 10 vols (1825).
- 73 ‘Mme de Genlis elaborated with great detail on the distinction in knowledge, treatment, social status, and salary between a *gouverneur* (governor) and a *gouvernante* (governess). While the former was considered a friend of the family who shared their meals, the latter was counted among the servants and ate at their table.’ *Discours sur la suppression des couvents*, Paris: Onfrois, 1790, p. 14. In Spencer (1984), p. 96.
- 74 The Duc de Chartes (Duc d’Orléans) later changed his name to Philippe Egalité. As the Duc d’Orléans, he subsidised radical pamphleteers in 1789 and voted for the death of his cousin, the former Louis XVI. See Sarah Maza (1993), *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France*, Berkeley, University of California Press, p. 83.

- 75 Madame de Genlis escaped the guillotine during the Reign of Terror and, after travelling throughout Europe during the 1790s, returned to France to receive a pension from Napoleon.
- 76 Kavanagh (1852), *Women of Christianity*, Chapter 22.
- 77 Madame de Nesle (Madame de Vintimille) died in childbirth in 1741.
- 78 Kavanagh is consistent in addressing the women in her study *Mademoiselle* or *Madame*; Madame de Châteauroux was previously the Marquise Louis de La Tournelle before she inveigled the King to make her Duchesse de Châteauroux.
- 79 Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson was born in Paris on 29 December 1721. A fortune-teller prophesied her future at the palace and she received an education and acquired those accomplishments suitable for a King's mistress. See Christine Pevitt Algrant (2003), *Madame de Pompadour: Mistress of France* London, Harper Collins.
- 80 *Ibid.*, p. 150.
- 81 On the morning of 6 October 1789 several men and women attempted, unsuccessfully, to enter the Queen's chamber at Versailles to assassinate her.
- 82 Kavanagh gives no direct source for Marie Antoinette's response and, as the young dauphine was unaware of Madame du Barry's status at the time, Kavanagh's comment that she 'deeply resented the indignity of supping with a courtesan' is questionable.
- 83 Kavanagh's wording here is significant in that she attempts to detract from any suggestion of overt prurience inferred from the young dauphine's response. Antonia Fraser offers a more poignantly suggestive translation and also states that it is the Comtesse de Noailles who responds to Marie Antoinette's question: 'Marie Antoinette fell into the trap of asking the Comtesse de Noailles the identity of this lady; [. . .] When the Comtesse tactfully replied that the lady was there to give pleasure to the King, the Dauphine cheerfully said: "Oh, then I shall be her rival, because I too wish to give pleasure to the King." Fraser (2002), *Marie Antoinette: The Journey*, London, Phoenix Paperback, p. 79. Fraser's source is taken from Andre Castelot (1957), *Queen of France: A Biography of Marie Antoinette*, New York, p. 29.
- 84 *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- 85 Antonia Fraser (2002) draws attention to the ways in which pornography was used as a means of casting doubt on the Queen's innocence: 'Even the theme of the diamonds was a help to pornographers since the word for jewels (*bijoux*) was a code for the female genitalia. (*Les Bijoux Indiscrets* a tale by Diderot, had the eponymous "jewels" relating their adventures.) [. . .] the web of fantasy spun around the innocent Queen and the foolishly naïve Cardinal was much easier to accept than the actual truth: that the whole thing was a criminal conspiracy' (p. 282).
- 86 Antonia Fraser notes that 'It was well put by a modern historian. Sarah Maza in "The Diamond Necklace Affair Revisited" (1991), that although the total innocence of Marie Antoinette was obvious, standard accounts of

- the affair viewed her as guilty, “because large numbers of people wanted to believe in her guilt”. In Fraser (2002, p. 281). See also in Fraser, p. 565 n11, ‘Maza, ‘Diamond Necklace’, p. 64, p. 85 note 7’.
- 87 Ibid., p. 316.
- 88 Gita May (1970), *Madame Roland and the Age of Revolution*, New York, Columbia University Press, p. 251.
- 89 Kavanagh relates that after the September massacres of 1792, ‘The soul of Madame Roland was filled with horror at what she saw and heard. If anything increased her despair, it was the consciousness that her husband, though minister of the Interior, could not prevent, could not do anything. “We are under the knife of Robespierre and Marat,” she despairingly wrote to a friend, on the 5th of September; and on the 9th she added, “You know my enthusiasm for the revolution; well, I am ashamed of it now: it has been sullied by monsters; it is hideous.” The proclamation of the republic which at another time would have filled her with joy, now seemed to her prophetic soul but the forerunner of the fall of the men by whom that republic had been founded’ (II: 135).
- 90 May (1970), p. 246.

Chapter 4

- 1 In *Shirley* (1849) Charlotte Brontë satirises the stigma associated with the French novel. In a heated interchange with his niece, Shirley, Mr Sympson blames Shirley’s lack of principle on her choice of reading: ‘You read French. Your mind is poisoned with French novels’. (Chapter 31). See also Flint (1999), who outlines the attitudes and prejudices of the English establishment towards the French novel, particularly pp. 138, 164, 265, 288 and 303. In contrast Kavanagh deliberately goes against the grain when, in her novel *Dora* (1868), she recalls the romantic associations of Mademoiselle de Scudéry’s novel *Clélie* (I: 307 in Tauchnitz edition).
- 2 Ezell notes that ‘Between 1675 and 1875, there were at least twenty-five biographical encyclopedias and anthologies specifically devoted to chronicling the lives and labours of literary Englishwomen. From the early accounts of “Women among the Moderns Eminent for Poetry” in Edward Phillips’s *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675) to Jane Williams’s *Literary Women of England* (1861) and Eric Robertson’s *English Poetesses* (1883), curious readers could peruse the lives of female writers. Starting with *The Nine Muses* (1700) and Colman and Thornton’s *Poems by Eminent Ladies* (1755 and 1780) up through Frederic Rowton’s *Cyclopaedia of Female Poets* (1848–74), they could ponder exactly what style, subject, or domestic circumstance were revealed as “feminine” in the selections of women’s writing presented in these anthologies.’ In Margaret J. M. Ezell (1996), *Writing Women’s Literary History*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 68–9. In addition to this selection I would include *Memoirs of Eminent Englishwomen* (1844) by Louisa Stuart

- Costello (1799–1870). Unlike Kavanagh, both Costello and Jane Williams concentrate on women poets. See also section on ‘Bibliography of Collective Biographies of Women 1830–1940’ in Booth (2004), pp. 347–87.
- 3 Ezell (1996), pp. 68–9.
 - 4 Janet Todd, ed. (1987), *A Dictionary of British and American Women Writers 1660–1800*, London, Methuen, p. 2. See also Ezell (1996), p. 93.
 - 5 Full title: *The Progress of Romance, Through Times, Countries, and Manners; With Remarks on the Good and Bad Effects of it, on them Respectively; In a Course of Evening Conversations*. For further discussion and reprint of this text see Gary Kelly, ed. (1999), *Bluestocking Feminism: Writings of the Bluestocking Circle, 1738–1785*, vol. 6, Sarah Scott and Clara Reeve, London, Pickering & Chatto.
 - 6 English Showalter (1972), *The Evolution of the French Novel: 1641–1782*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, p. 4.
 - 7 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
 - 8 English Showalter (1972) outlines the core of the debate when he suggests that the novel ‘lacked ancestors’: as a genre without rules it ‘was always in danger of excess, and the absence of fixed standards seemed to paralyse critics, when it did not provoke scorn, as from Boileau: “Dans un Roman frivole, aisément tout s’excuse [Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *L’Art Poétique*, Chant 3, line 119]”. The prefaces of the Scudérys responded to this general attitude, by attempting to place the *roman* within the epic tradition. Critics and theorists of fictional genres failed to comprehend the changes that the authors were making. Huet, for example, [. . .] drew his own conception of the *roman* from the Scudérys; and his *Lettre sur l’origine des romans* (1670) was regarded as authoritative well into the eighteenth century’ (pp. 29–30).
 - 9 George Eliot opens her essay ‘Woman in France: Madame de Sablé’ with the following: ‘In 1847, a certain Count Leopold Ferri died at Padua, leaving a library entirely composed of works written by women, in various languages, and this library amounted to nearly 32,000 volumes. We will not hazard any conjecture as to the proportion of these volumes which a severe judge, like the priest in Don Quixote, would deliver to the flames, but for our own part, most of those we should care to rescue would be the works of French women. [. . .] in France alone woman has had a vital influence on the development of literature; in France alone the mind of woman has passed like an electric current through the language, making crisp and definite what is elsewhere heavy and blurred; in France alone, if the writings of women were swept away, a serious gap would be made in the national history.’ In Pinney (1936), pp. 52–3.
 - 10 I have kept to Kavanagh’s spelling of Madame de la Fayette in her text but have used the more conventional Madame de La Fayette in my own discussion.
 - 11 Faith E. Beasley, ‘Altering the Fabric of History: Women’s Participation in

- the Classical Age' in Sonya Stephens, ed. (2000), *A History of Women's Writing in France*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 64. See also Joan DeJean (1991), *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France*, New York, Columbia University Press (see particularly Appendix: Bibliography of Women Writers: 1640–1715, pp. 201–21.).
- 12 The desire for anonymity covers many areas. It was generally known who was the author of a specific work. For most writers, background and class dictated propriety and it was considered improper for both male and female authors to make money by publishing their work. There were exceptions, of course, and Marie Catherine Desjardins and Madame de Villegieu did sign their work. Mademoiselle de Scudéry and Madame de La Fayette often placed a man's name on the cover. See also Beasley, in Stephens (2000), p. 70. See also DeJean (1991) who argues: 'The first practitioners of literary exclusionism had little use for critical indirection. Following the lead of Nicolas Boileau, the individual who, with royal backing, imposed his authority as supreme arbiter of French literary taste, commentators displaced all the fictional content of women's writing onto reality. They refused to grant these novels any subtlety, denied them any role in the creation of construction of gender. According to the argument thus promoted, these novels had to be suppressed because they propagated a socially and politically subversive vision: women's writing constituted a threat to the foundation of the nation state, the family, and manly virile virtue' (p. 14).
 - 13 See DeJean (1991), p. 126. Bonnel and Rubinger (1994) refer to the problems associated with writing and sexual difference during the period of the Enlightenment: 'The various entries of the *Encyclopédie* dealing with women are often ambiguous. There is no "doctrine," no single voice. There is, however, a certain discernible consensus about the relationship between sexes. Men and women have been designed by Nature with different attributes for different roles. [. . .] Even in the apparently innocuous genre of the novel, women writers immediately encountered hostility. At the height of the "nouvelle querelle des femmes" which centred on the novel in the middle of the century, only a small minority, notably Laclos and Lenglet Dufresnoy, spoke out for the literary equality of the sexes as Fénelon had done at the end of the seventeenth century' (p. 13).
 - 14 DeJean (1991) notes that in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1695–1697) Pierre Bayle raised objections to the so called 'new novelists' whose success in simulating history 'have thrown a shadow over real history'; readers cannot 'separate fiction from true fact' (p. 136). See also Beasley, who argues the case for the more historically accurate *nouvelle historique* which gained popularity around 1660, after the demise of the more outdated ponderous heroic genre made popular by Mademoiselle de Scudéry: 'Readers also preferred more believable stories. To this end, novelists grounded the *nouvelle* in often meticulously researched, primarily sixteenth-century French history. The resulting fictions so closely resembled

history that it was difficult to distinguish fact from fiction. Novelists played upon the ambiguity of the French term '*histoire*', which can mean both history and story. They filled in the lines of history primarily by adding plausible motives for well-known events, often with love and women as the principal forces. As official history became more and more co-opted by Louis XIV as a vehicle of propaganda, women writers used the *nouvelle historique* to rewrite the historical record to include women, thus using the pen to revolt against such a monarch who would relegate them to powerlessness and silence' (in Stephens (2000), pp. 72–3).

- 15 Kavanagh does not engage in the politics of the Fronde and only occasionally mentions the women involved. Three of the principle *frondeuses* who opposed the regency were the Duchesse de Montpensier, the Duchesse de Longueville and the Princess de Condé. See also Antonia Fraser [2006] (2007), *Love and Louis XIV: The Women in the Life of the Sun King*, London, Phoenix Paperback.
- 16 When Louis XIV took over the government in 1661 he also took control of all intellectual and creative output in which Louis and Versailles took centre stage. Women were discouraged from writing and the period until the end of the century became known as 'le grand renfermement de la femme' ('the great confinement of women'). See also Beasley, in Stephens (2000), pp. 66 and 83.
- 17 In this connection Kavanagh notes an interlude when Mademoiselle de Gournay called in several of her 'renowned *purists*' contemporaries to consider the significance and inclusion of the word *raffinage* into the French language (I: 27).
- 18 *Précieuses* is the name attributed to those women who gathered in the salons for conversation.
- 19 The term 'salon' is a nineteenth-century substitute for the earlier term *ruelle*. While Kavanagh acknowledges this term she uses the term 'salon' in her discussion.
- 20 Although Kavanagh notes the opening of the Hôtel Rambouillet as 1600, modern scholars give the date as 1620. See Beasley, in Stephens (2000), p. 67. See also Nicole Aronson (1978), *Mademoiselle de Scudéry*, Boston, Twayne Publishers. Aronson points out that 'Gustave Charlier's remarkable article "La Fin de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet" has clearly established that the activities of the Hôtel Rambouillet continued well after the *Fronde*' (p. 37). See Gustave Charlier (1939), 'La Fin de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet,' *Revue Belge de Philosophie et d'Histoire*, 18, 409–26.
- 21 Aronson (1978) also notes that Mademoiselle de Scudéry 'detested pedantry and loved the joys of witty conversation. In her letters she confessed to her taste for puns, witticisms and jokes, and this must have allowed her to feel quite at ease with the group surrounding Mme de Rambouillet' (p. 27).
- 22 Ricovrati Prize for women in the Arts.
- 23 Kavanagh notes that Mademoiselle de Scudéry was, in fact, 'ugly', going

- on to say that ‘she knew it, and said it frankly. When the celebrated Nanteuil improved her face, in the crayon portrait he drew of her, she sent him the pretty verse:– “Nanteuil; en faisant, mon image. / A de son art divin signalé le pouvoir, / Je hais mes yeux dans mon miroir, / Je les aime dans son ouvrage.”’ (I: 50). See also Aronson who notes that ‘Although the Nanteuil portrait of Mlle de Scudéry has unfortunately been lost, there is one by Elisabeth Chéron that verifies the fact that she was, indeed, not physically attractive’ (p. 27).
- 24 Kavanagh tells us: ‘Madeleine’s education was not merely intellectual, though she studied Italian and Spanish, which she knew thoroughly, and read the best authors of every language, [. . .] dancing, drawing, painting, music, and needlework were included in her education. What she was not taught she learned of her own accord, and thus became acquainted with agriculture, gardening, cookery, house-keeping, and medicine – she even acquired no mean proficiency in the lady-like art of concocting potions, perfumes, and distilled waters, and was evidently resolved that no feminine accomplishment should escape her’ (I: 41). Aronson (1978) notes that the details of Mademoiselle de Scudéry’s early life are to be found in the *Mémoires* of Valentin Conrart, the founder of the Académie Française, in whom Mademoiselle confided: Aronson’s reading (p. 21) from Conrart is very similar to that of Kavanagh who, presumably, used the same source.
- 25 In her biography of Mademoiselle de Scudéry, Aronson has noted that during her lifetime none of this writer’s works, with the exception of *Célinde*, *Mathilde d’Aguilar* and later editions of *Conversations* printed in Amsterdam, was published in her own name. While he was alive, George de Scudéry appeared as the author. When he died she published anonymously (p. 18).
- 26 Beasley, in Stephens (2000), p. 70.
- 27 Modern critics would disagree with Kavanagh’s reductive view. In her chapter ‘What Do Women Want?’ Joan DeJean (1991) argues to the contrary, suggesting that Scudéry’s heroines reflected the loss of personal freedom that marriage incurred. As marriages were made to protect family property, Scudéry’s suggestion of *marriage d’inclination*, marrying for love, threatened the status quo and the politics of inheritance. See pp. 114–15.
- 28 Aronson (1978), p. 44.
- 29 Victor Cousin, 1792–1867. Kavanagh gives no textual source. It is likely that she is referring to *La Société française au XVII^e siècle d’après le Grand Cyrus de Mlle de Scudéry* (1858). See also ‘Company Manners’ in *Household Words*, IX, 20 May (1854), pp. 323–31 with reference to Cousin’s comments on Mademoiselle de Scudéry.
- 30 DeJean (1991) argues that ‘In ancien régime France, a woman became an author when she made the novel the site of speculation on questions as essential to the organization of society as the right of individuals to choose their marriage partners rather than have their lives directed by the interests

of the family and State. In this tradition, female authorship was a political act: these novels are never solely about love, but always stress the political and social implication of affective choices' (p. 11).

- 31 Kavanagh notes that it was to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld that Madame de La Fayette devoted the best part of her life. Almost twenty years her senior, Rochefoucauld was fifty when Madame de La Fayette was thirty-two and he provided the company and friendship that was lacking in her marriage.
- 32 Jean Renaud Ségrais (1624–1701). Poet and novelist, elected to the Académie Française in 1662.
- 33 See DeJean (1991), p. 106.
- 34 The company included Edward Gibbon, Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert.
- 35 The young Germaine had no playmates of her own age until she was eleven when her mother invited Mademoiselle Huber to visit. Mademoiselle Huber describes their first meeting: 'Mlle Necker grasped my hand, [. . .] embraced me, told me she had been waiting for me for an eternity, she was sure she would love me till she died, I would be her only true friend, this moment would determine an everlasting affection.' Catherine Rilliet Huber, 'Notes sur l'enfance de Madame de Staël', *Occident et Cahiers Staëliens*, 5–6 (30 June 1933: March 1934), 5:42, in Gretchen Rous Besser (1994), *Germaine de Staël Revisited*, New York, Twayne Publishers, pp. 2 and 149n.
- 36 Kavanagh refers to a letter written by Madame de Genlis after Madame de Staël's death in which she writes: "Often, in thinking of her, I have regretted that she was not my daughter or my pupil. I would have given her good literary principles, just ideas, and simplicity; and with such an education, and her fine mind and generous soul, she would have been an accomplished woman, and the most justly celebrated authoress of our times" (II: 197).
- 37 Kavanagh writes: 'M. de Guibert – is said to have been bewitched by Germaine Necker. Under the name of Zulmé he thus painted her in the fervour of her youth. Setting aside the inflated taste of the age [. . .] this portrait gives us singular and powerful impression of what Germaine Necker was in her youth:– "Zulmé is only twenty, and she is the most celebrated priestess of Apollo. She is the favourite of the god [. . .] From amidst the sacred maidens one steps forth. My heart will ever remember it. Her large black eyes beamed with genius; her hair, the colour of ebony, fell on her shoulders in waving locks; her features were more characteristic than delicate; they told of something beyond the destiny of her sex. Thus might we paint the muse of poesy, or Clio, or Melpomene. 'Here she is! Here she is!' all cried when she appeared, and breath seemed gone" (II: 203).
- 38 The marriage lasted approximately ten years from 1786 to 1797 when they were formally separated. Kavanagh gives little background to the marriage, only that wealthy, middle-class M. and Mme Necker considered it advantageous for their daughter to marry into the aristocracy. Modern

- biographical sources suggest that Germaine Necker considered this man unworthy of her. She was an extremely wealthy and eligible heiress and all he could offer was a title. See Angelica Goodden (2000), *Madame de Staël: Delphine and Corinne*, London, Grant and Cutler Ltd.
- 39 One year after her marriage to her first husband, Baron de Staël, Madame de Staël gave birth in 1878 to their daughter, Gustavine, who lived for twenty months. Her two sons to Narbonne, Auguste and Mathias-Albert, were born in 1790 and 1792 respectively and Constantine's daughter, Albertine, was born in 1797. She later gives birth secretly to Rocca's son, Louis-Alphonse, in 1812. See Rous Besser (1994).
 - 40 Madame de Staël fled from Paris in 1792 to escape the September massacres, crossing the Channel to England. She then went on to Switzerland before returning to France, only to be exiled again by Napoleon whose rage she encountered as a result of her political ideas and also the free-thinking aspects of her novel *Delphine* (1802). During this time she travelled extensively throughout Europe before returning to Paris on the abdication of Napoleon in 1814, but later resumed her travels in 1815. See Goodden (2000).
 - 41 *De l'Allemagne* (1810) provided Madame de Staël's French audience with their first manifesto of romanticism. This work, which had taken six years to complete, was eventually published in England in 1813.
 - 42 Goodden (2000), pp. 14–15.
 - 43 Ibid., p. 11.
 - 44 Ibid., p. 11.
 - 45 From a review by W. R. Gregg of *The Life and Times of Madame de Staël* by Maria Norris, London, 1853, in *The North British Review*, November (1853) 39, 20, 18.
 - 46 Goodden (2000), pp. 22–3.
 - 47 In Diana Craik's novel *Olive* (1850) Corinne is cited as a free spirit and a woman who has broken free from rules of duty and social acceptance: 'A Michelangelo can stand alone with his genius and so go sternly down unto a desolate old age. But there scarce ever lived a woman who would not rather sit meekly by her own hearth, with her husband at her side, and her children at her knee, than be the crowned Corinne of the Capitol' (Chapter 2).
 - 48 Geraldine Jewsbury, Review of *English Women of Letters: Biographical Sketches* by Julia Kavanagh, 2 vols (Hurst & Blackett), in *The Athenaeum*, 1826, 25 October (1862), 527.
 - 49 Kavanagh gives Sarah Fielding's year of birth as 1714 but all modern sources give 1710.
 - 50 For a fuller discussion on the subject of women and publishing see Elizabeth Eger, ed. (1999), *Bluestocking Feminism: Writings of the Bluestocking Circle, 1738–1785*, vol. 1, London, Pickering & Chatto, Introduction, pp. xvi–xix.
 - 51 Janet Todd (1996), *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, London, André Deutsch, p. 3. See also Eger (1999), subheading, 'Woman in the Conduct

- Book Tradition: From the Glorious Revolution to Cultural Revolution' for discussion of the impact of the Marquis of Halifax's *The Lady's New-Year's Gift; or, Advice to a Daughter* (1688) (pp. xxxv–xxxviii).
- 52 Maureen Duffy, ed. (1987), *Love Letters Between a Nobleman and His Sister*, by Aphra Behn, London, Virago, p. vii.
- 53 See Todd (1996), p. 12.
- 54 Ibid., p. 1.
- 55 Maureen Duffy notes that this text, published in 1698, was an extended version of *The History of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs Behn*, which appeared prefixed to a collection of her *Histories & Novels* first published in 1696 and anonymously attributed to 'One of the Fair Sex', though the first version is admitted to be by Charles Gildon, the editor, who indeed repeats the main biographical facts in his rewrite of Langbaine's *An Account of the Dramatic Poets*. See Maureen Duffy (1977), *Aphra Behn 1640–89: The Passionate Shepherdess*, London, Jonathan Cape, p. 17. See also Todd (1996), who casts further doubt on the legitimacy of this source as biography (p. 12). Todd states that: 'a colleague of Gildon's called Samuel Briscoe was eager to exploit and sensationalise the dead author. He wanted to publish a volume of the collected stories of which *Oroonoko* was the crown and he too needed a biography. So he commissioned "The Life and Memoirs of Mrs. Behn. Written by One of the Fair Sex". In the third edition this was expanded into a patchwork by the inclusion of some love letters, thought of originally as a short story, and some comic letters purportedly written when Aphra Behn was in Flanders. Any one of Behn's female friends might have written the "Memoirs" or the impecunious Sam Briscoe himself might have supplied it, or Gildon in less austere mood may have performed again' (p. 12).
- 56 John Doran, *Their Majesties' Servants. Annals of the English Stage* London, 1888, vol. 1. p. 239. Doran is referring to a volume of poetry by women, sometimes referred to as 'the Daughters of Behn', *The Nine Muses*, published in 1700 and edited by Delarivier Manley. See Todd (1996), p. 4. and p. 436n.
- 57 Ezell (1996), p. 93. See also Eric S. Robertson (1883), *English Poetesses: A Series of Critical Biographies, with Illustrative Extracts* London, p. 9.
- 58 Ezell (1996), p. 93.
- 59 B. G. MacCarthy (1994) notes: 'It is noteworthy and very characteristic of Aphra Behn that, having chosen him [*Oroonoko*], she did not by the fraction of a shade abate his negritude, as Mrs. Kavenagh believed Mme de la Fayette or Mlle de Scudéry would have done' (p. 160). It is arguable that Kavanagh saw *Oroonoko* as a romantic hero. Jane Smiley has recently suggested that '*Oroonoko* owes quite a bit to the romance' and that *Oroonoko* himself is a romantic hero. See Jane Smiley (2006), 'Picaresque Polemic', *Saturday Guardian*, 15 April, 22.
- 60 I would argue that Kavanagh perceived *Oroonoko*'s 'noble nature' as a universal and that her understanding was not confined to associations of race or colour.

- 61 Clara Reeve (1785), *The Progress of Romance*, Colchester, W. Keymer, p. 117.
- 62 Virginia Woolf (1929), *A Room of One's Own*, London, Hogarth Press, p. 65. For insight into the associations of writing and modesty and the culturally systematic silencing of women during the seventeenth centuries see also Angela Goreau, 'Reconstructing Aphra Behn' in Mary Ann O'Donnel, Bernard Dhucq and Guyonne Leduc, eds (2000), *Aphra Behn (1640–1689) Identity, Alterity, Ambiguity*, Paris, L'Harmattan. See also the introduction in Angela Goreau (1985), *The Whole Duty of a Woman: Female Writers in Seventeenth-Century England*, New York, Dial.
- 63 Edward A. Bloom, ed. (1982), *Fanny Burney, Evelina*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 361–2.
- 64 Jane Austen (1818), *Northanger Abbey*, Chapter 14.
- 65 Hester Chapone, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1773) in Judy Simons (1987), *Fanny Burney, Writers and Their Work Series*, London, Macmillan, p. 2.
- 66 'The Witlings' satirised the pretensions of the Blue Stocking Circle headed by Lady Elizabeth Montagu.
- 67 Simons (1987), p. 23.
- 68 Modern biographical sources give Sarah Fielding's birth date as 1710.
- 69 See Kate Chisholm (1998), *Fanny Burney: Her Life*, London, Chatto & Windus, pp. 191–217.
- 70 *Evelina* was subsequently published in four editions. See Simons (1987), p. 47.
- 71 Dale Spender notes that during the mid eighteenth century it was 'out of the question for respectable women to venture into bookshops which were very much the preserve of men. Even as late as the end of the eighteenth century it was still impossible for decent women to walk into a bookshop as Mary Somerville found when she wanted a copy of Euclid's *Elements of Geometry*: there was simply no way she could get it.' Dale Spender (1986), *Mothers of the Novel*, London, Pandora, p. 92.
- 72 In the light of her censure of Aphra Behn, whose disregard for the rules of feminine decorum shocked generations that followed, Kavanagh's opinion here may seem confusing and contradictory. However, whereas Kavanagh objected to Behn's 'coarseness', in the context of women novelists and their progression throughout the eighteenth century, her argument relates directly to Burney and her contemporaries.
- 73 See Sir Walter Scott [1861] *Miscellaneous Works*, and Anne Katharine Elwood (1843), *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England from the Commencement of the Last Century*, London, Colburn. Kavanagh may also have had access to Anna Laetitia Barbauld (1810), *British Novelists*, London, F. C. & J. Rivington.
- 74 Kavanagh notes that during the couple's imprisonment the children had stayed in Sussex (presumably with relatives).
- 75 One early twentieth-century biographer notes that 'So far as her [Radcliffe's] formal education is concerned, we are able to learn little. The

general impression given by her biographers is that it was the ordinary education of the young girl of that day, and that, according to modern ideas, it would seem, if not superficial, decidedly incomplete.' Clara Frances McIntyre (1920), *Ann Radcliffe in Relation to Her Times*, New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. 9–10.

- 76 McIntyre (1920) gives Ann Radcliffe more intellectual credit than Kavanagh seems to suggest in this comment: 'From Mrs. Radcliffe's own work we might, perhaps be inclined to give her credit for rather more knowledge than [Kavanagh's] comment implies. Her references to authors, both in her journals and in her novels, show not only thorough familiarity but genuine appreciation, and the quotations which she uses as headings to her chapters suggest a considerable range of reading.' McIntyre gives evidence of other areas of interest and intellectual enquiry as recorded by 'Mrs. Elwood' in her *Memoirs of Literary Ladies*, and the writer of the sketch in the *Annual Biography and Obituary* who 'speaks of her "gratification in listening to any good verbal sounds"; and says that she "would desire to hear passages repeated from the Latin and Greek classics; requiring, at intervals, the most literal translations that could be given, with all that was possible of their idiom, how muchsoever the version might be embarrassed by that aim at exactness." This would make it appear that she had no understanding of the originals' (p. 10). See also David S. Miall's article 'The Preceptor as Fiend: Radcliffe's Psychology of the Gothic', first published in Laura Dabundo, ed. (2000), *Jane Austen and Mary Shelley and Their Sisters*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, pp. 31–43. Miall gives some interesting insights into Radcliffe's (Ann Ward's) education and experience and suggests that in her novels she reacts against the cult of sensibility which formed a young woman's education at that time.
- 77 In relation to Kavanagh's comments, Spender (1986) puts forward the case that Ann Radcliffe 'was one of the founders – if not the founder of the romantic movement'. She draws attention to the fact that the historical sexual bias associated with the terms 'romantic' and 'romance' was to the detriment of women writers. '[Ann Radcliffe] was followed by many men who were influenced by her work and who acknowledged their great debt to her. But while the men who drew on her work for inspiration have been granted the prestigious status of writers of the *romantic* school, the woman who started it all is consigned to the derisory status of the writer of *romance*.' Spender (1986), p. 238.
- 78 Bonamy Dobrée (1996), Introduction to Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, London, Oxford University Press, p. x.
- 79 For a full list of reviews in journals and magazines see McIntyre (1920).
- 80 Dobrée (1996), p. xv.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Frances Thomas (1994), *Christina Rossetti: A Biography*, London, Virago, p. 236.
- 83 McIntyre, (1920) p. 7.

- 84 Ibid., p. 6.
- 85 Kavanagh's spelling of Radcliffe's first name 'Anne' contradicts other references; for example, McIntyre (1920), who used the same biographical source (*Annual Biography and Obituary*, 1823) notes the spelling 'Ann'. See McIntyre, p. 27.
- 86 Kavanagh reports that *The Mysteries of Udolpho* brought in £500 and *The Italian* £800.
- 87 *A Simple Story* was written initially in 1779 and was turned down by the London publisher. The story was revised and published in 1791 when it went into a second edition within three months.
- 88 Anne Elwood, writing in 1843, refers to this impediment as 'an imperfection in her organs of utterance, which for some time rendered her speech indistinct, induced her, in early youth, to fly from company, and hide her defect in solitude; seeking in books for that recreation which she denied herself in the world'. Elwood also makes reference to Inchbald's approach to education: 'The nature of her education, or, rather absence of it, may be gathered from an observation of her own. "It is astonishing how much all girls are inclined to literature, to what boys are. My brother went to school seven years, and could never spell; I, and two of my sisters, though we were never taught, could spell from infancy."' See Anne Elwood (1843), pp. 310–11.
- 89 Kavanagh is quick to pick up on the resourcefulness of Mrs Siddons, who was obliged to organise her time to accommodate both home life and career. She relates that Elizabeth became acquainted with Mrs Siddons when she and her husband were performing in Liverpool, noting that 'Mrs. Siddons, who was not yet the great tragic actress of later years, but a sorely-tried, hard-tasked woman, who acted at night in the stately parts for which her genius and her person fitted her so well, but who washed and ironed her children's clothes in the morning' (164).
- 90 See also James Boaden, ed. (1833), *Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald: Including her Familiar Correspondence*, 2 vols, London, Richard Bentley.
- 91 Kavanagh notes that one publisher offered Inchbald the sum of 'one thousand pounds' for the manuscript without even seeing it (169).
- 92 As Kavanagh points out, Elizabeth Inchbald was an astute business woman and, in spite of her frugal mode of living, she had invested enough funds to ensure an annual income sufficient to cover her needs. One modern source states that Elizabeth Inchbald died a rich woman, leaving £5000. See Lorna Sage, ed. (1999), *The Cambridge Guide to Women's Writing in English*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 341.
- 93 Spender (1986), p. 214.
- 94 Ibid., p. 215.
- 95 It is interesting that, over one hundred years after Kavanagh's comment, George Watson in his Introduction to *Castle Rackrent*, suggests that 'It is Maria's tutelage to her father, which persisted devotedly until his death in 1817, that makes her the *least* [my italics] feminine of female novelists'.

- George Watson, ed. (1964), Introduction, *Castle Rackrent*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. x. In her biography of Maria Edgeworth, Marilyn Butler suggests that most of the studies on Edgeworth written by women in the latter part of the nineteenth and the earlier twentieth centuries 'all seemed bent on making Maria Edgeworth attractively feminine'. Marilyn Butler (1972), *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 6.
- 96 As a prelude to her discussion on Maria Edgeworth, Kavanagh gives a brief but qualified account of Richard Lovell Edgeworth's colourful aristocratic ancestry, which dates back to the reign of Elizabeth I.
- 97 For her novel *Patronage* (1814) Edgeworth earned £2100, three times the amount (£700) that Scott earned for *Waverley* published in the same year. Altogether she earned £11,062 8s 10d from her writing. See Todd (1987), p. 111.
- 98 See J. Boaden, ed. (1833); includes letters from Maria Edgeworth and Robert Lovell Edgeworth to Mrs Inchbald.
- 99 See *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, with a selection from her letters by the late Mrs [Frances] Edgeworth, 3 vols, 1867 (privately printed) in Butler (1972), pp. 4 and 506.
- 100 Butler (1972) writes that there were twenty-two children (p. 7).
- 101 Ibid., p. 36.
- 102 Ibid., p. 45.
- 103 Todd (1987) includes Switzerland in this list (p. 110).
- 104 Butler (1972) gives a full account of Richard Lovell Edgeworth's interests, which took him away from his family for many months at a time when Maria was a child.
- 105 Virginia Woolf [1925] (1948), *The Common Reader*, London, The Hogarth Press, pp. 151–2.
- 106 Todd (1987), p. 112.
- 107 Butler (1972) gives the date of death as 13 June 1817 (p. 401).
- 108 Ibid., p. 2.
- 109 Kavanagh suggests that Aphra Behn 'had no delicacy of intellect or of heart, but she had sympathy. Perhaps only a woman could have written "Oroonoko"' (p. 251).
- 110 Cecilia Lucy Brightwell (1854), *Memorials of the Life of Amelia Opie*, Norwich, Fletcher and Alexander, and London, Longman, Brown & Co.
- 111 It is interesting to compare Kavanagh's sharp description of John Opie with that offered by a writer in 1883 who, also taking Brightwell as her source, refers to him as 'a simple, high-minded Cornishman, whose natural directness and honesty were unspoiled by favour, unembittered by failure'. Miss Thackerary (Mrs Richmond Ritchie) (1883), *A Book of Sibyls*, London, Smith, Elder & Co. (p. 164).
- 112 See Brightwell (1854), who describes the scene as thus: 'The first time Mr. Opie saw his future wife, was at an evening party, at the house of one of her early friends; among the guests assembled, were Mr. Opie, and a family,

- personally known to the writer of these Memoirs. Some of those present were rather eagerly expecting the arrival of Miss Alderson; but the evening was wearing away, and still she did not appear; at length the door was flung open, and she entered, bright and smiling, dressed in a robe of blue, her neck and arms bare; and on her head a small bonnet, placed in somewhat coquettish style, sideways, and surmounted by a plume of three white feathers. Her beautiful hair hung in rich waving tresses over her shoulders; her face was kindling with pleasure at sight of her old friends; and her whole appearance was animated and glowing' (p. 63).
- 113 While Geraldine Jewsbury points out that Kavanagh is incorrect in relation to several issues concerning Lady Morgan's early life, she is generally enthusiastic about *English Women of Letters* as a whole. Her concluding paragraph reads: 'On the whole, this work of Miss Kavanagh's will be a pleasant contribution to the literature of the times; and in raising a shrine to the merits of some of the leading English women of literature, Miss Kavanagh has also associated her own name with theirs.' *The Athenaeum*, 1826, 25 October (1862), 528.
- 114 There has been some discrepancy over the exact year of Sydney Owenson's birth and bibliographical information speculates any time between 1776 and 1783. Mona Wilson (1924), *These Were Muses*, London, Sidgwick & Jackson, suggests 1783 (in Spender (1986), p. 303). One earlier twentieth-century biographer decided that she had been born in 1776, on grounds that this date 'is based on a process of elimination which left this as the only date conforming with all the facts'. See Lionel Stevenson (1936), *The Wild Irish Girl: The Life of Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan (1776–1859)* London, Chapman Hall. Dale Spender opts for Kavanagh's 1778 on the grounds that Kavanagh's date is more substantiated. Spender (1986), p. 303. More recent biographical information suggests 1776.
- 115 Mary Campbell (1988), *Lady Morgan: The Life and Times of Sydney Owenson*, London, Pandora Press, p. 17.
- 116 Campbell (1988) notes that '[Lady Morgan's] eyes always attracted comment, and so did the slightly crooked shoulder; in later life Lady Morgan attributed this to her habit of leaning on one side while writing or playing the harp' (p. 111).
- 117 John Wilson Croker was born in Galway in 1780. According to Mary Campbell, he was one of those Irishmen who, in his attempts to succeed, became more English than the English. Turning his back on his own country, he was a high Tory and his slashing attacks on Lady [Sydney Owenson] Morgan's novels were dictated by his Tory politics. See Campbell (1988), pp. 153–9.

Chapter 5

- 1 At the same time Foster and Mills draw attention to the fact that a considered 'female representation' could well have been strategic and could relate

- more to the fact that writers wanted to get published. Shirley Foster and Sara Mills, eds (2002), *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, p. 10.
- 2 Foster and Mills (2002) give several examples of travel writers who stress the significance of domestic considerations, including Harriet Martineau, who, they note, 'stressed that the kinds of experience accessible only to women are needed to complete knowledge of the foreign: "I am sure, I have seen much more domestic life than could possibly have been exhibited to any gentleman travelling through the country [North America]. The nursery, the boudoir, the kitchen, are all excellent schools in which to learn the morals and manners of a people."' Elizabeth Rigby also 'claims that the domesticity which is the supreme characteristic of English womanhood not only makes women good travellers (punctual practical, brave and independent) but also equips them for sharp observatin and attention to subjects that might otherwise pass disregarded' in Foster and Mills (2002), p.10. See also Harriet Martineau (1837) *Society in America*, 2 vols London, Saunders and Otley, vol. I, 8, xiv, and E. Rigby, 'Lady Travellers', *Quarterly Review*, LXXVI, No. CLI (1845).
 - 3 Foster and Mills (2002), pp. 9–10.
 - 4 After the Napoleonic era in 1816, the Bourbon king, Ferdinand IV of Naples, bestowed the name of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies on his domain of southern Italy and Sicily, after which he became known as Ferdinand 1 of the Two Sicilies. The Kingdom survived revolutions until 1860 when it became part of Italy.
 - 5 By 'female perspective' I am referring to the discourse of social and historical positioning, which is not to be confused with any notion of biological essentialism.
 - 6 Glenda Sluga, 'Gender and the Nation: Madame de Staël or Italy', in Barbara Caine, ed. 'La bella Libertà: Women and the Flight to Italy', *Women's Writing*, 10: 2 (2003), 241–51 (p. 241). See also Chloe Chard (1999), *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600–1830*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, particularly pp. 34–9.
 - 7 See above, Barbara Caine (2002). The essays in this special edition of this journal are dedicated to issues surrounding gender, liberty and nation in Italy.
 - 8 Ibid.
 - 9 Maria H Frawley (1994), *A Wider Range; Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England*, Cranberry, NJ, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Association of University Presses, Inc., p. 28.
 - 10 As no evidence has come to light to suggest that Kavanagh had returned to Ireland after the family removed to London in 1824, one can deduce that, other than France, it was England and English customs that had shaped her experience and I use the term 'English' in the cultural sense only.
 - 11 *The Athenaeum*, 1622, November (1858).

- 12 Perhaps one way of interpreting Kavanagh's 'clouded lens' today is to consider her approach to language. John Banville has noted a culturally idiomatic aspect of Irish English in so far as it is different from English English or American English. In a recent discussion about writing he commented on the fact that: 'an English writer will try to be clear. Orwell said that good prose should be like a pane of glass. The Irish writer would say: "No no, it's a lens, it distorts everything." You see, the odd thing is that the Irish language died in the 1840's but we still have that deep grammar inside us and it still dictates. The Irish language is an incredibly oblique language. It doesn't say things straightforwardly. Everything is expressed in a very oblique way.' *The Observer Review*, 17 September (2000), 15. Although Kavanagh spent most of her formative years in France, she would have spoken both French and English with her parents who, of course, were of Irish origin.
- 13 *Dublin Review*, 45, December (1858), 502–10.
- 14 'Lady Tourists in the Two Sicilies', *Dublin University Magazine*, 53, February (1859), 189.
- 15 Of the Neapolitans, Kavanagh notes, 'Their ready wit is proverbial. [. . .] Several of their witticisms have been repeated to me, but, to be understood, they require a profound knowledge of the Neapolitan dialect, which is essentially concise'. (II: 150).
- 16 Frawley (1994), p. 30.
- 17 Shirley Foster (1990), *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and Their Writings*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, p. 4.
- 18 For example see Sara Mills (1991), *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, London, Routledge. See also Mary Louise Pratt (1992), *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London, Routledge. See also Shirley Foster and Sara Mills, eds (2002).
- 19 Amongst its other attractions, Italy in the mid nineteenth century attracted visitors for health reasons. Famously, Elizabeth Barrett Browning set up home in Rome, and the Australian poet and painter Adelaide Ironside spent eleven years there, accompanied by her mother, before dying of consumption in 1867. See Ros Pesman, 'In Search of Professional Identity: Adelaide Ironside in Italy' in Caine (2003), p. 308.
- 20 Lady Sydney Morgan (1821), *Italy*, 3 vols, London; Mary Shelley (1844), *Rambles in Germany and Italy in 1840, 1842 and 1843*, 2 vols, London.
- 21 Marzio Barbagli (1991), 'Marraige and the Family in Italy in the Early Nineteenth Century' in John A. Davies and Paul Ginsborg, eds *Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 99.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- 23 Lady Anna Miller (1776), *Letters from Italy, Describing the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Paintings, &c of that Country, in the Years 1780 and*

- 1781, *to a Friend Residing in France, by an English Woman*, London, 3 vols, London, vol. II., p. 61, in Chard (1999), p. 92.
- 24 Jane Strachey to Richard Strachey, 2 May 1867, Strachey Papers, India Office Records, British Library, Mss Eur F127/126. in Caine (2003), p237 and 240n.
 - 25 Lady Morgan (1821), *Italy*, vol. 1, p. 91.
 - 26 Mary Shelley (1844), *Rambles*, p.77. Shelley was no doubt aware of the practice of the *cavalieri serventi*, or *cicisbei*, men who were the constant companions (and lovers) of married women. See Mirella Agorni (2002), *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester, St Jerome Publishing, p. 126.
 - 27 Thomas Watkins (1794), [1792] *Travels through Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, the Greek Islands to Constantinople; through Part of Greece, Ragusa, and the Dalmatian Isles*, Second Edition, 2 vols, London, vol. II, pp. 371–2, in Chard (1999), p. 92.
 - 28 Marriage in Italy had been the focus of earlier visitors to that country. As Agorni has noted, one of the earliest travel accounts to be published under the name of a woman in Britain in the eighteenth century was Hester Piozzi's *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey Through France, Italy and Germany*, published in 1789. Agorni (2002), pp. 111–41.
 - 29 Maura O'Connor, "Civilizing southern Italy": British and Italian Women and the Cultural Politics of European Nation Building' in Caine (2003), pp. 253–68.
 - 30 Ibid., See Chapter 1, letter from Kavanagh to Mrs W. S. Williams requesting funds for Garibaldi refugees.
 - 31 Lady Morgan (1821), *Italy*, vol. 1. pp. 196–7. See Foster (1990) for further discussion on Victorian women travellers' views on education and women in Italy, pp. 65–8. See also Agorni (2002), for discussion on Lady Morgan and the existence of an Italian tradition of female learning in Italy, pp. 125–30.
 - 32 Foster (1990), p. 62.
 - 33 *Paradise Lost*, IV.304–18.
 - 34 Charles Jervas (1675–1739), portrait painter. In 1710 he had painted Lady Montagu dressed as a shepherdess.
 - 35 Robert Halsband, ed. (1965), *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, vol. 1, 1708–1720, Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 313–14.
 - 36 It could be argued that Kavanagh's perspective of the Italian race as being free from 'vulgarity' is a disguised criticism of the artificial manners and affectations of those nations who consider themselves 'cultivated'. In her chapter on 'Hester Piozzi's Appropriation of the Image of Italy: Gender and the Nation', Agorni argues that 'A representation of Italy in sentimental terms appears particularly suited to a country whose inhabitants had been conventionally depicted by English writers and playwrights as carried away by their strong emotions. [. . .] They are in fact characterised [by Piozzi] as

less “affected” than the English, in a word, less “civilised”. It is extremely significant in this respect that one of the most important cultural practices considered to reflect the degree of civilization in a country is travel, which is best exemplified by the tradition of the Grand Tour. Piozzi counters the myth of the cultivated Englishman with that of the sincere Italian, who appears less culturally sophisticated but, accordingly, more in touch with nature’ (2002, p. 132).

37 Agorni (2002), p. 119.

38 Hester Lynch Piozzi (1789), *Observations and Reflections . . .*, in Chard (1999), pp. 41–2. The passage here is taken from a longer passage, which Chard cites in relation to Piozzi’s attempts to invest England with, amongst other considerations, the benefits of an Italian climate.

39 For a full discussion on women travelling alone see John Premble (1987), *Mediterranean Passion*, Oxford, Clarendon Press: ‘all females abroad without male escorts, whether travelling singly, in pairs, or in groups, were classified as “unprotected”, and the term carried strong connotations of eccentricity. The unprotected female was an aberration, who found her place in fiction as either a comic or a tragic deviation from the norm’ (pp. 77–8).

40 Martha Vicinus (1985), *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, p. 8, in Frawley (1994), p. 29.