



# Kent Academic Repository

**Dunn, Zoë Louise (2003) *The mid-Victorian professional woman of letters: Geraldine Endsor Jewsbury and the economics of the publishing and literary marketplace, 1840-1880*. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent.**

## Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/86282/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

## The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.86282>

## This document version

UNSPECIFIED

## DOI for this version

## Licence for this version

CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives)

## Additional information

This thesis has been digitised by EThOS, the British Library digitisation service, for purposes of preservation and dissemination. It was uploaded to KAR on 09 February 2021 in order to hold its content and record within University of Kent systems. It is available Open Access using a Creative Commons Attribution, Non-commercial, No Derivatives (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>) licence so that the thesis and its author, can benefit from opportunities for increased readership and citation. This was done in line with University of Kent policies (<https://www.kent.ac.uk/is/strategy/docs/Kent%20Open%20Access%20policy.pdf>). If y...

## Versions of research works

### Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

### Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in *Title of Journal*, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

## Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact [ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk). Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

**The Mid-Victorian Professional Woman of Letters:  
Geraldine Endorsor Jewsbury and the Economics of the  
Publishing and Literary Marketplace, 1840-1880.**

By Zoë Louise Dunn

University of Kent

A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of English

August 2003

I would like to acknowledge my gratitude towards The Alexander Turnbull University Library, New Zealand, for the loan of the Mantell Collection, which was invaluable to this thesis and also to all the staff in the Rare Books and Manuscripts rooms at the British Library and to Inter-Library Loans at the University of Kent. Thanks also go to the staff at the John Rylands University for their committed searches for material on Geraldine and Maria Jane Jewsbury.

I would also like to express my thanks to my parents and my boyfriend, Gaz, for their unfailing support during the years I was studying. They have not only provided me with essential financial assistance but have listened to my ideas and given me hot ribena as and when needed! They have shown much love and have been dedicated to helping me realise my ambition.

## Abstract

This thesis addresses the nature of female professionalism within the literary and publishing marketplace of mid-Victorian Britain, by examining Geraldine Jewsbury's career (1812-1880) as a publisher's reader, reviewer and circulating library novelist. I address the economics of women's writing, from detailed examination of Jewsbury's earnings (in comparison to Braddon, Oliphant and Craik) to discussion about the prejudice of women's literary professionalism. Written from a cultural-historical perspective, this thesis assesses Jewsbury's representations of: religious scepticism, love, passion, women's vocation, education and industrial reform. Examining not only her fiction, but also Jewsbury's numerous reader's reports, critical reviews and letters, I create a composite picture of the professional Mid-Victorian woman writer.

This thesis draws on a wide array of archival material, (British Library Bentley Manuscripts, Mantell Papers, Dolaucothi Collection, Bentley Manuscripts from California and Illinois Universities), a good number of which have previously remained outside Jewsbury scholarship. It examines Jewsbury's unique role as publisher's reader, and relates this to patterns of female literary professionalism. Jewsbury's first three novels, *Zoe* (1845), *The Half Sisters* (1848) and *Marian Withers* (1851), initiate a discussion within mid-Victorian fiction about the question of religious scepticism, women's vocation and the need for associative principles within industrial relations. I consider Jewsbury's contribution to literary criticism as an anonymous female in an established male field (as *Athenaeum* fiction reviewer) and explore her paradoxical ideology about the women reader and writer. This is mainly addressed through her contradictory conservative morality and appreciation of the popularity and commercial success of sensationalism in the 1860s.

The theoretical assumption behind this thesis is that an historical approach, backed up by archival research, will take us as long way to understanding Jewsbury's literary professionalism. As such, this thesis contributes to recent feminist criticism which recognises the need to relate women writers to the marketplace, perceiving their writing as containing divergent ideologies of the representations of female professionalism. Therefore the significance of Jewsbury's work and career is seen through its relevance to wider contemporary debates and its importance to furthering an understanding of Victorian literature, society and feminist criticism.

## Contents

Chronology of Jewsbury's Life and Career.	i
<b>Introduction</b>	
'I must sharpen my quill to write:' Geraldine Endors Jewsbury.	1
<b>Chapter One</b>	
The Victorian Publishing and Literary Marketplace, Women and Professionalism, 1840-1880.	9
<b>Chapter Two</b>	
Women, Writing and Professionalism: Composition, Publication and Reception of <i>Zoe</i> , 1845.	51
<b>Chapter Three</b>	
<i>Zoe</i> : Passion, Piety and the 1840s.	77
<b>Chapter Four</b>	
Occupation and Actresses in <i>The Half Sisters</i> : Prejudice Against Professional Women.	113
<b>Chapter Five</b>	
An Industrial Novel: <i>Marian Withers</i> 1851.	151
<b>Chapter Six</b>	
Entering the Critical Arena: Public and Private Professionalism.	189
<b>Chapter Seven</b>	
The Entrepreneurial Reader: Jewsbury, Reading and the Economics of the Publishing Market.	230
<b>Conclusion</b>	
'I was born to drive theories and rules to distraction:' The Paradox of Jewsbury.	261
<b>Appendix A:</b> <i>Table of relevant value of the pound 1850, 1860, 1870 Conversion and Average Living Costs.</i>	268
<b>Appendix B:</b> <i>Table of Comparative Literary Earnings.</i>	269
<b>Appendix C:</b> <i>A Sonnet by Geraldine Jewsbury.</i>	275
<b>Appendix D:</b> <i>A List of Jewsbury's Household Words Articles.</i>	276
<b>Appendix E:</b> <i>Index of Athenaeum Reviews.</i>	279
<b>Appendix F:</b> <i>Photographs of Jewsbury and Jane Carlyle.</i>	315
<b>Appendix G:</b> <i>Sketches from the Mantell Papers.</i>	319
<b>Manuscript Bibliography</b>	321
<b>Bibliography of Novels</b>	325
<b>Primary Bibliography</b>	328
<b>Secondary Bibliography</b>	342

## A Chronology of Geraldine Endors Jewsbury

- 1812 Born on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, the second child of four, in Measham, Derbyshire, to Thomas Jewsbury and Maria Smith.
- 1818 The Jewsbury family moves to No. 6 George Street, Manchester. Thomas becomes an Insurance agent after failing as a Cotton Manufacturer.
- 1819 Mrs Maria Jewsbury dies after her last son, Frank, is born. Maria Jane, the eldest sister, takes over as mother to Jewsbury and Frank.
- 1824-28 Jewsbury attends Miss Darby's Boarding School at Alder Mills, Tamworth. Spends summer of 1828 in Wales with Felicia Hemans and Dorothy Wordsworth.
- 1830 Jewsbury spends a year in London with Maria Jane studying French, Italian, drawing, in preparation for becoming a Governess.
- 1832 Maria Jane marries Reverend William Kew Fletcher (Chaplain to East India Company). Jewsbury looks after the household at 42 Grosvenor Street, Oxford Road. Henry Jewsbury marries.
- 1833 Maria Jane dies in Poona, India on 4<sup>th</sup> October.
- 1834 Meets Elizabeth Newton Paulet, shows an interest in Catholicism.
- 1839-40 Reads Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* and has growing years of scepticism. Thomas Jewsbury dies.
- 1840 Corresponds with Carlyle about doubt, faith and religion.
- 1841 Beginning of correspondence with Mrs Carlyle and starts to write *Zoe* with Paulet.
- 1843 Moves to 30 Carleton Terrace, Greenheys, and has a long visit with the Carlyles in Chelsea.
- 1844 Translates Giuseppe Mazzini's articles on Dante and Carlyle in the *British Foreign Review*.
- 1845 *Zoe* published. Meets the St Simonian, Charles Lambert.
- 1846 Publishes articles in *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*. Meets and befriends Charlotte Cushman.
- 1847 Carlyle visits Jewsbury in Manchester. Publishes more articles in *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*. Proposes unsuccessfully to Charles Lambert, French Socialist leader.
- 1848 *Half Sister* published. Visits Paris with Frank and Forster to see the Revolution and meets Emerson and Clough.
- 1849 Starts her career as a fiction reviewer in April in the *Athenaeum*.
- 1850 Publishes an article, 'Religious Faith and Scepticism,' in the *Westminster Review* and the first of 17 tales in *Household Words*. *Marian Withers* serialised in *Ladies Companions*. Moves with Frank to 2 Birchfield Terrace, Higher Ardwick.
- 1851 *Marian Withers* published in three volumes by Colburn.

- 1852 *The History of an Adopted Child* published.
- 1854 Frank Jewsbury marries, Jewsbury moves to 3 Oakley Street , Chelsea and befriends the Kingsleys.
- 1855 *Constance Herbert* published.  
*Angelo; or the pine Forest in the Alps* published.
- 1856 *The Sorrows of Gentility* published.  
Meets and falls in love with Walter Mantell.
- 1858 Jewsbury begins work as a publisher's reader for Bentley, after editing Lady Morgan's *Autobiography and Memoirs*.
- 1859 Mantell goes back to New Zealand, despite never seeing Jewsbury again, they continue a long friendship until her death.  
*Right and Wrong* published.  
Receives a legacy of £200 from Lady Morgan.
- 1860 Moves to 43 Markham Square.
- 1862 Jewsbury has part written, edited and helped Hepworth Dixon publish *Lady Morgan's Memories: An Autobiography, Diaries and Correspondence*.
- 1866 Jane Carlyle dies on 21<sup>st</sup> April.
- 1867 Starts a friendship with John Ruskin.
- 1871 Government refuses to give Jewsbury a civil pension despite supporters.
- 1872 Moves to Walnut Tree House, Sevenoaks, Kent.
- 1874 Granted a Civil Pension's List of £40 for services to literature.
- 1880 Moves to 3 Burwood Place, Edgware Road, Nursing Home.  
Dies on 23<sup>rd</sup> September of Cancer and is buried in Lady Morgan's Vault, Brompton Cemetery.

examine literary criteria, reading trends and the nature of criticism.<sup>5</sup> She wrote 2,300 anonymous reviews of fiction and children's literature, assessing major and minor writers, such as: Braddon, Broughton, Craik, Collins, Eliot, Gaskell, Gore, Kingsley, Le Fanu, Meredith, Oliphant, Ouida, Reade, Thackeray, Trollope, Wood and Yonge.<sup>6</sup> These skills, developed as a reviewer and novelist, were also useful in her unique role as publisher's reader for Richard Bentley, a prestigious position she held from 1858-80.<sup>7</sup> Altogether, she wrote 609 reports analysing the literary merit, profitability and potential popularity of 808 raw manuscripts.<sup>8</sup> Jewsbury's ability to understand and interpret the business and literary side of the publishing market was crucial to both roles as a reviewer and reader making her invaluable to Bentley and the *Athenaeum*. Her dedication, the inimitable 'scrape scraping' of her pen, highlights her industrious nature, evidenced by the fact her last report was written days before she died of cancer: 'and now I grieve to say I am too weak and too ill to read any more.'<sup>9</sup>

Jewsbury's substantial volume of regular reading contributed to her considerable written production over her thirty-five year career. Both her critical and creative

---

<sup>5</sup> Her first recorded review is of 'Margaret: A Tale of the Real and the Ideal', *Athenaeum*, 17<sup>th</sup> March 1849, p270-2. Chapple and Pollard identified this review as Gaskell's novel *Mary Barton* but it was a novel by Sylvester Judd. J.A Chapple & A. Pollard (Ed.) *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, M.U.P.1966, p76.

<sup>6</sup> Jewsbury reviewed travelogues, biographies, memoirs, children's novels, fiction and American and French Literature. There is discrepancy over the exact number of Jewsbury's reviews. Fahnestock's figure of 1600, quoted in 'Geraldine Jewsbury: The Power of the Publisher's Reader', *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, 28, (1973), p253 is seen by Fryckstedt as incorrect, as she attributes a further 7,000 reviews, see p13 n14 in *Geraldine Jewsbury's Athenaeum Reviews: A Mirror of Mid-Victorian Attitudes to Fiction*, Uppsala, 1986. The *Athenaeum* marked file puts the number at 2,300. (See Appendix E for complete list).

<sup>7</sup> Jewsbury negotiated with Bentley over the publication of Lady Morgan's *Passages from My Autobiography* in 1858/9 (which she had helped edit) and he then hired her as his reader. The reports are dated 8<sup>th</sup> February 1860 - 8<sup>th</sup> January 1875, British Library, BM 46, 656-60 and at University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign, MS L1-80. All further reference will be made to UIUC.

<sup>8</sup> Of the 609 reports there are a further 16 which are undated and do not include titles or names of authors or mss. For information on Jewsbury as a publisher's reader see: John Cordy Jeafferson, *A Book of Recollections*, 1894 Hurst and Blackett, Vol. 1, p313-15, Jeanne Fahnestock, 'Geraldine Jewsbury: The Power of the Publisher's Reader', *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, 28, (1973), p253-72, Jeanne Rosenmayer, (nee Fahnestock) 'Geraldine Jewsbury: Novelist and Publisher's reader,' Ph.D. University of London, 1970, Karen M.Carney, 'The Publishers Reader as Feminist: The Career of Geraldine Endors Jewsbury', *Victorian Periodical Review*, 29, (1996), p146-158.

<sup>9</sup> J.A Froude (Ed.), *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Longman's Green & Co. vol. 3, 1883, p83 and UIUC, Bentley Papers, September 9<sup>th</sup> 1880.



literary outputs attributed to her unusual position as a developing, professional Victorian woman employed within the male dominant literary and publishing markets. Born in Measham in 1812, Jewsbury's family moved to Manchester after the failure of her father's business.<sup>10</sup> After the death of her mother, in 1819, their eldest sister, Maria Jane, cared for Jewsbury and her youngest brother Frank.<sup>11</sup> Maria was significant as a mother figure and as Jewsbury's intellectual, religious and literary influence. Maria was an established author and poet from 1825 and reviewed for the *Athenaeum* in the 1830s.<sup>12</sup> Her Calvinism profoundly affected Jewsbury during her adolescence when she experienced religious doubts and questionings.<sup>13</sup> The untimely death of Maria, a year after her marriage in India, devastated Jewsbury and contributed to her spiritual 'darkness' and crisis of faith, which haunted her until the 1840s, when she met and corresponded with the Carlyles.<sup>14</sup> Despite Jewsbury's passionate nature, evident in letters to the Carlyles and Walter Mantell (1820-95), the red-haired woman, 'full of inconsistency,' successfully combined her literary talents with a business understanding of the market.<sup>15</sup>

Jewsbury's letters are invaluable for the insight they give into her position in the market, the skills needed as a reviewer and reader and her professional relationships with editors, authors and publishers. They also explore her ideas and theories about men and women's roles, marriage, love, passion, religion and vocation: themes central to her novels and critical writing. Jewsbury loved to communicate but would

---

<sup>10</sup> See Susan Howe, *Geraldine Jewsbury Her Life and Errors*, Unwin, 1935.

<sup>11</sup> Monica Correa Fryckstedt, 'The Hidden Rill: The Life and Career of Maria Jane Jewsbury: I and II,' (1984), *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 66, (1984) p177-203, and 67, (1984) p450-73.

<sup>12</sup> *Phantamagoria; or, Sketches of Life and Literature*, Hurst & Co., 1825, *Letters to the Young*, London, 1828, *Lays of Leisure Hours*, J Hatchard & Son, 1829, *The Three Histories: Being the History of an Enthusiast, the History of a Nonchalant, the History of a Realist*, Perkins & Marvin, 1831. See *Athenaeum* 1830-1 for her 60 reviews.

<sup>13</sup> Consult Chapter Three and Harriet Devin Jump, 'My Dearest Geraldine: Maria Jane Jewsbury's Letters,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81, (1999), p63-72.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter Two.

<sup>15</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p325. Also see Appendix F for photographs of Jewsbury.

often complain about the length of time letter writing took. In essence she preferred talking but had to settle for writing even though she believed that ‘five minutes speech is worth a ream of Bathy-post paper crossed.’<sup>16</sup> The five hundred letters between Jewsbury and Walter Mantell<sup>17</sup> and equally voluminous correspondence with Jane Carlyle, depict this desire to communicate. They explore and document public concerns relevant to debates of the nineteenth century, focusing upon religious doubt, the political and colonial concerns of New Zealand and relations with Britain and the role of women and marriage, as well as personal thoughts about love, passion and friendship. Jewsbury had an unshakeable belief in the strength of friendship, claiming ‘I cannot explain to you the superstitious value I set on those I love, and the sort of religious feeling with which I try to guard every word or thought which might raise a shade between us.’<sup>18</sup> Her letters are therefore vital in giving topical insight into the societal and private conventions of Victorian people over five decades and become central to any understanding of Jewsbury as a Victorian woman and professional.<sup>19</sup>

This thesis contributes to the existing work of feminist criticism, which has renewed interest in overlooked Victorian women writers such as Jewsbury, through its detailed and archival research into her life and career.<sup>20</sup> Jewsbury scholarship has helped raise awareness of Jewsbury’s multifarious work as author, reader and reviewer who deserves critical attention for her novels and commentary upon literary criticism. It was Ireland’s publication of Jewsbury’s letters to Jane Carlyle (1892) which prompted

---

<sup>16</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p71.

<sup>17</sup> Walter Mantell, New Zealand Politician and geologist, met Jewsbury through the Carlyles. They corresponded in England and when he moved back to NZ in 1857. Despite Jewsbury proposing and being rejected, they remained close friends for twenty-five years.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p10-11.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix G for examples of Mantell’s letters to Jewsbury.

<sup>20</sup> This feminist criticism was initiated by Showalter and Vicinus and developed by Cvetkovich, Millett and Harman. See Emma Liggins & Daniel Duffy, *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts: Divergent Femininities*, Ashgate, 2001.

feminist research into the nature of female friendship and writing.<sup>21</sup> Jewsbury's relationship with Jane Carlyle and Maria Jane has been documented in Norma Clarke's *Ambitious Heights: Writing, Friendship, Love: The Jewsbury Sisters, Felicia Hemans and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, (1990), which concentrates upon Felicia Hemans and Maria Jane, but also contrasts the Jewsbury sisters' relationships with Wordsworth and Carlyle.<sup>22</sup> Clarke's research raises important links about women writers and female friendship in the Mid-Victorian era, but overlooks many aspects of Jewsbury's career.

There was a resurgence of feminist criticism into Jewsbury's work in the 1980s and 1990s, focusing upon *Zoe* and *The Half Sisters*; both reprinted by Virago (1989) and World Classics (1994).<sup>23</sup> However, this scholarship has limited and hindered a full appreciation of many aspects of Jewsbury's work and career through its concentration upon issues surrounding the woman question. As a result, research into other equally important social and cultural aspects of the mid-century, reflected through the impact of Jewsbury's novels and public and anonymous critical writing, has been excluded. Previous scholarship concentrated upon Jewsbury's connection with the Froude-

---

<sup>21</sup> For detail regarding Jane and Jewsbury consult: Mrs. Alexander Ireland, *A Selection of the Letters of Geraldine Endsor Jewsbury to Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Longman's Green & Co., 1892, Virginia Woolf, 'Geraldine and Jane', *Collected Essays, the Common Reader*, Hogarth Press, London, vol. 4, 1967, M. Cruikshank, 'Geraldine Jewsbury and Jane Carlyle', *Frontiers*, 4 (1979), p60-64, Norma Clarke, *Ambitious Heights: Writing, Friendship, Love – the Jewsbury Sisters, Felicia Hemans, and Jane Carlyle*, Routledge, 1990, Mary B. Werner, *The Literary Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Ph.D, University of Northern-Illinois, 1996.

<sup>22</sup> Susan M Levin, 'Romantic Prose and Feminine Romanticism,' *Prose Studies*, 10, (1887), p181-195.

<sup>23</sup> The most recent article being Mary Werner & Kenneth Womack, 'Forbidden Love and Victorian Restraint in Geraldine Jewsbury's *Zoe*', *Cahiers Victoriens and Edouradiens*, 46, (1997). Also see Joanne Wilkes, Introduction, *The Half Sisters*, Oxford World's Classic, repr.1994, Kaye Heidi Alyssa, *Split Female Self and Social Change as Represented in some novels of Catherine Gore, Geraldine Jewsbury and Mary Braddon*, D.Phil, 1992, Jackie Wall, *Duty and Desire: Reflections of Victorian Womanhood through the Character and Career of Geraldine Endsor Jewsbury, 1812-1880*, MA, York University 1988, Monica Cornea Fryckstedt, 'New Sources on Geraldine Jewsbury and the Woman's Question', *Research Studies*, June, 51, (1983), p51-63, Susan Betina Lehmbeck, *Studies in Geraldine Jewsbury's Fiction with Particular Reference to the Women's Question*, 1988 M.Litt, Edinburgh, Cary Meredith 'Geraldine Jewsbury and the Woman's Question', *Research Studies*, 42, (1974), p201-14.

Carlyle controversy and her relationship with the Carlyles,<sup>24</sup> (resulting in spurious claims of sexual relations with Jane Carlyle).<sup>25</sup> Consequently, this thesis presents Jewsbury as a developing professional woman involved in all aspects of public and private writing as author, critic and advisor. It emphasises Jewsbury's position as a popular and talented author in her own right. Detailed knowledge about Jewsbury's creative and critical literary roles exposes the importance of researching women's involvement in the mid-Victorian market, at a time that preceded 'new woman,' feminist, suffragette and suffragist movements. As such, Jewsbury's life and career has been used in this thesis as a model for feminist critical reassessment of Victorian women writers' contributions to literary history.

This thesis highlights the significance and importance of Jewsbury's work and position from 1840-80. Divided into seven chapters, it examines individual aspects of her career in relation to the economics of the mid-nineteenth century publishing and literary markets. As such, it is historically and contextually critical, assessing Jewsbury's role as a developing professional woman in line with the context of her time.<sup>26</sup> The first chapter examines economic effects upon the marketplace and women's contributions, as well as the perception of the female professional and the nature of prejudice against female wage earning, illustrated by Jewsbury's finances. Chapter Two argues that the perception and critical reception of Jewsbury's first novel, *Zoe*, its evolution as a joint female production, and her work for Dickens and

---

<sup>24</sup> See Leonard Huxley, *Jane Welsh Carlyle Letters to her Family, 1839-1863*, John Murray, London, 1924, J.A Froude, *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Green & Co., 3vols., 1883, Henry Larkin, 'Carlyle and Mrs. Carlyle: A ten Year Reminiscence', *British Quarterly Review*, July, (1881), p28-84, Margaret Oliphant, 'Mrs Carlyle', *Contemporary Review*, 43, (1883), p609-29.

<sup>25</sup> Lilian Faderman's assessment of Jewsbury's lesbian affair with Jane Carlyle is based upon Jewsbury's passionate letters and Jane's complaint that Jewsbury acts like a "jealous lover." However, any detailed assessment of Jewsbury's letters to both female and male friends, highlights the uniformity of her passionate language and claims of love towards the recipient, which is more sensibly interpreted as part of her affectionate personality. See *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendships and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present*, London, 1982.

Jerrold, established and developed her persona as a professional writer. The following chapters (Three, Four and Five) assess Jewsbury's role as a professional novelist re-addressing the imbalance of critical attention, arguing for each novel's significance and centrality to the study of Victorian literary history. Jewsbury's novels relate to valuable cultural and literary topics about women's vocation, religious scepticism, the questioning of doctrine and dissent and the assessment of industrial relations through associative reform. *Zoe* is the first novel to discuss religious scepticism and doubt and *The Half Sisters* employs themes about female vocation which came to dominate women's novels from 1848. *Marian Withers* is examined as a transitional novel in the genre of industrial fiction, as part of the novel's development from protest and conflict to reform, through Jewsbury's discussion of association and co-operation through education, themes which pre-empted *Hard Times* (1854) and *North and South* (1855).

Chapter Six and Seven focus upon Jewsbury's roles as reviewer and reader examining her skills, experience and knowledge of the marketplace. Her place within Victorian literary reviewing culture gives a female perspective on the importance of anonymity, gender and economics in the publishing market. Her children's literary reviews of the 1870s (a significant and growing area of Victorian cultural criticism) further highlight her understanding of the market. A wealth of knowledge about the assessment of literature, literary styles and trends of the 1850s-1880s, is also highlighted through Jewsbury's role as Bentley's reader. Her incisive, witty and detailed reports reflect the nature of mid-Victorian reading and publishing markets giving crucial insight into the composition, assessment and publication of literature and her economic understanding of the business of books.

---

<sup>26</sup> The term professional was used in the 1840s to depict one who followed an occupation, as a skilled worker and therefore employs the same meaning here.

In conclusion, the significance of Jewsbury's position as a career woman, a developing professional in both the literary and publishing markets is explored through the context of her day. Combined with detailed analysis of her letters, this thesis also addresses a remarkable Victorian character, through highlighting Jewsbury's inconsistent and often paradoxical comments and beliefs. Jewsbury was a deeply intelligent and caring woman who enjoyed questioning and exploring convention: 'Does one get wise as time passes on, or it is only that one's old folly goes out of fashion and looks as unbecoming as an antiquated ball-dress?'<sup>27</sup> This study assesses the interdisciplinary nature of Jewsbury's work as female author, reviewer and publisher's reader at a crucial time for women's activity in the market. It also assesses the changing nature of the literary and publishing marketplace which Jewsbury (and other professional women), contributed to and challenged during 1840-80.

---

<sup>27</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p138.

## Chapter One

### The Victorian Publishing and Literary Marketplace, Women and Professionalism 1840-80

Since the turn of the nineteenth century London had been heralded as the business capital of the publishing market and from the 1850s onwards it was considered ‘practically the only publishing city in the world.’<sup>1</sup> During the forty years of Jewsbury’s literary career the publishing marketplace underwent transformations that were concurrent with the rise of the novel as the most popular literary genre.<sup>2</sup> There were new approaches to advertising and selling through circulating libraries and serialisation; supply and demand led the way in marketing, and there was an increase in cross-class and gender readership along with a desire for new and entertaining reading material, initiated by serialised sensation fiction.<sup>3</sup> The birth of a new structure of reading levels, including penny dreadfuls and circulating library novels, which were accessible and affordable, was a direct result of ‘new commercial conditions’ causing the ‘beginnings of a split between popular and civilised taste in fiction.’<sup>4</sup>

The significance in the rise of novelists and their developing professionalism, shaped the publishing market from an elitist booksellers club to a thriving, competitive, capitalist industry of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Developments in literacy rates almost

---

<sup>1</sup> *Publisher’s Circular*, 17<sup>th</sup> January 1868, p4.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent detailed account of the industry, see Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market*, Continuum, 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Braddon’s sensation novels of the 1860s are examples of texts read across socio-economic groups, in three-volume format or serials in penny magazines. See Jeniffer Carnell, *Literary Lives of Mary Elizabeth Braddon. A Study of her Life and Work*, Sensation Press, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> Q.D.Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public*, Chatto and Windus, 1968, p158.

<sup>5</sup> See Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (eds.), *Economics of the British Booktrade 1605-1939*, Chadwyck- Healey Cambridge, 1985, John Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, Croom Helm,

doubled during 1840-80, making publishers aware of needing to capitalise upon the increased market through accessibility.<sup>6</sup> Literature also reflected these changes, as writing became more lucrative and professional with authors shifting from ‘forms that economically exhibited the literary excellence appreciated by cultivated patrons to forms that excited voracious young readers.’<sup>7</sup> The 1850s are therefore seen as the turning point in the rise of literacy and mass reading public, with increasing numbers of female professional readers and writers in the field.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to examine changes to the publishing market during 1840-80, as contributory factors to the development of Jewsbury’s skills as a professional woman. Furthermore, it is necessary to assess Jewsbury’s understanding of the market, through analysis of her earnings and appreciation of the business and economics of reading and writing, in order to gauge her position within the profession.

The effects of capitalism through circulating libraries, serialisation, increased readership and consumer demand, both altered and strengthened the industry, reshaping the market from ‘production-orientated,’ with an emphasis on long-term

---

1988 and James Raven, *Judging New Wealth Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England 1750-1800*, Clarendon, O.U.P, 1992.

<sup>6</sup> See Robert Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales*, C.U.P., 2000 and David F Mitch, *The Rise of Literacy in Victorian England: The Influence of Private Choice and Public Policy*, University of Pennsylvania, 1992. Literacy statistics for England and Wales are obtained from Richard D. Altick, *The Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*, Pheonix Books, Chicago Press, 1957, p171:

	% of literates	
	Males	Females
1841	67.3	51.1
1851	69.3	54.8
1861	75.4	65.3
1871	80.6	73.2
1881	86.5	82.3
1891	93.6	92.7

<sup>7</sup>Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of publishing 1800-1850*, John Hopkins University Press, 1996, p4.

<sup>8</sup> As noted, I am using the term ‘professional’ in the context of a talented person developing skills within the field. Victorian women’s professionalism has been studied by Monica F. Cohen who explores how novels cast the Victorian conception of female morality into the vocabulary of nineteenth century professionalism by tracing the way in which women sought identity and privilege within a professional culture. Her study focuses upon the canonical women writers: Austen, Charlotte Brontë,



profit and high culture, into a more ‘consumer-orientated’ industry, where short-term profit and mass appeal dictated.<sup>9</sup> This transition was partly caused by the inherent development of capitalism and awareness of market competition, where a ‘petty-commodity’ literary mode of production was replaced by a more ‘capitalist literary’ form, with significant implications for the nature of the industry as a growing business.<sup>10</sup> It will be shown that Jewsbury understood these changes to the market, where capitalism and competition affected both authors and readers of novels. Furthermore, through her work as a publisher’s reader and reviewer, Jewsbury also appreciated the role economics played in the publication of novels.

During the period, changes to the economics of the publishing market and to the ‘economics of literary form’ were mainly due to technological advances. The invention of stereotyping and Fourdrinier papermaking machinery led to the development of the power press and consequently to increasingly affordable and accessible reading material.<sup>11</sup> These changes were also directly linked to the growth of industrialisation, as cloth manufacturing boomed the raw material for paper

---

Eliot, Gaskell, Oliphant. See, *Professional Domesticity in the Victorian Novel, Women Work and Home*, C.U.P. 1998.

<sup>9</sup> For discussion of these terms see Gaye Tuchman, ‘When the Prevalent Don’t Prevail: Male Hegemony and the Victorian Novel,’ in Walter W. Powell and Richard Robbins (Eds.), *Conflict and Consensus A Festschrift in Honour of Lewis A. Coser*, Macmillan, 1984, p144. Braddon’s *John Marchmont’s Legacy* (1863) was produced to sate the readers’ demands for ‘highly spiced fiction’, and to sell copies, as a consumer-orientated text; whereas Newman’s *Nemesis of the Faith*, 1840, was published in a more production-orientated manner with an emphasis upon longer term readership.

<sup>10</sup> Norman N. Feltes, *Literary Capital and the Late Victorian Novel*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1993, pxi. Feltes re-examines Victorian publishing in 1880s and 1890s redefining a process of literary capital, and how changes to the publishing market had implications upon the novels produced. His Marxist structuralist interpretation asserts that as the idea of books as a business became increasingly widespread the gap between author and publisher widened (leading to literary agents as mediators and with a greater emphasis upon reviews). Also see Byerley Thomas, *The Choice of the Profession: A Concise Account and Comparative Review of the English Profession*, Champan and Hall, 1857.

<sup>11</sup> The term economics of literary form is derived from Lee Erickson. Also see D.C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860 A Study in Industrial Growth*, Claredon, 1958.

lowered.<sup>12</sup> Carlyle had first observed that industrialisation had affected the publishing and literary marketplace in *Signs of the Times* (1829), so much so that ‘books are not only printed, but in great measure, written and sold, by machinery.’<sup>13</sup> When incomes rose during the 1850s, periodicals and serialised novels remained constant in price and therefore became more affordable, as a ‘readily marketable literary commodity.’<sup>14</sup> Overall, Erickson has stated that these technological developments had lowered book prices in half by the 1850s.<sup>15</sup>

Disputes within the trade between booksellers, publishers and undersellers occurred during the 1850s with emphasis placed upon the Bookseller’s Question and the Retail Question.<sup>16</sup> These debates altered restrictions over cost of novels and the need for increased competition enhancing a more unfettered market.<sup>17</sup> The Association of London Booksellers had governed regulations regarding discounts and underselling within the trade since 1829 but were considered restrictive to the free trade philosophy of the 1850s. 1852 signalled Lord Campbell’s judgement that the Association was oppressive to healthy competition with booksellers’ ‘rejoicing in the protection of an exorbitant fixed duty.’<sup>18</sup> Chapman also supported undercutting as part

---

<sup>12</sup> The cost of paper rose again during the American Civil War, leading to research into other methods of paper production, such as esparto grass and wood pulp, which cut publishers’ dependence to the textile trade, Erickson, p171.

<sup>13</sup> H.D Traill (Ed), *The Collected Works of Thomas Carlyle*, vol. 27, Chapman & Hall, 1896-99, p62.

<sup>14</sup> Erickson, p7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p170.

<sup>16</sup> See ‘The Opinions of Certain Authors on the Bookselling Question,’ 1852, in *Tracts 1834-54*, p1-71, James J. Barnes, *Free Trade in Books: A study of the London Book Trade since 1800* Clarendon Oxford, 1964 and G.R Searle, *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain*, O.U.P, 1998.

<sup>17</sup> Dispute over the price of books arose after James Lackington issued cheap editions in 1774. James Bigg, *The Bookselling System, Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Campbell respecting the late Enquiry into the Regulations of the Booksellers’ Association, more particular in reference to the causes which led to its dissolution, the charges against the retail booksellers by which that dissolution was effected and the consequences to Authors likely to result from unrestricted Competition in the sale of New Works*, Bigg and Sons, 1852.

<sup>18</sup> ‘The Decision of Lord Campbell, 19<sup>th</sup> May 1852,’ *The Times*, 20<sup>th</sup> May, (1852), p7.

of the ongoing disagreement over maximum and minimum retail prices, arguing that advertising and paper tax added to the ‘absurdly high price’ that restricts books to ‘the drawing-room of the rich.’<sup>19</sup> He demanded a competitive system whereby books were more accessible for the growing literate populace. However, despite the existence of underselling it was not until the late 1890s that uniformity within retail prices was resolved through the Net Book Agreements.<sup>20</sup> However, these debates signify the heightened sense of competition of the 1850s that drove the industry towards a commercial orientation.<sup>21</sup>

Although the public benefited from reduction in book prices with 6s reprints costing 4s.6d,<sup>22</sup> circulating libraries received scorn for maintaining high prices: ‘Mudie paid the piper, and on behalf of his large clientele he called the tune.’<sup>23</sup> Jewsbury criticised novels that paid ‘the penalty of the inexorable law of *three* volumes,’ but this format continued till 1894: the time of Mudie’s decline.<sup>24</sup> This year symbolised the demise of two mid-Victorian institutions, which made the 1840-80s an interesting time that established relations between authors, booksellers, publishers and readers, and also paved the way for experimental forms of publication.<sup>25</sup>

As well as debates over book prices, the industry was influenced by Charles Edward Mudie’s circulating libraries. Griest’s research into the Leviathan institution, *Mudie’s Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (1970) highlights Mudie’s effect upon

---

<sup>19</sup> John Champan, *Cheap Books, and How to Get Them; Being a Reprint, from the Westminster Review of April, 1852, of the Article on ‘The Commerce of Literature,’* 1852, p8 and p19-20.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Joy, *The Bookselling Business*, Pitman Publishing, 1974, p21-8 and Frederick Macmillan, *The Net Book Agreement 1899 and the Book War, 1906-1908*, Glasgow, 1924.

<sup>21</sup> Catherine Seville, *Literary Copyright Reform in Early Victorian England. The Framing of the 1842 study Copyright Act* C.U.P, 1999.

<sup>22</sup> A 3d book was reduced to 2s.3d, a 6d paper bound volume down to 4 ½d, Altick, p305.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, p298.

<sup>24</sup> *Athenaem* 21st August 1858, p231.

<sup>25</sup> Mudie suffered after the three-decker’s decline in 1894 despite remaining in business till 1937.

the market and cultural tastes.<sup>26</sup> The cheap one guinea fee<sup>27</sup> and emphasis upon ‘selecting’ moral literature, that protected readers from the ‘lower floods of literature,’ contributed to his success as the largest circulating library of the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> On average, subscribers could read twenty-six novels for their annual fee: the equivalent of buying one three-decker novel. As Lee notes, readers were primarily concerned with the ability to derive pleasure from rereading a novel they had purchased due to its expense, whereas the introduction of cheap reprints and serialisation meant that readers looked towards a more immediate pleasure. This ‘marginal utility’ meant that novels were not expected to sell widely to the public, but remained highly priced for circulating libraries. This in turn kept the price of novels high, with libraries having to buy the most popular and successful novels in order to compete in the market.<sup>29</sup>

Mudie’s ‘monopoly’ had tremendous influence upon the fiction industry from the 1850s to the end of the century.<sup>30</sup> Increasing his intake of volumes by 100,000 per annum, (half being novels), affected other libraries; if Mudie took ‘fifty six copies, the smaller libraries took their thirteens, and novels soon paid both publishers and authors.’<sup>31</sup> Authors were successful if Mudie accepted their novel; Oliphant described his patronage of *Passages in the Life of Mrs Margaret Maitland* (1849), as ‘a sort of

---

<sup>26</sup> See Guinevere L. Griest *Mudie’s Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel*, Indiana University Press, 1970, Royal A. Gettman *A Victorian Publisher A Study of the Bentley Papers*, CUP, 1960, John Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction, Writers, Publishers and Readers*, Macmillan 1995 Lewis Charles Roberts, *Regulating the Floods of Literature: Literate and Material Practices in Valuing the Victorian Novel*, PhD, Indiana University, 1999.

<sup>27</sup> This was in comparison to Bulls, Sanders & Otley and Churton’s 4-8 guineas p.a. Griest, p17.

<sup>28</sup> C.E Mudie, ‘Mr Mudie’s Library, *Athenaeum*, October 6<sup>th</sup> 1860, p451.

<sup>29</sup> The war with France also kept borrowing novels more fashionable and affordable than purchasing them. Erickson, p145.

<sup>30</sup> David Finkelstein’s research highlights the effects of competition from W.H. Smith & Son and the Library Company Limited during 1860-2 resulting in more aggressive competition, see ‘The Secret: British Publishing and Mudie’s Struggle for Economic Survival 1861-64,’ *Publishing History*, 34, (1993), p23.

<sup>31</sup> Hain Friswell, ‘Circulating Libraries. Their Contents and their Readers,’ *London Society*, 21, (1871), p520-22.

recognition from Heaven.’<sup>32</sup> However, H. L. Mansel, of the *Quarterly Review* in 1863, blamed Mudie for being a ‘hot-bed for forcing a crop of writers without talent and readers without discrimination.’<sup>33</sup> Despite this disapproval, Mudie was partly accountable for 60,000 readers in 1872.<sup>34</sup>

### Serialisation and the Market

Despite the serious depression of the 1870s, the period 1850-80 was overall, one of economic progress, with family income increasing by 70-80% in real terms. The number of families with incomes over £150 tripled from 1850-80 with the lower middle classes seeing a rise from £90 p.a. in 1851 to that of £110, thirty years later.<sup>35</sup> Increased income; emphasis on leisure; competitive prices and choice within literature, led to more consumers. Serialisation expanded this market for affordable, entertaining literature, revived by Dickens’ *Pickwick Papers* (1836).<sup>36</sup> *Pickwick* represents one of the first novels produced as a direct response to an external demand, controlled by publisher and author, developed later by sensation fiction in the 1860s. The production of this ‘commodity text’ marked a transition within publishing from a ‘petty commodity production of books to the capitalist production of texts.’<sup>37</sup> Feltes examines the dichotomy of the commodity text of the 1850s onwards, which vied for attention with the petty-commodity high priced three-decker.

---

<sup>32</sup> F.A. Walbank, *Queens of the Circulating Library: Selections from Victorian Lady Novelists 1850-1900*, Evans Brothers, 1950, p85.

<sup>33</sup> Henry L. Mansel, ‘Sensation Novels,’ *Quarterly Review*, 113, (1863), p484.

<sup>34</sup> *Spectator*, November 30<sup>th</sup> (1872), p1518. This does not account for sharing copies of books.

<sup>35</sup> Altick, p306 and Francois Crouzet, (transl: A.S. Forster), *The Victorian Economy*, Meuthen & Co., 1892, p40.

<sup>36</sup> *Pickwick* sold 40,000 copies by its fifteenth edition, ‘Pickwick Papers and the development of the serial,’ in Robert L Pattern, *Charles Dickens and his Publishers*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1978 p45-74.

<sup>37</sup> Nigel. N. Feltes, *Modes of Production of Victorian Novels*, University of Chicago Press, 1986, p3. This book draws upon Marxist analysis to explain the historical production of five key Victorian texts, highlight the transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist modes of publishing/producing texts, useful for re-assessing the economics of the marketplace.

The marginalisation of poetry from the 1830s onwards gave rise to serialisation, which peaked during the fifties, with popular journals *All the Year Round* and *The Cornhill* reaching an average circulation of 100,000. Jewsbury was aware of the economic changes to the publishing market which had been affected by the serial, and warned Bertha Johnes, ‘only please remember you must send me a prose article - poetry is I fear not paid for.’<sup>38</sup> The *Publisher’s Circular* for May 1864 recorded the increased readership of periodicals as doubling and tripling circulation of the 1830s.<sup>39</sup> By the 1860s it was a secured demand; ‘if anything nowadays can be considered proved, it is that readers will not only follow a thread of fiction week after week for many months, but demand it as an indispensable feature of their weekly literary entertainment.’<sup>40</sup>

The dominance of women readers and writers in the literary marketplace has been partially attributed to the importance of serial publication.<sup>41</sup> Despite male fiscal authority, Hughes and Lund state that women’s prevalence coincided with the development of the serial.<sup>42</sup> In particular, Hughes identifies a feminine correlation to serial readers and writers termed ‘connected knowing;’ a mode of publication through which women writers connected to their audience.<sup>43</sup> Braddon compared her ability for serial writing with ‘opponent,’ Wilkie Collins. When *Sir Jasper’s Tenant* (1865) competed with *Armadale* (1866) she thought he misunderstood the female readers’

---

<sup>38</sup>DC, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1869, 7093. Carlyle had also recommended prose over poetry to writers, including Jewsbury. Perhaps this is the reason why she only published one poem, see Appendix C.

<sup>39</sup> *Publisher’s Circular* 16<sup>th</sup> May 1864, p268-9.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, August 1<sup>st</sup> 1860, p395.

<sup>41</sup> Linda K. Hughes and Michael Lund, *The Victorian Serial*, University of Virginia Press, 1991, Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (eds.), *Serials and Their Readers, 1620-1914*, Oak Knoll Press, Delaware, 1993.

<sup>42</sup> Hughes and Lund, ‘Textual/sexual Pleasure and Serial Publication’, in John Jordan & Robert Patten, (eds.), *Literature in the Market Place, Nineteenth Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, C.U.P, p145, p150, 1995.

<sup>43</sup> It is also possible that male writers (such as Dickens) were affected by this ‘connected knowing.’

demands. He was on the ‘wrong track...three numbers and no female interest - surely a mistake so far as Mr Mudie’s constituency is concerned.’<sup>44</sup> Alongside the incredible success of serial writing came the consequential decline in purchasing novels from booksellers, which led to trade conflicts over cost and circulation:

The popular periodical is published to be sold to readers – the three-volume novel to be let out on hire by circulating libraries. The difference is enormous: the periodical sells its tens – sometimes its hundreds of thousands - the three-volume novel its hundreds, occasionally its thousands <sup>45</sup>

The industry grew increasingly aware during the 1850s and 60s of the reader’s desires, understanding the need to ‘create a demand for the thing’ knowing that ‘if the public really want it,’ they were ‘willing to pay for it.’<sup>46</sup> Economics began to dictate the publisher’s choice of literary form, with the decline of poetry and the rise of periodical literature. Jewsbury was increasingly aware of market forces, and was always cautious when recommending serials for Bentley. In 1871, she claimed that one novel should not be saved for serialisation, because it did not have the ‘minute inspection’ of detail that would make ‘it pay.’<sup>47</sup> Publishers believed readers gained more variety from periodicals than from one book and compared the three-volume novel, at 31s. 6d, to the disposable income of 8s a week for a magazine or 6-8p a week spent at a circulating library. Therefore, disputes between publishers and booksellers shaped the period of 1840–1880, through raising competition, market choice and accessibility and in meeting growing reader demand. Therefore, from the 1850s onwards, the market evolved into a consumer-led competitive industry where capitalism and morality became frictional adversaries. These changes were important

---

<sup>44</sup> Robert Lee Woolf, ‘Devoted Disciple: The Letters of Mary Elizabeth Braddon to Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 1862-1873,’ *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 22, (1974), p31.

<sup>45</sup> *Publisher’s Circular*, May 1<sup>st</sup> 1863, p212.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, February 15<sup>th</sup> 1867, p90.

<sup>47</sup> UIUC, L6, November 16<sup>th</sup> 1871.

in relation to Jewsbury, who had to select and assess the profitability of books for the growing female market.

**'Money making is in all classes of society just now.'<sup>48</sup> Mid-Victorian Capitalism: An Overview**

It is necessary to consider the importance of capitalism in relation to the economics of the publishing industry in order to comprehend the changing nature of the market and Jewsbury's business response. Thackeray used the term 'capitalism' in *The Newcomes* (1854), but it was most frequently employed from the 1860s onwards.<sup>49</sup> Along with the expansion of banking in the 1860s and 70s, where credit superseded saving as a form of accruing capital, economic growth was fed by competitive, private, enterprise, where it was good to buy cheap and sell high.<sup>50</sup> Such entrepreneurial spirit was reflected on a larger scale through investment in companies in manufacturing and with obvious and immense transformations incurred through the industrial revolution. A sense of prosperity and greatness was therefore heightened by a constant observation of economic trends like that of the Cotton manufacturing boom of the 1850s.<sup>51</sup> This was also a topic explored by industrial novels in the 1850s, with Thornton's loss of capital in *North and South* (1855) and the representation of the perils of joint-stock companies in *Marian Withers* (1851).

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., MSS, L22a.

<sup>49</sup> William. M. Thackeray, *Newcomes*, 'the sense of capitalism sobered and dignified Paul de Florac,' 1854, ii, p75. Colonel Newcomes' financial disaster with his investment in the aptly named Blundersbank, represents a failure to understand capitalism. The word capitalist was first identified in 1792: describing one who accumulates capital for employment/enterprise/industry. During the 1850's and 1860's it related to productive and prosperous businesses. Consult the O.E.D. for further detail.

<sup>50</sup> See Elsie B. Mitchie, 'Buying Brains: Trollope, Oliphant, and Vulgar Victorian Commerce,' *Victorian Studies*, 44 (2001), p77.

<sup>51</sup> Eric Hobsbawn *The Age of Capital 1848-75*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1962 and W.D.Rubinstein , *Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain, 1750-1900*, Routledge, 1993, Walter Bagehot, *Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market*, 1870, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999.



Money, business and capital were public concerns discussed in newspapers, journals and novels. They were integral issues pivoting around social debates most strongly voiced in the nineteenth century by Engels, Marx and Carlyle. The relationship between money, business and capital within the Victorian marketplace was prolifically noted in Marx's *Das Kapital* (1867) where he stated that capitalism and profit culture led to a discussion of production and the worker in purely economic terms. Similar views were also emphasised in public debate by Carlyle's understanding of workers as being delineated to the cash nexus.<sup>52</sup> Jewsbury's reader's reports, reviews and correspondence highlight the centrality of debates about money, business and capitalism to everyday aspects of Victorian life, exposing these issues as integral to the publishing and literary markets. Economics was at the forefront of Jewsbury's mind when reviewing *The Chevaliers* in 1869, where she informed subscribers that it was a 'book worth their money.'<sup>53</sup>

Money was therefore 'the be-all, the do-all, and the make-all, and a man's good qualities are reckoned by the number of guineas he has realized.'<sup>54</sup> In 1886, this interest with money persisted with Craik's *About Money* (1886) highlighting 'one of the greatest blessings that can happen to a woman' as the ability to earn, keep and use money 'wisely and well.'<sup>55</sup> Many wanted to read about the new materialistic obsession that gripped the nation, so guide books such as John Lalor's *Money and Morals a Book for the Times*, (1852), were printed and read.<sup>56</sup> There was a particular fascination for reports of financial failure, such as bankruptcy, debt or closure of a

---

<sup>52</sup> For a fuller discussion of these points consult Chapter Five.

<sup>53</sup> *Athenaeum*, August 11<sup>th</sup> 1869, p194.

<sup>54</sup> Elizabeth Stone, *William Langshawe: The Cotton Lord*, Bentley, 1842, p73. Also see Chapter Five.

<sup>55</sup> Dinah Mulock Craik, *About Money and Other Things*, Macmillan, 1886, p26.

<sup>56</sup> John Lalor, *Money and Morals a Book for the Times*, John Chapman, 1852.

firm.<sup>57</sup> Records showed a rise in the number of bankruptcies in the middle of the nineteenth hundreds, peaking in the 1860s.<sup>58</sup>

Literature reflected this trend, with novels exposing bad business deals and monetary problems: *Dombey and Son* (1848), *Vanity Fair* (1848), *Shirley* (1849), *North and South* (1855), *Little Dorrit* (1859), *Mill on the Floss* (1860), *Hard Cash* (1868) *Middlemarch* (1872) and *The Way We Live Now* (1875). Therefore, bankruptcy, as an inevitable effect of the new economic condition of industrial Britain, became of topical interest within contemporary literature. Social commentators and novelists of the 1850s emphasised the moral effects of capitalism upon a society they considered obsessed with money. Novels represented the negative effect of some business deals, therefore questioning capitalism through discussing the real possibility of personal and moral deterioration as the repercussion of financial ruin.

Lalor had expressed his concerned about economic and cultural progress and warned of a likely ‘moral decay.’ He proposed a moral remedy in order to expunge the dangers of an ‘all-engrossing passion for wealth,’ one where the moral nature of man

---

<sup>57</sup> Marham Lester, *Victorian Insolvency, Bankruptcy, Imprisonment for Debt, and Company Winding-up in Nineteenth Century England*, Calredon Oxford, 1995.

<sup>58</sup> Consult Lester, p164 and Barbara Weiss, *The Hell of the English Bankruptcy and the Victorian Novel*, Lewsiburg PA: Buckless University Press, 1986, pp 179-80:

Year	Number of bankruptcies During year	Year	Number of Bankruptcies During year
1846	533	1864	7, 224
1850	938	1865	8, 305
1853	799	1866	8, 126
1856	1, 146	1867	8, 884
1859	1, 054	1868	9, 195
1860	1, 430	1869	10, 396
1861	1, 034	1870	1, 351
1863	8, 470	1871	1, 238
1862	9, 663	1876	976

had to be ‘raised and ennobled in proportion to the advances which he makes in wealth and intelligence.’<sup>59</sup> This was a problem raised in *The Mill on the Floss*, where Mr Tulliver’s inability to pay his debt and mortgage is perceived as a ‘symptom of social disintegration.’ A paradox Weiss explores as being central to the age: a developing, industrial Britain priding itself upon ‘its increasing mastery of the material world - only to find the material taking its revenge on the human spirit.’<sup>60</sup> As such, the darker consequences of capitalism, having personal and communal effects upon society were depicted through characters: Mr Merdle in *Little Dorrit* and Melmotte in *The Way We Live Now*, both committed suicide upon realising they were bankrupt. Debt was also seen as the evil precursor to capitalism and a moral deterioration, a warning heeded by Fred Vincy in *Middlemarch*. In *William Langshawe* (1842) Stone’s questioning also reflects a destructive obsession with money, leading to crime and mercenary marriages:

What induces to crime? And what leads to misery - Money. What makes a man overreach his neighbour? - Money. What tempts him to murder a fellow-creature? - Money. What slurs his heart to affection, and his ears to every cry of virtue and honour? - Money. What makes a father sacrifice his child at the altar? - Money - money - money.<sup>61</sup>

Many commentators tried to morally justify the existence of capitalism through the benefits gained by commercial and industrial growth. However, the main areas of contention were the social costs of progress, the exploitation of the poor and a consequential ‘spiritual malady.’ This religious indisposition, (which had its roots in the 1830-40s spiritual scepticism), has been seen as devaluing people, to the extent that labour equated to ‘a marketable commodity, something which seems to involve a blatant departure from older notions of ‘moral economy.’ As noted earlier, this echoed Carlyle’s concerns over the ‘cash nexus,’ which reduced all relationships between

---

<sup>59</sup> John Lalor, *Money and Morals*, p97, 98.

<sup>60</sup> Weiss, p19, p20.

<sup>61</sup> Elizabeth Stone, *William Langshawe: The Cotton Lord*, Bentley, (1842), vol 2, p185.

men to that of cash transactions, emphasising the idea that making money and consumerism were overtaking the humanist philosophy of previous generations. Carlyle voiced this in *Past and Present* (1843) where he commented that the modern soul dreaded and despaired most ‘chiefly of not making money.’<sup>62</sup> Fiction and non-fiction both employed the central maxim that failure equated to the lack of possessing or having the means to possess money. Capitalism in this sense was the motive behind many more mid-Victorian men and women’s daily lives than is often acknowledged.<sup>63</sup>

Jewsbury was fully aware of Carlyle’s teachings and was herself part of the economics of the business of writing and reading.<sup>64</sup> As a publisher’s reader she considered bankruptcy too unpleasant a topic for novels, rejecting manuscripts on the basis that these topics were ‘too real and dull’ for readers to enjoy: ‘Will fashionable fine ladies and gentlemen read of the painful anxieties of a broken merchant?... Would men of business care to read what they have to face...six days in every week?’<sup>65</sup> However, she used her third novel *Marian Withers* (1851) and the strong moral protagonist, John Withers, as examples of the benefits of capitalism when interpreted through a moral framework. Withers’ retains his moral strength during the threat of financial failure, remaining proud of his ‘commercial credit.’ Jewsbury describes his responsibility for four hundred workers and the business he built, as redolent of business concerns of the time:

The aspect of commercial affairs was at that period peculiarly gloomy. County banks were breaking in all directions, the different joint-stock companies which had sprung up like mushrooms, were exploding and causing ruin and desolation as if they had been powder-

---

<sup>62</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, Chapman & Hall, 1897, p146.

<sup>63</sup> Economics in relation to the literary market and the writer, (albeit mainly males), have recently been discussed by Lawrence Rainey, *Institutes of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture*, Yale University Press, 1998.

<sup>64</sup> Jewsbury understood the business of the publishing market, informing Bertha that poetry ‘I fear is not paid for’ and that prose was better for gaining money ‘during the present day.’ DC 7093, 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1869. Also see Chapter Three for Jewsbury’s relationship with Carlyle.

<sup>65</sup> BM, 46, 656, 7<sup>th</sup> March, 1862.

mines. Firms that had been considered beyond suspicion were every day declared insolvent; - no one knew any longer whom to trust, nor who would be the next to go. (3: 99)

Through Withers' principles of association, his business not only survives economic crisis but also prospers, due to his advancement of worker's conditions and education. Jewsbury's novel highlights the positive principles of the master of commerce, in an attempt to reconcile the ideas of capitalism with the existing moral and Christian framework of society. During the 1850s, this 'moralised capitalism' placed responsibility upon the businessman, (no longer seen as sinful, unchristian or unethical), where economic progress was coupled with higher moral responsibility. In much the same manner, competition, a moral negative of capitalism, was justified by J. S. Mill, who believed that co-operatives and joint-stock companies could lead to competition with class collaboration through profit sharing. Ideals echoed by Smiles, who emphasised that economic success did not necessarily lead to a sense of self-worth: 'He who recognises no other logic than that of the shilling may become a very rich man, and yet remain all the while an exceedingly poor creature. For riches are no proof whatever of moral worth.'<sup>66</sup>

Such moral caution about the effects of capitalism did not dampen its influence over the daily lives of members of mid-Victorian society. Set against this background, it is understandable that widespread concern and interest for all areas of business, finance and capital naturally occurred at this time of increased industrial and commercial activity. Publishing houses were a moderate part of London's investment and contributed and shared within the capricious, fiscal atmosphere of a competitive market.<sup>67</sup> Jewsbury's position as a mid-Victorian author, reviewer and publisher's

---

<sup>66</sup> Samuel Smiles, *Self Help: With Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance*, 1859, p236.

<sup>67</sup> For detailed information on the finances of the main publishing houses see: F.A Mumby, *The House of Routledge, 1843-1934*, Routledge, 1934, R.D Tredrey, *The House of Blackwood 1804-1954 The*

reader reflects many of the changes that transformed the market from an elite, inaccessible club into a commercial, consumer-led business. It also further exposes the degree of business skill, initiative and understanding demanded by women in the market, in order to successfully compete with experienced male peers.

### **Developing Professionals: Women in the Marketplace, 1840-80**

There is little doubt from the tone of the *Saturday Review* of 1867 that for women, literature was the ‘only profession competent of the sex...it is a vocation consistent with a social and delicate life.’<sup>68</sup> This in itself can be questioned, as shall be seen, respectability and writing for money did not always sit comfortably. Women not only had important roles as readers and authors of novels, but were also reviewers and professional publisher’s readers, involved within the economics of publishing. Approximately 20% of authors were female in the nineteenth century, with a further, 14% being involved in editing, publishing and reviewing.<sup>69</sup> Taking into account the inevitable inaccuracy of these figures, based upon women’s census returns, they nonetheless form an idea of the numbers active in the marketplace. They also show women’s mobility between the literary and publishing markets, not just as authors but as critical reviewers, readers of manuscripts and editors.

---

*History of a Publishing Firm*, Blackwood & Sons 1954, Arthur Waugh, *A Hundred Years of Publishing Being the Story of Chapman & Hall*, Chapman & Hall, 1930, Margaret Oliphant, *Annals of a Publishing House William Blackwood and Sons*, Blackwood, 3 vols, 1897, Charles Morgan, *The House of Macmillan 1843-1943*, Macmillan, 1944, Oliver Warner, *Chatto & Windus A Brief Account of the Firm’s Origin, History and Development*, Chatto & Windus, 1973.

<sup>68</sup> Anon, ‘Literary Careers,’ *Saturday Review*, 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 1867, p140.

<sup>69</sup> Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer Life in Nineteenth Century Grub Street*, C.U.P, 1988, p167 and Harriet Devine Jump, *Women’s Writing of the Victorian Period 1837-1901 An Anthology*, Edinburgh University Press, 1999, pxi.

Therefore, the late 1850s and 1860s was a time of increased female activity in the marketplace, with women submitting twice as many manuscripts to Bentley as men.<sup>70</sup>

Commentators like Mansel defensively attacked women as novelists of commerce, ‘redolent of the manufacturer and the shop.’ He argued in the *Quarterly Review* in 1863, that women helped fuel a supply and demand for novels: ‘The public wants more novels, and novels must be made - so many yards of printed stuff, sensation-pattern, to be ready by the beginning of the season.’<sup>71</sup> Through his economic imagery, Mansel highlighted his objection to women making money from writing. Women readers and writers were actively expanding the principle of ‘supply and demand’ as the *Publisher’s Circular* of 1867 noted:

As political economists say, they must ‘create a demand’ for the thing they want. There must be a price at which it could be supplied to them; and if the public really want it, and are willing to pay for it, we cannot doubt that they will have their own way.<sup>72</sup>

Women were therefore engaged in a ‘cultural industry,’ one that wanted to make money and produce books that would appeal to a mass audience.<sup>73</sup> This included women writers whose products fuelled the industry; the female reviewers who promoted them and women readers who composed the commercial audience. Tuchman has identified women’s growing dominance of authority in the marketplace as that of ‘token women’ in a patriarchal industry.<sup>74</sup> However, using Jewsbury’s career as an example, it becomes clear that her influence was not ‘tokenism.’ Her opinions and judgements of the hundreds of manuscripts and novels she read for

---

<sup>70</sup> Gaye Tuchman and Nina Fortin *Edging women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change*, Yale University press, 1989, pp45-6. Tuchman and Fortin argue there was a gradual decline in the number of women authors from 1866 with women being ‘edged out’ of the literary field. Also see Ellen Miller Cassey, ‘Edging Women Out? Reviews of Women Novelists in the Athenaeum 1860-1900’, *Victorian Studies*, 39, 2, (1996), p162.

<sup>71</sup> H.L Mansel, *Quarterly Review*, p483.

<sup>72</sup> *Publisher’s Circular*, February 15<sup>th</sup> 1867, p90.

<sup>73</sup> Tuchman and Fortin, p22.

<sup>74</sup> Gaye Tuchman, ‘When the Prevalent Don’t Prevail: Male Hegemony and the Victorian Novel,’ in Walter W. Powell and Richard Robbins (Eds.), *Conflict and Consensus A Festschrift in Honour of Lewis A. Coser*, Macmillan, 1984, p140.

Bentley were frequently accepted, and her reviewing for the *Athenaeum*, read by thousands, affected many writers and readers, influencing sales by helping with the success or failure of a novel.<sup>75</sup> The contributions she made to the publishing industry were not perfunctory but valued, authoritative and even powerful.<sup>76</sup> Jewsbury's career as well as those of other women in publishing; Craik, Oliphant and Braddon, highlights an active role and influence, and as such is archetypal of women's developing positions in the industry.

Jewsbury's critical authority was developed from her use of economic language as a medium for discussing the merits of a manuscript. As such, she highlights her understanding of the business of reading and publishing. She was acutely aware of the economics of publishing and on numerous occasions informed Bentley that the manuscripts she was reading 'would not pay' him to be printed. Due to the hostile nature of the market in the 1850s and debates over the cost of novels and profit for the publishing houses, Jewsbury understood that errors were expensive, knowing Bentley would pay; 'corrections in the press cost you money.'<sup>77</sup> This appreciation for the nature of the business and Jewsbury's understanding of current debates within the book trade was immensely valuable to Bentley.<sup>78</sup>

Women's increasing position in the market perturbed men and the economic shift had direct consequences for all those involved in publishing, especially women. Overall,

---

<sup>75</sup> See Chapter Six and Seven.

<sup>76</sup> See Jeanne Fahnestock, 'Geraldine Jewsbury: The Power of the Publisher's Reader.'

<sup>77</sup> UTUC, 13<sup>th</sup> June 1878, L32.

<sup>78</sup> See Chapter Seven.



during 1841-81 people entering professions increased by 150%.<sup>79</sup> It was Dickens who first noted that ‘the people had set Literature free,’ as a profession detached from its previous patrons and responsible to the public at large.<sup>80</sup> This growing profession has been interpreted by Wiener as bolstering ‘an emerging cultural containment of industrial capitalism,’ with the scale of a man’s profession being determined by an association with ‘money grabbing:’ the more professional one was, the more steady their income.<sup>81</sup>

The developing professionalism within women’s writing and reading was partly due to the receiving of payment, where the ‘professional man or woman of letters’ accrued ‘his plentiful or her scanty income.’<sup>82</sup> Griest’s comment is interesting because it attributes financial status and success to men but a sense of the struggling underdog to women. In reality this was not universal because women had been working in the publishing industry since the eighteenth century.<sup>83</sup> The nineteenth century marks a transition where an increasing number of women wrote more out of a desire for vocation than financial necessity, turning previously ‘private literary indulgence into a public paid performance.’<sup>84</sup> It is now necessary to analyse Jewsbury as a wage earner and her developing professional identity, to fully understand women’s contribution in the market.

---

<sup>79</sup> Martin J. Weiner, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980*, Penguin, 1985, p15.

<sup>80</sup> J. K Fielding (Ed.), *The Speeches of Charles Dickens*, Clarendon, O.U.P, 1960, p157.

<sup>81</sup> Wiener, p15.

<sup>82</sup> Griest, p4.

<sup>83</sup> See Paula McDowell, *Women of Grub Street, Press, Politics and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678-1730*, Clarendon, O.U.P, 1998, p15.

<sup>84</sup> Dale Spender *Mothers of the Novel, One Hundred Good Women Writers before Jane Austen*, Pandora, 1986 and Catherine Gallagher *Nobody’s Story The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820*, University of California Press, 1994.

### Jewsbury's Professional Identity: The Importance of Work

Jewsbury's personal identity as a writer, reviewer and reader was important in constructing her professional confidence as a woman working in a patriarchal environment. Men heavily dominated the London publishing marketplace during 1840-1880 with no woman in the role of business partner. It has been seen that during the forty years of this study numerous struggles between publishers, booksellers, authors and circulating libraries occurred as each contested for power, money and market dominance. Consequentially, these struggles enabled women to be seen as powerful contributors as consumer, producer and editor. Jewsbury's response to this shifting market meant she utilised her literary and economic knowledge and her professional relationships to inform her reading and professional choices.

Jewsbury's perception of her work is evident through her correspondence with Walter Mantell, Jane Carlyle and Bertha and Charlotte Johnes. Through six hundred letters and twenty-three years of friendship, Jewsbury discussed her feelings toward work and any problems or crises that arose. As author of eight novels, she considered herself a professional in the field: 'My present life is fortunate, I am independent - I can earn my own living & if I want more money I cd get it ...I have a good position & have a certain success in my profession.'<sup>85</sup> Jewsbury was productive, remaining committed to both Bentley and the *Athenaeum*, 'I have read three different novels today one in mss and 2 in print & now have two reviews before I sleep in peace.'<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> MP 321/12, dated 1859.

<sup>86</sup> MP 316/6 April 1858 and 320/7 May 1859.

However, sometimes, work dominated: 'I read horrid mss - & write worse reviews & my life seems eaten up like a cheese by mice.'<sup>87</sup> One could interpret this statement as part of Jewsbury's frustration over the volume of her work and possible feelings of it being unappreciated, even in spite of the fact writing was an occupation Jewsbury could not entertain ever giving up. This was a criticism George Sand repeated, with her belief that the profession of writing was addictive, 'nothing but a violent, indestructible passion: when it has once entered people's heads it never leaves them.'<sup>88</sup> Even though Jewsbury sometimes complained about the workload and the incessant nature of having to read for review, the work nonetheless held addictive qualities. For Jewsbury this addiction rested with her desire to be an established writer, the pride she felt at seeing her work in print, at earning a living and being independent. Jewsbury therefore enjoyed her ability to work, believing she deserved her independence, earning 'whatever success I may have without help from any body.'<sup>89</sup>

Jewsbury's work was portable, enabling her to combine passion for visiting friends with that for writing and earning money, 'corrected an athen proof – then to see Mrs cle [Carlyle] & then home.'<sup>90</sup> As such it occurred within the home and therefore disrupted traditional ideology about the 'sacred hearth.' Ruskin's imagery of the home 'as a temple of the hearth watched over by Household Gods,'<sup>91</sup> was being interrupted by the use of the home as office, a merging of the private and public sphere of

---

<sup>87</sup> Letter to Bertha Johnes, October 15<sup>th</sup> 1865, DC, 7087.

<sup>88</sup> J. Gilder and H. Cone, *Pen Portraits of Literary Women by Themselves and Other Authors*, Cassell & Co., 1887, p68.

<sup>89</sup> MP 309/26 July 15<sup>th</sup> 1857.

<sup>90</sup> Jewsbury visited family and friends regularly: her brother Frank in Manchester, the Paulets in Liverpool, Lady Llanover and the Johnes' in Wales.

<sup>91</sup> John Ruskin, 'Of Queen's Garden's' in *Sesame and Lilies*, New York, Chelsea House Publishers, 1987, p85.

business.<sup>92</sup> Jewsbury accepted and challenged this traditional ideology by working at home on domestic and professional tasks. In essence, she was an example of women who were re-figuring Ruskin's image of the sacred hearth through the public paid work of writing novels. Like Jewsbury's, Oliphant's writing 'ran through everything' and occurred within the office of the home, 'with everything going on as if I had been making a shirt instead of writing a book.'<sup>93</sup> The simplicity of this description highlights the idea that Jewsbury's and Oliphant's professionalism was intrinsic to the domestic life of the home.

Jewsbury was shrewd: even though she did not always have to work, she appreciated the need to keep herself involved in the industry. Her letters are full of meetings with 'Wills' at *Household Words*; 'my amiable publisher Mr Blackett;' 'my friend Mr Bentley,' and the *Athenaeum* offices, where she kept visible. She often declined visiting friends at Christmas, the 'extra busy season,' in case the *Athenaeum* 'send elsewhere with work I like to do.'<sup>94</sup> She was therefore aware of appearing dispensable in a busy, changeable market, but managed to secure her position by remaining closely involved and visible within the industry: 'I like to have open doors myself tho' I do not always care to enter in at them.'<sup>95</sup>

### **Women and the Economics of the Market: Jewsbury's Finances**

Jewsbury's use of the market and her literary and publishing knowledge meant she was confident in her ability to sustain an income through her profession.

---

<sup>92</sup> The image of the 'office of novelist' is a predominantly male sphere, explored by David Skilton in 'The Office of Novelist,' in *The Early Mid Victorian Novel* Routledge, 1993, pp161-180.

<sup>93</sup> Mrs Harry Coghill, (ed) *Autobiography and Letters of Mrs Oliphant*, Blackwoods, 1899,p30.

<sup>94</sup> Letter to Charlotte Johnes, Advent Sunday, November 28<sup>th</sup> 1875, DC, 4737.

<sup>95</sup> MP, July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1857.

She understood changes to the market affected her position as a reviewer and reader. Yet in order to place Jewsbury within the mid-Victorian marketplace and illustrate her business interests, a detailed examination of her earnings and socio-economic position is needed. Jewsbury's income shall be shown as a means of gauging her economic and social status within the literary and publishing markets throughout the forty years of her career.<sup>96</sup>

Jewsbury's desire to be a writer, indeed a journalist, was in part fulfilled by her publications in *The Ladies Cabinet*, *Victoria Regina*, *Chambers Magazine*, *Westminster Review*, *Frasers*, *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, *Household Words* and *The Juvenile Budget*.<sup>97</sup> Her work for these journals was various and dependent on the time she had available because she also wrote eight novels during this period, (1845-59). Her articles for *Household Words* illustrate the amount of money she was paid for publications of this nature. Fortunately, Dickens kept excellent accounts giving exact payment for all contributors to his magazine. For her first story, *The Young Jew of Tunis*, Jewsbury received £2.2.0 and over the subsequent nine-year period her total earnings from *Household Words* amounted to £68.17.6.<sup>98</sup>

It seems more than probable that during the early part of her career, 1840-50s, Jewsbury did not write from financial necessity, as did Oliphant, Braddon or Mrs

---

<sup>96</sup> These figures serve as a guide and despite every effort to be accurate there is an element of inaccuracy because not all Jewsbury's payments were listed or received.

<sup>97</sup> This is not an exhaustive list. Susan Howe's biography suggests Jewsbury contributed to Francis Espinasse's *Inspector*, *Lloyds Weekly* and Manchester newspapers, as well as being a reader for Hurst and Blackett. Despite extensive research these claims have not been substantiated. Yet, the fact she wrote for other papers should be considered in relation to her total income.

<sup>98</sup> Anne Lohrli, *Household Words; A Weekly Journal 1850-59*, Toronto University Press, 1973, for other contributor's payments, see Appendix B.

Trollope, who supported families due to missing or inadequate male bread-winners.<sup>99</sup> Instead Jewsbury wrote to be independent and have a vocation: 'I would rather work for myself,' being contented and proud to earn a 'living.'<sup>100</sup> When Douglas Jerrold was late paying her, she borrowed £5 from Frank (to settle her milliner's bills) but appreciated that she could not rely upon her brother after his marriage.<sup>101</sup> Jane Carlyle, writing to Jeannie Welsh, in 1844, exposed her fears over the social status Jewsbury's writing incurred:

What is to come of her when she is old - without ties, without purposes, unless she apply herself to this *trade*? and how is she even to have a *subsistence* otherwise, should her Brother take it into his head to marry?<sup>102</sup>

But, despite Jane's concern over Jewsbury's single status and association with the stigma of a 'trade,' she was far from destitute. Jewsbury had no children or financial ties, but conversely, was not wealthy. Instead, as will be shown, she managed to sustain a middle-class lifestyle based upon her various incomes and savings.<sup>103</sup> Jewsbury informed Bertha that she did not use her payments 'economically,' a fact reflected by her regular visits to Wales, Liverpool, Manchester and Hampshire.<sup>104</sup> Income from articles was used to supplement the purchase of more luxury items such as books, clothes and travel. In this same manner, she used the money gained from her first two novels to finance her trip to Paris with Foster where she saw revolutionary political clubs and renewed her relations with Lambert Bey.<sup>105</sup> However, Jewsbury's

---

<sup>99</sup> See Pamela Neville Sington, *Fanny Trollope. The Life and Adventures of a Clever Woman*, Penguin, 1998, Teresa Ransom, *Fanny Trollope. A Remarkable Life*, St. Martin's Press, 1995, Jay Elisabeth, *Mrs Oliphant: A Fiction to Herself. A literary Life*, Clarendon, 1995, and Carnell.

<sup>100</sup> Ireland, *Letters* p337.

<sup>101</sup> Howe, p62. Jeaffreson noted Jewsbury's weakness for millinery in *A Book of Recollections* Hurst & Blackett, 1894, p311.

<sup>102</sup> Huxley, p193.

<sup>103</sup> Jewsbury was bequeathed £200 from Lady Morgan in 1859 and £500 from former schoolmistress Miss Darby in the 1870's.

<sup>104</sup> DC, 7092, MSS undated.

<sup>105</sup> Lambert Bey was a St. Simonian Frenchman, who served in Egypt, whom Jewsbury fell in love with. Jewsbury visited France with Frank in 1845 and Paris with Emerson, W.E Forster and the Paulets in 1848, to see political clubs and meet Lambert Bey Unusually, she only refers to this visit in passing.

income from her eight novels, her reports and reviews, also gives insight into her business negotiations as part of her developing professionalism.

### **Battling for a Price: The Financial Settlement for *Right & Wrong***

Jewsbury's business dealings with publisher Mr Blackett were amiable and long-standing, as he had printed two of her previous novels, *Constance Herbert* (1855) and *The Sorrows of Gentility* (1856). Despite their friendly relationship, Jewsbury was a businesswoman who wanted the best from her work and would ensure she received a sum worth the pain of composition. Her correspondence with Mantell document her dealings with Blackett over the publication of *Right and Wrong*, between 1858-9, and her ability to secure her price. When Jewsbury wrote to Blackett about the publication details of her novel, she only wanted to give him two volumes, despite his offer of three, 'I prefer to give the 2 vols to accepting the payment they offer. I think and hope it will now be settled I am very worried with it.'

However, the financial settlement of *Right & Wrong* did not pass as smoothly as Jewsbury hoped, as she dismissed a previous offer as being a 'flatness like Whiskey toddy made with cold water.' She informed Mantell of her disagreement with Blackett over changes to the publishing terms: 'It is what I at first proposed & my indignation was bound by being offered the half - I don't care what I give but payment is payment & I am worth a reasonably good price.'<sup>106</sup> The fact she was aware of her marketability highlights her confidence and understanding of the industry, a skill she

---

See V.E.A Bewley, George Sand and Geraldine Jewsbury,' *Revue de Literature Comparee*, 30, (1956) p398 and Appendix A for monetary comparison.

<sup>106</sup> MP, 329/21, undated.

also utilised as a reader and reviewer. Once she had secured her preferred agreement, she informed Mantell of the proceedings:

I went as per programme to see Mr Blackett - he agrees to print & publish the tale as it stands but he expatiated the serious nightmare it wd be to them - on account of advertisements & expenses but it was finally settled that he wd send me another agreement cancelling the former & the end will be that I shall all but give them my next novel but as I happen to have one in my head to write I didn't care & Mr Blackett was very kind & considerate for what I dare say is very provoking to him. The 2 vols are in fact better than three for two out of the three parties vis., the author & the reader.<sup>107</sup>

Jewsbury's reference to two volumes being of benefit to the reader and writer highlights a common problem in the 1850s over book publication of the traditional three-decker. As has been seen, there were many disagreements between authors and publishers, and with the publishing and literary trade as a whole, over the long-winded three volumes that did not always benefit the novel or the reader, but did financially benefit the circulating libraries. The author would receive a lower sum for the two volumes but sometimes could not stretch a novel to three - this dilemma also plagued Oliphant and Broughton who had similar disagreements to Jewsbury, with Blackwood, Bentley and Macmillan.<sup>108</sup>

Once the terms were settled and the money hers, Jewsbury expressed satisfaction over her work: 'the receipt of money raises ones spirits & induces a pleasant [feeling] over the world.' Her jubilation at settling the affair made her considerably content with the £180 she took to the bank; 'making her feel like 'a woman of genius who had been appreciated.'<sup>109</sup> Her perseverance over negotiations for *Right & Wrong* did not manage to dampen her relationship with Blackett, as he asked her to write a non-

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 315/5, February 1858 also Jewsbury refers to another book she had in mind but never wrote.

<sup>108</sup> Bentley MSS BL 46, 618-26 and Macmillan MSS BL 59,633, 59,635, Marilyn Wood, *Rhoda Broughton: Profile of a Novelist*, Paul Watkins, Stamford, 1993, and J. A Haythornthwaite, 'The Wages of Success: Miss Majoribanks,' Margaret Oliphant and the House of Blackwood,' *Publishing History*, 15, (1984), p91-105.

<sup>109</sup> Bentley, 315/7, February 12<sup>th</sup> 1858 and 329/13. Compare to payments of other novelists, Appendix B.



fiction article for his magazine. It is evident that Jewsbury enjoyed novel writing even though she found it stressful, but was also very able to barter for payment. Despite thinking Mantell considered her 'base' for 'trading' her work; she knew the market and her industry and was determined to gain the respect and financial reward she believed her work warranted.

### **More Permanent Wages: Publisher's Reader for Bentley 1858-80**

Jewsbury's work as a reader gave her a steady source of income in comparison to the one-off payments received when publishing a novel.<sup>110</sup> Interestingly, she used Bentley like a bank account, writing on July 2<sup>nd</sup> 1874, she candidly stated, 'you will see that I have deducted £5 you sent me on account. The mss I have read before the mss for 3.13 leaves £22-16-6.' When Bentley did not send enough money, she informed him that 'the difference can go on the next account.'<sup>111</sup> Other times, she asked for money in order to travel; 'Please will you send me some money? For I am going out of London - and one needs money to set one on the right road.'<sup>112</sup> Jewsbury was aware of her ability to extract money owed to her from Bentley and Jerrold, despatching a 'most seductive note begging for money,' as she recalled to Jane in 1846: 'if it does not bring me some sovereigns I will doubt my powers.'<sup>113</sup>

Bentley's dilatory, often incorrect payment did not just affect Jewsbury. William Stubbs, another reader for the firm, wrote for payment as he had received some heavy

---

<sup>110</sup> She did not just read for Bentley, but Mr. Newman and William Clough sent her mss. Clough attached £5 as payment. Jewsbury probably read for Hurst & Blackett also, despite no records.

<sup>111</sup> She regularly sent books to and from the publishing house and *Athenaeum* offices which was a frequent outgoing costs. BM 46,655, (56), July 2<sup>nd</sup> 1874. BM 46653, 104, January 15<sup>th</sup> 1865. For further financial examples see BM 46,654, (490), August 10<sup>th</sup> 1869, 46, 654, (79), March 12<sup>th</sup> 1871, 64, 654 (114). August 30<sup>th</sup> 1872.

<sup>112</sup> BM, 46, 654 (49), undated but after 10<sup>th</sup> August 1869.

<sup>113</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p227.

Christmas bills.<sup>114</sup> The fact pay was sometimes late or did not come all at once, is supported by Jewsbury's common entreaty for cheques. Between 1878 and 1879, she earned approximately, £92.15s and £47. 8s respectively, for work submitted to Bentley, (an average wage of £50-70 p.a.)<sup>115</sup> This figure should be used as a guide, because not all her reports survived and she often collected cheques in person. Neither does it take into account the revisions, re-writing or translation work, which Bentley paid separately for.<sup>116</sup> Most of her financial requests to William Hepworth-Dixon for her reviewing were in a similar casual manner as those to Bentley. In one note dated April 1856, she asked him to 'jog the memory of the amiable Mr Dilke' who had not sent her cheque, in order that she may spend the money on 'no end of things!'<sup>117</sup>

Based on the insignificant sums readers received, Jewsbury did not rely upon her work for Bentley. Her pay was infrequent, totalling on average, half a guinea per mss, which increased to one guinea in 1874.<sup>118</sup> As a middle-class Victorian woman, especially one who travelled, Jewsbury would not have relied on wages as a publisher's reader to support herself. Evidence from Francois Crouzet's *The Victorian Economy* shows the distribution of national income of the three dominant classes in the year 1867. These figures highlight that a middle class family would have an average income of £154 compared with that of £58 for a working class family.

---

<sup>114</sup> BM, 46, 654, (1), 11<sup>th</sup> January 1866.

<sup>115</sup> All figures derive from UIUC, MSS:

Date	Payment
June 20 <sup>th</sup> 1876	£21
June 6 <sup>th</sup> 1878	£50
November 17 <sup>th</sup> 1878	£26.5
March 7 <sup>th</sup> 1879-	£23.2
November 13 <sup>th</sup> 1878	£12.1
May 8 1979	£22.1

<sup>116</sup> For her work on Balzac see UIUC, L43, October 10<sup>th</sup> 1878.

<sup>117</sup> The only remaining correspondence between Jewsbury and William Hepworth-Dixon (editor of the *Athenaeum*, are to be found at the University of California, Los Angeles., MSS Collection 762/1, letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> April 1856. Further citation to these manuscripts will be referenced as UCLA.

<sup>118</sup> BM 82-3 24<sup>th</sup> August 1863.

Moreover, Crouzet calculates that the national average income was around £111.<sup>119</sup> It is evident from the above findings that Jewsbury's earnings as a publisher's reader added together with her reviewing and novel payments, securely place her in this middle-class bracket, in line with other men and women in her field.<sup>120</sup>

### **A Comparison with Contemporaries: Braddon and Oliphant.**<sup>121</sup>

Braddon and Oliphant were both successful authors and reviewers and form an interesting comparison to Jewsbury. Braddon represents a woman who exploited the market for financial gain; Oliphant used the market as a means to live from 'hand to mouth' while Jewsbury's income gave her a purpose and supplemented her lifestyle. The manner in which these women obtained and negotiated payment varied according to their relations with publishers and how they marketed their work. Despite Oliphant's effort and determination, she never earned vast amounts like Braddon or Eliot. Instead, she maintained her regular income over six decades, working within a changeable market that demanded understanding, patience and flexibility.<sup>122</sup> Money was important to Oliphant, but she found saving difficult and would often ask Macmillan for advances to travel or to help with the bills of both her sons' education at Eton. More often than not, Oliphant had 'eaten up the price of a book before it was printed,' and therefore lived past her means.<sup>123</sup> She openly described her financial inadequacy in letters to publishers and friends and overtly in her *Autobiography*: 'I never had any expensive tastes, but loved the easy swing of life, without taking much thought for the morrow, with a faith in my own power to go on working, which up to

---

<sup>119</sup> Francois Crouzet, (transl: A.S. Forster), *The Victorian Economy*, Meuthen & Co., 1982, p40.

<sup>120</sup> There are various histo-economic studies that assess the cost of living during the mid-nineteen hundreds, and despite these studies being approximations, the findings are relevant and interesting if used in comparison to the earnings of a novelist, consult Appendix A and B.

<sup>121</sup> For a comparison of literary earnings see Appendix B.

<sup>122</sup> Oliphant, *Autobiography*, p70.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p126.

this time had been wonderfully justified, but which has been a great temptation and danger to me all through in the way of economies.’<sup>124</sup>

Oliphant tried to ensure a degree of security by being paid monthly, a request she made when accepting Macmillan’s offer of £1700 for three works in 1875: ‘I do not wish to be paid in advance but to have the comfort of an income paid regularly.’<sup>125</sup>

This was her attempt to remain in control, but more often than not, she would write ‘begging’ letters asking for advances on unfinished work: ‘would you do me the extraordinary favour in paying in one hundred pounds for me to my bankers when you get this.’<sup>126</sup> In contrast, Braddon managed her money well and was paid considerably more than Oliphant and Jewsbury. One of the advantages of writing popular fiction was ‘putting money in my purse.’<sup>127</sup> Her knowledge of the audience and industry paid off twofold, for herself and those who invested in her. Braddon’s first two successful novels, *Lady Audley’s Secret* and *Aurora Floyd* (1861-2) established her reputation and financial independence, and enabled her publishers, the Tinsley Brothers, to purchase a mansion aptly named ‘Audley Lodge.’

On average, in the 1850s, Oliphant gained about £250 per novel with her highest payments in the 1860s reaching around £1,500.<sup>128</sup> Oliphant accepted her offers outright, selling her copyright preventing revenue from reprints. Her most financially successful novels were those she serialised. However, Braddon benefited from writing a popular genre in a lucrative publishing mode, with an average income of

---

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p 106.

<sup>125</sup> BM ADD 54, 919 (33-4).

<sup>126</sup> BM ADD 54, 919 (119).

<sup>127</sup> Robert Lee Woolf, ‘Devoted Disciple: The Letters of Mary Elizabeth Braddon to Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 1862-74,’ *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 22, (1974), p34.

<sup>128</sup> BL ADD 46, 616.

£1,000 per novel.<sup>129</sup> Although Braddon, Oliphant and Jewsbury used their talents differently, capitalising upon individual areas of the market, they all represent successful professional women who sustained their middle class income and independence throughout their varying careers.

### **The Cost of Financial Independence: Patronage, Pensions and Sponsorship**

Money received from her work gave Jewsbury the confidence and independence to choose what work to do.<sup>130</sup> This marital and financial independence was a professional advantage. Other women were more reliant on their roles as writer and reviewer to keep them financially secure. As has been noted, payment received by Jewsbury was necessary to further and sustain her independence and middle class lifestyle, but it was also the ability to choose when she read and reviewed, and when she rested, that formed part of this flexible independence.<sup>131</sup> Despite her business sense, Jewsbury disliked taking money from friends and would have preferred to have had more professional arrangements: ‘ly Morgan gave me a cheque today and was so kind & good that I lapse into feeling that I wd rather work for nothing - I seemed to have transmuted all my good feeling into base metal.’<sup>132</sup> Later in her career this embarrassment left Jewsbury and she was rewarded a ‘handsome legacy’ of £200 for her efforts. This gesture highlights Morgan’s knowledge of the difficulty of feeling

---

<sup>129</sup> See Appendix B and Carnell.

<sup>130</sup> 1859 was the time Bentley and the *Athenaeum* took precedence. Despite stating she was writing another book, *Right and Wrong* was her last published novel. See Howe, p159 and Alyssa, p273.

<sup>131</sup> Craik, like Braddon, had choices because of her early financial independence. Whereas, Oliphant and Frances Trollope had to work because of their husband’s inadequate provision for their children. See Sally Mitchell, *Dinah Mulock Craik*, G.K Hall & Co., 1983, Robert Lee Woolf, *Sensational Victorian The Life and Fiction of Mary Elizabeth Braddon*, Garland, 1979, Vineta & Robert Colby, *The Equivocal Virtue: Mrs Oliphant and the Literary Market Place*, Archon, 1966, Pamela Neville-Sington, *Fanny Trollope The Life and Adventures of a Clever Woman*, Penguin, 1998.

<sup>132</sup> MP 329/17, undated.

respectable and earning a wage as a woman. Jewsbury was touched by her kindness considering it a sisterly act of allegiance; ‘I think she did it from a feeling for a woman in the position she had occupied herself earning her living by literature.’<sup>133</sup>

In 1871, Jewsbury was given a pension, in ‘consideration of her services to literature.’ The application was organised by her actress-friend, Helena Faucit, and heightened Jewsbury’s pride in feeling appreciated.<sup>134</sup> Jewsbury’s petition had many impressive signatures: Dilke, Carlyle, Tennyson, Forster, Tyndall, Huxley, Woolner, Kingsley, Ruskin and Hardy.<sup>135</sup> The financial benefit of the £40 Civil List pension helped her live more comfortably at her nursing home in Sevenoaks, Kent.<sup>136</sup> Despite Jewsbury’s independence and capitalist; i.e, business sense, she benefited from a system of patronage whereby she was given money from the state for her work: an irony that highlights the complexity of Victorian finance. However, Jewsbury also considered it her duty to help women writers unable to support themselves and their children from their income. Although she never applied to the Royal Literary Fund, (set up to relieve the financial distress of published authors),<sup>137</sup> she sponsored three applications recommending Sarah Lee (1791-1856), Matilda Ann Mackarness (1825-81) and Jane Williams (1806-70).<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup> MP 319a, dated 1859. Jewsbury indicates she saved money from her novels ‘I don’t intend to invest it all in securities.’ MP 315/7 February 12<sup>th</sup> 1858.

<sup>134</sup> Jewsbury received her £40 state pension for services to literature on June 19<sup>th</sup> 1871. Oliphant received a £100 probably due to having to support her children, on June 19<sup>th</sup> 1864 and Craik received £60 on June 19<sup>th</sup> 1868. For further information consult, William Morris Colles, *Literature and the Pension List: An Investigation Conducted for the Committee of the Incorporated Society of Authors*, Henry Glaister, 1898.

<sup>135</sup> Other signatures included: Blunt, Tom Talyor, Theodore Martin, Grote, Morley, John Trewalny, Bishop Thirlwall.

<sup>136</sup> In the late 1870’s Jewsbury was afflicted with frequent illness but still reviewed days before her death. See Appendix A for monetary conversion.

<sup>137</sup> Nigel Cross, *The Royal Literary Fund 1790-1918 An introduction to the Fund’s history and archives with an index of applicants*, World Microfilm Publications, 1984 p1-24. Also see S. M. Mumm, ‘Writing for their Lives. Women Applicants to the Royal Literary Fund, 1840-1880,’ *Publishing History*, 27, (1990), p27-47.

<sup>138</sup> For the following information consult: BL Loan 96, Royal Literary Fund, M1077/ 130, 143, 145, M1077/77, Case number 1841, and M1077/79, Case number 1991. M1077/77, Case number 1841.

Despite not believing in ‘emancipated’ women, Jewsbury was compassionate towards women writers less fortunate than herself, revealed through her persuasive and heart felt sponsorship letters to the Secretary, Mr Bettick.

Jewsbury’s support for the fund directly highlights her understanding of changes to the market as a whole. It became increasingly difficult for women to compete as novelists (one of the only respectable ways a middle class woman could earn a living) because women writers were saturating the market during the 1850s and 60s. Sarah Lee was the first woman writer Jewsbury wrote on behalf of in July 1856, because illness meant she was unable to secure her income. Jewsbury had known Lee for six years and stated ‘Mrs Lee has worked hard- harder than any women I know and if her case be not received I am at a loss to imagine the necessity that would be sufficient to induce assistance.’<sup>139</sup> Soon after Jewsbury’s plea, Mrs Lee received £50, but died four months later in October 1856.<sup>140</sup> Jewsbury’s benevolence is further illustrated with Mackarness’ application: ‘It seems to me that if ever the Literary Fund gave a helping hand to any one - Mrs Mackarness deserves all it can do.’ Jewsbury described how ‘hard she has toiled’ and how excellent has been her aim through the

Name	Authorship	Application to fund	Reason for Application	Sponsors	Amount Received
Sarah Lee (1791-1856)	Natural history, Travel	July 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1856	Husband died, invalid, unable to work.	Jewsbury, W. Griffith, S.C Hall, A.M Hall	£50
Matilda Ann Mackarness (1825-81)	Novels, children’s book	April 29 <sup>th</sup> 1876	Widowed with 7 children.	Jewsbury, S.C Hall, A.M Hall, Jean Ingelow	£100
Jane Williams (1806-1870)	Welsh history, social tracts, & <i>The Literary Women of England</i> , 1861	January 21 <sup>st</sup> 1871	Unable to survive from her writing	Jewsbury, Lady Llanover, Mrs S.C Hall,	£50

<sup>139</sup> BL Loan 96, Royal Literary Fund, M1077/56, Case number 1414.

<sup>140</sup> It is interesting to note that Mrs Lee, like Jewsbury, also received a Government Pension of £50, which was reported in her obituary in the *Gazette*, October 11<sup>th</sup> 1856.

teaching of her books.’ Through her sponsorship, Jewsbury highlighted her awareness of the ‘fluctuating nature of Literary employment’ and the health and strength that she believed essential to be able to carry out the work.<sup>141</sup>

Mackarness had also remarked upon the precarious industry in her own statement to the Fund, explaining that after her husband’s death, she was left penniless with seven children to support, and that the ‘influx of writers’ did not help her find publishers. Perhaps Jewsbury’s own success and ability to secure employment within both the literary and publishing industry made her more conscious of other women who needed help. She certainly believed that Jane Williams,<sup>142</sup> a spinster of ‘high mental and intellectual attainments,’ was eligible, as an ‘indefatigable worker.’ Jewsbury outlined her case to the fund in 1871, again emphasising the competitive nature of the market, that despite William’s literary talent, her works ‘do not sell.’ It is interesting to read Jewsbury’s sense of amazement over William’s insufficient income, ‘her whole income is basically one hundred pounds a year - upon this she has supported herself honourably and she has never incurred one penny of debt.’<sup>143</sup> Solvency was still viewed as important to maintaining respectability and professionalism.<sup>144</sup>

It is evident that Jewsbury’s sponsorship of these women placed her in a benevolent situation which emphasised her comfortable position and income. It can therefore be argued that patronage, sponsorship and the receiving of pensions, were irreconcilably

---

<sup>141</sup> BL Loan 96, M1077/79, Case number 1991. Jewsbury had personal experience of illness and its effect upon her work and vice versa. See Ireland, *Letters*.

<sup>142</sup> Jewsbury knew Jane Williams as the authoress of *Literary Women of England* (1861), a book which contains biographical information about her sister Maria Jane Jewsbury, see pp 365-87.

<sup>143</sup> This comment further supports my argument that Jewsbury was earning far more than £100 for her employment as a reader, reviewer and through her novels and articles.

<sup>144</sup> BL, MSS Loan 96., M1077/77, Case number 1841. Jewsbury examined the stigma surrounding women professionals and sexual/social respectability in ‘How Agnes Worrall Became Respectable,’ ‘Agnes Lee’ and *The Half Sisters*. See Chapter Four.



tied up with the basic, often dichotomous connections within Victorian writing and gender: that of money and professionalism, an intriguing dilemma which faced many of the increasing number of women writers of the 1840-80s.

### Professional Business Women: Materialism –v- Artistic Integrity

Jewsbury was not the only business-minded woman to achieve a long career in the publishing and literary marketplace, nor alone in experiencing the stigma attached to women's increasing professionalism. The taboo of writing for money had notoriously haunted Dickens who tried to establish the art as a profession, which paid, without devaluing the processes of writing.<sup>145</sup> However women's association with money and professionalism was irreconcilable with moral respectability and the dominant mid-Victorian female ideology. A woman earning money as a writer conflicted with the "angel in the house:" the patient comforter providing a refuge from the male public sphere of work.<sup>146</sup> Men, whose wives wrote, like Mr Gaskell and George Craik, were given sympathy as neglected husbands.<sup>147</sup> The reviewer of *Temple Bar* thought, 'men estimate their work at trade-value and sell it to the bookseller,' whereas women wrote to 'entertain,' themselves and other women.<sup>148</sup> In reality, women were acting as men by valuing their work for a price, with the same, if not more, success. Some critics resented their presence, blaming women for the fact authorship was less a vocation

---

<sup>145</sup> Dickens had attempted to set up an Authors Society in 1843 but was more successful as Vice-President of the Guild of Literature and Art. Robert Patten, 'The Professional Author,' in *Charles Dickens and his Publishers*, 1978, p 9-27 and James Hepburn *The Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent*, O.U.P, 1968, p19-21.

<sup>146</sup>For recent and comprehensive studies of the "angel in the house," see Elisabeth Langland, *Nobody's Angel: Middle Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1995 and Anne Hogan and Andrew Bradstock, (Eds.), *Women of Faith in Victorian Culture: Reassessing the Angel in the House*, St Martins Press , 1998.

<sup>147</sup> Elaine Showalter, 'Dinah Mulock Craik and the Tactics of Sentiments. A Case Study on Victorian Female Authority,' *Feminist Studies*, 2, (1975), p5-23 and Ireland *Letters*, p383.

<sup>148</sup> Buchanan Robert W, 'Society's Looking Glass,' *Temple Bar*, 6, (1862), p130.

and more a ‘trade,’ to the extent that ‘authorship equals market value.’<sup>149</sup> Jewsbury, Oliphant, Braddon, and Craik were renowned for their business manner and insistence upon prices and conditions for their work.

This sense of commerce was common amongst women authors with knowledge of the marketplace and who, more often than not, wrote for a specific readership. As noted above, Jewsbury reminded Bentley about money owed to her or if she was not paid enough, ‘you must allow me half as much again for this mss,’ and disputed with Blackout over the price and publication of her novels.<sup>150</sup> This assertive confidence was shared by Oliphant, whose knowledge of ‘my industry’ enabled her to negotiate with Blackwood, gaining £300 extra for *Miss Majoribanks* (1866) than his offer of £1,200. Her agreement with Bentley over terms for *The Melvilles* in 1852 exposes her confidence: ‘It would be convenient to me if the price of this manuscript was settled at once. I will tell you what seems to me a legitimate request and will feel obliged if you will agree to it.’<sup>151</sup> Oliphant’s reasons for writing; ‘because it gave me pleasure, because it came naturally to me, because it was like talking or breathing, besides the big fact that it was necessary for me to work for my children,’ show that she used her talents to gain an income.<sup>152</sup>

Craik was quickly identified as having a ‘sturdy business-like stand for money.’ Oliphant described Blackett’s face turning pale upon seeing Miss Mulock; ‘he used to talk of business encounters with her with affright, very grave, not able to laugh.’<sup>153</sup>

This was almost certainly a persona Craik wanted to perpetuate, as she informed

---

<sup>149</sup> Anon, ‘Literary Careers,’ *Saturday Review*, August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1867, p139.

<sup>150</sup> BM 46,660, (165), 19<sup>th</sup> May 1874, BM, 46, 656-60 and UIUC L1-75.

<sup>151</sup> BM ADD 46, 616, (37).

<sup>152</sup> Oliphant, *Autobiography*, p4.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p85.

American publisher, J.T Fields, 'I have long been a business woman.'<sup>154</sup> She was proud of this reputation which provided the means for a property; 'I built the house with books.'<sup>155</sup>

Even Braddon, whose large financial settlements for her novels, made her independent early on in her career, fought for her money, in one instance in the Court of Chancery for £1000.<sup>156</sup> She was renowned for shrewd negotiating: bargaining with the Tinsleys for *Eleanor's Victory* (1863) and *John Marchmont's Legacy* (1863) securing her £2,000, an unusual sum for a relatively unknown author; 'I think the highest price to be screwed out of a publisher for the class of fiction I can write.'<sup>157</sup> The blunt use of the term 'screwed' implies Braddon's determination to strike a hard business deal with her publishers.<sup>158</sup> These women pursued their right to income and a fair price highlighting an understanding of their own value in the market and their business skills. It has been shown that Jewsbury, Oliphant, Braddon and Craik were not reticent when it came to asking for money. However, despite this seeming materialism, they were also aware of the demands and criticism of their art.

The conflict between art and money was set out: a woman earning a living from writing and reading was not perceived as producing work of significant artistic value.<sup>159</sup> This relationship between materialism, (actively seeking money and all that it can buy), and art, (an intellectual and cultural pursuit), is complex and

---

<sup>154</sup> Craik was careful to maintain the privacy of her personal life, but was known for her business independence. See Sally Mitchell, Dinah Mulock Craik, G.K Hall & Co., 1983.

<sup>155</sup> Craik cited in W. M Parker's introduction to *John Halifax*, 1869 edition, Dent & Sons, pxi.

<sup>156</sup> Woolf, *Letters*, p130.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p13.

<sup>158</sup> The O.E.D noted that 'screwed' was first used in this context in 1761.

<sup>159</sup> Interestingly, this judgement excluded Eliot, who was perceived on a higher intellectual plane and as having many masculine traits, in style and chose of topic. Her work was not associated as second rate like many other contemporary 'feminine' women writers.

undeveloped.<sup>160</sup> The crux of the problem was exposed through Eliot's objections to authors who 'force or hurry his production, or even do over again what has already been done, either by himself or others.'<sup>161</sup> The dilemma over artistic integrity as the highest principle of authorship arose from a romantic notion of the writer struggling with composition over time. A masterpiece could not be rushed or influenced by the public's tastes and interests. It was the speed of writing and the fact many sensation novels reworked similar formulae, which exposed some women as less artistic.

### Speed of Production

Technological changes to the publishing and literary market during the nineteenth century fuelled the belief that literary quality declined because publishers and writers were appealing to the 'lowest common denominator' of a wider audience. As the publishing market expanded there was unsurprisingly an 'institutional impulse to insulate the producers of high culture from the demands of the marketplace,' therefore creating a distinction between popular, market-demand led literature with that of a higher sphere of 'better' authors.<sup>162</sup> The main criticism of popular literature, fuelled by serialisation, was the fact it was created from demand, to be read once for immediate pleasure. Critics, such as Carlyle, launched an attack upon popular writers, claiming their work was written too quickly to be of any lasting quality. In *Sartor Resartus*, Carlyle bemoaned the fate of over production, assimilating modern writing to the rags from which they were made 'paper is made from the *rags* of things that did once exist.'<sup>163</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup>Materialism was widely used at this time as a term associated with capitalism and industry, and there is evidence from the O.E.D that it had been used much earlier in 1668.

<sup>161</sup>Eliot, *Authorship, Leaves from a Notebook*, 1872-8, *Essays Standard Edition of the Works of George Eliot*, 1888, p288-92 Cited in Skilton, p178-9.

<sup>162</sup> Erickson, p171.

<sup>163</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *Collected Works*, vol., 2, p29.

As a novelist, Jewsbury was never accused of over production, but as one who took ‘infinite pains’ with her work.<sup>164</sup> Yet, as a reviewer she criticised female authors for this fault, perceiving Mrs Wood’s voluminous labour as detrimental to the overall coherency of her work: ‘the showman seems too much fatigued to move the wires of his puppets.’ Every review of her novels attacks Wood for ‘suffering under the fatigue of writing so many long stories, with scarcely an interval of rest between them.’<sup>165</sup> This accusation was also directed at Miss King, whose mss Jewsbury read for Bentley. She informed him that King’s previous publishers, Hurst & Blackett, had considered her ‘worked out...writing too much too fast.’<sup>166</sup> Yet, it is Jewsbury’s review of Craik’s *Lost and Won* that highlights the critical belief that ‘a good novel is almost as exhaustive as a good play, and should not be raised in too quick succession.’<sup>167</sup> Critics fed this ideology to readers; good literature took time to create and authors were inferior if they produced more than two books a year.

Oliphant, whose work was attacked for being hastily written, knew authors could not be ‘two things and serve two masters,’ but adhered to the critical belief that art took time.<sup>168</sup> ‘When people comment on the number of books I have written, and I say that I am so far from proud of that fact that I should like at least half of them forgotten, they stare – and yet it is quite true.’<sup>169</sup> As author of over ninety books, some critics felt that ‘without longer respite from work, some trace of weariness would have betrayed itself in the continual effort.’<sup>170</sup> Yet, Oliphant sacrificed her ‘artist’s fervour and concentration to produce a masterpiece’ in order to financially support her

<sup>164</sup> *Manchester Examiner & Times*, 4<sup>th</sup> September 1880, p5.

<sup>165</sup> *Athenaeum*, 21<sup>st</sup> July 1866, p76 and 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1864, p859.

<sup>166</sup> As noted earlier, it was possibility Jewsbury read for H & B, BM 46, 659, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1874.

<sup>167</sup> *Athenaeum*, 12th March 1859, p354.

<sup>168</sup> Oliphant wrote 98 novels, 300 reviews, 25 non-fiction books and 50+ short stories over 51 years.

<sup>169</sup> Oliphant, *Autobiography*, p5.

<sup>170</sup> ‘Mrs Oliphant’s Novels,’ *Blackwoods Magazine*, 113, (1873), p724.

children and those of her brother, giving up ‘what hopes I might have had if doing now my very best, and to set myself steadily to make as much money as I could.’<sup>171</sup> Through these comments and her experience, Oliphant exposed her belief that artistic writing and making money were not synonymous. Many critics accused her of being over productive, the harshest being Virginia Woolf, who believed Oliphant sacrificed her art through prostituting her literary abilities: ‘Mrs Oliphant sold her brain, her very admirable brain, prostituted her culture and enslaved her intellectual liberty in order that she might earn a living and educate her children.’<sup>172</sup> This association with prostitution, the act of selling one’s body for money, is most interestingly replaced by Oliphant’s intellect as the product for sale, yet maintains the illicit and immoral connotations, the base connection with money and middle-class women who worked.<sup>173</sup> Oliphant considered herself ‘handicapped’ in needing to earn her living and carry out domesticity duties, and resented women like Eliot for being placed in a ‘mental greenhouse and taken care of.’ Interestingly, her criticism of domesticity, as a hindrance to her potential, has also been identified as a crucial factor within her work, ‘art is not created by an isolated ascetic spirit, but happens as an organic part and economic support of busy household life.’<sup>174</sup> Eliot’s dedication, financial and personal support from Lewes, meant her work was conceived as ‘higher,’ more masculine than that of Oliphant, Jewsbury or Braddon. Jewsbury, childless and single, could choose to devote time to reviewing and reading despite its lower pay. Her independence gave her choice, which Oliphant sacrificed as a mother: ‘the men who have no wives, who have given themselves up to their art, have had an almost unfair advantage over us who have been given perhaps more than one Lucrezia to take care

---

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., p725.

<sup>172</sup> Virginia Woolf, *Three Guineas*, Hogarth Press, 1938, p166.

<sup>173</sup> These stigmas are fully assessed in Julia Swindells, *Victorian Writing and Working Women*, Polity Press, 1985.

<sup>174</sup> Cohen, p3.

of.’<sup>175</sup> By including women writing for pleasure and art, Oliphant added to the prejudice that art took time. Her writing was stigmatised because of her domestic duty, voluminous output and need for income. Craik and Braddon were also accused of ‘manufacturing’ too many novels and Braddon’s popularity did not prevent stigmas of writing for money.<sup>176</sup> She told her mentor, Bulwer-Lytton, about serving ‘two masters. I want to be artistic & to please *you*. I want to be sensation & to please Mudie subscribers.’<sup>177</sup> Yet, Braddon was shrewd, aware that ‘my sun may not shine long’ and determined to keep ‘pouring out novels at too rapid a rate,’ whilst her audience demanded and her publishers paid for them:<sup>178</sup>

I know that my writing teems with errors, absurdities, contradictions, & inconsistencies; but I have never written a line that has not been written against time - sometimes with the printer waiting outside the door. I have written with a view to the interests of my publisher than with any great regard to my own reputation.<sup>179</sup>

Braddon’s experiences represent the paradox where successful and popular women writers were criticised for inferior literature.<sup>180</sup> She satirised speed of production in *The Doctor’s Wife* (1864), through Sigismund Smith, who advised writers not to ‘empty one man’s pocket, but take a little bit all round.’<sup>181</sup> Yet, despite this retort to critics, Braddon, like Oliphant, was not seen as a literary artist.

Writers like Braddon and Oliphant were divided ‘between a noble desire to attain something like excellence – and a very ignoble wish to earn plenty of money.’<sup>182</sup> As

---

<sup>175</sup> Oliphant *Autobiography*, p5-6.

<sup>176</sup> Letter 29<sup>th</sup> October 1851, Chapple & Pollard, *Letters*, p167-8 and Robert Lee Woolf, *Sensational Victorian*, p188.

<sup>177</sup> Woolf, *Letters* p14.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p20.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p10.

<sup>180</sup> Speed of production was also connected to using a set formula. When working on *Sir Jasper’s Tenant*, (1863), Braddon did her ‘best to build a house out of second hand bricks.’ She included the ‘old sort of thing mystery, & murder & so on, written with a view to the popular market,’ as a formula that sold well. Woolf *Letters* p28, p31.

<sup>181</sup> Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *The Doctor’s Wife*, Oxford Classics, 1998, p45.

<sup>182</sup> Woolf, *Letters* p25.

editor of the *Belgravia*, Braddon wanted to be more than a ‘sensation writer,’ to enter the ‘serious’ side of the publishing and literary market.<sup>183</sup> This desire matured throughout her letters to Bulwer where she determined to face the ‘howling of the critics’ head on. Yet, despite accepting the lower status of sensation writing, she believed without it she would ‘sink into dullest namby-pambyism.’<sup>184</sup> Braddon had the financial security and support of Maxwell, but chose to ‘catch the public ear,’ and focus upon ‘the Circulating library and the young lady readers’<sup>185</sup> rather than write artistically. However, from 1863 onwards, she produced two novels a year: for the public and the critics. However, many readers expected her usual formula and thought them dry, unexciting and humourless.<sup>186</sup> She experimented again in 1866 with a social novel, *The Lady’s Mile*, but reverted to sensation as a more financially successful and personally fulfilling genre.<sup>187</sup> What Braddon and Oliphant both realised was it paid to write to the public’s taste, but at the expense of being labelled a second-rate writer.

The prejudice surrounding women working for money was difficult to overcome because it challenged one foundation of Victorian society i.e. the idealised family. Wanting and needing to earn money was still associated with a baseness, and a physical association with being dirty, in spite of the mid-century profit culture. Typically, when Trollope confessed to writing for money he was not stigmatised; ‘I write for money of course I do ...it is for money that we all write.’<sup>188</sup> Women writers were seen as second-rate for doing the same as men, and were disregarded as wanting

---

<sup>183</sup> For detail on Braddon’s editorship see, Solveig C. Robinson ‘Editing *Belgravia*: M. E Braddon’s Defense of “Light Literature,” *VPR*, 28, (1995), p109-122.

<sup>184</sup> Woolf, *Letters* p130.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p132.

<sup>186</sup> *The Doctor’s Wife* (1864), *Ishmael* (1884), *Mohawks*, (1886), *London Pride*, (1896) see Carnell, p238.

<sup>187</sup> Woolf, *Sensational Victorian*, p148.

<sup>188</sup> Letter to Frederick Chapman 1<sup>st</sup> January 1862, in Robert Patten, p15.



artistic fame.<sup>189</sup> Yet, in reality it has been shown that Oliphant would have produced less if money had not been a necessity and that Braddon and Jewsbury desired to be accepted as artistic novelists. Jewsbury did admit to Mantell, that she liked the idea of using her writing to ‘show off’ her knowledge, but in this sense I do not think she sought fame for its own sake, but more a public recognition for her talents.<sup>190</sup> Jewsbury’s experience as a female author and later as a reviewer and reader allows for a clear indication of the development of a professional; as a writer and businesswoman. The success of her novels and her critical writing, emphasise her understanding of changes to the market, which shall now be addressed, as part of Jewsbury’s developing professionalism.

---

<sup>189</sup> Tuchman and Fortin, p175-202.

<sup>190</sup> MP, 310/2, August 4<sup>th</sup> 1857.

## Chapter Two

### Women, Writing and Professionalism: Letter Writing and the Composition, Publication and Reception of *Zoe*, 1845.

The composition, reception and publication of Jewsbury's first novel, *Zoe* (1845) is significant for an understanding of the cultural and critical response to women's writing in the marketplace during the 1840s. Jewsbury has been seen as a marginal writer but her experience of writing and negotiating the publication of *Zoe* gave her an understanding and appreciation for her profession. As Caroline Fox noted in 1847, Jewsbury read 'insatiably' and 'at random in an old library, alchemy, physiology and what not, and undraped 'Zoe' is the result.'<sup>1</sup> Therefore it is important to examine the processes of Jewsbury's writing to see her development as a novelist and for the insight it gives into the popular Victorian commodity of the novel.

It was Oliphant who suggested the mid-Victorian era was not just one of literary expansion, but the 'age of female novelists.' A decade later she complained that it was a 'common doctrine that everybody can write a novel.'<sup>2</sup> The 1840s saw the rise of the novel as the most dominant literary genre, which coincided with women's increased involvement in the professional field.<sup>3</sup> The influx of female authors entering the market from the 1840s onwards was not highly regarded by peers or the press, and their worse

---

<sup>1</sup> Wendy Monk, *The Journals of Caroline Fox, 1835-71*, Eleck 1972, p172-3.

<sup>2</sup> 'Historical Sketches of the Reign of George II: No. X Novelists,' *Blackwood's Magazine*, 105, (1869) p253.

<sup>3</sup> Elisabeth Langland *Nobody's Angel Middle Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1996 Valerie Sanders, *Eve's Renegades. Victorian Anti-Feminist Women*

opponents were often other women.<sup>4</sup> Jewsbury's career spanned the period 1840-80 at a time when women demanded literary attention through trends such as sensation writing, even before 'new woman' literature of the 1880s.<sup>5</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine's* dismissed the 'fluent nonsense' debated about 'who among women should write, and what they should write.'<sup>6</sup> The reviewer thought literature was fast becoming the 'legitimate occupation of women,' and cited Jewsbury, Martineau, Mulock, Kavanagh, Gaskell and Brontë, as examples of a 'general improvement' of women writers in 1853.

In the 1840s women were seen as constituting a change in the mode of authorship caught between domestic duty and vocation.<sup>7</sup> Gaskell experienced conflict in her role as mother, wife and writer but performed them all: 'the hand could wield the pen while the foot rocked the cradle.'<sup>8</sup> A transition occurred in the dominance of women in the market most actively with sensationalism of the 1860s, as the genre gave more opportunities for women to write.<sup>9</sup> The familiar demographic, social and financial motives for women's writing affected the critical perception of the woman and the 'economic conditions of authorship.'<sup>10</sup> Jewsbury was conscious of the dilemma facing women writers and expressed her anxiety in a letter to Jane, 'when women get to be energetic, strong

---

*Novelists*, Macmillan, 1996 and Nicola Diane Thompson (ed), *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question*, C.U.P. 1999.

<sup>4</sup> See, George Eliot 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists,' *Westminster Review*, 10, (1856) p442-62 and Nancy Fix Bloom, *Women Against Women, A Life of Eliza Lynn Linton*, Indiana University Press, 1987 and Chapter Six.

<sup>5</sup> 'New woman' literature dominates an unprecedented amount of academic attention with little research into the mid-Victorian woman writer. See Sally Ledger, *New Woman: Fiction, Feminism, and the Fin de Siecle*, M.U.P., 1997 and Ann Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction, Women Writing First Wave Feminism*, Macmillan, 2000.

<sup>6</sup> 'The Lady Novelist of Britain,' *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 60, (1853), p18. Other examples: W. R. Greg 'False Morality and Lady Novelists,' *National Review*, 8, (1859), p144-67, 'The Lady Novelists,' *Westminster Review*, 2, (1852), p129-142, 'Female Novelists,' *London Review*, 1, (1860), p137-8.

<sup>7</sup> Ideologies voiced through heroines of women's novels, such as Zoe Gifford, Jane Eyre, Shirley Kedlar, Margaret Hale.

<sup>8</sup> Vineta Colby, *The Singular Anomaly, Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1970, p5.

characters with literary reputations of their own, and live in the world, with business to attend to, they all do get in the habit of making use of people, and of taking care of themselves in a way that is startling!...whenever a woman gets to be a personage in any shape, it makes her hard and unwomanly in some point or other, and as I tell you, I am bothered to explain how it is.’<sup>11</sup> As such, Jewsbury expressed the same prejudice she experienced when writing *Zoe* by questioning the femininity and respectability of women writers whose independence was ‘startling.’<sup>12</sup>

### Composition

*Zoe* originated as a collaborative ‘history in letters,’ between Mrs. Elizabeth Paulet, Jewsbury and Jane Carlyle, written in 1841 during a visit to Seaford, home of the Paulets.<sup>13</sup> Jane explained that *Zoe* evolved as ‘a book among us in the form of letters.’ Jane thought the ms was too ‘stormy’ and so ‘backed out of the engagement, and then Mrs. P gave up out of indolence - and Geraldine went on - and that beginning after all sorts of manipulating and *repairing* in the Highlandman’s gun fashion, turned into *Zoe*.<sup>14</sup> Jewsbury often wrote about ‘our joint tale’ attributing some of the humorous parts of the novel to Paulet, ‘anything entertaining in the tale is thanks to her!’ explaining that in

---

<sup>9</sup> For the effects of women writers and sensation novels see Chapter Six.

<sup>10</sup> Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth Century Grub Street*, C.U.P, 1988, p1.

<sup>11</sup> Ireland *Letters*, p367-8.

<sup>12</sup> Rowbotham noted that mid-Victorian men connected identity with work as part of status and masculinity whereas being a woman was a career in itself. However, female professional development gained importance because it linked creating a personal sense of worth as part of female individuality. See *Good Girls make Good Wives*, p12 and W.J Reader, *Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth Century England*, Weidenfield Nicolson, 1966, Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society*, Routledge, 1990, Gary Kelly, *Women, Writing and Revolution, 1790-1927*, O.U.P, 1993.

<sup>13</sup> UIUC, L22c, 1877.

<sup>14</sup> Huxley, *Letters*, p339.

comparison, her own seemed ‘dreadfully long winded’ and ‘dree.’<sup>15</sup> In the beginning chapters of the novel there is evidence of joint authorship with phrases, ‘we must explain.’ Yet, it will be shown that Jewsbury substantially reshaped the ms making it into a novel. Nonetheless, this initial joint authorship is significant highlighting the fact women could develop as professional authors together through their letter writing.<sup>16</sup> Joint writing could inspire authors or have the adverse effect, as with Jewsbury and Paulet, of being overpowering. (Ford and Conrad’s partnership was successful but led to doubts about writing alone.)<sup>17</sup> Paulet’s decision not to complete the novel, attributed by Jane to ‘indolence,’ may also have been due to wanting individual control, as she later wrote *Dharma* (1865).<sup>18</sup>

Jewsbury tried to tempt Jane to join the composition of *Zoe*, to take her mind off ‘disagreeable things’ and ‘employ’ her ‘energy.’<sup>19</sup> Yet, despite Jane’s refusal she gradually became involved as editor. By November 1842, she had received the ‘bundle’ of ms, termed the ‘Seaforth novel,’ which she read ‘with a feeling little short of *terror!* So much power of genius rushing so recklessly into unknown space.’ Jane voiced her reservations over its respectability claiming, ‘I do not believe there is a woman alive at the present day, not even George Sand herself, that could have written some of the best

---

<sup>15</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p148 and p152.

<sup>16</sup> There is little scholarship about the nature of this sort of writing. Lehmbeck mentions it briefly, p12.

<sup>17</sup> Max Saunders, *Ford Maddox Ford A Dual Life*, O.U.P, 1996, details the influence of joint composition upon the work and life of Conrad and Ford, see p117-130 and Max Sanders & Richard Stang (eds) *Ford Maddox Ford, 1873-1939, Critical Essays* Carcanet, 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Paulet, *Dharma: or, Three Phases of Love*. Reviewed by Jewsbury in the *Athenaeum*, 10<sup>th</sup> June 1865, p777.

<sup>19</sup> Jewsbury referred to Jane’s relationship with Carlyle, seen through her letters as a lonely and difficult marriage, Rosemary Ashton, *Thomas and Jane Carlyle. Portrait of a Marriage*, Chatto & Windus, 2000. Jewsbury thought Jane needed to use her talents. Ireland *Letters* p425. Jane did write a *Budget of a Femme Incomprise*, and a short story ‘Child Love,’ see Harriet Devine Jump, *Women Writers of the Victorian Period, 1837-1901: An Anthology*, Edinburgh University Press, 1999, p96-101, Alexander Carlyle, (ed.), *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Bodley Head, 1903, Vol., 2, p47-57, *Jane Welsh*

passages in the book - or would have had the courage if she had had the ability to write them -but they must not publish it, 'decency forbids.'<sup>20</sup> Her comparison to Jewsbury and Sand is interesting in relation to the reception of the novel.<sup>21</sup> Jewsbury was described by both Thomas and Jane Carlyle as full of 'amore proper,' a passionate 'flimsy tatter of a creature,' but the term 'sandism' was reserved for her displays of immorality, romantic verbosity, lack of common sense and emphasis upon '*grande* passions.'<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, in a similar manner to Sand, Jewsbury's writing both impressed and disgusted Jane. Despite being shocked by the novel's "indecenty," Jane confessed in the same letter that there was a sense of greatness about the ms, judging its indecenty as 'purely scientific and so essential for the full development of the story that one cannot at least, I cannot get up a feeling of outraged modesty about it.' Jane was simultaneously shocked and impressed by the tone and literary qualities of the novel.<sup>23</sup> However, she understood the need for decorum, warning of their 'want of reserve...in the spiritual department,' believing Jewsbury and Paulet exposed themselves 'naked as before the fall - without so much as a fig-leaf of conformity remaining - which no respectable public could stand - which even the freest spirit among us would call 'coming it too strong!' Jane advised Jewsbury to 'tone down' the novel which led to her unofficial appointment as editor:

It is a difficult task they have put on me to criticise such an extraordinary jumble of sense and nonsense...Geraldine will either "make a spoon or spoil a horn" - she is far too clever to do nothing in her day and generation.

---

Carlyle, "*The Simple Story of my own first Love*," (eds) K. J. Fielding, Ian Campbell, Aileen Christianson, Edinburgh University, 2001.

<sup>20</sup>Huxley, *Letters*, p66.

<sup>21</sup> For detail between Sand, Jewsbury and French fiction, see Chapter Four.

<sup>22</sup> Jewsbury and the Carlyles used this term when referring to indiscreet lovers and women authors who wrote 'immoral' novels. See Huxley and Ireland *letters* for examples.

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter Four.

Jane's involvement in the novel occurred as repayment for Jewsbury's kindness to friends the Mudies.<sup>24</sup> This return 'act of charity,' was a challenge that Jane encouraged, but her role as 'imaginary chair' also led to heated misunderstanding between the three women. Their letters highlight Jewsbury's frustration at not being able to adjust her work in line with Jane's more conservative demands; Jane's outrage over Jewsbury's flippant rejections of her advice and Paulet's siding in the middle.<sup>25</sup> Jane received a 'whole pamphlet of witty, devil-may-care objections to [her] objections,' but Jewsbury thought them humorous because she had attempted some 'strivings after decency,' remarking, 'if you had seen the work as it was first schemed you would have had something to complain of.'<sup>26</sup> Making the novel 'look decent at a distance' adding the much needed 'liberal distribution of spotted muslin!' exposed Jane's understanding of the publishing market, which Jewsbury was also learning.<sup>27</sup> She did not know how to adapt her work to make it 'appear' respectable, a fault even of her last novel, *Right and Wrong* (1859), which the reviewer thought 'tabooed,' did not correct.<sup>28</sup>

After the exchange of terse arguments and letters of 1843 Jewsbury took over sole authorship of the novel and began analysing the specific obstacles to her composition (such as its 'indecenty.') Jewsbury was plagued by 'those horrid seven chapters,' which more than likely included the 'chapel scene' where Everhard and Zoe kiss. Yet, she took responsibility and a professional approach to her writing dedicating hours to reading,

---

<sup>24</sup> Jewsbury secured the Mudie daughters' positions as servants by writing letters on their behalf, for which Jane was very grateful. 'I owe her a service' Huxley, *Letters*, p193, p131 and p165 and Ireland, *Letters*, p122 and p228.

<sup>25</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p59.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p145.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p146.

<sup>28</sup> See Anon, *The Examiner*, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1845, p324.

revising and editing the text.<sup>29</sup> Jane appreciated that Jewsbury needed ‘a pounding down with criticisms from people who know things better than myself,’<sup>30</sup> but by 1844, doubts about the novel’s sense of decency were overridden by the effect it had upon Jane: ‘I have all Geraldine’s MS now and by the powers, it is a wonderful book. Decidedly the cleverest Englishwoman’s book I ever remember to have read.’<sup>31</sup> It was the experience of taking charge of *Zoe* as her ‘book’ and not the collection of joint letters that enabled Jewsbury to develop into a professional, successful author.

Originating as letters between Paulet and Jewsbury, *Zoe* found its core through Jewsbury’s discussion of religious doubts, sexual passion and frustration over female vocation. Jewsbury used her own experiences of religious crisis, love affairs and society to influence her writing as well as learning technical skills, which enabled her to develop professionally.<sup>32</sup> Writing *Zoe* taught Jewsbury about the publishing and literary industry and the importance of prominent relationships. It enabled her to refine and market her own talents, to develop ideas, themes, and characters that she would use in later novels. It gave her the confidence to experiment with short stories and social articles in prominent journals which led to her reputation as a prominent author of the day and to her appointment as a reader and reviewer. As such, the composition of *Zoe* is integral to understanding Jewsbury’s development as a fiction author and contributor to popular journals.

---

<sup>29</sup>The term professionalism refers to Jewsbury’s development as a writer, her style, tone and characterisation that blends in *Zoe*. It also signals the change from the feminine form of letter writing, which began *Zoe* to the evolution of a novel.

<sup>30</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p204.

<sup>31</sup> Huxley, *Letters*, p189.

<sup>32</sup> Refer to Chapter Three.



**From Apprenticeship to Professionalism: Jewsbury's Social Journalism and Early Writing, 1846-59**

Jewsbury's early writings for magazines are significant because they enabled her to develop her writing style and relationships with influential figures such as Dickens, Jerrold, Dilke Dixon, and Bentley. Her ambition to be a journalist, (fed from her sister Maria's reviewing and poetry in the *Athenaeum*),<sup>33</sup> was partly fulfilled by her writing for magazines. Jewsbury's first publication was a sonnet, published in *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, in 1843, entitled 'A Parting Hour.'<sup>34</sup> *Zoe* followed in 1845, which led to her writing articles and short stories for various editors. It is important to look at her early writings as they are embedded within her political, social and religious beliefs and ideals, which extended through her novels. They also provide insight into Jewsbury's developing confidence and independence from Jane, within her business negotiations with publishers.

During the forties and fifties she contributed stories and social articles to *The Ladies' Companion*, *The Ladies Cabinet*, *Victoria Regina*, *Chambers Magazine*, *The Westminster Review*, *Fraser's Magazine*, *Foreign Quarterly Review*, *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, *Household Words* and children's literature in Mrs Hall's *The Juvenile Budget*. She wrote extensively and widely for other Manchester based papers, especially Frank

---

<sup>33</sup> For recent incite into their relations and Maria's influence on her sister see Norma Clarke, *Ambitious Heights*.

<sup>34</sup> Lehmbeck mentioned a sonnet written by Jewsbury, published with Jane's help in *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 61, (1843) p47, see *Studies in Geraldine Jewsbury's Fiction*, M.Lit, Edinburgh, 1988, p62 and Apendix. I have subsequently found reference to a sonnet entitled 'A Parting Hour,' held in Dove Cottage, Wordsworth Museum, Grasmere, *Autographs Volume II*, of which I believe to be the title for the published sonnet. See Apendix C.

Espinasse, in 1847, entitled *The Inspector*, and was so popular people would pay extra if it contained a ‘story by Miss Jewsbury.’<sup>35</sup>

Jewsbury was still dependent upon the Carlyles’ editorial advice even after Jane had secured the publication of *Zoe* with Chapman and Hall. Her initial attempts at writing for leading London magazines were unsuccessful, since she received rejections and criticisms from some editors and was ‘snubbed’ by Fraser’s.<sup>36</sup> She was also initially turned down by the *Westminster Review*, who rejected her article submitted in 1844 on religious scepticism. However, Jewsbury was determined to learn from her early mistakes, and ‘profit’ by them:

As for the article itself, it is of no value, and the public will be no better or worse whether the thing is bestowed upon it or not; but as I know definitely the objections it lies open to, and especially after Carlyle has taken the trouble of listening to it, I will rewrite it, and try to make it as good as my capacity will allow. It will be good practice at any rate.<sup>37</sup>

After feeling ‘sheepish’ over her failure to write a ‘respectable article,’ Jewsbury was determined, remaining optimistic in her letters to Jane, ‘Do not fancy I shall fidget myself or think this, that, or the other disagreeable thing about it if I don’t hear any tidings for the next six months of its fate.’<sup>38</sup> The article on religious scepticism, eventually published in 1850, caused her numerous problems: ‘the ‘Westminster’ was bound to aid and comfort sufferers for conscience’ sake, so that, therefore my article was

---

<sup>35</sup> Despite extensive searching, *The Inspector* has proved inaccessible and many of Jewsbury’s stories for *The Juvenile Budget* are also difficult to trace reliably due to writer’s anonymity. Susanne Howe, *Geraldine Jewsbury: Her Life and Errors*, London, Unwin, 1935, p95.

<sup>36</sup> Jewsbury wrote two articles for *Fraser’s Magazine* published in December 1874 and February 1875, see ‘The Greville Memoirs,’ 90, (1874) p777-88 and ‘Prince Albert by Theodore Maritn,’ 91, (1875), p209-222.

<sup>37</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p120-1.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p127.

rendered 'incomplete.' However, once amended, her writing confidence was restored and she resolved it would be the 'last time I shall have dealings' with the *Westminster*.<sup>39</sup>

Jewsbury constantly revised her early work accepting some of the Carlyle's editorial comments. In March 1846 she asked Jane to send back the ms of an early article so she could 'make a bonfire' of it, but was determined there was 'good' in the article which she could develop into 'something worth hearing.'<sup>40</sup> Jewsbury did exactly this, which led to her first success with *DJSM*, where her article or as she told Jane a '*particle*, of two pages,' was published. The Carlyles gave Jewsbury the confidence to persist with article writing in spite of her rejections, and after Jerrold's acceptance, Jewsbury's determination augmented: 'When the magazine came yesterday, the first thing I saw was my poor little thing flourishing in good legible print. I was pleased to see it...I fancied it read very decently.'<sup>41</sup> Therefore, Jewsbury's most successful writing for journals in the late 1840s began with *DJSM* and developed with *Household Words* in the 1850s. A brief assessment of her work for both these magazines will establish the breadth of her writing style and the development of the early part of her career. It is also valuable to see the nucleus of themes and ideals voiced in her essays, more fully explored through her novels.

---

<sup>39</sup> Ireland dates this letter around 1845 but the article was published in 1850, so a later date would seem more appropriate, Ireland, *Letters*, p176-7.

<sup>40</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> March 1846, Ireland, *Letters*, p206. The first article Jewsbury printed in *DJSM* was 'Today' vol 3 1846 p233-5. See Bibliography of Jewsbury's writing for full listing.

<sup>41</sup> Undated letter attributed by Ireland to 1849, but more probably 1846-7 when Jewsbury's articles were published in *DJSM*. The article mentioned is Jewsbury's second 'Things of Importance.' Ireland, *Letters*, p350.

Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine, 1846-7

Jewsbury's six articles form a wide-ranging miscellany of social writing, considering the condition of domestic servants; the importance of a lack of modern day values; the need for women's education and training, 'civilising' of the poor, and an attack on the marriage market and women's inferiority.<sup>42</sup> They demonstrate her ability to write persuasive, factual essays and highlight themes revisited in her articles for *Household Words*.<sup>43</sup> As articles of the time embedded within contemporary debate, they are valuable for their social and literary context and also insight into Jewsbury's determination to succeed as a writer: her apprenticeship into professional writing and successful publication.

Jewsbury's article 'To-day,' emphasises the contemporaneous nature of her writing, assessing the social ills of the 1840s as a direct lack of moral principles and 'rule of faith' in the present generation. Jewsbury argues that the main feature of the day is the 'utter chaos into which all previously received principles and opinions are reduced,' partly effected by a religious crisis.<sup>44</sup> Her liberalism is explored through her article, 'Social Barbarism: Hiring of a Servant,' which addressed the topical 'present condition of servant question.' This was of personal interest to Jewsbury as housekeeper to Frank and her father, and was something she wrote to Jane about, as her article reflects: 'if two women begin to talk, *servants* are the topic on which all their sympathies are

---

<sup>42</sup> Rosenmayer attributes a seventh essay to Jewsbury 'The Present and the Future' (Vol. 3, 1846, p543-48) which discusses spiritual crises of the present and the possibilities of the future.

<sup>43</sup> The only criticism of Jewsbury's work for *DJSM*: Monica Correa Fryckstedt, 'Geraldine Jewsbury and Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine,' *English Studies*, 66, (1985), p 326-337.

<sup>44</sup> This is also discussed in *Zoe and Westminster Review* article. 'To-day,' *DJSM*, 3, (1846), p223. All further references to these articles will be made in the text. Fryckstedt observed these early articles to be very Carlylean in philosophy. See Fryckstedt, p329.

warmed.’(4:462) Jewsbury urges that mutual dependence of servants and masters should encourage a mutual respect and ‘regard’ instead of a dehumanisation, making them ‘human cattle,’ where servants were hired like a ‘horse or a dog is bought.’ (4:464) Jewsbury continues to highlight her belief that inferiority breeds contempt, through analysis of the working classes. In her two articles ‘The lower orders’ and ‘Civilisation of the Lower Orders,’ she critically evaluates the lack of available education for the poor, considering ‘a practical faith in principles and high motives’ the best cure. (5:366) ‘Civilising the Lower Orders,’ argues that the lower orders have been treated as children of an ‘inferior sort’ and addressed with a ‘want of gentility,’ instead of a ‘full free rustic humanity.’(6:445) Jewsbury had experience of Lancashire workers to fuel her arguments, seeing wealth as the motivator for lower and middle classes, she outlined her belief that masters and men should ‘form one large class together,’ but that problems resulted from a lack of ‘fellow feeling’ (6:450). These ‘condition of England’ problems were later explored by Jewsbury’s industrial novel, *Marian Withers* (1850), and by Gaskell’s *Mary Barton* (1848) and, Disraeli’s *Sybil* (1849).<sup>45</sup> All Jewsbury’s *DJSM* articles highlight her enthusiasm and growing dedication to the profession of writing. What began as a half-hearted inclination, ‘I suppose I shall go on writing books...follow the profession of an author,’<sup>46</sup> became her dedicated career: ‘I did not desire to do it, or anything like it, but when once done I think it may stand.’<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> See Chapter Five.

<sup>46</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p369.

<sup>47</sup> This letter refers to her reviewing and writing, see Ireland *Letters*, p337-8.

### Household Words 1850-9

Both *DJSM* and *Household Words* shared similar democratic principles in wanting to reach the ‘Masses of England,’ with their ‘rightful claims and social wants.’<sup>48</sup> Jewsbury used her previous experience for *DJSM* to develop her writing and to explore more genres in Dickens’ ‘gentle pulpit for mild reform,’<sup>49</sup> contributing seventeen articles during its nine-year publication.<sup>50</sup> It can be seen that Jewsbury’s *Household Words* articles are more professionally written than those in *DJSM*. This may have been due to Dickens’ editorial influence, as her style is more fluent, readable and engaging, reflecting the tone of the magazine. Jewsbury respected Dickens and Jerrold, who behaved like a ‘Briton’ printing her first essay ‘without changing a word.’ It would seem that she accepted their editorial authority, informing Bentley later in her career, that Dickens took ‘immense pains and trouble about stories sent to him.’<sup>51</sup>

Dickens initially wrote to Jewsbury in February 1850 requesting she write ‘any papers or short stories.’<sup>52</sup> Although having a suitable piece, ‘a little tale which I believe was true,’ Jewsbury hesitated because of Jane’s disapproval.<sup>53</sup> In spite of her reluctance, the

---

<sup>48</sup> Monica Correa Fryckstedt, ‘Geraldine Jewsbury and Douglas Jerrold’s *Shilling Magazine*, *English Studies*, 66, (1985), p327.

<sup>49</sup> Carl Ray Woodring, *Victorian Samplers: William and Mary Howitt*, University of Kansas Press, 1952, p151.

<sup>50</sup> One co-written with Mr Henry Morley (entitled ‘Instructive Companions,’ 29<sup>th</sup> September, 1855) and another noted as being written by Miss French and Miss Jewsbury’s anonymous friend.

<sup>51</sup> UIUC, L66 May 12<sup>th</sup> 1879. For detailed accounts of Dickens as an editor see the following selection: Harry Stone, Ed., *The Uncollected Writings of Charles Dickens Household Words 1850-59*, Allen Lane, 1969, R.C Lehmann, *Charles Dickens as Editor The Letters of W.H.Wills*, Smith & Elder, 1912, Angus Easson, ‘Dickens, Household Words, and a Double Standard,’ *Dickensian*, 60, (1964), p104-114, and two good articles by P.A. Collins, ‘Dickens as Editor Some Uncollected Fragments,’ *Dickensian*, 56, (1960), p85-96, and ‘Inky Fishing Nets:” Dickens as Editor,’ *Dickensian*, 61 (1965), p123- . For his relationship with Wills, Phillip Collins ‘ Wills Plans for Household Words,’ *Victorian Periodical Newsletter*, 8, (1970), p33-46.

<sup>52</sup> Letter to Jewsbury, February 1850, in Graham Storey et al *Letters of Charles Dickens*, O.U.P., vol. 6, 1988, p44.

<sup>53</sup> Ireland *Letters*, p363-4. Jane Carlyle wrote to Dickens with another of Jewsbury’s papers in June 1852, which was probably ‘A Page From a Sad Book,’ printed on 31<sup>st</sup> July, p688.

‘powerful tale,’ *The Young Jew of Tunis* was published in the fifth edition of *Household Words* securing her professional relationship with Dickens and the magazine.<sup>54</sup> The articles and stories in *Household Words* were instructive and entertaining and popularised social debates. Jewsbury’s entries form a miscellany of short stories and topical journalism that range from true events in history, legal case studies, tales of women’s constancy, mystery, and essays on specific topics, such as industrial schooling.<sup>55</sup> Some mention the influence of *Arabian Nights*, and are set in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe and the East, developing a sense of mysticism and ‘orientalism’ further indicated by titles such as *Specimens of the Alchemist* or *The Young Jew of Tunis*. Others, such as, *The Frenchman of Two Wives*, employ bigamy, murder and secrecy, in line with sensation fiction of the 1860s. In her criminal case histories, *Two Difficult Cases*, *The Seven Victims of Mittlebron*, *A Page from a Sad Book* and *Tardy Justice*, Jewsbury relates ‘true’ events, but entertains the reader with a sense of legal injustice from the past. All are reported in a colloquial manner with references to witnesses and court proceedings, in keeping with a literary ‘need’ for realism emphasised by *Household Words*.<sup>56</sup>

Dickens was keen to secure Jewsbury as a writer for the magazine, noting ‘how very glad I should be’ to receive her work, a request he repeated to Wills in 1851, ‘*I want Miss Jewsbury’s paper. I must read it myself and write to her.*’<sup>57</sup> Jewsbury’s two short fiction

---

<sup>54</sup> ‘The Young Jew of Tunis,’ *Household Words*, 27<sup>th</sup> April 1850, p118-20, a story about a bigamist’s attempts at murdering his second wife. The gap of a year between her first contribution and her second was due to the serialisation of *Marian Withers*, in the *Manchester Examiner* and *The Sorrows of Gentility*, in the *Ladies’ Companion*, which commenced on 5<sup>th</sup> January and 7<sup>th</sup> September 1850, respectively.

<sup>55</sup> Jewsbury and Morely co-wrote ‘Instructive Companions,’ which compares the polar pedagogical views of a ragged and united industrial school, set up for educating the poor in Edinburgh, in relation to children that have turned to crime. *Household Words*, 29<sup>th</sup> September, 1855, p212.

<sup>56</sup> Nancy Armstrong, *Fiction in the age of Photography: the Legacy of British Realism*, Harvard University Press, 2000.

<sup>57</sup> Letter from Dickens to Jewsbury, MP 25<sup>th</sup> June 1852 and Letter to Wills, 21<sup>st</sup> September 1851, in Storey et al, *Letters of Charles Dickens*, O.U.P., vol. 6, 1988, p497.

stories ‘Nicholas the Rope Dancer’ and ‘Agnes Lee’ were eagerly published by Dickens and are examples of her writing maturing. ‘Nicholas’ discusses infidelity and the problems of bad marriage matches later developed in *Sorrows of Gentility* and *Adopted Child*. ‘Agnes Lee,’ the longest and most interesting of Jewsbury’s short stories, maintains the reader’s intrigue throughout its presentation of women, men and morality and develops the idea of constancy in love and marriage. Printed in 1857, it is reminiscent of *The Half Sisters*, (1848), *Constance Herbert*, (1855) and ‘Agnes Worrall’ (1847) which also discuss the marriage question, inherited madness and the conflict surrounding women’s vocation.<sup>58</sup> It seems probable that, owing to Jewsbury’s interest in these topics, her short story was conceived at the same time as her novels. In both tales Jewsbury explores the perception of the relationship between men and women through highlighting their opposing characteristics of constancy and inconstancy; loyalty and disloyalty; abuse and kindness. However, despite bleak descriptions of the behaviour of some male characters in these tales, (with the exception of Nicholas, who does not copy adult-male models), Jewsbury emphasises a need for domestic morality echoed in future work.

The experience of writing for Jerrold and Dickens undoubtedly heightened Jewsbury’s professional outlook by developing her writing style and experiences with editors, publishers and printers. It also enabled her to explore themes and characters developed in her novels. As has been seen, it was the success of *Zoe* that enabled Jewsbury to emerge

---

<sup>58</sup> *Agnes Worrall* pioneers Jewsbury’s discussion of female vocation, condemnation of the marriage market and the superficial respectability of society. Agnes, dependent upon her Aunt and Uncle, becomes a governess but disgraces herself through flouting social convention when walking out with an engaged man. Jewsbury blames her education and futile existence, seen as a ‘moral *serfdom*.’ Fryckstedt attributes Jerrold’s publication of such a radical piece of women’s writing to his tolerance and belief in equality. Themes Jewsbury developed in *The Half Sisters*. Fryckstedt, p333 and consult Chapter Four.



as a literary reputation in 1845, which then secured her work for journals and magazines. This reputation as a significant storywriter was heightened through her connection with *DJSM* and *Household Words* of the 1840s and 1850s and led to her reviewing and reading career of the 1860s and 1870s. Yet, her journey to success was not unhindered as the impact of the publication and reception of *Zoe* exposes.

### Publication

Without Jane's help *Zoe* would probably have taken longer to get published. She dissuaded Jewsbury from sending it to Maryland Street, cautioning 'the religious ideas set forth in it would have seemed very shocking to those who had never heard anything said about religion except in the orthodox tone.'<sup>59</sup> Jane used her connections at Chapman and Hall, and her 'feminine merits' and 'womanhood,' but was astonished at how quickly and effortlessly the manuscript was accepted.<sup>60</sup> In writing to Jeannie Welsh, Jane compares Mill's and Carlyle's success at gaining a publisher with that of Jewsbury. Whether it was just 'luck' or rather that the reader for Chapman and Hall saw the 'remarkable' in *Zoe*, is difficult to discern:

Certainly it is a very remarkable book, and well worth being tried - but when I think how John Mill's *Logic* which he spent *ten* years over - and Carlyle 's *Sartor* a real "*work of genius*" -had to hawk themselves about thro' all the *trade* before they could so much as get printed *free of cost* - I do wonder at my good luck and *hers* in having this philosophical novel accepted by the first man I offered it to -on the principle of *half profits*.<sup>61</sup>

It was evident that Jane thought Mill and Carlyle worked harder and for a more intellectual cause than Jewsbury, exposing much about the state of the publishing and

---

<sup>59</sup> Huxley, *Letters*, p77.

<sup>60</sup> Letter to Jewsbury from Jane, MP, 29<sup>th</sup> February 1844 and 16<sup>th</sup> March 1844, Huxley p193-4.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p194.

literary markets at this time.<sup>62</sup> Jane was also bitter about Jewsbury's payment, highlighting her own jealousy that a woman could be paid well for writing fiction whereas her esteemed husband had to bargain and 'hawk' for recognition. Having the wife of the reputable Carlyle as a proponent probably secured *Zoe*'s early publication, yet Jane saw her involvement as troublesome. After listening to Champan's alterations for the novel for two hours, she concluded, 'I had better have written the book over myself than have had so much intermediation to transact!'<sup>63</sup>

Despite the initial reader of the novel at Chapman and Hall considering *Zoe* had 'a grasp of iron,' and overlooking its 'sins-of good taste,' the novel caused a disturbance throughout the firm as Jewsbury reminisced to Bentley in a report of 1880: 'when Chapman read it, he nearly had a fit of apoplexy he was so shocked! - a work he had intended to 'circulate in the house of families' was not fit to be read.'<sup>64</sup> The use of Jewsbury's terms 'sins-of-good taste' and 'not fit to be read' are interestingly those she employed when assessing and reviewing manuscripts; exposing her understanding of the moral needs demanded by fiction in 1840 and 1880.

Chapman asked Jewsbury to write something else, but considering the half profits agreement, that they were therefore 'to pay me nothing,' for renewed efforts, she thought this 'coming it strong.' Much to Jane's annoyance, Chapman appealed to her on numerous occasions to '*bail* him if he were taken up for bringing out *Zoe*!' Nevertheless,

---

<sup>62</sup> Refer to Chapter One about women's roles in the mid-Victorian publishing and literary markets.

<sup>63</sup> Huxley, *Letters* p194.

<sup>64</sup> UIUC, L22c 1877.

she persuaded him that the house would not ‘lose its character’ because of the novel.<sup>65</sup> As such, Jewsbury considered herself indebted to Jane for the publication of *Zoe*, believing her to have done ‘more than I could have expected in reason and conscience even from the categories of love and friendship.’<sup>66</sup> It is the timing of the publication of *Zoe*, early in 1845, and less the fact it was published at all, that is remarkable, owing much to Jewsbury’s literary talents and Jane’s persuasive skills. For Jewsbury, the ‘bare fact of getting my book printed without cost,’ was more than satisfactory, but the storm of publicity it received was an additional bonus.<sup>67</sup>

### Reception

*Zoe*’s mixed reception highlights the discord between public and critical ideology about the influence of fiction upon women, alongside the critical double standard of women writers of the 1840s.<sup>68</sup> It has been well documented that mid-Victorian women writers were stigmatised and judged according to their gender with writing most often seen as having ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ traits.<sup>69</sup> Assessing reviews through this ‘multi-layered gender code’ uncovers the ‘shifting politics and standards of reception,’ of many mid-century novels and reviews.<sup>70</sup> Novels read and written by women were scrutinised in

---

<sup>65</sup> Huxley, *Letters* p233.

<sup>66</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p118.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p157.

<sup>68</sup> Both Tuchman and Showalter discuss the importance of women writers in relation to double standards based upon the sex of a writer. Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, 1977 and Gaye Tuchman & Nina Fortin. However, recent research points to gender categorisation as the critical language of reviews. See Nicola Diane Thompson, *Reviewing Sex: Gender and the Reception of Victorian Novels*, New York University Press, 1996.

<sup>69</sup> See Casey, p151-71.

<sup>70</sup> Through her research of the language and gender criticism of reviews from 1847-67, Thompson argues for analysis based upon gender criticism, examining Reade, Brontë, Yonge and Trollope’s critical reception in terms of ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ subject matter and style. In this manner Reade is shown as a male author of masculine novels; Trollope as a male writer of feminine novels; Brontë as a woman writing unfeminine novels, and Yonge as a woman of feminine novels. Thompson, *Reviewing Sex*, p6.

terms of the gender of the writing; the femininity and respectability of the writer. Women were meant to exemplify Mrs Marsh who wrote as ‘an English gentlewoman should write...and what English gentlewoman should read,’ with pages full of ‘the green pastures.’<sup>71</sup> Female authors were unfeminine or ‘defeminized’ if they displayed experience or knowledge outside their domestic duties.<sup>72</sup> Jewsbury’s talents and those of other women, were ‘masculinised’ so they could be lionised as women authors.<sup>73</sup>

The objections that led to *Zoe* being locked away in a ‘dark cupboard in the Manchester library of that day, because it was calculated to injure the manners of the young men,’<sup>74</sup> rested with the potential influence of the passionate and religiously sceptic thoughts. *John Bull*’s outrage over Jewsbury’s ‘unfeminine’ novel was reiterated by *Fraser’s Magazine*, noting *Zoe* to be ‘foolish and unwomanly coarse.’<sup>75</sup> *John Bull*, reviewing the novel in February 1845, nonetheless praised Jewsbury’s ‘great power of description’ and ‘knowledge of human nature’ which exceeded ‘part of the stock-in-trade of a mere novel writer.’<sup>76</sup> Many of the reviews recognised Jewsbury’s power as a writer claiming *Zoe* was ‘undeniably clever and interesting,’ but both *Fraser’s* and *John Bull* were shocked by the ‘right daring’ and ‘masculine spirit,’ belonging to a woman. *Fraser’s* couldn’t accept

---

<sup>71</sup> Review of Mrs Marsh, *North British Review*, 11, (1849), p497.

<sup>72</sup> See Horace Greenly, ‘The Sphere of Women’, *Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, 2, (1848), p271.

<sup>73</sup> Ireland described Jewsbury as ‘intellectually she was a man.’ Ireland, *Letters*, pvi. Sand, Eliot and Emily Brontë were also attributed masculine intellect or status. Elizabeth Barrett-Browning, ‘Desire’ and ‘A Recognition,’ 1844, in M.H. Abrams (ed.) *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 1993, Vol., 2, p1031, Rosemary Ashton, *George Eliot A life*, Hamish Hamilton, 1996, p275-6, Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell, September 19<sup>th</sup> 1850, pxiv and Emma Franics’, ‘Is Emily Brontë a Woman?, Femininity, Feminism, and the Paranoid Critical Subject,’ in *Subjectivity and Literature from the Romantics to the Present Day. Creating the Self*, (eds) Philip Shaw and Peter Stockwell, Pinter Publications, 1991, p 12-28.

<sup>74</sup> UIUC, L74, May 25<sup>th</sup> 1880.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Sea-Side Reading,’ *Fraser’s Magazine*, 32, (1845) p565 and p566 and *John Bull* February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1845, p119.

<sup>76</sup> *John Bull*, p119.

female authorship, ‘for the credit of her sex we therefore shall remain sceptical.’<sup>77</sup> The reason for this outrage resided with the lack of innocence highlighted by the physical passion of the chapel scene, where Everhard kisses Zoe and the violent sexual passion of Mirabeau, addressed here by the *Spectator*:<sup>78</sup>

We do not say that the tendency of the work is immoral, (though it is not exactly a book to be recommended as family reading,) for it is a critical defect of *Zoe* that it has no direct tendency...nor is it devoid of moral sense...but devoid of a sense of moral *propriety*.<sup>79</sup>

Propriety, in this sense, was seen as important because it was a moral statement about the author’s responsibility to reflect model behaviour, or condone immorality. Jewsbury thought all the fuss about the ‘chapel scene’ completely unnecessary, especially since she had previously amended it, ‘only think of my questionable chapter being the bait for the whole book - surely nobody indulges in enthusiasm except candidates for a strait-waistcoat.’<sup>80</sup> Jewsbury considered other novels to be equally, if not more shocking; ‘as to the ‘scene,’ if it really is too bad it must be exchanged for something more placid. But I am sure I have read things far fiercer in Miss Porter’s novels.’<sup>81</sup>

However, it was not just this scene, but also the inclusion of the birth of Zoe’s children, which was questionable.<sup>82</sup> Jewsbury uses Zoe’s delivery, where she was ‘half bewildered

---

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, and Henry Chorley, *Athenaeum* 1<sup>st</sup> February 1845, p114.

<sup>78</sup> Many articles highlighted addressed innocence and women’s reading and writing: Unsigned, ‘The Enigma Novel’ *Spectator*, 28<sup>th</sup> December 1861, p1428, E. S Dallas, (unsigned) ‘Lady Audley’s Secret,’ *The Times*, November 18<sup>th</sup> 1862, p4 , Henry Dean Mansel, (unsigned) ‘Sensation Novels’ *Quarterly Review*, 113, (1863), p482-514, W.R Fraser, ‘Our Female Sensation Novelists,’ *Christian Remembrancer*, 46, (1863), p209-36, Justin MacCarthy, ‘Novels with a Purpose,’ *Westminster Review*, 26, (1864), p24-49, Margaret Oliphant, ‘Novels’ *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 94, (1863), p168-83, and ‘Novels’ *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 102, (1867) , p257-80. For detail on the chapel scene see Chapter Three.

<sup>79</sup> Anon, ‘Spectator Library,’ *Spectator*, 8<sup>th</sup> February 1845, p136.

<sup>80</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p170.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p104.

<sup>82</sup> This is an unconventional literary device, as most mid-Victorian novels did not include details of childbirth.

at the fierce reality of pain,' to highlight her internal questioning about life, 'enduring for hours, suffering which she once would have imagined must quickly end in death.' It also represents Jewsbury's broader complaint against the emotional and intellectual suffering of restrictive women's roles. Zoe wept in 'utter weakness: 'at the thought of all the suffering and agony so many millions of women had borne before her. Her eyes seemed suddenly opened to all the misery there was in the world; she realised with a terrible and morbid vividness the varied forms of human suffering; poor girl!''(112). The scene outraged *Fraser's* who considered Jewsbury outside of conventional rules of novel writing: 'her wedding - and if not that, certainly the birth of her two sons - ought to have brought Zoe's public career to an end; but Miss Jewsbury treats rules, both old and new, as nonentities.'<sup>83</sup> Readers of *Zoe* were therefore primed by reviews to expect a scandalous novel, which questioned doctrine and women's domesticity, but was engaging in its use of 'Sandism.' This duality was uncomfortable for *The Examiner*, who summarised the dilemma readers of the novel faced, wanting to show enjoyment of the book without appearing unrespectable: 'it is a book to put its readers in a state of discomfort and fear, less discredit be brought on them by praising it. Yet it is a book to be praised heartily. The faults to be found in it are nothing to the beauties.'<sup>84</sup> This criticism was also voiced by Jewsbury in a letter to Mantell, believing her novel had a 'great deal more devil-may care than is in good taste...tho' the fireworks are made without gunpowder.' She reflected upon the novel in 1857 saying that it had been considered the 'stupidest and worst book of the most abominable class!' Despite being annoyed at such judgements, she contemplated her professional progress 'nevertheless there is a dash of absurdity wh

---

<sup>83</sup> *Fraser's Magazine*, p562.

<sup>84</sup> Anon, *The Examiner*, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1845, p324.

makes one laugh in spite of it.’<sup>85</sup> Overall the reviews did not affect Jewsbury’s confidence or desire to write, as she took advice from constructive remarks and discarded others. It was the private reception of the novel, from friends and her social milieu, which affected her more.

Mazzini, (whose work Jewsbury often translated), read *Zoe* and considered the novel ‘full of talent.’<sup>86</sup> He attributed the ripple of shock the novel caused, to the readership’s sense of ‘British-ness.’ As a foreigner, he had insight into Jewsbury’s parody of the appearance of respectability within British society through mercenary marriages and falsity of the position of some clergy. Yet, it was not just national prudishness that marked some parts of the novel as scandalous, as Jane Carlyle recalled in 1845: ‘the *boldness* which may be fault for "*an English*" is for him, rather *good*" - but he dislikes the book for its want of *womanness* - "it is the book of what shall I say - a *man* upon my honour!"<sup>87</sup> Mazzini adhered to a double standard (shared by British and Italian men) which objected to the use of such topics from a female pen. Mazzini’s criticisms were echoed by Bulwer-Lytton. After reading *Zoe*, he wrote to Foster in 1847, ‘I have just read Miss Jewsbury’s book. The first volume and much of the second made me exclaim: ‘At last an honest woman speaks, out right or wrong, to the world.’ Bulwer thought Jewsbury was a ‘great and startling writer - one who may pursue society,’ as an author, yet despite praising the style and language of the novel, he disagreed with the topic, exposing a prejudice for the social respectability expected of women writers: ‘though I do not agree with her in much, and though, if her friend and relation I would rather for her sake she let society alone.’

---

<sup>85</sup> MP, 310/24, dated 1857.

<sup>86</sup>For correspondence between Mazzini (1805-1872) and Jewsbury, see MP, Autograph Book, vol 1, 467.

<sup>87</sup> Huxley, *Letters*, p231-235.

It would appear that Bulwer-Lytton was not overtly concerned about the influence of the novel upon its readers because he sent a copy of *Zoe* to Lady Lovelace. Nonetheless he was still shocked by Jewsbury's breach of propriety in some passages, considering it 'striking' coming from an older married woman, but in 'a younger person extremely distasteful to one's feelings as implying a monstrosity of development.'<sup>88</sup> Despite inaccurately gauging Jewsbury's age as twenty-three when she was thirty-three, Bulwer's impressions of the novel reflected those of others in the literary market: Jewsbury was a powerful female writer, but questioning religious values and women's roles meant she was not easily accepted. Despite negative outbursts, mainly from male authors and reviewers, *Zoe* was 'talked about and that is the great point.'<sup>89</sup>

Jane knew all advertising benefited the publisher and *Zoe* was causing a literary and social stir: 'It is quite curious to see the horror excited in some people (and these the least moral) by Geraldine's book while the moralest people of my acquaintance either like it or are not at the pains to abuse it.' In the same letter, she noted how 'old and young *roues* of the Reform Club almost go off in hysterics over - its *indecenty*.'<sup>90</sup> This extraordinary reaction from readers, where moralists praised the novel and liberals condemned it, exposes the confused reaction to such an unusual and topical text.<sup>91</sup> Yet, Jewsbury sought Carlyle's acceptance seeing as she had inscribed it to him and adhered to his philosophies.

---

<sup>88</sup> Michael Sadlier, *Nineteenth Century Fiction: A Bibliographic Record*, Constable. 1951, vol.,1, p193.

<sup>89</sup> Huxley, *Letters*, p233.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p236.

<sup>91</sup> Jane added that Darwin and Arthur Helps, examples of the 'deadly sensible sort, moral to the finger-ends,' asked her to congratulate Jewsbury Huxley, *Letters*, p233.



Jane informed Jeanie, that Carlyle read *Zoe* ‘stretched out on the green’ with an ‘intense enthusiasm’ and believed it to ‘constitute a new era in his spiritual existence!’<sup>92</sup> Fuelled by such praise, Jewsbury dismissed the scandalous critical outcry as exciting and was cheered by a friend’s request to read *Zoe* to him because of its reputation as a ‘most disreputable work.’<sup>93</sup>

After *Zoe*, criticism of women novelists shifted to a ‘half-wondering, half-patronizing’ derisive praise, qualified by recognition of the author’s gender as ‘an extraordinary work for a woman.’<sup>94</sup> This formed an apology for writing; helping men to classify women’s fiction as second-rate, absolving any threat and solidifying, not disputing, the gender stereotypes within writing and authorship.<sup>95</sup> Lewes displayed concern over female competition as an ‘invasion of our legitimate domain,’ in his *Leader* article ‘A Gentle Hint to Writing Women’ (1850). He claimed female authors threatened male dominance in the market, ‘what am I to do - what are my brother-pens to do, when such rivalry is permitted?’<sup>96</sup> As Jewsbury’s friend, Lewes often cited her as an example of talent, ‘How many of us can write novels like Currer Bell, Mrs Gaskell, Geraldine Jewsbury, Mrs Marsh, Mrs Crowe...with their shrewd and delicate observations of life?’<sup>97</sup> Yet, Jewsbury thought his opinions about women authors were ‘rubbish.’<sup>98</sup> Jewsbury witnessed these changes to the perception of the woman writer over her forty-year career. The unusual

---

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p243.

<sup>93</sup> This man was Chevalier. Ireland, *Letters*, p266.

<sup>94</sup> Charles William Russell, ‘Our Lady Novelists,’ *The Dublin Review* (23), 1847, p178-9.

<sup>95</sup> Virginia Woolf also highlighted this prejudice: ‘This is an important book, the critic assumes, because it deals with war. This is an insignificant book because it deal with the feelings of a woman in a drawing room.’ *A Room of One’s Own*, Hogarth, London, 1935, p111.

<sup>96</sup> Vivan, [G.H.Lewes], ‘A Gentle Hint to Writing Women,’ *Leader*, Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> May, 8 (1850), p189.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Jewsbury knew Lewes through her work at the *Athenaeum*. On his death she wrote to Bentley, ‘he had some remarkable fine qualities mixed with rubbish *helas!* I knew him well at one time.’ December 16<sup>th</sup> 1878, UIUC, L50.

joint composition of *Zoe*, Jane's influence and comparative ease of publication, mark the novel's success as extraordinary. Jewsbury's early publications were also crucial in influencing her transition from amateur to professional writer. Written out of passion with 'so much of my own life thrown into it,' *Zoe* is daring for its time due to its questioning of religious scepticism and women's roles.<sup>99</sup> The literary ripple caused by its publication was partly due to Jewsbury's sex. As such, *Zoe* set the precedent for the reception of female novels of the late 1840s and 1850s where gender, morality and women's vocation dominated literary and cultural criticism of women's writing.<sup>100</sup> All Jewsbury's writing represents her growing professionalism and public reputation as a novelist who pre-empted dominant literary themes of the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>101</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> MP, 316/2, April 1858.

<sup>100</sup> Women developed their own retort to the criticism of the era, see Phillipa Levine, 'The Humanising Influence of 5 O' Clock Tea: Victorian Feminist Periodicals of the 1850s,' *Victorian Studies*, 33, (1990), p293-306.

<sup>101</sup> The first three novels are chosen for detailed examination because they are precursors to main literary themes: religious scepticism, female vocation and the restless heroine and industrial reform.

## Chapter Three

### Zoe: Passion, Piety and the 1840s.

Jewsbury was launched into the public literary sphere in 1845 with the publication of *Zoe: A History of Two Lives*, which examines the nature of faith, love and passion. It is the history of Zoe: an unconventional, passionate heretic and the history of Everhard: a Catholic priest wrestling with religious doubt and sexual desire. Published two years before *Jane Eyre*, Zoe prefigures the restless heroine searching for a purpose that dominated women's novels of the late 1840s and Jewsbury's second novel *The Half Sisters* (1848).<sup>1</sup>

Zoe represents the unconventional: a wild, half-Greek, illegitimate heretic, brought up by her Uncle, Reverend Oliver, and educated as a boy.<sup>2</sup> Her desire for intellectual and social freedom leads to her marriage to Gifford as a path to 'the freedom of a rational being.' (1:188) Through Zoe, Jewsbury argues for stimulus beyond the domestic because women are capable of 'a much more brilliant sphere.'<sup>3</sup> Zoe rebels against the traditional ideology of domesticity but advocates love as the ultimate fulfilment for women, issues familiar to readers and critics from 1848 onwards.<sup>4</sup> However, despite

---

<sup>1</sup> Brontë read *Zoe* and was impressed by Jewsbury: 'You mention Mrs Gaskell and Miss Jewsbury. I regard as an honour any expression of interest from these ladies. The latter I once had the pleasure of meeting.' Patricia Thomson, *The Victorian Heroine: A Changing Ideal 1837-1873*, Greenwood Press, 1978, p260.

<sup>2</sup> Jane Carlyle is a possible influence for Zoe: 'In the scene which I fancy is the one in which the objection is most tangible, you don't know how I begged that you might have on the 'velvet cloak lined with fur', but Betsy said that when people woke out of their sleep, they did not.' Ireland, *Letters*, p146. Calliope Dobigerssa, (a Greek friend who Mantell fell in love with) was another. She also heard a rumour about an Oxford professor who married a woman called Zoe, 'on the strength of her being a beautiful Greek.' Huxley, 'A Sheaf of Letters from Jane Welsh Carlyle,' *Cornhill Magazine*, 61, (1926), p635.

<sup>3</sup> See Werner and Womack.

<sup>4</sup> For debate in periodicals about women's roles during 1840-80s see: Horace Greenly, 'The Sphere of Women', *Union Magazine*, (1848), p270-3, 'The Enfranchisement of Women,' *Westminster Review*, 55, (1851), p289-311, Margaret Oliphant, 'The Condition of Women,' *Blackwood's Magazine*, 83, (1858),

critical attention to Jewsbury's representation of women in *Zoe*, it is more an emphasis on passion and a Carlylean questioning of faith and scepticism, that has been crucially overlooked.<sup>5</sup>

*Zoe* has been seen as the precursor to novels of doubt and dissent written in the late 1840s, as the 'first serious effort to deal with the subject in fiction.'<sup>6</sup> It pre-empted the wave of religious literature concerning scepticism, doubt and the necessity of religious confinement and celibacy, found in Elizabeth Harris's *From Oxford to Rome* (1847), Newman's *Loss and Gain: The Story of a Convert* (1848) and Froude's *Nemesis of the Faith* (1849) and *Shadows of Clouds* (1847). Religion was a 'thorny' topic of the day but even 'condition-of-England' novels, such as Kingsley's *Yeast* (1850) Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848) and Disraeli's *Tancred* (1847) contained elements of religious questioning.<sup>7</sup> However, *Zoe* is unique in being the first novel to address religious doubt and is significant for presenting the debate in a light, popular fiction novel. Setting the precedent in literature: Craik's *Olive* (1850), Yonge's *The Clever Woman of the Family* (1865) and Mrs Ward's *Robert Elsmere* (1888).<sup>8</sup>

R.L.Wolff identified Jewsbury's role as the leading novelist of religious dissent in *Gains and Losses: Novels of Faith and Doubt in Victorian England* (1977). He claimed that *Zoe* initiated features of the genre: 'scepticism of Christian evidences,

---

p139-54, 'Woman,' *National Review*, 7, (1858), p333-361, 'Literary Women,' *London Review*, 8<sup>th</sup> March 1864, p328, 'What is Women's Work,' *Saturday Review*, February 15<sup>th</sup> 1868, p197-8, 'The Emancipation of Women,' *Westminster Review*, 128, (1888), p167-73.

<sup>5</sup> Consult, Lehmbek, Fryckstedt and Meredith.

<sup>6</sup> R.L. Wolff, *Gains and Losses Novels of Faith and Doubt in Victorian England*, John Murray, London, 1977, p403.

<sup>7</sup> Josephine M. Guy, *The Victorian Social-Protest Novel, The Market, the Individual and Communal Life*, Macmillan, 1996.

<sup>8</sup> There has been little recent scholarship in this field, see: Wolff *Gains and Losses*, E. Jay, *The Religion of the Heart: Anglican Evangelicalism and the Nineteenth Century Novel*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1979, M. Maison, *Search Your Soul Eustace*, Sheed & Ward, 1961, Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature*, Longman, 1993, p65-71.

sublimation of doubt in sex, social service among the poor as a substitute for faith, the importance of German Biblical criticism in undermining belief,' all 'entirely new' in 1845.<sup>9</sup> Therefore *Zoe*'s contribution as a popular novel of religious doubt and dissent needs addressing.

Jewsbury's doctrinal questioning and religious doubts were prominent public symptoms of the 1840s.<sup>10</sup> It was not just Anglican orders that were questioned but the fundamental principles of Christianity, with moral objections to Church doctrine being raised.<sup>11</sup> Scientific developments in Biblical criticism and geology, with Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859) fuelled the debate, as images of hell, everlasting punishment, original sin and creation, became irreconcilable for some with an omnipotent, all-loving God.<sup>12</sup> Craik's *Olive* (1850) was one of the earliest novels to hint at scientific influence causing religious doubt.<sup>13</sup> The open examination of religion climaxed in 1851 with the first and only religious census. The results, taking two years to compile, gained publicity due to the high number of dissenting congregations, (close to the Church of England attendance), causing controversy over the reliability of the statistics.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Wolff, p404.

<sup>10</sup> See 'Low Church Novels', *Christian Remembrancer*, November, (1843), p518-38, 'Religious Stories,' *Fraser's Magazine*, August, (1848), p150-66, 'The Hard Church Novel,' *National Review*, July, (1856), p127-46.

<sup>11</sup> Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, 1829-59*, Part I 1870 and Part II, 1972, Scholastic Press, Ltd, 1971.

<sup>12</sup> For discussion about the impact of Science and Darwin upon Victorian religious doubt see, Robert M. Young, 'The Impact of Darwin on Conventional Thought,' in A. Symondson, (ed.) *The Victorian crisis of Faith*, S.P.C.K, 1970, p13-35 and Roy M. McLeod, *The "Creed of Science" in Victorian England*, Aldershot Variorum, 2000.

<sup>13</sup> The most crucial being Winwood Reade's *The Outcast* (1875), see Wolff, p420-2.

<sup>14</sup> The census was taken on Sunday 30<sup>th</sup> March 1851. (Chadwick, p363-9):

Church of England	5,292,551
Roman Catholic	383,630
Protestant dissenting (Presbyterian, Methodist, congregational, Baptist)	4,536,264

Amidst this background, Jewsbury entered the debate publicly in 1850, with her article on faith and scepticism published in the *Westminster Review*. It highlighted the depth of her understanding about struggling with religious doubt and reviewed faith in modern novels, including Froude's *Nemesis*. Although sympathetic to the theme of Froude's novel, similar to her own with a priest's love for a married woman, Jewsbury thought it unsuccessful in conveying useful advice to the reader, 'his book is constructed like a town, in which every street should be a cul-de-sac.'<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, *Nemesis* served a literary purpose and painted, 'a very powerful picture of the struggle of a religiously disposed sceptic.'<sup>16</sup> However, Jewsbury considered *Nemesis* did not go far enough: 'Doubt is treated as a powerful phenomenon, and not as a legitimate phase in the transition of humanity from one condition to another.'<sup>17</sup> (399) Jewsbury argued that 'sincere doubt' should be respected as much as 'sincere belief,' referencing Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1834) which first 'recognised in print the fact, that a man may be at once religious of heart and sceptical of doctrine.'<sup>18</sup> (396) For Jewsbury, doubting Christian doctrine helped deepen faith, as 'doubts and spiritual differences are not the end of experience, they are the beginning of a wider and deeper insight - a larger faith and increased knowledge.'<sup>19</sup> (392)

In essence her faith was Christian; she believed in the progress of religious thought and was not, as could be construed, moving towards atheism but addressed her faith through her doubts. This scepticism was also a public 'battle of modern opinion,' where orthodox tradition was 'crushed in the fearful collision between the old and the

---

<sup>15</sup> Geraldine Jewsbury, 'Religious Faith and Modern Scepticism,' *Westminster Review*, 52, January, (1850), p379-406. Future reference will be made in the text.

<sup>16</sup> *Nemesis* follows the faith and scepticism of ordained priest, Mark Sutherland, who questions both Protestant and Catholic doctrine. His love affair with married woman, Helen, results in the moral of the novel; doubt causes wickedness. Due to the sin of their unconsummated union, her child from her unhappy marriage, drowns. Helen dies in a convent and Sutherland survives to live in torment.

new.’ Jewsbury believed this religious crisis was universal and despite discord over doctrine ‘some great change’ would ‘reconcile the confusion and contradiction.’(406) In her letters to Mantell, Jewsbury outlined her belief in following God’s will, with what she termed a ‘blind sense.’ Like her friend Browning, Jewsbury believed it was a duty to God to use the talents you had been given and therefore she often encouraged Mantell to be strong and resilient in the face of his religious and personal doubts, lessons she had learnt from Carlyle: ‘wherever I am, whatever I am - I shall be where He has placed me and be about the work He is requiring of me.’<sup>17</sup> Religion was therefore intrinsic to Jewsbury’s intellectual and personal life, her inner questioning naturally led to frustration after answers, which she recognised as a common condition, ‘everybody suffers more or less from these spiritual relapses.’<sup>18</sup> The strength of her faith evident in the Mantell letters was formed after her religious crisis of 1840. This was a pivotal time in shaping Jewsbury’s faith and influencing *Zoe* and is best interpreted through her relationship and correspondence with Thomas Carlyle.

### **Crisis of Faith: The Influence of Thomas Carlyle and Maria Jane Jewsbury.**

Jewsbury’s letters of the 1840s depict her spiritual crisis, partly initiated from childhood grief over the deaths of her mother (1819) and sister, Maria (1833).<sup>19</sup> Under the guardianship of elder sister, Maria Jane, Jewsbury had a strict, Calvinist upbringing, where attending concerts was considered frivolous, as those who ‘really believed in their Saviour would not go to hear singing about him.’<sup>20</sup> Maria outlined

---

<sup>17</sup> MP, 311/6 October 16<sup>th</sup> 1857. Also consult, Sarah Wood, *Robert Browning A Literary Life*, Palgrave, 2001.

<sup>18</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p399.

<sup>19</sup> For bibliographical detail see Howe and Ireland *Letters*.

<sup>20</sup> Alexander Carlyle, *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Longmans, vol. 2, p99, in which Jane recalls Jewsbury telling her about ‘the religious Miss Jewsbury.’

her strong faith in *Letters to the Young* (1828) addressed to Jewsbury during her teenage years.<sup>21</sup> They were ‘real and not fictitious,’ written to foster Christian virtues and guide Jewsbury.<sup>22</sup> Maria believed religion was a ‘living principle’ and action was ‘the main business of our lives’— maxims Jewsbury lived by.<sup>23</sup> Maria cautioned Jewsbury against the ‘delicious but dangerous influence’ of emotion urging her to keep a ‘constant and vigilant watch over [her] feelings.’<sup>24</sup> Despite owing everything to Maria, especially any ‘good’ in her character, Jewsbury was an unhappy Calvinist, and it was not until her sister’s death that she openly doubted its doctrine:

She was very religious & held scepticism in horror & she discouraged with some strength any attempt to doubt or question - and at that time I had too much dread of the consequences registered against “the unbelieving” to search for doubts - belief did not become a matter of conscience till long afterwards.<sup>25</sup>

Jewsbury was inspired after reading Carlyle’s *Sartor Resartus* into initiating a correspondence with this religious ‘instructor,’ which led to a forty-year friendship. The series of regular letters during the 1840s are full of spiritual advice, urging her desperation for ‘some solution of difficulties, from which I am utterly unable to work my own way.’<sup>26</sup> Carlyle received many letters asking for help with spiritual difficulties, but Jewsbury’s particularly interested him because she wrote from

---

<sup>21</sup> Eric Gillett, *Maria Jane Jewsbury: Occasional Papers Selected with a Memoir*, O.U.P, 1932, Jane William’s *The literary Women of England*, 1861, Monica Correa Fryckstedt, ‘The Hidden Rill: The Life and Career of Maria Jane Jewsbury: I’ *Bulletin John Ryland’s University Library Manchester*, 66, (1984) p177-203 and ‘The Hidden Rill: The Life and Career of Maria Jane Jewsbury: II’ 67, (1984), p450-473 Harriet Devine Jump, ‘My Dearest Geraldine: Maria Jane Jewsbury’s Letters,’ *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81:1 (1999), p63-72.

<sup>22</sup> Critics argue as to whether the published letters were the exact letters written to Jewsbury. Howe states they were but Fryckstedt highlights difference in the high moral tone of the published letters compared to the chatty intimacy of others. See Howe, *A Life of Errors*, Fryckstedt, ‘The Hidden Rill: I’ p195-6, Joanne Wilkes, ‘Only the Broken Music? The Critical Writings of Maria Jane Jewsbury,’ *Women’s Writing*, 7, (2000) p105-18 and Jackie Wall p106.

<sup>23</sup> Maria Jane Jewsbury, *Letters to the Young*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, London, 1829, p127, p 141.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p145.

<sup>25</sup> MP, Jewsbury to Carlyle, 5<sup>th</sup> October 1840.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Jewsbury to Thomas Carlyle April 6<sup>th</sup> 1840.



Manchester, a city he loved and where they shared acquaintances.<sup>27</sup> He received her first letter, dated 6<sup>th</sup> April 1840, with ‘great pleasure’ after which an intimacy ensued where he requested she write to him ‘frankly as an elder brother.’ He addressed her as ‘right brave sister’ and wrote ‘freely from the heart,’ empathising with her intellectual and religious struggle. His interest in this ‘dear young lady’ and her family background accounted for his invitation to write with ‘domestic news or what you will,’ and a proposal to meet, after only exchanging two letters.<sup>28</sup>

From the four surviving letters written by Carlyle to Jewsbury, it is clear that his advice echoed early work, where doubt was removed by action and silence formed an intrinsic part of self-renunciation.<sup>29</sup> Carlyle instructed Jewsbury’s reading in order that she find her own solution to doubts. He recommended his translation of *Wilhelm Meister Apprenticeship* and *Travels*, which Jewsbury eagerly brought, not wanting to fall into ‘a desultory way of reading.’<sup>30</sup> For Jewsbury, his books were a ‘voice speaking out of a thick darkness,’ giving hope of answers.<sup>31</sup> Carlyle saw literature as a ‘picture of the struggle of man’ comforting Jewsbury, ‘we are not alone.’<sup>32</sup> He dissuaded her from German theology or philosophy and ‘the soul-confusing jargon of Metaphysics,’ something Jewsbury studied in detail as a teenager (after reading *Prometheus Unbound* at 17), terming it a ‘disease - a fever-fire for burning out

---

<sup>27</sup> Francis Espinasse, Thomas Ballantyne, Alexander Ireland and John Stores Smith. See Susanne H. Nobbe, ‘Four Unpublished Letters of Thomas Carlyle’, *PMLA*, September, 1955, p877.

<sup>28</sup> Jewsbury met Thomas and Jane Carlyle on Monday 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1841.

<sup>29</sup> In particular see *Sartor Resartus*,; *the Life and Opinions of Herr Treufelsdröckh*, 3 vols, Boston, 1836, and *Past and Present*, Champan & Hall, 1897. For a selection of critical research on Carlyle see: J.A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of the First Forty Years of his Life, 1795-1835*, Longmans, Green & Co., 2 vols, 1882, J.A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of his Life in London, 1834-1881*, Longmans, Green & Co., 2 vols, 1884, Jules Paul Seigel, *Thomas Carlyle: The Critical Heritage*, Routledge, 1971 Eloise..M.Behnken, *Thomas Carlyle “Calvinist Without the Theology,”* University of Missouri Press, 1978, A. L. Le Quense, *et al Victorian Thinkers: Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, Morris*, O.U.P, 1993.

<sup>30</sup> MP, Jewsbury to Carlyle, November 24<sup>th</sup> 1840.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., Jewsbury to Carlyle, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1840.

<sup>32</sup> For detail about Carlyle’s religion, see John Schad (ed.) *Writing the Bodies of Christ: The Church from Carlyle to Derrida*, Burlington: Ashgate, 2001.

scepticism.’<sup>33</sup> As for Jewsbury’s study of physiology, which a Catholic priest was assisting with, Carlyle felt ‘it has no light for you; but darkness visible.’

Jewsbury’s lengthy letters, (eight of which remain) posed numerous philosophical questions and religious inquiries that needed answering: ‘Why must we thus labour day after day to perfect ourselves? For what purpose, are we struggling?...What is it we are to accomplish?’<sup>34</sup> Not understanding her place and purpose in the world or God’s role formed the basis of her doubt. Seventeen years later, Jewsbury was to answer these questions, through her correspondence with Mantell. She had found her faith: ‘I believe that we come into the world to serve God- to be His soldiers - and that He prepares us for what He chooses us to do.’<sup>35</sup> It was through Carlyle’s guidance that Jewsbury reached her own conclusions. Despite Carlyle’s inadequacy in solving all Jewsbury’s ‘unfathomable questions,’ his counsel to read and consider self-renunciation, ‘cleared up much that was dark, & will be looked to as a guide in all times of difficulty & perplexity.’<sup>36</sup>

The fundamental consideration for Jewsbury was accepting her doubt to ‘pull to pieces all the solemn plausibilities wh are held by so many in the world to be proved truths.’ As a Calvinist, ‘doubt and enquiry’ were discouraged but her ‘deliverance’ from ‘intolerable thraldom’ gave Jewsbury a mixture of relief and fear: ‘it is very desolate to be in the world without any belief & I have at times yearned even after my old one, with all its horrible paraphernalia of judgement & Torments, as a liberated captive who had no home might request his dungeon.’<sup>37</sup> (These are also doubts Zoe

---

<sup>33</sup> MP Carlyle to Jewsbury, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1840.

<sup>34</sup> MP Jewsbury to Carlyle, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1840.

<sup>35</sup> MP 311/6 undated.

<sup>36</sup> MP, Jewsbury to Carlyle, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1840.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 6<sup>th</sup> April 1840.

raises when trying to reconcile eternal punishment with a merciful and forgiving God.)<sup>38</sup>

The exchange of letters between Jewsbury and Carlyle is significant for insight into private and public religious scepticism and for an understanding of the influences behind *Zoe*. Most directly, they form the experience she used to develop the character Everhard. This is evident in the novel when Jewsbury questions religious belief and morality:

Can a man who has no belief, have any moral strength? Is a sense of moral duty sufficient to keep him firm in the day of temptation?...Can a man in short, who has neither hope nor fear of any thing after this life, be a law to himself, and strive earnestly to do right, simply because it *is* right? (197)

Everhard could not reconcile man's moral strength as a replacement for faith.

It was this sense of personal determination that also formed Carlyle's guidance. He believed in self-renunciation, which Jewsbury linked to her understanding of duty and temptation: 'how are we to distance ourselves of personal feeling? - when the whole being calls aloud for something intelligent wh we may worship - one who is indeed our Father.'<sup>39</sup> Jewsbury explored this difficulty with self-renunciation through Everhard, 'self, self - the eternal presence of myself!...creeps like a leprosy eating into my soul,'(115) highlighting the influence of her spiritual crisis and Carlyle's advice upon *Zoe*. Jewsbury struggled to understand and accept self-denial from a materialist world where striving for personal fulfilment and happiness were natural to humanity: 'I have been thinking a great deal about what you say of "Renunciation"...it requires something stronger if we are to cease from the endeavour to please ourselves... do you think it is possible to get rid of this love of self, and

---

<sup>38</sup> This is also something Sutherland can not accept in Froude's *Nemesis of Faith*.

<sup>39</sup> MP, Jewsbury to Carlyle, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1840.

consciousness of self, wh mingles with & deteriorates from all we do?’<sup>40</sup> Jewsbury was plagued by her struggle to renounce materialism and self-indulgence, but recalled that Carlyle’s maxim: ‘with renunciation life begins.’<sup>41</sup>

Carlyle saw religious doubt as a ‘disease of the soul,’ considering it a struggle ‘of the mind to grow’ re-iterating *Sartor Resartus* where healthy growth and disease are also stressed.<sup>42</sup> He told Jewsbury, ‘we are not here to doubt and ask, but to see and do,’ (advice Maria also gave).<sup>43</sup> Jewsbury was confused over her ability to blindly accept faith in an abstract being and questioned Carlyle’s theory: ‘You do not tell one what as regards Deity is to be believed, nor how I may attain it.’<sup>44</sup> Carlyle also emphasised silence as the only ‘safe-dwelling place’ and not belief in other doctrines.<sup>45</sup> Jewsbury, echoing Carlyle, thought her doubts were taboo, mentioning that ‘no one here has the smallest idea of my opinions’ and being in a ‘position of some responsibility’ as housekeeper for her father, she did not wish to ‘disturb such faith as people may chance to have.’<sup>46</sup> Carlyle praised this secrecy, as her silence ‘would concentrate her mind and open her heart.’ He counselled that Jewsbury’s suffering would lead her to the ‘right and happy goal,’ urging her strength within silence, ‘A stone suffers nothing, longs for nothing. Be of comfort in your silent pain.’<sup>47</sup>

The initial correspondence between Carlyle and Jewsbury in the early 1840s over her ‘fits of blackness’ enabled Jewsbury’s intellectual and spiritual development. Carlyle quickly noted Jewsbury’s personal strength and after the death of her father in August

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 25<sup>th</sup> August 1840.

<sup>41</sup> Jewsbury, *Westminster Review*, p396.

<sup>42</sup> Consult *Sartor Resartus*

<sup>43</sup> See p80 of this Chapter.

<sup>44</sup> MP, Jewsbury to Carlyle, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1840.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>46</sup> MP, Jewsbury to Carlyle, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1840.

<sup>47</sup> MP Carlyle to Jewsbury, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1840.

1840, predicted a 'future calmer and profitabler...You are getting thro' your sore struggles.'<sup>48</sup> Carlyle interpreted Jewsbury's writing as the 'express image of an honest, clear, energetic, humbly and nobly resolute soul,' who would conquer her doubts. In turn, doubt strengthened Jewsbury's religious conviction. She desperately wanted faith, considering 'to be "without God in the world" is of all states the most wretched.'<sup>49</sup> It was not until 1849 that she justified her religious position: 'If I did not trust in Him (despite my heathenism) I should cut my throat; but I do trust that all things will 'work together for good' in the end.'<sup>50</sup> Jewsbury's correspondence with Carlyle, her internal struggles with scepticism and the acceptance of doubt, shaped the religious experience that formed the bedrock of *Zoe*.

### 'Coming it too strong!'<sup>51</sup> An Examination of Religion in *Zoe*

It is important to understand why Jewsbury made Catholicism the background to the novel, especially at a time when anti-Catholicism was strong in British society.<sup>52</sup> From the onset, Protestant market traders realise the Burrows are 'Papists, or idolators, or something outlandish!' Through her sympathy with the Burrows, Jewsbury exposes Protestant villagers as narrow-minded, reflecting the diverse religious climate of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>53</sup> Division within the Anglican Church in the early part of the nineteenth century occurred when Evangelical and Wesleyan movements renounced ceremonial and doctrinal parts of

---

<sup>48</sup> MP, Carlyle to Jewsbury, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1840.

<sup>49</sup> MP, Jewsbury to Carlyle, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1840.

<sup>50</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p330.

<sup>51</sup> Huxley *Letters*, p66.

<sup>52</sup> Even after the Emancipation (1829) and Oxford Movement (1830's) anti-Catholic feeling was still strong in Britain in the 1840s., J. Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Britain, 1829-50*, Clarendon Press, 1991. D. G Paz & G. Denis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, Stanford University Press, 1992.

<sup>53</sup> Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*.

the Church of England.<sup>54</sup> Previous disagreement between Anglican and Evangelical emphasis upon the Bible in the 1830s led to a High Church reaction in the form of the Oxford Movement, fuelled by Newman's *Tracts for the Times*, (1833) which emphasised the importance of Church tradition.<sup>55</sup> *Tract 90* (1841) outraged Protestants because Newman stated the Thirty-nine Articles did not greatly differ from Catholic doctrine.<sup>56</sup> This background prepared Newman for a spiritual crisis that ultimately led to his public conversion to Catholicism in 1845. Newman then published *Loss and Gain* (1848), *Callista* (1856) and *Apologia pro vita sua* (1864), in order to convey his understanding of the process of conversion as a 'midway region of enquiry.'<sup>57</sup>

Jewsbury was fascinated by Newman's conversion because of her own religious questioning and despite being Anglican, she was intrigued by Catholicism, having a 'good deal of the Catholic in me.'<sup>58</sup> Jewsbury informed Carlyle that she had 'tried hard to be a Catholic' but considered it 'impossible to create a satisfying notion of a Deity out of wrecks of idols & creeds, wh have always proved "things of no profit."<sup>59</sup> However, her sympathy lay with Catholicism as the nearest religion suited to her romantic nature. Midnight mass on Christmas Eve was akin to 'going to the gate of Heaven,' in contrast with orthodox 'dandified Church of Englandism.'<sup>60</sup> In a comforting letter to Jane, after Mrs Welsh's death in 1842, Jewsbury revealed that she

---

<sup>54</sup> See Elisabeth Jay, *The Religion of the Heart Anglican Evangelicalism and the Nineteenth Century Novel*, Clarendon Press, 1979.

<sup>55</sup> John Henry Newman could not reconcile doctrinal doubts with his position as leader in the Anglican Church. In 1833, with other members of Oriel College, Oxford, he formed the Oxford Movement in defense of High Church principles but his conversion to Catholicism was sealed in 1845. See Joseph Ellis Baker, *The Novel and the Oxford Movement*, London, 1932.

<sup>56</sup> By the end of 1833 there were twenty tracts, which rose to sixty-six by 1835. This led to the term 'Tractarian,' Chadwick, p20-1.

<sup>57</sup> John H. Newman, *Callista: A Sketch of the Third Century*, 1856.

<sup>58</sup> For Jewsbury's account of an incident with three Catholics who wanted her advice, see Ireland, *Letters*, p69.

<sup>59</sup> MP, Jewsbury to Carlyle, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1840.

was ‘more soothed when in trouble by going to the mass in a Catholic chapel, than by anything else in the world.’ Although the doctrines ‘may all go hang,’ she believed that ‘you will find every thought and feeling which you cannot utter even to yourself drawn out.’<sup>61</sup> Jewsbury therefore entertained Catholicism for spiritual reflection only because romantic notions of idolatry did not satisfy her intellectual need for faith. The personal consolation Jewsbury received from Catholicism, as a religion that ‘soothes a wounded heart,’ is reflected in *Zoe* during the Giffords’ tour of Europe, when Clotilde and Zoe are suffering; ‘there is so much of human feeling in the Catholic religion, so much that makes itself tangible to human sympathy.’ (291)

Newman’s conversion to Rome occurred during the publication of *Zoe*, which added a sense of danger to the fictional depiction of doctrinal scepticism.<sup>62</sup> This was just five years after Jewsbury’s initial correspondence with Carlyle and the peak of her own religious crisis. In 1840, Jewsbury mentioned to Carlyle that the sister of her friend, Elizabeth Paulet, had converted and that they often sought advice from her priest. ‘We both put equal trust in him, he helps us with books & information without expressing any inclination to convert us - he is very romantic about his religion, for him its liturgy is not “gone silent.”’<sup>63</sup> Jewsbury’s connection with this priest formed the basis of Everhard’s character. In a letter to Mantell she exclaimed, ‘if you wld like to see a letter from the real original Everhard I will shew you one...a good priest believed all

---

<sup>60</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p256 and p232.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p64.

<sup>62</sup> Newman’s subsequent novel, *Loss and Gain: The Story of a Convert* (1848) exposed the conversion of an Anglican priest to the Catholic faith, making Jewsbury’s inclusion of Catholic sympathy in 1845 even more pertinent at the time. Prior to Newman, A.H. Edgar’s *John Bull and the Papists* (1846) included an Anglican rector’s conversion. Other catholic conversion stories were Newman’s *Callista* (1856), Gertrude Parsons’ *Thornberry Abbey* (1846), Geogiana Fullerton’s *Mrs Gerald’s Niece* (1869), E.H Dering’s *Florence Danby* (1868) and *Sherborne* (1875) and Lady Gertrude Douglas, *Linked Lives* (1876).

<sup>63</sup> MP, Jewsbury to Carlyle, October 25<sup>th</sup> 1840.

the doctrine of the Catholic faith.’<sup>64</sup> Jewsbury therefore combined the doubts of the clergy and social philosophers like Carlyle along with her religious ‘botherations,’ in order to convey, through Everhard, the familiar religious doubts of her time. In this manner, Jewsbury relates the issues of the novel to broader Victorian religious doubts, especially hostility and suspicion towards Catholicism and religious seclusion.<sup>65</sup> There were many anti-Catholic novels written by Anglicans who depicted priests as corrupt and immoral at this time.<sup>66</sup> Miss Sinclair’s anti-Catholic novel, *Beatrice: or the Unknown Relatives* (1852), sold one thousand copies in a week after being endorsed by Protestant clergy in New York during their sermons.<sup>67</sup> Yet, Catholicism also affected mainstream fiction, as Brontë’s *Villette* (1853) shows.

Through Everhard, Jewsbury opposes complex Catholic doctrine, supporting a palatable religion for the ‘multitude.’ ‘Subtilised doctrines’ confuse the masses who only understand ‘coarse passions and sensual appetites.’ Instead, they need ‘high truths dramatised in forms, creeds, and symbols, before they can be made to apprehend them.’ (167) Furthermore, Jewsbury exposes the hypocrisy of the Catholic priesthood through Everhard’s secular experiences, where ‘every thing is open to you.’ Even the Bishop encourages him, ‘You may have a glorious life; you may be a politician, a statesman; and, though vowed to celibacy, you may enjoy the devoted friendship of the loveliest women...Be discrete, be prudent; that is the true secret of leading an exemplary life.’ (52-3) In *Zoe*, Jewsbury portrays the various states of religious faith and doubt through representing the passion and piety of a Catholic

---

<sup>64</sup>MP Jewsbury to Mantell, 316/2, April 1858.

<sup>65</sup>Jewsbury returned to this theme in *Right or Wrong* (1859) where Father Paul lives a divided life as a monk and with his wife and family.

<sup>66</sup>Novels like Eugene Sue’s *The Wandering Jew* (1844) and William Sewell’s *Hawkstone* (1845) highlighted Catholicism and conversion from Anglicanism negatively, as cautionary tales.

<sup>67</sup>Sinclair’s novel contrasted the joys of Protestantism with the evils of Popery and warned British father’s against keeping their daughters in foreign convents. See Maison, p172.



priest, a heretic, a nun and a shallow reverend. The *Spectator's* review of 1845, aptly highlighted the manner in which Jewsbury caricatured religious believers: 'It is a remarkable circumstance that three prominent characters in *Zoe* are clergymen, and all are painted as disbelieving their creeds or disgracing their profession.'<sup>68</sup> Everhard, Jean Paul and O'Brian are ecclesiastic representatives of both Catholic and Protestant belief and disbelief, likewise the polarities of doubt and faith are represented by Clotilde, the nun, and Zoe, the heretic. The following discussion addresses the *Spectator's* statement in light of characters' contributions to the religious questioning in *Zoe*.

### **A Doubting Priest: Passion and the Church**

The early passages of Everhard and Zoe's parallel lives are crucial to understanding the simultaneous development of his sexual passion and doubting testimony and Christian evidences. The portrayal of Everhard's unhappy childhood and early religion, his enforced ordination and experience of love, set the tone for other novels of doubt and dissent, which also focused upon the dual idea of religious scepticism and sexual confusion.<sup>69</sup> Froude's *Nemesis* (1848), Mrs Trollope's *Father Eustace* (1848) and Miss Worboise's *Father Fabian* (1875) followed Jewsbury's lead with the death of clergyman who fell passionately in love with unobtainable women.

Everhard, whose name represents enduring personal fortitude, learns as a child to divert his emotion to the idolatry of Saints and Martyrs. Therefore, early in the novel, Everhard is represented as 'hardened' to an isolated and apathetic environment. It is

---

<sup>68</sup> *Spectator*, February 8<sup>th</sup> 1845, p136.

<sup>69</sup> Sexual passion and religious doubt are also dual themes of: Georgiana Fulerton's *Grantley Manor* (1847), Michael Denton's *The Misgivings of the Evils of mix Marriages*, (1862), Ward's *Robert Elsmere*, (1888) and W.H Madlock's *The Romance of the Nineteenth Century* (1881).

ironically Everhard's 'stunned astonishment' at Father Martin's death that exposes his latent emotion and desire for love which he battles to suppress throughout the novel. Everhard's grief manifests into 'hysterical convulsions' and 'a violent passion of tears;' a physical reaction to his passion, (which reoccurs when he questions his religious life after meeting Zoe.)<sup>70</sup> However, it is Everhard's visit to Paris that epitomises the growth of his spiritual and emotional position, as he mixes with female company for the first time, experiencing 'undefined tumultuous sensations which filled his soul.' Jewsbury highlights his developing sexuality through bawdy asides by Madame Du Pont's serving maids.<sup>71</sup> These experiences are his sensual awakening, 'to a perfumed, brilliant, luxurious version of that hard, mysterious reality called LIFE.'(50) All his senses, the 'strong passions of adolescence,' which develop in him, 'had no aim' when compared to the predetermined, barren nature of the priesthood. Everhard's feelings are 'pent up in his own heart,' as physical sexual passion and emotional tension, to be released by Zoe. (58)

Jewsbury uses passion within the novel to explore Everhard's growing religious doubts as a reaction to his monastic and secular experiences at Gifford Castle. In his journal, doubts are accentuated through passionate images of sexual desire, 'a fire burns within me.'(114) Passion and pleasure are constants that develop his 'sneaking, grovelling sensuality,' which 'eats into the heart.' Just as Maria and Carlyle warned Jewsbury of the 'delicious but dangerous' power of emotion, Everhard also falls prey to the 'half sensual half internal guise which emotion takes.'(117) He examines temptation where the abnegation of passionate and sensual emotion requires a 'god-

---

<sup>70</sup> Many of these early depictions of Everhard can be drawn from Jewsbury's own insecurities, about living in the world without parents. Ireland, *Letters*, p315.

<sup>71</sup> The physicality of Everhard's latent passion is developed by the serving maids, Emilie and Flora, who comment upon Everhard's 'thick, silky, auburn locks and 'softness in his eyes.' They expose him

like power;’ where ‘Genius is in its nature ascetic, the master and not the slave of passion.’ (118) Everhard’s ‘dark questionings...like evil spirits’ transpire physically through his brain fever. This violent response to doubt is another development of his growing sexual passion.<sup>72</sup> The awakening of his sensuality and sexuality corresponds to his intellectual questioning; his religious doubt occurs when he sees the passions of Paris and grows when he falls in love with Zoe.

The first meeting of the ‘two lives,’ in the library, highlights the dominance of passion in the novel. Zoe is described in religious terminology, symbolising an angel, (the adverse of Coventry Patmore’s image), ‘they caught sight of a female form high up on the ladder, over which the light streamed in from a small painted window, making the figure look scarcely like an inhabitant of earth.’(163) Deep in contemplation with her hair ‘half escaped from its confinement,’ Zoe’s pure but sensual appearance affects Everhard as he astutely perceives her difference, being ‘full of passions and capabilities, which have as yet found no outlet.’ Their relationship is reciprocal: Zoe physically and intellectually enlightens Everhard, ‘She unveiled for him the resources of his own mind...her voice seemed the voice of his own soul, heard in the calm of thought.’(184)<sup>73</sup> Whilst the depth of Everhard’s love and friendship exposes the emptiness of Zoe’s desire for social respectability, for the ‘glass Houses of Reputation.’ Zoe re-evaluates her life because of the strength of her love for Everhard, which was ‘as much a part of herself as her own soul,’(316).<sup>74</sup> The significance of their relationship is the testing of Everhard’s vows and faith and through Zoe’s

---

as a young man, innocent of ‘the value of his beauty,’ seeing his physical appearance as sexually innocent ‘in the hope of spoiling it.’ (48).

<sup>72</sup> Maison also discusses this theme, p214.

<sup>73</sup> Jewsbury noted the glass house of respectability in a letter to Carlyle (MP) and was a topic she satirized in *Zoe* (1845), *Half Sisters* (1848) *Marian Withers* (1851) and *Sorrows of Gentility* (1856).

<sup>74</sup> This quotation relates to the imagery used by Emily Bronte in *Wuthering Heights* when describing the passionate nature of Heathcliff and Cathy, ‘I am Heathcliff, whatever our souls are made of his and mine are the same.’ p68.

understanding of people.<sup>75</sup> Everhard wants ‘passionately to become something,’ to transcend Zoe’s superficial search for social respectability. Everhard’s doubts remain indeterminate in death, whereas Zoe’s inner virtues and self-examination uncover a higher sense of self.

It was the power Everhard had as a Catholic priest over a married woman that shocked contemporary readers. Despite an expectation for Catholics to be seducers of married women in literature, the shock would have been greater if Everhard had been an Anglican.<sup>76</sup> Jewsbury’s use of these themes reflected a literary tradition since the early eighteenth century.<sup>77</sup> Inglelow’s Mr Newman and Conybeare’s Mr Morgan, both High Church vicars, defended celibacy only to pursue and marry rich ladies.<sup>78</sup> Corrupt clergy were therefore familiar fictional themes to Jewsbury and readers of *Zoe*.<sup>79</sup> Nonetheless, it was more Jewsbury’s representation of religious scepticism that was scandalous, because of its originality within a popular circulating novel of 1845.

Through the depiction of passion in the novel, Jewsbury explores topical issues about faith, love, marriage and women’s roles. Zoe has intellectual and spiritual passion for Everhard and physical passion for Mirabeau. Jewsbury heightens her use of passionate imagery when Everhard and Zoe meet, preparing the reader for their

---

<sup>75</sup> Rosenmayer also parallels Zoe’s loss of faith in people with Everhard’s loss of religious faith, p38.

<sup>76</sup> Numerous Gothic novels had clergymen seducing girls and virgins, such as Matthew Lewis’ *The Monk*, where Ambrosio commits murder and rape because of sexual lust and ambition. (1796) Also, Elizabeth Inchbald’s *A Simple Story*, (1791) where a young girl falls in love and marries a Catholic priest who has to be released from his vows. Protestant clergy were also seen as seducers, in Robert Buchanan’s *Foxglove Manor*, (1884) the Reverend Charles Sankey seduces a village girl, gets her pregnant but refuses to marry her and is punished by conversion to Rome, where such ‘surpliced vipers’ thrive. See Maison p81 and Diane Long Hoeveler, *Gothic Feminism: The Professionalization of gender from Charlotte Smith to the Brontës*, Liverpool University Press, 1998.

<sup>77</sup> Novels such as Rosa Matilda’s [Charlotte Dacre Byrne] *Confessions of a Nun*, (1805), Maria Monk’s, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (1836) Anne Fuller’s *The Convent; or History of Sophia Nelson*, (1786), Anon, *Trevor; or the New St Francis*, (1847), F.W Robinson’s *High Church* (1860), Eliza Lynn Linton’s *Under Which Lord?* (1879). For detail see Maison p71-88.

<sup>78</sup> Jean Inglelow *Allerton and Dreux; or, The War of Opinion* (1851) and Reverend W. Conybeare, *Perversion; or, The Causes and Consequences of Infidelity* (1856).

confrontation during the fire. Everhard's loveless childhood and predestined career are void of passion. He learns to ignore the dormant nature of his religious scepticism, and his need for love and sexual passion. Jewsbury highlights that career gives purpose to Everhard's life, but simultaneously exposes the priesthood as physically and emotionally impotent, therefore emphasising the need for both love and vocation.

Interestingly, it is a domestic setting, the day spent with Zoe's children, that makes Everhard question his vows and enhances Jewsbury's point. The yearning for love Everhard felt as a boy, replaced by religion, is now directed at the one thing his religion prevents: a family. This dilemma is not addressed until the overtly passionate 'chapel' scene. Jane Carlyle had been anxious not to be associated with it, especially in front of eight men at Monckton Milnes' breakfast party, attended in 1847 with Jewsbury: 'the chief apprehension which haunted me - was lest I should be mixed up in the minds of these men with the Chapel scene and certain other questionabilities in Zoe.'<sup>80</sup> The scene depicts a fire in Gifford Castle during Everhard's visit and Gifford's absence. Zoe's fear causes her dependence upon Everhard as she falls 'an insensible weight in his arms,' which unleashes his passion:

He, who in his whole life had never touched a woman, now had a whole life of passion melted into that moment. He crushed her into his arms with ferocious love, he pressed burning kisses upon her face, her lips, and her bosom, but kisses were too weak to express the passion that was within him. It was madness like hatred, - beads of sweat stood thick on his forehead, and his breath came in gasps. (224-5)

Everhard's sexual passion is overt in this passage, where he crushes Zoe to him 'burning' kisses all over her body. The imagery is urgent and uncontrollable as his suppressed emotion overflows and he is driven mad by frustration. This sexual imagery is developed when Zoe awakes and exposes her arousal through her blush.

---

<sup>79</sup> Jewsbury made Everhard's passion more acceptable by highlighting the redeeming effect of his love.

<sup>80</sup> Huxley, *Letters*, p305.

Despite Everhard's efforts to 'turn away,' Jewsbury's imagery exposes the desire between them both as 'he fell to his knees besides her, and her long hair fell like a veil over him. Everhard's brain was in a whirl, and his veins ran fire, as he felt her warm breath upon him.' (245)<sup>81</sup> The explicit nature of the eroticism of Everhard's passion is visually depicted through the feminine veil of Zoe's hair and her warm breath, which tantalises his body 'like fire.' Everhard declares his love and the power she has over him, symbolically at the altar of *his* God in the Chapel. But Zoe fears she has lost his self-esteem and the respectability her illegitimacy makes her crave. Yet, to Everhard, she is 'more than mortal' becoming his new religion - an idol to worship, an untouchable saint. Everhard's faith in religion and God is replaced by passionate love. He is spiritually and emotionally broken: 'every thing within him was confused in passion. Thought, feeling, emotion, all molten together, were glowing and heaving heavily below the surface,' at the realisation that his cloistered life has been false and worthless. (249) Just as the fire metaphorically signals Everhard's unsated sexual passions, Zoe responds by locking the door behind him, symbolically representing a change from her coquettish flirtations to power of passion and responsibility of marital loyalty. It is not until Everhard is dying, that Jewsbury expresses his full passion for Zoe: 'You know that you have been the life of my life: -that you have kept me from all sense of ill. I have walked overshadowed by your presence... You are the life that I must resign. You are the secret of all that has been worth anything to me, and I would have you visibly present when I resign you.' (426-7)<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> This bodily response to male presence has been interpreted by O'Farrell as a 'level of deep personal truth', as embarrassment and sexual excitement, both of which are relevant here. Mary Ann O'Farrell, *Telling Complexions: The Nineteenth Century English Novel and the Blush*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1997, p7, p111.

<sup>82</sup> See Ireland, *Letters* p425-7 for the complete letter.

Jewsbury develops the copulative themes of passion and scepticism in *Zoe*, and exposes the need for emotional and sexual fulfilment in men and women, by highlighting the differences between Mirabeau and Everhard.<sup>83</sup> Everhard is emotionally and intellectually silent, but his passion is permanent, whereas Mirabeau's is temporary and destructive, awakening Zoe's inner strength and desire to maintain respectability for her children. Mirabeau's passion is sexual, reflecting its transient basis, associated with sin and temptation, he intrudes upon her 'as if a serpent had stung her.' He is an 'intensely ugly' beast 'marked with the small pox' in comparison to Zoe's beauty. This animalistic imagery is extended, 'a forest of shaggy brown hair...fell like a lion's mane about his head and neck. His limbs were cast in the mould of a giant.' (336) In further contrast to Gifford and Everhard, Mirabeau epitomises manhood. His tarnished reputation adds an element of danger, as a man who has caused 'more mischief to women than he is ever likely to repair.' It was the passion of their relationship that shocked contemporary readers, as Mirabeau violently covered Zoe in kisses and 'passed his arms round her waist and almost carried her along.' (389) Mirabeau's misjudgement of Zoe's fortitude and his confession to give up all his mistresses, is an extension of his own arrogance, and as such he has been compared to Rochester and Heathcliff: 'You possess me like a demon and you shall be mine,' (394).<sup>84</sup> The violent passion of his language is similar to Emily Brontë's in *Wuthering Heights* as a destructive force, loving her 'like hatred.'<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Count Mirabeau is part of the romantic Gothic tradition; a Bryonic hero and historical character from the French Revolution, notorious for his womanizing behaviour. Showalter mistakenly identifies him as the hero of *Zoe*, but it is through Everhard, that Jewsbury explores key themes in the novel. Showalter, *A Literature of their Own*, p141.

<sup>84</sup> Jackie Wall identifies Mirabeau as a constant character, who unlike Rochester and Heathcliff does not retain Zoe or die from his passion. p77 Showalter stated that Brontë was influenced by Mirabeau when writing Rochester but that Jewsbury takes Mirabeau further into wickedness than Brontë, p141. Thomson also sees this similarity, arguing that Jewsbury went further than a 'George Sand heroine' see Patricia Thomson, *George Sand and the Victorian: Her influence and Reputation in Nineteenth Century England*, Columbia University Press, 1977, p141-2.

<sup>85</sup> Similar to Heathcliff's chastisement of Cathy's 'infernal selfishness' when he wants her soul to follow him after her death.

I love you, Zoe, with all the force of my soul; you possess me like a demon, and you shall be mine. You shall drive me mad and remain yourself in your cold and selfish safety; your whole being shall be molten into mine. (194-5)

Mirabeau does not understand Zoe's rejection after he selfishly asks her to be his mistress, 'will you save your reputation at the cost of my happiness?' (3:369) But, condescendingly relishes the fact her respectability is already questioned: 'women let themselves be taken, and then, pretty dears, think they avoid the sin and scandal by acting under compulsion (394). As a Catholic and a divorcee, Mirabeau could not remarry and therefore had no intention of legitimising his affair; again reflected through his mockery of her need for respectability, 'Women feel nothing, but the hell of consequences, understand nothing, beyond the blame of the world, and the loss of reputation.' (3:345) Fuelled by Everhard's love and her rejection of Mirabeau, Zoe allows her children a legitimate and respectable status, but sacrifices passion for a more pious life. For Everhard, passion increases his doubt and removes his faith. Therefore, passion and doubt are constant and integral themes of the novel, which expose the flaws of the characters' need for fulfilment through love.

### **Literary Comparisons: Froude and Jewsbury**

Through the depiction of passion Jewsbury explores Everhard's doubts and highlights his predetermined future. His experiences in Paris encourage his doubts over taking vows of celibacy, which, in contrast to those of Anglicans, were compulsory.<sup>86</sup>

I feel as if I could never perform the duties which the priesthood entails; there is something horrible in the suppressed energy, the still life endurance it requires. Nothing to do - nothing to hope for - no danger - no enterprise - no variety. I shall die, if I am made a priest; can you tell me no way to get out of it? (52)

---

<sup>86</sup> Some novels attacked clerical celibacy after Froude and Jewsbury such as Reade's *The Cloister and the Hearth* (1861), *Philip Paternoster: A Tractarian Love Story* (1858), Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* (1855) and *Hypatia; or New Foes with an Old Face* (1853).



Everhard's childhood, development of sexual passion, and love for a married woman, are similar traits Froude explores through Sutherland and Edward Fowler.<sup>87</sup> *Shadows of Clouds* and *Nemesis of the Faith*, like *Zoe*, are strongly influenced by Carlyle.<sup>88</sup> Sutherland's painful childhood, relationship with his father and religious doubts, represent Froude's own, and like *Zoe*, link passion with religious doubt.<sup>89</sup> Everhard and Sutherland both suppress doubts when taking orders, and unable to find answers to questions about the truth of revelation, they come to be 'without dogma.'<sup>90</sup> Like Everhard, Sutherland also discovers that true emotion in life resides in passion and love. The introduction of Helen Leonard in *Nemesis*, a married woman, who falls in love with the ex-clergyman Sutherland, adds to the 'scandal' of the novel and verifies the axiom that religious doubt entertains immorality. Jewsbury first employed this religious love triangle in *Zoe*, which Froude also uses to symbolise emotional and spiritual downfall.<sup>91</sup> The love between Helen and Sutherland is unconsummated, but leads them both to religious seclusion. The drowning of Helen's daughter, the child of her unhappy marriage, provokes Sutherland's rejection of her love, just as the passion experienced by Everhard during the fire, results in Everhard's banishment from *Zoe*. It is here that the direct influence of Jewsbury's own disbelief in the 'paraphernalia of torment' of High Church doctrines is seen. Froude also discusses Sutherland's doubts in accepting eternal punishment. The idea of an omniscient, all-merciful God is irreconcilable with New Testament doctrines depicting man's struggle. Froude used

---

<sup>87</sup> Wolff notes that Froude was constantly aware of and troubled by sex, p393.

<sup>88</sup> For similarity between Jewsbury and Froude's novels, see Maison p212-215 and Wolff p389-405.

<sup>89</sup> In a letter to Kingsley in 1848, Froude acknowledges the autobiographical emotion contained within the book, 'I cut a whole in my heart and wrote with the blood.' Letter dated 1<sup>st</sup> January 1848, W.H.Dunn, *J.A Froude*, Vol i., 1961, p116. This was also true of *Zoe*, which represents Jewsbury's own religious botherations.' Ireland, *Letters*, p150.

<sup>90</sup> James Anthony Froude (1818-94) was deacon of the Church of England and fellow at Exeter College, Oxford. He became close to Jewsbury after Jane Carlyle's death, when writing and editing her memoirs and Carlyle's biography. Froude's novels, *Shadows of Clouds* and *The Nemesis of Faith* are similar to *Zoe* in subject matter but less readable fiction novels. Sutherland is first ordained an Anglican priest, then influenced by Newman and Tractarianism and scepticism, then unbelief. See *Spirit's Trials* in *Shadows of Clouds*, Pall Mall, 1847, p180.

this idea previously in *Shadows of Clouds*, where Fowler accepts the mistakes of his life but rejects eternal retribution, claiming its incompatibility with an all-loving God.<sup>92</sup>

The publication of Froude's *Nemesis* (1849) received the same shocked reception as *Zoe* four years earlier. Unlike Jewsbury's, Froude's first novel, *Shadows of the Clouds*, (1847), had been written under the pseudonym of 'Zeta' but his full name appeared on *Nemesis*, which led to a fiery response from his fellows at Oxford.<sup>93</sup> William Sewall burnt a copy of *Nemesis* at Oxford, and displeasure to the Dons contributed to his resignation.<sup>94</sup> Yet, most important to both novels, was the protagonists' displacement of an adherence to religious doctrine with the overt emotional passion of love. It is the depth of emotion contained within *Nemesis* and the passion within *Zoe* that contributed to the scandal of the ideas both authors proposed. In comparison, Newman's *Loss and Gain*, far more theological in argument, was scandalous because of the author's conversion to Rome.

Jewsbury's own review of Froude's novel was published shortly after she had met the author in 1850.<sup>95</sup> She describes her first impressions in a letter to Jane Carlyle, 'a very nice, natural young man, though rather like a lost sheep at present. He has only been

---

<sup>91</sup> The religious love triangle was a literary device frequently used to discuss celibacy and convent life. See Maison, p138-68.

<sup>92</sup> *Spirit's Trials*, the second tale of *Shadows of Clouds*, relates the story of Edward Fowler, who motherless, is abused and bullied at school. Once at Oxford he falls in love with Emma Hardinge but the engagement is broken when his University debts are revealed. Fowler becomes suicidal, neglects his studies; Emma marries. Fowler saves Emma's son from drowning (a common theme of Froude's) and Emma's gratitude is expressed passionately.

<sup>93</sup> *Shadows of Clouds* divides into *The Lieutenant's Daughter* and *Spirit's Trials*. Interestingly, the former is a story about an orphan Naval officer's daughter's seduction and degradation as a prostitute. Written in a series of feverish visions, it looks at women's disaffection from society more than religion. This novel is important for the development of sexuality and passion that Froude was to expand upon in *Nemesis* and which of course relates to *Zoe*.

<sup>94</sup> Chadwick, p537.

<sup>95</sup> Jewsbury became closer to Froude after Jane Carlyle's death in 1866, when she contributed to publications of her memoirs. See *Reminiscences*, Longman's Green & Co 2 vols, 1881.

used to the Oxford part of the world, so that sectarians and unbelievers are strange to him.’<sup>96</sup> Jewsbury recognised that *Nemesis* highlighted doubt as the cause of wickedness and that morality declines when religion is absent, but she believed Froude’s novel was too immodest.<sup>97</sup> Froude utilised similar themes to those found in *Zoe*, but Jewsbury argued that her moral did not just expose the suffering which afflicted those with religious doubt but highlighted the strength gained from doubt, seen through *Zoe*’s redemption. As has been illustrated, Froude, and to an extent, Newman, addressed similar themes to Jewsbury, but their style of writing was not conducive to a readable novel. Therefore, *Zoe* is not only unique for its exploration of religious doubt and scepticism in 1845, but for the popular style in which it was written. Jewsbury believed the crux of *Zoe* was questioning the doubts of her society within the doctrine of religion and man’s role on earth, ‘the whole book is to ask that question, or rather suggest it.’<sup>98</sup> A challenge she successfully, if not scandalously, achieved with *Zoe*, and from which other novelists developed.

### The ‘Disease’ of Doubt

Jewsbury exposes Everhard’s doubts about evidence for the truth of Christianity through the doctrines of Catholicism. After four years theological study, he is divided by doubts. Everhard’s contemplative life is revealed through his journal which charts recurrent doctrinal doubts about the truth of Christian evidences. Being an ‘inmate of the college,’ a self-imposed imprisonment makes him question his life; from the news of his brother’s impending marriage to the necessity of monasteries. Just as

---

<sup>96</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p292.

<sup>97</sup> Jewsbury’s belief that *Nemesis* was immodest is amusing when seen in light of the scandal *Zoe*’s publication caused. ‘Religious Faith and Modern Scepticism,’ *Westminster Review*, 52, January, (1850), p379-406.

<sup>98</sup> Ireland, *Letters* p150.



Sutherland's enthusiasm is lost in *Nemesis*, Everhard's intense love for the Church is diminished by theological debate:

From being a sacred and mysterious object of belief, it has come to be a collection of doctrines to be disputed, to be stated and proved by premises, to be handled in short, like any other subject...stripped of the bloom of reverence and awe with which I formerly regarded religion, and it can never come back to me. (122)

As Everhard has previously avowed, religion 'has no evidences independent of the Church,' which leads him to a dangerous atheistic abyss. Jewsbury discussed Everhard's departure from the college in a long letter to Jane which outlines his character and religious doubts. She describes him as conscientious but having 'the grand fault' of 'indolence - a slowness to act' on his doubts. In this respect, Jewsbury sees 'E's atheism' not as 'a vulgar 'Tom Paine' hatred of religion,' but as a way of 'seeing a little further into it.' She notes that Everhard's difficulty resides in leaving the Church not just 'getting out of his faith.' Jewsbury justifies Everhard's position to Jane: 'he sees that doctrines inculcated by religion stand on their own account, and that the religious mythology is only the coarse from which they are made tangible, so that at first and for a time he might easily reconcile it to his feelings to stay where he was, especially till he saw his own way a little bit clearer.'<sup>99</sup> Everhard's dispute with Church doctrine was a problem of the time, one that Jewsbury also fought with during her spiritual 'blackness.' It also set the tone for other novelists whose protagonists were confused about doctrinal truth. The Anglican clergyman in Craik's *Olive*, Harold Gwynne, struggles 'in a chaos of mingled doubt and faith,' taking orders out of necessity to support his widowed mother, binding himself 'to believe whatever the church taught.' Like Everhard, Harold leaves the church because Olive Rothersay's devotion makes him realise that belief in God is the only prerequisite of true faith,

---

<sup>99</sup> In this letter Ireland spells Everhard's name incorrectly, Ireland, *Letters*, p148-149.

‘there may be a hundred varying forms of doctrine, but this one truth is above all and the root of all.’<sup>100</sup>

Jewsbury uses Everhard’s time at the College as a digressive means to discuss man’s belief in determining destiny. She looks at the questioning of orthodox religion from certain groups during the eighteenth century, such as Voltaire, the school of philosophers and encyclopedists, who attacked doctrinal Christianity. Everhard retaliated against such movements through his writing, yet was ‘disturbed at heart’ by the fact that the idol he upheld, the Church, ‘was not a truth.’ In exactly the same manner Robert Elsmere suffers a crisis of doubt over testimony, spurred as with Everhard, Sutherland and Fowler, by his intellectual studies. After attending Oxford, he marries and takes up a living as a parson, yet shortly resigns because he can not reconcile his doubts. He too enters social work, sets up a new church, but then dies from exhaustion. Elsmere questions the truth of the gospel of believing in God, but not in miracles, atonement or in Christ as the ‘man God, the Word from Eternity.’ This form of doubt, initiated in fiction with *Zoe*, was to be represented through testimony and doctrine in novels after 1845. Youge’s Tractarian tale, *The Clever Woman of the Family*, (1869), set ten years prior to its publication, tells of Rachel Curtis’s arrogant belief in answering her own doubts. This leads to her ‘confusion,’ echoing that of Everhard and Sutherland, ‘I do believe, I wish to believe; but my grasp seems gone. I cannot rest or trust.’<sup>101</sup> A point Newman’s *Loss and Gain* also emphasises through Reding’s cry: ‘I wish I knew what to believe; no one will tell me what to believe, I am left to myself.’<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> Dinah Mulock Craik, *Olive*, Hurst and Blackett, 1850, vol 2, p279. Harold suffers like Everhard from the ‘blackest darkness’ of doubts, yet Harold can find God’s truth and marry Olive.

<sup>101</sup> Charlotte Yonge, *The Clever Woman of the Family*, 1869, p169.

<sup>102</sup> Reding thinks doubt is a ‘dreadful state’ and that faith is the only real ‘safe state,’ J.H Newman, *Loss and Gain*, p92.

Like Sutherland and Elsmere, Everhard's subsequent work in 'the wildest iron districts in South Wales' forms his active socialism in accordance with German philosophy, where fallen religious heroes' search once they have left the confines of the priesthood.<sup>103</sup> All Everhard's 'utopian experiments and schemes for regenerating the world' are overturned by Evangelical revivalists, with the 'followers of Whitefield and Wesley.' Everhard's failure to influence the harsh mining districts makes him publish his philosophical writings, yet, he still does not find religious peace before death. In *Zoe*, Jewsbury wanted to emphasise Everhard's journey through doubt as the only honest way of obtaining true faith. She was adamant faith was strengthened through doubt, a belief voiced in her *Westminster Review* article and letters to the Carlyles:

In religion, no man ever properly believes, or gets any stable principles until all the unquestioning faith of his youth be broken up, and he has passed through a sharp period of doubt and darkness, and worked his way through that to trust and belief.<sup>104</sup>

In most religious novels the sceptic dies, and this is also true in *Zoe*. However, because Jewsbury was writing a novel, not a religious tract, she uses Everhard's death to enhance her moral point; 'there is something touching in his dying just when his eyes are open to the full worthlessness of all he has been living for.' Through Everhard's character and religious doubt, Jewsbury discusses the questions 'what are we sent into this world for? What ought we to do with our life.' Jewsbury thought it more significant Everhard died in the 'consciousness that he had failed in his task; that his task [was] over, that his chance [was] over.' For she could not give him a 'new faith,' nor 'set him up with new doctrines,' instead, his inconsistencies were unresolved, like so many others including herself: 'I cannot make Everhard up into a

---

<sup>103</sup> Everhard's doubting of testimony, sojourn to Welsh mining community and visit to Germany, are themes repeated by Froude's *Nemesis* (1849) and Mrs Ward's *Robert Elsmere* (1888).

<sup>104</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p192.

theory of utility or usefulness to mankind. I cannot even make out his scheme of morality for him.’<sup>105</sup>

*Zoe* not only represents the complex and personal questioning of doubt, and the fortitude needed to survive, but exposes clerical hypocrisy when helping with spiritual crises. When Everhard is asked to head the English College, the Pope sees his ‘strange mania for being sincere,’ and wants security his ‘doubts’ would be silent.<sup>106</sup> The Superior tells Everhard that people need a ‘form of doctrines’ to dispel doubts and ‘gather them together,’ like sheep in a fold. This was the exact dilemma Jewsbury felt during her religious crisis when she was dismissed by clergy with doctrine that increased her doubt. In a letter to Jane, detailing Everhard’s development as a character, Jewsbury exposed the clergy’s failure: ‘He [Everhard] has had feelings, but from time to time he quiets himself, as the greater number of all the priests and clergymen I ever knew quite themselves.’<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, Jewsbury reiterates these concerns publicly in her *Westminster Review* article, where doctrinal doubts were secondary to belief in the Church. She satirised clergy as unhelpful and dismissive:

It is vain for those who consider themselves as representatives of the Orthodox Christianity of the present day, to look down upon such as are struggling in this movement as if they were a parcel of arrogant and superficial schoolboys who ought to allow themselves to be put down by the frown of their master and should stand abashed by sneers at their youth and incompetence.’<sup>108</sup>

Jewsbury believed clergy were spiritual advisers and that during her ‘fit of blackness’ she had been abandoned. Her analogy to congregates as ‘superficial schoolboys’ exposes the imposed superiority of the clergy who, instead of teaching and guiding, mock and chastise with a ‘frown.’ Through recalling the ‘fierce conflict of opinion

---

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p150, p151.

<sup>106</sup> Jewsbury’s portrayal of the Cardinal’s conversation with the Pope probably incited some of the scandal attached to *Zoe*’s reputation.

<sup>107</sup> Ireland, *Letters* p148.

and belief,' upon which the church is based, Jewsbury argues strongly in *Zoe* for the role of doubt as a part of faith.<sup>109</sup>

Jewsbury develops Everhard's faith, passion and consequent questioning through his conversations with Jean Paul Gregory Marston at the college. This fellow student and old school friend, 'an atheistical Roman priest and a man of the world,' amuses Everhard but illustrates the cynicism and lack of faith at the college.<sup>110</sup> Marston believed that the priesthood desired men to become like the 'cold-blooded clay around me.' Marston represents all Everhard is anxious to avoid, 'a man divided against himself, without the self-control to conform to his lot, or the energy to emancipate himself from it.' (64) Jewsbury uses their friendship to address issues around celibacy and religious seclusion in a society where disbelief and non-conformity abounded.<sup>111</sup> Marston's financial prosperity and career, his 'unrestrained license of conduct,' enables Jewsbury to emphasise the hypocrisy of the college. Jewsbury attempted to reflect a realistic picture of the religious doubts of her time and based Marston on a real life clergyman, 'I knew the man - he never was made a Bishop...a priest much esteemed for his zeal.'<sup>112</sup> It has been seen that much of the material for *Zoe* was taken from Jewsbury's own experiences and intellectual and spiritual questioning of religious doubt endemic of the 1840s.

### **A Heretical Heroine: Dissent and Disbelief**

As has been previously noted the religious Census of 1851 uncovered the high numbers of dissenting religions in Britain, which were only fractionally lower than

---

<sup>108</sup> *Westminster Review*, p379.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p379.

<sup>110</sup> *Spectator*, 8<sup>th</sup> February 1845, p136.



those attending the Church of England.<sup>113</sup> Dissent in the Victorian novel was explored in Gaskell's *Ruth* (1853), Eliot's *Adam Bede* (1859), Oliphant's *Salem Chapel* (1863) and Mark Rutherford's [William White Hale] *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, Dissenting Minister* (1881).<sup>114</sup> Religious dissent was part of mid-Victorian life, as any look at the religious background of Victorian novelists' highlights: Gaskell was a Unitarian, Oliphant's father was a Free Churchman of Scotland, and Dickens and Eliot attended non-conformists schools.<sup>115</sup> Therefore the varied representation of dissent in fiction documented in Valentine Cunningham's *Everywhere Spoken Against Dissent* (1975) is not surprising. Froude questions the diversity of dissent in *Nemesis*, 'there are very various denominations indeed; bearing the names of every faith beneath the sky.'<sup>116</sup>

The representation of dissent in *Zoe* as early as 1845 is important. On his deathbed, Gifford warns Zoe will need religion 'in your last hour. Whilst you live a very little religion seems enough; but believe me, it requires a great deal when you come to die.' (239) Represented as the heretical, half-Greek wife of an earnest Catholic, Zoe raises many of the religious questions of the novel. It was the act of giving birth that forces her to question God. She finds religion 'cold and forced,' pondering God's role in life, a blasphemy shocking to readers in 1845, 'driven into darkness, she exclaimed in the frenzy of her soul, "Where is the All-powerful, the All-merciful, in whom we

---

<sup>111</sup> The discussion about celibacy and convent life is seen with Everhard and Clotilde but is also a theme Jewsbury explores in her last novel *Right or Wrong*, 1859.

<sup>112</sup> MP, 316/2 April 1858.

<sup>113</sup> For detail on the religious census of 1851 see Chadwick p363-9, W.S.F. Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census – a useless experiment?' *British Journal of Sociology*, 18, (1967), p382-407 and K.M.D Snell and Paul S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalem: The Geography of Victorian Religion*, C.U.P. 2000, p23-53.

<sup>114</sup> This is a selection of novels that dealt with dissent, for further detail and analysis consult Wolff and Cunningham.

<sup>115</sup> Valentine Cunningham, *Everywhere Spoken Against: Dissent in the Victorian Novel*, Clarendon, 1975, p107.

<sup>116</sup> J.A Froude, *Nemesis*, Garland, 1975, p135.

are taught to believe?’ She can not understand the supposed contentment of the ‘purblind old confessor’ whose ‘mumbled prayers, his days of abstinence, and his droning sermon once a week’ are meant to encourage faith. Clotilde’s ‘placid acquiescence in this tremendous doctrine,’ and Miss Rodney’s ‘calm, apathetic belief,’ infuriates Zoe, rousing ‘her hatred and disbelief in all religion, almost to insanity.’(113) It is also through Zoe’s dissenting conversations with Everhard over doctrine that Jewsbury questions the meaning of religion, doubt and ‘what we come into the world for.’ Just as Everhard complained of insincerity amongst clergy, Zoe distinguishes between creed and religion, against priests who seem removed from experience: ‘Oh! If they really believed all they preach, how would any priest or preacher be able to sleep in his bed under the tremendous responsibility.’(186) In response, Everhard resorts to theological teaching: ‘the majority of those who live in the world, must have a form of doctrine, something definite by which they may shape their belief.’ He continues that moral truths need to be made dogmatic to be understood, and that ‘all religious forms are but a shell which covers the spiritual meaning, the body by which it is made manifest.’(187) This places emphasis upon the authority of the clergy to ‘lead’ the congregation *into* belief, which Zoe sees as immoral and a social pretence ‘why are the people who do not believe, to go on pretending that they do?’(187) Zoe argues that having no creed or doctrine is better than having those ‘not one in ten bestows a serious thought upon.’ However, Everhard sees religion as a ‘practical restraint,’ believing that a lack of creed would be a ‘cloak for every kind of ill deed.’ Jewsbury emphasises Everhard’s doubts through Zoe’s anger over the hypocrisy and pretence of the church’s view of creed. No compromise is made between Zoe’s heretical vision and Everhard’s religious theorising; reiterating Everhard’s inability to resolve his own doubts or to persuade Zoe to alter hers.

### A Pious Nun and a Shallow Reverend: Clotilde and O'Brian

It has been seen that dissent and doubt are represented through Zoe and Everhard. In contrast, Jewsbury uses O'Brian and Clotilde to highlight Anglican corruption and futility of monastic life. The relationship between Clotilde and O'Brian and his marriage to Marian, highlight differences between the insincerity of Catholicism and Protestantism. Like Jean Paul Marston, O'Brian entered the church 'from motives of expediency,' not devotion. His materialism and lack of consideration for Clotilde and Marian expose him as 'too shallow to be sceptical.'<sup>117</sup> O'Brian's superficiality and deception of Clotilde's 'sweet innocent heart' is exposed through his discussion with Montague about the independent virtues of marrying Marian or Clotilde:

Both ladies are willing to accept you, by your own account, but you like Miss Gifford rather the best...if you marry her, you will remain rector of Sutton all your days... if you marry Miss Smith, you will have all her uncle's influence to push you on; and the Church must be a bore of a profession if you have not the hope of rising in it.(225-6)

The nature of Montague's advice relates directly to the matrimonial stock-market, whereby women's merits and virtues are calculated in the language of a 'good bargain.' (Similar terms used by Jewsbury when assessing the merits and profitability of a novel.) It is fitting that Jewsbury depicts O'Brian's future wife, Marian Smith, as equally manipulative in trapping her husband. The letter she writes persuades him that, 'what are faults in Miss Smith will be virtues, or at least conveniences, in the wife of a dean.' *Zoe* was not the only novel to use these themes, Conybeare's Broad church novel, *Perversion* (1856) also explored Mr Morgan's hypocrisy over celibacy, when he marries a rich widow. Like Morgan, O'Brian's mercantile dealings with

---

<sup>117</sup> Anon, 'Spectator Library,' *Spectator*, February 8<sup>th</sup> 1845, p136.

Marian and flirtations with Clotilde display corruption within the moral fibres of the church, where doctrine is dismissed to suit motive.<sup>118</sup>

In contrast to such corruption, Clotilde's 'nun-like' character and practical Christianity, visiting the sick and reading devotional work, makes her more like a 'woman of the Middle Ages, than an educated young lady of the eighteenth century.'<sup>119</sup> She has none of Zoe's 'fashionable accomplishments' or thirst for learning. It is precisely her lack of ambition and purity that elevates her as part of the Victorian feminine ideal: 'her ignorance, however, was graceful, and her sweet docile nature, made her heart far richer than her head.'(172) The imagery surrounding Clotilde's 'Madonna like figure' emphasises her unique piety as a 'picture of purity and faith...lifting her blue eyes from the golden sunset which seems to veil heaven and its hosts from her view.' (176) This purity is the antithesis of O'Brian's lust: 'his burning eyes fixed upon her face with a look of passionate tenderness, enough to change a saint of snow or marble into a most yielding woman.'(222) On discovering O'Brian's falseness and proposal to Marian, Clotilde experiences 'hysterical attacks.' This physical reaction highlights her emotional loss felt by his cruel rejection, a stark contrast to the sedate, passionless life of the convent: 'She was weaned from all that was earthly; but such a sweet, unselfish deadness to all the world, was surely never seen; it was the indifference of an angel, or a seraph.'<sup>120</sup> (292) (Even her religious name, Mother Angelique, reaffirms this saintly imagery).

---

<sup>118</sup> Anglican reverends were portrayed as corrupt in Mrs Trollope's *Vicar of Wrexhill* (1837), Anon, *Trevor; or the New St Francis* (1847), Robert Buchanan's *Foxglove Manor* (1884) Walter Beasant *In Deacon's Orders* (1895) and M. L Lord's *An Obstinate Parish* (1899).

<sup>119</sup> For discussion about women and religion in Victorian fiction see, Ursula King (ed.), *Religion and Gender*, Blackwell, 1995, Sue Morgan, *A Passion for Purity: Ellen Hopkins and the Politics of Gender in the Late Victorian Church*, CCSRG Monograph Series 2, University of Bristol, 1999, Anne Hogan & Andrew Bradstock, (Ed), *Women of Faith in Victorian Culture: Reassessing the Angel of the House*, St Martin Press, 1998.

Therefore, as previously noted, there is a strong sense of passion and religious conviction in *Zoe*, whether in the form of doubt, dissent, or seclusion. In this manner, Jewsbury portrays Clotilde's decision to enter the convent as wasteful. She emphasises Zoe's recognition of the importance of motherhood, and moralises that women find fulfilment through love, which Clotilde's vows preclude. Jewsbury developed this theme in *Right or Wrong* (1859) where Father Paul, falls in love and marries Marguerite therefore disobeying his monastic vows of celibacy.<sup>121</sup> Consequently he lives a double life, shrouded by secrecy and broken creeds, which ultimately ends with his confession and rejection of the priesthood.<sup>122</sup> After twenty years deception he tells Marguerite, the mother of his four children, the reasons he adopted monastic life: 'I choose it because it seemed like the death that my soul longed for, but which I might never seek or find.'(2:154) Although, Clotilde settles for caring for O'Brian's children, in *Right and Wrong* Jewsbury highlights Paul's desire for both religious devotion and passionate love.

The *Athenaeum* considered that Jewsbury portrayed the 'rascal' Paul too sympathetically but the *Spectator* recognised her criticisms of the 'wrongs of women' and monastic life.<sup>123</sup> Through Paul and Clotilde, Jewsbury argues that monastic life can be a 'cold, mechanical round of ill-appointed, ill performed duties,' instead of the 'highest and noblest form of spiritual life.'(1:50)<sup>124</sup> Both *Right and Wrong* and *Zoe* were influenced by Carlyle's dictum that action superseded words, that 'work is man's only true prayers.' Just like Kingsley in his *Hypatia* (1856) Jewsbury discredits

---

<sup>120</sup> O'Farrell, *Telling Complexions*, p7.

<sup>121</sup> *Right and Wrong*, set in Eighteenth Century Regency France was based upon a tale from *Cause Célèbres* and influenced by Carlyle's *The French Revolution: A History* (1837).

<sup>122</sup> The novel was originally called *The Divided Life*, MP 315/12, 21<sup>st</sup> February 1858.

<sup>123</sup> See reviews of *Right and Wrong* in *Athenaeum*, January 29<sup>th</sup> 1859, p148 and 'New Novels,' *Spectator*, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1859, p106.

<sup>124</sup> For Jewsbury's attacks upon celibate monastic life, see *Right and Wrong* Vol., 2 p307-8

secluded religious life in *Zoe* and *Right and Wrong* in exchange for a belief in God, love and family.

Passion and love are therefore prominent factors surrounding doubt and scepticism in *Zoe* and novels that followed. *Zoe* questions her superficial life in society; mercenary marriage, love for Everhard, passion for Mirabeau and belief in God; leading to her discovery of purpose through her children. She remains heretical despite Everhard's influence, resorting to a secular understanding of the world.

In contrast, Clotilde's pious seclusion away from temptation and passion, is ultimately unsatisfactory. Unlike *Zoe*, Clotilde is the archetypal self-sacrificing believer, making the reader question the purpose of confinement just as much as questioning pretence within belief. Jewsbury used *Zoe* to explore her own religious 'botherations' at a time when doubt was a feature within religious faith. Through her informative style and depiction of passion, Jewsbury represents the struggle of religion as 'the community of fools who really believe, of hypocrites who pretend to believe, and of wise men, who do neither.' She echoes the sentiments of the *Fraser's* reviewer who criticised her for 'having a fling at the reasonableness, as well as the purifying and ennobling influence of the Christian faith.'<sup>125</sup> Yet, *Zoe* is also remarkable for discussing contemporary religious experience in a light fiction novel, pre-empting Froude and Newman's heavier treatises.<sup>126</sup> Furthermore, *Zoe* voices Jewsbury's belief in the necessity of love and vocation within fulfilment, themes more fully explored in her second novel, *The Half Sisters* (1848).

---

<sup>125</sup> Anon, 'Sea side Reading,' *Fraser's*, 32, (1845), p561.

<sup>126</sup> Newman's conversion influenced society at the time and was reflected by other key members of the church, see Michael Clifton *A Victorian Convert Quintet. Studies in Faith of Five Leading Victorian Converts to Catholicism from the Oxford Movement*. Saint Austin Press, 1998.

## Chapter Four

### Occupation and Actresses in *The Half Sisters*: Prejudice against Professional Women

As with *Zoe*, Jewsbury's second novel, *The Half Sisters*, continues and expands her discussion about women's vocation, education and social respectability. Through the portrayal of Bianca's career as an actress and Alice's middle class marriage of social convenience, Jewsbury exposes the deficiency of the domestic ideal. As one of the first novels to discuss women's vocation, *The Half Sisters* concentrates upon many issues involving women's education, purpose, role and marriage, which have been termed the Woman's Question.<sup>1</sup> Due to the broad nature of the term 'Woman's Question' (which addresses more than one question), it is more effectively replaced by precise analysis of individual areas, such as women's vocation, marital choice, education, role and purpose. *The Half Sisters* raises all these issues in response to contemporary debate by authors and commentators, such as Brontë, J.S. Mill and Mrs Ellis.<sup>2</sup>

Published on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1848, six months after *Jane Eyre*, *The Half Sisters* discusses prejudice about female vocation through its dual heroines. Brontë's depiction of the socially isolating position of a governess, as neither servant nor genteel woman, raises similar arguments to Jewsbury's representation of actresses.<sup>3</sup> The prejudice Jane experiences, as an onlooker in the sitting room at Thornfield Hall, is similar to the

---

<sup>1</sup> Jewsbury criticism since the 1970's refers to the 'Woman's Question' within her work in a broad and general manner, but does not define or assess the term. See Mary Evans (Ed.) *The Woman Question*, Sage, 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Jewsbury was one of the first British Victorian authors to discuss women's careers before the 1850s.

<sup>3</sup> *Jane Eyre* was published in October 1847 and *The Half Sisters* in March 1848. Both novels discuss equality within relationships, based on love not social standing, highlighting the restlessness of middle class heroines searching for emotional, intellectual and physical satisfaction.

trials Bianca faces as a rising star or the disappointment of Dorothea Brooke in *Middlemarch* (1871).<sup>4</sup> *The Half Sisters* initiated the heroine of vocation, identified by Jewsbury as needing emotional, intellectual and sexual satisfaction; required by Dorothea Brooke, Shirley Kedlar and Margaret Hall, and obtained through Jane Eyre's marriage.<sup>5</sup> Just like Brontë, Jewsbury emphasised through Bianca's talent that women working from financial necessity were not necessarily immoral. Conrad is threatened by Bianca's ability to earn money.<sup>6</sup> He perceives Bianca as the recipient of money from men who watch her, making the comparison to prostitution: 'A woman who makes her mind public, or exhibits herself in any way, no matter how it may be dignified by the title of art, seems to me little better than a woman of a nameless class.' (214) Bianca accepts the stigma of her profession as she informs Alice, 'I am already *Flétrie* [stained] in the eyes of all the quiet, gentle, still-life people amongst whom you dwell.' (134) In this manner, she presents actresses as 'an extension of domestic duty into the public sphere,' even though her appearance on stage 'violated the division between public and private in which domestic ideology depended.'<sup>7</sup> This stereotype was reinforced by Craik's *Olive* (1850), who, in contrast to Bianca's passion, is motivated by 'the mere desire of earning money.'<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>See Gillian Beer, *George Eliot*, Harvester, 1986.

<sup>5</sup> For arguments about Victorian heroines see Patricia Thomson *The Victorian Heroine A Changing Ideal 1837-1873*, Greenwood Press, 1978.

<sup>6</sup> Dennis Denisoff develops this point in his analysis of Conrad as the 'predatory sexual transgressor.' Conrad identifies Bianca as 'unsexed' by her profession and is threatened by the effect her career has in undermining his position. In this sense Conrad looks towards Alice as the embodiment of an opposing domestic ideal. 'Lady in Green with Novel: The Gendered Economics of the Visual Arts and Mid-Victorian Women's Writing,' in Nicola, Diane Thompson, (Ed.) *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question*, C.U.P. 1999, p151-69.

<sup>7</sup> Judith Rosen, 'At Home Upon a Stage: Domesticity and Genius in Geraldine Jewsbury's *The Half Sisters*,' in Barbara Harman (Ed.) *The New Nineteenth Century: Re-readings of Under-read Victorian Women Writers*, Garland, 1997, p18.

<sup>8</sup> Reinforced by the fact Olive gives up her art once married. Dinah Mulock Craik, *Olive*, 1850, vol.,2, p32. *Olive* is bound in the 1851 edition of *The Half Sisters*.



Acting was a recurrent theme of Jewsbury's fiction, and that of other women novelists, but its inclusion in *The Half Sisters* initiated a cry from Jane Carlyle to John Forster, of 'more actresses! More hysteric seizures and all that sort of thing.'<sup>9</sup> Not everyone accepted Jewsbury's views on the necessity of female education and vocation.<sup>10</sup> After receiving copies of the ms, Jane wrote to Forster in 1848 about Jewsbury's 'want of common sense,' considering the novel worse than *Zoe* and 'disgusting for a young Englishwoman to write.'<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, despite Jane stating that Chapman thought the novel, 'unfit for circulation in families,' it seemed her publishers altered their opinion, giving Jewsbury 'immediate payment' for her second novel, which must have made her all the more determined to be daring.<sup>12</sup>

The stigma Jane attached to the representation of actresses in the novel is important in ascertaining the wider cultural prejudice Jewsbury exposes about women's vocation. The most recent critical attention to *The Half Sisters* focused upon Jewsbury's use of acting and the depiction of women's lives upon the Victorian stage.<sup>13</sup> Public stigma surrounding actresses during the period was a stimulus for the character of Bianca. There were only 387 registered actresses in the Occupational Census List for England and Wales in 1841 and despite this number rising dramatically by 1911, to approximately 9,171, the acceptance of this career path was a steep, social gradient

---

<sup>9</sup> Alexander Carlyle, (Ed.) *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, John Lane, 1903, vol., 1, p238. Sand, De Staël and Eliot wrote about the prejudices surrounding actresses in their novels.

<sup>10</sup> Clarke attributed Jane's initial disgust for *The Half Sisters* to Jewsbury's critical view of marriage, seen through Alice's domestically unchallenging life, as representing her own, see Norma Clarke, p187

<sup>11</sup> Alexander Carlyle, (Ed.) *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, John Lane, 1903, vol., 1, p238, p242.

<sup>12</sup> Bettina Susanna Lehmbeck, *Studies in Geraldine Jewsbury's Fiction with Particular Reference to the Women's Question*, M.Lit, Edinburgh, 1988, p91.

<sup>13</sup> See Emily Allen *Stage Fright: British Fiction and the Figuration of Theatre, 1778-1892*, Ph.D, University of California Santa Barbara, 1996, Deborah Kelso Pye, *Irreproachable women and Patient Workers: Representations of the Actress in Victorian Prose*, University of Kansas, Ph.D., 2000.

for women to overcome.<sup>14</sup> However, actresses formed a visual threat to the middle classes and were compared to prostitutes because they were not anonymous and did not remain within the designated private sphere of the home.<sup>15</sup> The stigma surrounding the profession of acting was therefore difficult to shift because of issues of social respectability, and connotations of public display and prostitution: showing one's body for money. (Eliot also discussed this in *Daniel Deronda* with Daniel's mother, the 'Jewess entertainer.') The warning of Harriet Douglas, in *The Half Sisters*, the actress 'ruined body and soul' by Theatre manager, St. Ledger, is Jewsbury's way of addressing the stigma and its associations with prostitution. Bianca's dismissal from the theatre because she rejected St. Ledger, is based on his revenge for being unable to 'obtain possession of her.' St. Ledger calculates the 'cost of her virtue' as the reputation and success of her 'ambitious' career, which Bianca preserves and develops along with social respect.

Jewsbury uses the analogy of acting with prostitution to expose the mendacity of middle class respectability. As one who showed a 'hatred of shams,'<sup>16</sup> Jewsbury questions the futility of women desiring the kudos of respectability at a higher social cost: 'Is there then nothing *real* in life, except a worldly position and the material advantage of a grand house, splendid furniture, plenty of money? Are they of such importance that they deserve a young girl to sell herself for money, body and soul?' (265) The woman's actions to obtain money and social 'respectability' result in pushing her further away from that goal.

---

<sup>14</sup> Christopher Kent, 'Image and Reality The Actress and Society,' in Martha Vicinus (Ed.) *A Widening Sphere*, 1977 p94. As with all Census returns this figure should be used as a guide only.

<sup>15</sup> For contemporary debate about actresses see: 'Dressing Rooms of Actresses,' *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 5<sup>th</sup> May 1832, p284, 'S' 'A Few Words about Actresses, and the Profession of the Stage,' *Englishwoman's Journal*, II, February, (1859), p385-86, R. Noel, 'Recollections of the Stage,' *Frasers*, vol., 2, March, (1875), p326-337.

Conversely, the novel shows the hypocrisy of the ‘respectable public’ who went to the theatre to watch ‘disorderly vagabonds,’ who were not ‘credible to know, let alone ‘safe to admit to the neighbourhood of their silver spoons.’(34) Yet, both Bryant and Conrad, having little regard for Bianca’s occupation, nonetheless pay for her services. Bryant’s intense dislike for actresses means Alice never knows Bianca is her half-sister. His prejudice against ‘professional people,’ being considerably ‘unsubstantial to men of business,’ is ironic because, being in the Iron trade, Bryant also held connotations with low-birth. His self-made path to social and financial ‘success’ is morally and socially accepted, whereas Bianca’s is heavily tainted.

Therefore, the inherent prejudice surrounding actresses’ sexual morality is used by Jewsbury to enter a broader debate about social respectability and women. *The Half Sisters* does not just address the prostitute on the street, but compares mercenary middle class marriages to prostitution.<sup>17</sup> Alice gains a socially secure position through marrying Bryant. Her ‘soul had thirsted for so long’ that despite the fact Bryant ‘was not in love with her’ the marriage proves a ‘very good match.’ However, the lack of attention she receives once married is directly responsible for her affair with Conrad, (a theme that is mirrored by Lady Wollaston’s infidelity with Albert in *Marian Withers*.)<sup>18</sup>

Jewsbury first used this comparison in her short story “Agnes Worrall” (1846) where she presents a loveless social match as a form of ‘legal’ prostitution: ‘She makes a

---

<sup>16</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> September 1880, *Manchester Examiner and Times*, p5.

<sup>17</sup> See Linda Mahood *Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century*, Routledge, 1990, Paul McHugh *Prostitution and Victorian Social Reform*, Croom Helm, 1980 and Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society. Women, Class and the State*, C.U.P. 1980.

<sup>18</sup> Refer to Chapter Five.

better bargain than the poor wretch who stands in the street at night - the law guarantees its fulfilment, and success agrees to sanction it; - but the deep, burning degradation of the REALITY is the same in both.’<sup>19</sup> This exposure of prejudice about actresses in the novel, questions the hypocrisy of respectable society where professional women like Bianca were publicly devalued because they earned their living, whereas Alice’s loveless marriage, a legal deceit, was accepted.

The retort in “Agnes Worrall,” ‘How can people sell their souls for the sake of furniture and respectability?’(57) is consistent with all Jewsbury’s novels. It was her indignant mockery of respectability in “Agnes Worrall” which preludes her longer discussion of the perfidy of appearance in *Zoe*, *The Half Sisters*, *Adopted Child* and *Sorrows of Gentility*. Respectability was aligned to the portraits of women in her fiction and Jewsbury enjoyed exposing what she considered a dissimulation within a very British concern for appearance. Respectability was first used in 1785 to denote the state of being respectable in character or social standing.<sup>20</sup> Although evident in all her novels, Jewsbury’s discussion of social respectability is effectively seen in *Sorrows of Gentility*, where Mrs Morley’s spoilt daughter, Gertrude, marries Augustus Donnelly, on the pretence of his fame and riches (symbols of social movement.) However, their hasty elopement to Gretna Green exposes Donnelly as penniless. The fact Gertrude, like Marian, is educated above her station illustrates the ‘shabby gentility’ deplorable in society, where suffering and social downfall are relished: ‘We could all bear what actually befalls us, if it were not for the idea of what other people would think of it.’(113-4) Despite Jewsbury’s belief in a moral double

---

<sup>19</sup> Geraldine Jewsbury, ‘Agnes Worrall’, *DJSM*, 7,(1846), p266.

<sup>20</sup> Carlyle, *On Heroes and Hero Worship* referenced a person of respectable character in 1840.

standard she thought women should ‘master the mystery of respectability, for it is a craft of which no woman ought to be ignorant.’

In his *Athenaeum* review of *The Half Sisters*, Chorley considered Alice to be the conventional, domestic woman, ‘the sneer against respectability,’ blaming her ‘respectable’ middle class upbringing for her social and emotional ruin. By contrast Bianca’s unconventional and dishonourable debut into acting results in her socially respected position as Lady Melton. Chorley thought *The Half Sisters* aspired ‘to do battle with “conventionalism,” and in this respect, went further than *Jane Eyre* in exposing the effects of social rules upon women’s lives and behaviour.<sup>21</sup> Jewsbury believed that respectability was false and unnecessary, created as ‘a morality invented for the good of overflowing wickedness.’ She compared it to an ‘antiseptic principle’ which made the world safer by clearing ‘a few obtruding nuisances’ and putting down ‘a few annoyances.’ She questioned its purpose, other than restricting and categorising women’s roles, ‘if the world were really good for anything there would be no such thing as mere respectability.’<sup>22</sup>

Like Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* (1848), *The Half Sisters* exposes societal faults and the effects of these restrictions upon women’s behaviour. However, it also discloses the inadequacies of the traditional domestic ideal where Bianca, the self-made actress is socially and morally superior to her middle class half-sister. *The Half Sisters* is deeply imbedded within debates of the 1840s, in particular women’s vocation and the heroine of purpose, and as such it is important to consider the influences upon its composition.

---

<sup>21</sup> Chorley, review of *The Half Sisters*, *Athenaeum*, March 18<sup>th</sup> 1848, p28.

<sup>22</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p182.

## French and Italian Influence

Jewsbury considered *The Half Sisters* her best novel because it discussed crucial issues about women's education and vocation.<sup>23</sup> As has been seen, Jewsbury developed Bianca as an artist in order to dispel preconceptions about acting as a discredited profession, arguing that as a 'women of genius' Bianca was 'intended by nature' to act. This also further emphasises the emptiness of domesticity: 'I have often wondered how women who were *not* actresses contrived to pass their lives.'(81) Like most women writers of the period, Jewsbury believed in women's vocation. Whilst writing *The Half Sisters*, she had already met and established friendships with American and British actresses Charlotte Cushman and Helena Faucit, (Lady Martin).<sup>24</sup> Jewsbury therefore knew about the stigma surrounding her acting friends but believed they were women of genius, who, like Bianca found in the stage 'passion, as well as a profession.'(134)<sup>25</sup> Once famous, Cushman noted how her experiences as an actress, had been worth the extra effort: 'how many there are that have a horror of my profession! Yet I dearly love the very hard work the very drudgery of it, which has made me what I am.'<sup>26</sup> Jewsbury used Cushman's experience to develop Bianca's character and love for her art, mirroring her irregular path to success and respectability.

---

<sup>23</sup> MP,1857, (31).

<sup>24</sup> Jane Carlyle mentioned Jewsbury's relationship with Charlotte Cushman 'Geraldine by the way is in a blaze of enthusiasm about Miss Cushman the Actress - with whom she swore everlasting friendship at Manchester just when she had got jealous of me and Mrs Paulet,' Huxley, *Letters*, p261. For detail on Jewsbury's friendships with Cushman and Faucit see: Emma Stebbins, (Ed.,) *Charlotte Cushman, Her Letters and Memories of her Life*, Boston: Cambridge, 1979, Sir Thomas Martin, *Helena Faucit, (Lady Martin)*, Blackwood, 1900, Lisa Surrige, 'Madame de Staël Meets Mrs. Ellis: Geraldine Jewsbury's *The Half Sisters*', *Carlyle Studies Annual*, 15, (1995), p81-95.

<sup>25</sup> Cushman was identified in the press as having manly features, see Norma Clarke, *Ambitious Heights: Writing, Friendship, Love - The Jewsbury Sisters, Felicia Hemans and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Routledge, 1990, p178, 188. Interestingly, Faucit was married and seen in a more 'artistic' light, she published Helena Faucit Martin, *On Some Shakespearean Characters*, Blackwoods, 1885, see Theodore Martin, *Helena Faucit (Lady Martin)*, Blackwood, 1900.

<sup>26</sup> Stebbins, p78.

When working for Simpson at the circus, Bianca realises her vocation, feeling a ‘fascination, even in that low grade of her profession, which carried her through hardships, annoyances, and drudgery.’(32) Through her friendship with Cushman, Jewsbury emphasised that vocation and earning money satisfied women, whereas those confined to domesticity inevitably sought fulfilment elsewhere.

Jewsbury not only used her relationships to gain authentic experience about acting, but was influenced by previous novels about actresses, in particular Madame De Staël’s *Corinne* (1807) and Sand’s *Consuelo* (1842-3).<sup>27</sup> Both novels have been analysed in relation to *The Half Sisters* and many similarities between characters and themes have been found.<sup>28</sup> Jewsbury described reading *Corinne* as an ‘epoch a woman never forgets’, one that profoundly affected Alice, who was so engrossed she ‘never lifted her head till she had come to the last line in the last page of the volume.’(60) Both *Corinne* and *The Half Sisters* focus upon the lives of two half-sisters: an Italian actress (Bianca and Corinne) and a British, domestic heroine (Alice and Lucille) exposing the restrictions of middle class life upon the creative and intellectual nature of women. Lisa SurrIDGE went as far as calling *The Half Sisters* a ‘Victorian recasting’ of Madame de Staël’s novel.<sup>29</sup> It was not only *Corinne* that influenced Jewsbury, but the more controversial George Sand. Despite appearing to rebel against female stereotypes, Sand’s first novel *Indiana* (1840) actually conformed.

---

<sup>27</sup> George Sand was christened Aurore Dupin but was also referred to by her married name, Madame Du Devant. For biographical detail see Belinda Jack, *George Sand, A Woman’s Life Writ Large* Vintage, 2001 and George Lubin (Ed) *Correspondance*, Paris, 25, vols., 25, 1964-85.

<sup>28</sup> For comparisons of *Corinne* and *Consuelo*, see Ellen Moers, ‘Performing Heroism: The Myth of Corinne,’ in *Literary Women*, 1977, p173-210, Lisa SurrIDGE, ‘Madame de Staël Meets Mrs. Ellis: Geraldine Jewsbury’s *The Half Sisters*’, *Carlyle Studies Annual*, (1995) p81-95, Rosenmayer Ph.D, p66-112.

<sup>29</sup> SurrIDGE, p81.

As Rabine notes, ‘*Indiana* encourages women to resign themselves to the established order and to live in a fantasy world instead of acting to alter their situation.’<sup>30</sup> The crucial difference between Sand and Jewsbury, at least for Jane Carlyle (a Sand enthusiast), resides with Alice’s behaviour. The fact Alice intended to leave her husband for Conrad, an action that resulted in her death, is also comparable to Emma’s behaviour in Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* (1856).<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, as a French novelist who developed a reputation for unconventionality, (personally and through her novels), Sand offered a more conventional option for women than Jewsbury. Jewsbury was an avid reader of Sand, and received a volume in 1846, which ‘I am in a great humour to read.’<sup>32</sup> The height of her enthusiasm for French fiction occurred when writing *Zoe* and *The Half Sisters* (interestingly her two most passionate novels). Yet after a short illness in 1851, she was less enthusiastic, highlighting the physical energy reading French novels required, ‘I was offered a French novel, but I was not up to it. There is not a breath of fresh air in those French books.’<sup>33</sup>

An interest in French literature was common amongst writers of the 1840’s onwards, Jewsbury not only read French novelists but also reviewed them, including Ouida and Sand.<sup>34</sup> (Even Braddon wrote about Zola and the literary debt British authors owed French counterparts).<sup>35</sup> Jewsbury complained in 1864 that English novels ‘compete

---

<sup>30</sup> Leslie Rabine, ‘George Sand and the Myth of Femininity,’ in Janet Todd (ed.), *Be Good, Sweet Maid*, Smith & Elder 1981, p65.

<sup>31</sup> Emma Bovary’s materialistic desire for an outlet for her passions, leads like Alice, to the moral downfall of adultery and eventual death.

<sup>32</sup> She also lent *Lucrezia Floriani* and other novels to friends. Matilda Hays and Eliza Athurst, translated Sand as Jewsbury read them, Howe, p23.

<sup>33</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p214 and p394.

<sup>34</sup> Jewsbury reviewed 5 of Ouida’s novels (also known as Marie Louise de la Ramée): *Strathmore*, (1865) *Chandos*, (1866) *Idalia*, (1867) *Under Two Flags* (1867) *Tricotrín* (1868) See Elizabeth Lee, *Ouida: A Memoir*, 1914, Eileen Bigland, *Ouida the Passionate Victorian*, 1950.

<sup>35</sup> Braddon discussed writing an article for either *Temple Bar* or *Fraser’s Review* entitled ‘Emile Zola and the Naturalist school,’ but after extensive research and consultation of Wellesley Index, have not managed to trace any published article. See BL, MS 58, 786, (51-63) and Walter E. Houghton (Ed.) *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*, Routledge, vols., 1-5.



with French in vice,' but, like many, admired Balzac.<sup>36</sup> Yet, it was her friend, Lewes' who highlighted the central dilemma facing literary criticism of French Literature, in his article on Balzac and Sand in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* of 1844: The fact Balzac was simultaneously an immoral writer and a literary genius.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, he was a 'dangerous writer' who should be 'strictly forbidden to young women,' for his concentration on adultery and sexual passion.<sup>38</sup> This disparity was also made in reference to Sand in the 1840's, where reviews had 'admiration, mingled with moral outrage.'<sup>39</sup> Lewes wrote; 'Although her works are largely read... and her genius is recognised by most of our eminent men, it is rare to see any praise of her not qualified by some concession to the prejudice of the day.'<sup>40</sup> Jewsbury was conscious of the genius and questionable morality in Sand and Balzac. Writing to Mantell in 1857, she was concerned not to be associated with French Literature, despite the evident irony of her enjoyment of it:

Yesterday I was at Westertons and found a novel by Balzac that I had never heard of - 'La derniere incarnation de Valtine' so I brought it home ... there are (I know from being told so) a good many of Balzac's wh are unacceptable by decent people but as I don't know which they are I shall send you none on speculation this is except for myself I wd not read a book a line after I felt ashamed of it - & I wd be very sorry to send you a book wh wld lower me in yr opinion for having read."<sup>41</sup>

This letter represents Jewsbury's convergence with dominant patriarchal views about 'accepted' and 'unacceptable' reading material for women. Despite her intimate friendship with Mantell and professional role as a reviewer and reader, Jewsbury was concerned to appear respectable in his eyes, even though she was recommending Balzac.

---

<sup>36</sup> Mrs Fullerton's *Too Strange to be True*, *Athenaeum* 18<sup>th</sup> June, 1864, p834.

<sup>37</sup> G.H. Lewes, 'Balzac and George Sand,' *Foreign Quarterly Review*, 33, (1844), p265- 298.

<sup>38</sup> Walter M. Kendrick, 'Balzac and British Realism' *Victorian Studies*, 20, (1976), p5-24.

<sup>39</sup> Patricia Thomson, *George Sand and the Victorians*, New York: Columbia Press, 1977, p11.

<sup>40</sup> Lewes , p298.

It is interesting that as an author of scandalous novels, Jewsbury still referred to the stigmatised influence of French fiction upon women. It is possible she was just being cautious; wanting to appear virtuous to Mantell, yet equally, she could have believed the ‘concentrated essence of curried genius’ influenced the reader’s morality. Overall, it’s most probable that this modesty was false, as she often rejected translating French books because there was ‘nothing new - & exciting’ in them. Jewsbury noted in a review to Hepworth-Dixon about the ‘failures of the French’ for being over sentimental, dealing ‘in rhetoric whenever they have any facts to dress up & colour after their own views.’<sup>42</sup> Again, it seems Jewsbury’s opinions about French fiction, as an avid reader but dismissive critic, reflected her generally liberal but inconsistent views about women.

*The Half Sisters* exposes important similarities between English and French literary culture, enhanced by Jewsbury’s knowledge of French fiction and relations with Sand and Prosper Mérimée.<sup>43</sup> In 1849, Jewsbury was described as Sand’s ‘English imitator’ as the ‘more ambitious female writers of the day.’<sup>44</sup> The suggestive nature of her novels, depicting physical passion and educated heroines’ frustration over social and gender restrictions, is reflective of the tone of more daring French fiction. Jewsbury not only read Sand but was curious about her life, and wrote in 1846: ‘The real George Sand seems to have got herself ‘dished’ (spiritually I mean) in her relations with the sterner sex! She has gone from one to another, finding nothing but disappointment, till now she is ‘blasé’ and hardened.’<sup>45</sup> Jewsbury had previously sent Sand a copy of *Zoe* hoping for her opinion, but was disappointed she had no ‘time’ to

---

<sup>41</sup> MP, 310/2, August 4<sup>th</sup> 1857.

<sup>42</sup> UIUC, MS, September 19<sup>th</sup> 1877, L21.

<sup>43</sup> MP, *Autograph book*, vol. 1, (467).

<sup>44</sup> Anon, review of Mrs Marsh, *North British Review*, 2, (1849), p479.

read the novel 'leisurely.' Instead Sand proposed a meeting when Jewsbury visited Paris in 1848,<sup>46</sup> by which time Sand would also have known, if not read, *The Half Sisters*.<sup>47</sup>

It is fair to state that *The Half Sisters* was influenced by Sand and French fiction, even if, as Lewes stated, it was 'toned down to a more truthful pitch.'<sup>48</sup> Contemporary readers would certainly have appreciated Conrad's degrading comparison of Bianca to a 'French novel style of women.' Conrad never sees Bianca as his equal but is blinded by prejudice about her career, which 'demoralises the essence of all that is feminine and womanly in her nature.' (268) Conrad considers Melton, 'a Coronet and fifteen thousands a year,' as being more able to afford 'to marry a fancy wife.' He devalues Bianca as public property; 'is she not a free topic - is she not a public character?' (212) For Conrad, her beauty and strength vanish into a haze of conventional expectation: 'can such a mode of life be any thing but a degradation to the woman engaged in it?' (215) He not only rejects her but also denigrates her character to Melton. The worldliness he was first attracted to now disgusts him:

A public life must deteriorate women; they are thrown on the naked world, to have to deal, like us men, with all its bad realities; they lose all the beautiful ideal of their nature, all that is gentle, helpless and confiding. (216)

Conrad's comparison of French fiction and Bianca's respectability enforces prejudices surrounding actresses and immorality answered by arguments voiced by Melton and Bianca.

---

<sup>45</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p210.

<sup>46</sup> It is very probable this meeting occurred, even though there is no available record. This was Jewsbury's second trip to France, the first occurring in 1845.

<sup>47</sup> Mazzini sent Sand a copy of *Zoe* on Jewsbury's behalf in February 1845, but Sand claimed she could not meet as she had no time to read it. There is no record of their meeting, only a letter. See V.E.A. Bewley, 'George Sand and Geraldine Jewsbury,' *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 1956, p396-98 and Lubin, *Correspondence*, vol., 6, p845-6 and p814.

<sup>48</sup> Lewes, p298.

**“Agnes Worrall” (1847): A Prelude to *The Half Sisters***

A year prior to writing *The Half Sisters*, Jewsbury published “How Agnes Worrall was taught to be Respectable,” in *Douglas Jerrolds’ Shilling Magazine*.<sup>49</sup> Her short story initiates discussions that Jewsbury developed in *The Half Sisters*: women’s domestic purpose, education, vocation and the hypocrisy of middle class respectability through satirising the marriage market.<sup>50</sup> After her father’s transportation for bankruptcy and fraud, Agnes suffers at the home of her Aunts Gertrude, a spinster and Priscilla a widower, where she has to accept becoming a governess on £20 p.a. ‘an eligible opportunity for making yourself respectable and independent.’ Her life, like that of Alice’s is ‘eaten up with a secret repining and restlessness,’ (21) familiar now as the heroine searching for a purpose developed by Brontë and Eliot. However, her enclosure in the middle class family home of her Aunts attracts her to acting ‘like a vision of excitement’. For Agnes, the desire to act allowed her to dream ‘only of emancipating herself from control, and brightening up her destiny a little.’ (262) (In similar vain to Bianca’s desperation to act in order to gain money). Coerced by her Aunts’ insistence upon social respectability, she enters a love-less marriage with Mr Wilkinson securing a ‘highly respectable position.’(265) Agnes represents Jewsbury’s early attempts to construct a heroine who sought fulfilment away from domesticity and marriage, developed more successfully with Alice and Bianca.

It is most important to note that the Aunts in “Agnes Worrall” are patriarchal voice-pieces in support of the continuance of traditional domestic ideology, a literary device

---

<sup>49</sup> See Monica Correa Fryckstedt, ‘Geraldine Jewsbury and Douglas Jerrold’s Shilling Magazine,’ *English Studies*, 66, (1985), p326-337.

<sup>50</sup> This was something Jewsbury also repeated with her short story *The Story of Angelique (A True Incident)* and her novel *Constance Herbert* (1855) where themes of insanity are developed and experimented with. See *The Ladies Companion*, May, (1852), p225-230.

Jewsbury developed with Mrs Helmsby and Conrad in *The Half Sisters*.<sup>51</sup> Priscilla is most vocal about her distrust of female education and registers dismay at the increasing ‘distaste of young women for rational and useful employment.’ She attests that the main point of any woman’s life should be to marry and raise children considering education as a ‘highly undesirable method of forming rational young women; it only makes them idle and irregular in their habits, and gives them no real strength of mind.’(250) Mrs Helmsby, who remarks that women only have a ‘domestic life to expect’, echoes these views. Also, in *Zoe*, Jewsbury used Everhard to voice disapproval of traditional ideology, questioning why men were given ‘everlasting souls...for no better purpose than to marry.’ Equally, he asked: ‘Is it the highest duty of which a woman is capable, to see that her house is well swept, her dinners well ordered, her servants well trained, and her children kept beautifully dressed? And yet, is not this the sum of what the majority considers life was given them to accomplish?’(120-1). Jewsbury’s previous writing influenced her development of this principle in *The Half Sisters*, where she argues that Alice’s socially convenient marriage devalues her potential, whereas Bianca is fulfilled creatively and through the equality of Melton’s love.

In “Agnes Worrall,” Jewsbury asserts male fear as responsible for suppressing women’s entrance into the public sphere of work and education: ‘men are afraid of women becoming less agreeable, less useful to them, - lest they should become less relative in their existence, lead their lives for their own soul’s sake, and not with an eye to the pleasure and taste of men alone.’ (258) For Jewsbury, men needed to have ‘higher and noble aspirations for women, before women could break through the ‘dull

---

<sup>51</sup>Jewsbury employed this theme with Everhard in *Zoe* and Lord Melton in *The Half Sisters*.

thick indifference under which so many noble and delicate faculties, such high-minded devotedness and singleness of heart lie crushed down.’ Jewsbury re-iterated this concern over male dominant ideology and developed it in *The Half Sisters* with Alice’s listlessness. The ‘traditions of feminine decorum’ are described as ‘warping’ and ‘crushing’ the minds of women as the effect of ‘stiff corsets’ upon the body. Jewsbury continues to expose the ‘artificial qualities’ of social laws, which only encourage the immoral behaviour they aimed to eradicate:

If all women were not brought up in such unnatural traditions of what is ‘feminine’ and ‘maiden like,’ and ‘sensitively delicate’ they would not feel it a bounden obligation to tell lies, and deny honest lawful affection for a lover. (159-60)

Unlike Agnes, who accepts her fate and relinquishes ‘dreams’ of acting, Alice strongly feels the effect of an emotional corset, desiring to be rid of the falsity of ‘feminine decorum,’ and live more freely. Alice’s adulterous passion for Conrad results from her feeling ‘crushed down’ under the weight of social respectability and false expectation. Jewsbury repeated these themes in *The History of an Adopted Child* (1852) highlighting the limitations of imposing ‘artificial qualities’ upon women’s roles and requirements.<sup>52</sup> Its portrayal of the hardships of actresses is more realistic than that of *The Half Sisters* or “Agnes Worrall,” because Clarissa sees acting as ‘it really is, no matter how it may look to those in front.’(285) Her meeting with a theatre manager emphasises the difficulty of success: ‘there are hundreds and thousands who have drudged for years upon the stage, and returned in their old age to poverty and a garret.’ (285) Jewsbury argues that without talent ‘the stage is an intolerable drudgery and a most objectionable calling for a young woman.’(286) Like Agnes, Clarissa’s illusions are shattered, accepting ‘one’s lot in life’ as a governess. For Clarissa

---

<sup>52</sup> This novel is connected to *The Sorrows of Gentility*, (1856), written three years after *Adopted Child*. It precludes Clarissa’s life where Jewsbury discusses the trials of her mother’s love-less marriage of social advancement and her consequent need to find a career to feed her child.

images of poverty and disrespect outweigh desires to act, just as Agnes' desire for a vocation gives way to marriage and domesticity. In contrast Bianca and Alice highlight women's need for both domesticity and vocation.

**What a Wonderful Being a Clever Woman is!<sup>53</sup> Domestic Ideal and Mrs. Ellis**

Jewsbury strongly opposed the literary representation of the submissive wife of accomplishment exemplified in Mrs. Ellis' conduct books, such as *Wives of England* (1843):<sup>54</sup>

A 'Mrs. Ellis' woman is developed to the extreme of her little possibility; but I can see there is a precious mine of a species of womanhood yet undreamed of by the professors and essayists on female education, and I believed also that we belong to it.<sup>55</sup>

She satirised Ellis' ideal in *The Half Sisters* with Mrs Lauriston, 'a perfect dragon of virtue.' Alice's conversations with her sister-in-law lead to inferiority and anxiety about her marriage: 'a man can *never* in *any* relation be really the friend of a woman, and there is no good trying to make a friend out of any of them.' Jewsbury openly mocked Ellis by alluding to young ladies discussing the merits of her novels, believing that the heroine sacrificed 'a great deal to give up her fortune.'<sup>50</sup> Jewsbury also objected to Ellis' portrayal of wifely cunning as a sentimental power, voiced in *Sorrows*: 'According to Mrs Ellis, there is a certain diplomacy by which all wives may rule their husbands, and guide them in the way they are desired to go.'<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup>Ireland, *Letters*, p302.

<sup>54</sup> Sarah Stickney Ellis, wrote the following conduct books: *The Woman of England*, (1838), *The Daughters of England*, (c 1842) *The Wives of England* (1843) and *The Mothers of England*, (1843).

<sup>55</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p349.

<sup>56</sup> Geraldine Jewsbury, *The Sorrows of Gentility*, Husrt and Blackett, 1852, vol.,2, p35. Opposition to marriages of social convenience is found in all Jewsbury's novels.

Jewsbury opposed traditional domesticity for women in isolation, but supported independence within a domestic marriage. It is through Alice's upbringing and actions that Jewsbury thoroughly challenges Mrs Ellis' insistence upon domesticity and an 'accomplished' education. She was therefore, unsympathetic to women who sort guidance from the 'Ellis school,' ensuring Bianca's rise to success incorporated the Mid-Victorian self-help ethos of hard work. In this manner, Jewsbury considered herself and Jane possessed qualities 'infinitely higher and nobler than all the Mrs. Ellis-code can dream of.'<sup>57</sup> Although Jewsbury projected a modern image of women, as domestically and vocationally independent, she rejected propaganda for the rights of women. There are numerous examples of her rudeness to 'emancipated' women, such as the petitioner for 'married women's rights to their earnings,' who received an accolade of abuse when she called on Jewsbury in 1857.<sup>58</sup> Despite signing the petition and reading Frances Cobbe she greatly disliked women for 'the cause,' never missing an opportunity of relaying her scorn to Jane.<sup>59</sup> Jewsbury preferred women of action, working silently, like herself: 'why cannot women make themselves into natural human beings without talking of it till they grow ugly?' She considered that 'Emancipated women' did little to help 'their own absurd and bitter clatter & gossip about each other.'<sup>60</sup>

Jewsbury's progressivism about women's education, purpose, professionalism and marriage is evident through *The Half Sisters* and her correspondence. She illustrates

---

<sup>57</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p348.

<sup>58</sup> Jewsbury was not interested in helping 'emancipated' or 'blue stocking' women, but believed in aspects of the woman's movement, despite her unwillingness to be associated with key figures. MP, 315/2, February 1858, and Clarke, *Ambitious Heights*, p30.

<sup>59</sup> Jewsbury signed Barbara Bodichon's petition for Married Women's Property Bill in 1854 along with Gaskell and Martineau, see Nicola, Diane Thompson, (Ed.), *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question*, C.U.P., 1999,p3 and Pam Hirsch, *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon 1827-189: Feminist, Artist and Rebel*, Chatto & Windus, 1998.

<sup>60</sup> MP 315/2 February 1858.



that women like Bianca, must ‘swim for their life’ when ‘thrown into the world,’ using their genius to survive, something Alice was prevented from achieving because of her domestic upbringing. (368) Jewsbury’s perception into the developing role of women in society relied upon education and vocation. Her predictions for the future are uncannily progressive for the time, echoing her later novels, as well as those of Brontë and Eliot:

I believe we are touching on better days, when women will have a genuine, normal life of their own to lead. There, perhaps, will not be so many marriages, and women will be taught not to feel their destiny *manqué* if they remain single. They will be able to be friends and companions in a way they cannot be now. All the strength of feelings and thoughts will not run into love; they will be able to associate with men, and make friends of them, without being reduced by their position to see them as lovers or husbands. Instead of having appearances to attend to, they will be allowed to have their virtues, in any measure which it may please God to send, without being diluted down to tepid ‘rectified spirit’ of ‘feminine grace’ and ‘womanly timidity’ - in short, they will make themselves women, as men are allowed to make themselves men.<sup>61</sup>

Jewsbury’s visionary optimism for the future role of women is perceptive, founded upon her belief that social respectability dictated by traditional ideology of ‘feminine grace’ and ‘womanly timidity’ would eventually be disbanded. As such, she foresaw women’s growing independence, the disregarding of conventional ‘respectability’ and ‘appearance,’ in favour of male and female relationships on equal terms. Jewsbury believed that in spite of the ‘Mrs Ellis Code,’ this progression would occur, not in the present ‘rising generation,’ but in the next. Consequently, conforming to the ‘present rules for women’ was difficult for Jewsbury and her heroines. She was adamant that ‘there are women to come after us, who will approach nearer the fullness of measure of the stature of a woman’s nature.’<sup>62</sup> Her rationale for female progression; women’s need for education and vocation, is present in most of her public and private writing of the late 1840’s. Yet, it is most strongly epitomised through her second novel, where

---

<sup>61</sup> Ireland *Letters*, p 347-9 Lehmbeck attributes this letter to 1847 and not 1849 as Ireland. It would seem more likely that this letter was written whilst Jewsbury was writing *The Half Sisters* and “Agnes Worrall.” See Lehmbeck, p98, n15.

<sup>62</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p348.

Jewsbury's desires for female authority are projected: 'We are developments of womanhood which as yet is not recognised...we have looked, and tried, and found that the present rules for women will not hold us - that something better and stronger is needed.'<sup>63</sup> It was exactly this 'something better' that Jewsbury endeavoured to develop through the polarised characters and social backgrounds of Bianca and Alice.

### **Battling Ideologies: Vocation-v- Domesticity**

Through Alice and Mrs Helmsby, Jewsbury challenges domestic ideology upheld and vindicated by Mrs Ellis. It is important to understand Jewsbury's personal dichotomy over her support for women's vocation and her objection to Mrs Ellis as a means of deconstructing her representation of these issues in *The Half Sisters*. Overall, Jewsbury's letters demonstrate that even though she believed women needed education and vocation, domesticity and marriage were, in her view, integral to a woman's role, with a 'man who can be our master.'<sup>64</sup> In her opinion, women's vocation was 'a voluntary setting about something to avoid idleness' and was secondary to men's 'great business affairs.'<sup>65</sup> It is evident that Jewsbury perceived the role of wife and mother as essential, herself wanting 'a good husband and a dozen children.'<sup>66</sup> Her proposal to Mantell in 1859 exposes her personal dilemma over the position of female independence: offering herself as a professional woman able to earn 'my own living,' but 'finding rest and obedience under yr rule.'<sup>67</sup> Her letter is heart-felt and passionate, crucially exposing her desire to fulfil what she considered to

---

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p348.

<sup>64</sup> For recent discussion about these issues, consult John Tosh, *Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, University of Yale Press, 1999.

<sup>65</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p4-5.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p368.

be the natural role of wife and mother, whilst upholding a pride in her independence and professionalism:

Where will you find a woman who loves you as I do? How many women could?... I am older than you wd choose yr wife to be but what young untrained girl could or wd have the knowledge of life the forbearance the discipline of living with others that I have?... I am independent - I can earn my own living & if I want more money I cd get it - I have friends that are far better to me than I deserve – I have a good position & have a certain success in my profession - matara I do not speak as boasting or valuing myself for these things but it is something to give you.<sup>68</sup>

Jewsbury's letters to Mantell, particularly during this time, depict her desire to do anything to obtain his affection. Despite being unconventional in her manner, Jewsbury remains proud of her profession, highlighting her belief in women being able to be both wife and worker. Yet, Jewsbury was also keen to expose her femininity and domestic qualities too: ' I cd help you lead a life worthy to you - you need a woman to keep you straight to help & sustain you... I have the female qualities wh you need & don't possess - and you have all the strong qualities of character wh wd bring out whatever of good I possess [and you have a woman to find rest and obedience under yr rule]'<sup>69</sup>

The Mantell letters deserve brief attention here as they expose the dilemma facing Jewsbury, who supported both a domestic and professional identity. Mantell and Jewsbury met in 1856 through the Carlyles and became intimate friends through daily correspondence and regular meetings, developing a relationship that was to be especially central to Jewsbury's life. Despite never seeing each other after 1857, when Mantell returned to New Zealand, their letters continued till Jewsbury's death in 1880 and are now all held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand.<sup>70</sup> Diversely

---

<sup>67</sup> MP 321/12, 1859.

<sup>68</sup> MP 321/12, 1859.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*,

<sup>70</sup> More of Jewsbury's inward letters have been kept than Mantell's outward correspondence, with approximately 100 letters from Mantell in the collection.

rich in topic matter, they averaged 8-10 sides, and never ran short of things to say, a dilemma Jewsbury summarised: ‘I have plenty of things to say but writing is long and paper is short.’<sup>71</sup> Often, Mantell and Jewsbury would include detailed cartoons and sketches in their letters to illustrate their comments.<sup>72</sup> The letters have previously been analysed by Joanne Wilkes (1988), who examined Mantell’s political career and government position in relation to the Maori question, and Jewsbury’s response to his concern over British treatment of the colony and its native inhabitants.<sup>73</sup>

All the letters in the Mantell collection are written using Maori, ‘pet’ names: ‘matara’ being a translation of Mantell and ‘manu’ meaning bird.<sup>74</sup> Jewsbury referred to her status as a bird, (normally a symbol of women’s lack of freedom), in January 1858, when she wrote ‘I am the bird that feels the dawn for you before you can see it for yrself.’<sup>75</sup> This quotation expresses the depth of her love for Mantell, which was strongly conveyed in all forms: neutrally as a friend, sexually, passionately and even maternally. Jewsbury’s letters to Mantell are very passionate and reflect the turbulence of their relationship. ‘You talk of ‘awakening thought and feelings’ Matara! Do you then believe that a woman’s heart never awakens or feels hungry of its own accord. That it waits for an object before the blind instinct becomes conscious?’<sup>76</sup> She has a real physical need that could not be sated by Mantell, but instead was replaced with an acceptance that with him she had found ‘more companionship in you that I ever had in my life with any one.’ However, this is not to

---

<sup>71</sup> MP, 311/4, October 12<sup>th</sup> 1857.

<sup>72</sup> See Appendix G for examples.

<sup>73</sup> Joanne Wilkes, ‘Walter Mantell, Geraldine Jewsbury and Race Relations,’ *The New Zealand Journal*, 22:2 (1988), pp105-117. They are also briefly referred to by Norma Clarke, *Ambitious Heights, Writing, Friendship, Love, The Jewsbury Sisters, Felicia Hemans and Jane Carlyle*, Routledge, 1990.

<sup>74</sup> Wilkes, p105.

<sup>75</sup> MP, 314/ 1, January 1<sup>st</sup> 1858.

<sup>76</sup> MP, 311/3 October 1857.

say that sometimes she found it too hard to suppress her natural, feminine desires, or at least could not acknowledge her 'hunger.' Later she reflected upon such outbursts: 'I am a mortal woman and not a God. I am in the flesh & not in the spirit so I fail often from the perfection I wd maintain - witness the petulance and impatience of my last week.'<sup>77</sup>

She longed for him to 'correct her' and 'make her good,' morally, and she trusted him as her '*pierre de touche*,' reciprocated through her unfailing support.<sup>78</sup> Jewsbury referred to passion as something that 'calls into activity every faculty of body and soul,' and believed it to be a physical and emotional response certain to occur within any caring friendship, between men or women.<sup>79</sup> Passion was an essential part of her nature, and it is evident in all her letters, even to Jane Carlye and Bentley.<sup>80</sup> Mantell's love for Jewsbury was expressed to her sincerely but in a less passionate manner. He considered her 'dear kind manu,' and appreciated her loyalty, guidance and care; 'you have been very good to me - bear with me a little longer.'<sup>81</sup> But Jewsbury was always adamant in her declarations: 'Matara I feel I have a stake in you - I have looked to you as a friend & companion I have looked up to you.' Years after her rejected marriage proposal, Jewsbury outlined to Jane how she would always love and respect Mantell, and how she had settled for being a valuable friend: 'He does not love me thoroughly, he does not care for me, as he did, our relationship is made up of other things as well

---

<sup>77</sup> MP,317/22 August 1858.

<sup>78</sup> MP, 309/26, July 15<sup>th</sup> 1858, [*touchstone*].

<sup>79</sup> DJSM, vol.,3, (1846), p350.

<sup>80</sup> See Alexander Carlye's (Ed.), *New Letters and Memorials, Jane Welsh Carlye*, vol., 1, p142-4 for examples of these passionate fits. The passionate nature of the relationship between Jane and Jewsbury had been discussed by Cruikshank, Woolf, Rosenmayer, Lehmbeck, and Wall.

<sup>81</sup> MP, 339/1 1857.

as love... I feel almost as much bound to him as if I were his wife. At present I am necessary to him. As long as I continue to be so, nothing would tempt me to break with him.’<sup>82</sup> This resignation prompted Jewsbury’s determination to succeed in the career she had so proudly upheld to Mantell.

Most of Jewsbury’s letters to Mantell highlight her dilemma over believing in marriage and in using one’s natural talents to serve God. Jewsbury expressed much of her sense of femininity in her letters to Mantell often in comparison or contrast to him. Blaming her ‘female curiosity’ for the many questions she asked but more often than not, represented herself as an equal in their relationship, irrespective of gender:

Matara I was a human being before I was of the female persuasion & knowing you I don’t think you can tell me any thing you ever did that wld sound as tho’ I heard it new for the first time.<sup>83</sup>

Almost all of Jewsbury’s correspondence contains this belief in satisfying and using one’s God-given talents. She expressed this view to her friend Bertha Johnes, in 1863 ‘when we women are not wives or mothers we need work... and work worth doing if it is to satisfy us.’<sup>84</sup> Yet, in 1857, Jewsbury had written to Mantell about her belief that women should be housewives because ‘it brings out a homely, motherly quality of character which is much more to my taste than the elegant uneasiness of *la femme incomprise*.’<sup>85</sup>

As has been seen, Jewsbury both subverted and endorsed the traditional feminine ideology, where women were gentle, meek, domestic nurturers. Women ‘made as we

---

<sup>82</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p45.

<sup>83</sup> MP, 314/11, January 9<sup>th</sup> 1858.

<sup>84</sup> DC Letters, 7081.

<sup>85</sup> MP, 312/9, November 23<sup>rd</sup> 1857.

are' to 'fertilise the world' and prevent it from being 'altogether a 'den of cruelty and fierce habitations.'<sup>86</sup> Moreover, in one of Jewsbury's weekly letters written to Jane, she outlined a traditional view of marriage, where women could only hope to attain second place to 'the daily grand business affairs' of their husbands. In essence, 'a woman cannot, in her turn, be to the man all he is to her- she cannot (except in rare cases) be the first and last object of life to him.'<sup>87</sup> Even Jewsbury's apparent feminist declaration, 'was I not glad that I had no husband, whose ill-humours it was my duty to mind?,' exposes her deep rooted acceptance of traditional ideals. Jewsbury's interpretation of her marital role was being 'dutiful' to her husband's will and temperament.<sup>88</sup> Although Jewsbury had often contradictory views, it would seem that she was supporting a 'modern' post-Victorian approach to the female role, as someone able to combine earning a living with domestic and marital happiness. As a woman able to use intellectual and emotional talents to be traditional and progressive.

Therefore, it could be argued that Jewsbury's writing makes her appear antipathetic to the domestic sphere. Yet, this is more accurately interpreted as part of Jewsbury's inconsistent beliefs about women's roles, her merging of the domestic and professional: the obedient wife and independent wage earner. This discrepancy in Jewsbury's opinion is an intriguing and valuable discovery for Victorian scholarship. It highlights that not all professional women were able to categorise their beliefs and opinions as feminist or even traditionalist, but had mixed ideals, believing as Jewsbury did, that women should be obedient to a husband's rule and yet able to earn a living independently, if they so desired.

---

<sup>86</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p6.

<sup>87</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p4.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p365.

Jewsbury's personal views were mirrored in *The Half Sisters*, where women's need to gain an identity through vocation is played out against the futility of traditional roles. The superficiality of respectability and the necessity for women's place in society is compared through Alice's traditional and Bianca's unconventional upbringing. Jewsbury explores prejudice about acting, respectability and female professionalism, in order to expose weaknesses within the traditional ideal. Jewsbury repeated this belief to her close friend, Bertha Jones: 'No one can have talent & be without a definite right on wh to work it out without more or less morbid depression - a sense of waste & loss & a dull unexpressed sense of remorse at not adequately using those powers.'<sup>89</sup> This 'sense of waste' is represented by Alice's traditional domestic role, which Jewsbury questions as 'the worse position' regarding 'help and training for the lifetime opening before each.'<sup>(23)</sup> Through Bianca's vocation, Jewsbury suggests work in the public arena triumphs over women's private domestic sphere. Such open belief in women's education and vocation was quite radical within fiction in 1848.<sup>90</sup> Her letters to Jane during the composition of the novel reflect this passion, now intrinsic to female novels of the 1840s:

Women have so much docility, and yet we get no real teaching, no guidance, but what we make ourselves...at this present we are neither one thing nor another, but I hope and believe that in a generation or two, women will be very different to what they have ever been yet. Instead of being born and educated, and having their manners and characters flavoured with certain qualities, or shadows of qualities, just to the point which may make them fancied as wives (for the tendency of all the training they get is just adapted to the prevailing fancy of men- a strong taste of housewifery in one generation, a dash of delicate 'feminine' stupidity in another, a gentle flavour of religion, as a sort of ornamental ring-fence to their virtue, and so on, not for the saving of their own souls, for they must not come it too strong ) - to-day they may have a small graceful tint of learning, and if married - the least touch in the world of abstract 'George Sandism,' but not to come within a mile of the practical. You understand!<sup>91</sup>

This quotation secures Jewsbury's argument in the novel, about women's ability to match men, professionally through vocation and education, but also highlights her

---

<sup>89</sup> DC, MS 7081 - undated and fragmentary letter.

<sup>90</sup> As noted, even though *The Half Sisters* was published six months after *Jane Eyre* it was more passionate in its denouncement of domesticity and the ability to earn a living.



belief in marriage and a traditional understanding of women's domestic role. Jewsbury appreciated that a future generation of women would not be 'flavoured' with qualities that fitted them for marriage to the 'fancy of men.' Women would not have a prosaic education that advocated 'feminine stupidity,' 'housewifery' and virtuous piety, but instead would have choices. Her reference to 'George Sandism,' which entailed unconventional or passionate behaviour, forms part of this liberal optimism. Jewsbury therefore voiced her dissension from traditional ideology about women's roles and education more passionately than other female authors of the time. *The Half Sisters* does not just represent the common yearning for a 'tint of learning,' found in *Jane Eyre*, but highlights the reality of restricting female roles and the importance of vocation, also explored in *Shirley* and later in *Middlemarch*.<sup>92</sup> Women of all classes are represented in *The Half Sisters*, which allows for a wider discussion about women's vocation, emphasising that occupation was not just the concern of the working class actresses in Bianca's company.<sup>93</sup> Through supporting education and vocation as essential to the development of female individuality and respectability, Jewsbury exposes the flaws of traditional female roles. She concludes that women in *The Half Sisters* need creative as well as intellectual and emotional fulfilment, which in turn makes them better wives. Interestingly, Jewsbury did not cast any of her heroines as successful, unmarried professionals, a position she represented herself.

In order to expose the problems of both the domestic and the professional ideal within fiction she uses split character roles represented by the half-sisters. (Jewsbury

---

<sup>91</sup> Ireland *Letters* p341-2.

<sup>92</sup> See Lehmbeck, p123 and Foster p27, who agreed with Jewsbury being more passionate than other novelists of the time.

<sup>93</sup> Alice is of middle class background; Lady Vernon is aristocratic, her pupils are lower middle class, and the actresses in the Circus and theatres are working class. Bianca, represented essentially as classless, is able to move freely between all classes of women before finding her place in the aristocracy.

experimented with this in “Agnes Worrall,” and it was also a feature of *Zoe*, where Everhard and Zoe represented the parallel experiences of two lives used to highlight the futility of the other.)<sup>94</sup> Alyssa argues that Jewsbury’s use of split heroines in *The Half Sisters* reflects the contradictions of her own experiences and those of other women writers at the time.<sup>95</sup> Jewsbury uses the physicality of Bianca and Alice, described as similar in appearance with dark hair and striking eyes, to contrast their different personalities and situations. Alice’s hair, ‘braided under her small and beautiful ears,’ in a conventional manner is compared to Bianca’s wild, provocative style, ‘twisted round her head and fell in tresses over her neck.’(8,13) In many respects, the fact Conrad draws attention to their similarities, claiming ‘Bianca you are Alice!’(313) heightens the disparity of their lives. Alice and Bianca are both unfulfilled when the reader meets them, their parents are dead or inadequate. Bianca is virtually motherless throughout the novel; Alice is indoctrinated by her mother; Bianca, self-taught, follows her own morals and respect; Alice loses her self-respect and the morals of her schooling and education. Therefore, divisions within the heroines represent Jewsbury’s rejection of traditional ideology. Yet, despite her modern approach to women’s vocation, Jewsbury adheres to the doctrine of marriage and motherhood. Hartley attributes Jewsbury’s unconventionality, publicly with *Zoe* and *The Half Sisters* (and privately with her smoking, swearing and romantic affairs) as her personal acceptance of her position as an unmarried women of genius.<sup>96</sup>

As has been noted, Jewsbury was full of inconsistencies,’ most poignant are her contradictory opinions about women’s vocation and role within marriage. Her public

---

<sup>94</sup>See Kaye Alyssa, MLit 1992 and J.M Hartley, ‘Geraldine Jewsbury and the Problems of the Woman Novelist,’ *Women’s Studies International Quarterly*, 2, (1979), p37-53.

<sup>95</sup>Alyssa and Hartley agree that Jewsbury’s split heroines enable her to explore the divergent domestic and vocational female roles. See p139 and p97 respectively.

and private writings fluctuates between a progressive, almost feminist notion of the women's rights for education, independence and equality and a more conservative traditional acceptance of wifely and domestic duties. Jewsbury's incompatible beliefs are most interesting in light of the fact she represents a model for female professionalism.

### **Bianca and Professionalism: The Future Ideal**

Bianca is considered 'lost to every chance of respectability' when she turns down 'credible' sewing work for the 'charms of her profession' at the Circus. (33) Jewsbury emphasises Bianca's progression into an artist, through her rise from 'dumb girl' in the Birmingham Circus on ten shillings a week, to Principal lady in the West End.<sup>97</sup> Her professionalism is developed by the old actor and Lord Melton, yet, interestingly, it is Conrad who gives her a copy of Shakespeare, encouraging her to fulfil her potential, 'to study for my sake' in order to be worthy of him.(88) Simpson was eager to acknowledge his 'excellent bargain' in receiving Bianca into his circus but the experience of earning her wage meant her 'spirit was roused within her.' Yet again, it is Conrad, the gentleman, who asks Bianca if she 'had no desire to take a higher walk in her profession,'(87) Bianca's honest reply is akin to Jewsbury's own belief in women's abilities: 'I feel,' said she, 'capable of doing better things. I love the profession, but I would like to have better things to say.' Through Bianca, Jewsbury voices her own concerns, beliefs and experience about female professionalism.

Interestingly, men are used in the novel as Bianca's creative muse. Although 'accident had thrown Bianca into this line of life' she continued it 'from choice.' (33) For

---

<sup>96</sup> Hartley, p138.

Bianca, it is Conrad who serves as her initial artistic inspiration, her 'hidden source of life,' then after his betrayal, she confides in Melton, that 'it is for you that I act.' The old actor develops Bianca's inner talent and artistic self. On admiring his performance of King Lear, 'new life is awakened' in her and stirs the 'soul of an artist.' Her dependence upon men resides in her gaining a love for art, enabling her to become successful and personally complete - the equal of Melton and the superior of Conrad. The resolution in Bianca's exclamation, 'give up my profession - no! Not if it were in ten times worse repute than it is' (254-5), emphasises love for her art and independence. Bianca describes her passion for acting to Alice, who in contrast is 'not a free woman' able to earn own living and release her potential:

The stage is to me a passion, as well as a profession; and I can work in no other direction, I should become worthless and miserable; all my faculties would prey upon myself, and I should be wicked and mischievous, and God knows how bad, if I were placed in any other position. (134)

Jewsbury replaces the sexual passion of her first novel with creative passion in *The Half Sisters*. Belonging 'altogether to her work,' Bianca shows that dedicated creativity leads to respectability and conversely, Alice highlights that traditional respectability can lead to 'immorality.' Through Clara Broughton, Bianca's protégée, Jewsbury highlights that women's occupations make marriage more satisfying. It is Bianca who testifies that earning one's own living requires more than merely needing it but discipline and self-denial. She states that women have no settled occupation leading a 'life of nonentity so far as the real value of their occupation goes.' (249) She supports the view that middle class women have 'ennui which eats away like a leprosy.' She re-emphasised this in *Marian Withers* (1851), where Marian felt 'buried

---

<sup>97</sup> Wilkes argues this salary was insubstantial, but Simpson's offer to buy clothes was generous, p398.

alive' by her domestic situation and considers, 'women of England' to be 'eaten up with ennui to a much greater extent than is suspected.' (3: 247)

Melton and Bianca form Jewsbury's reply to Conrad's conservative chauvinism about women's professionalism and education; Bianca dismisses the fact that previously, women have only been 'household servants' or 'ornamental appendages,' seeing vocation as enabling respect. Clarissa also expresses this view in *Sorrows*: 'If I could only earn enough money to feel quite sure of living, I should be contented; indeed I should be quite proud.' (337) Conrad represents the patriarchal view of women, seeing occupations as 'deucedly disagreeable.' In contrast, Melton represents Jewsbury's liberalism about professional women:

Those women who have strong qualities, decided tastes, aspirations after higher and better modes of life, possessing genius, in short, have no vent for their energy; the vitality that is in them has no adequate mode of manifestation, unless they have a definite profession. If they are in private life, all their energy is flung back upon them; it becomes overlaid with ennui, and they sink into apparent indolence and quietness, but a diseased action goes on within – they are restless, discontented, having so much more energy than they can employ; greedy after excitement, no matter of what kind, their talents and their life are fretted away together. In private life, their soul's energy has no outlet but love - love, or religion...so they throw themselves headlong into a *grande passion*, and go to the devil, if the devil stands in their way (220)

Just like Alice, without a 'vent for their energy,' women become 'diseased' through indolence and ennui; negatively influenced through the need for 'excitement.'<sup>98</sup> Jewsbury's use of 'greedy' and 'devil' enhances this association with immorality and sin as an expression of boredom and stifled creativity. Melton 'tolerates' professional women because they have 'personal and independent existence.' Yet, through citing love and religion as 'outlets' for women without vocation, Jewsbury also argues the need for a *grande passion*, albeit emotional, physical or spiritual. Throughout *The Half Sisters*, Jewsbury confirms her support for women's education and vocation, but

---

<sup>98</sup> Jewsbury's language reflects sensation novelists in the 1860s, where disease was connected to female suppression and sexuality, see Pamela Gilbert.

disassociates herself from emancipation, seen with Melton's disclaimer: 'I am not a stickler for the rights of women, if by those you mean becoming a soldier, or a lawyer, or a member of parliament.' Instead, women should grow up 'freely...as God made them,' without having their 'souls frittered,' and moulded to meet 'the notion of a truly feminine character.'(222) Yet, Jewsbury also criticises the inadequate education of accomplishment, received by women at Lady Vernon's establishment where schoolgirls are 'taught professionally, so that if needs be, they may teach again.' (238-9) Despite the appearance of Lady Vernon's liberalism, through her pedagogical philosophy she conveys a conservative view of women's place as the 'centre of a home.' Therefore, it is Melton, like Everhard before him, who vociferates Jewsbury's belief in female vocation and education: 'women were never intended for a purely *relative* life and until they cease to be educated with a sole view to what men require, they will never be any better than they are.' (221) Yet ironically, Jewsbury proposes that ultimately it is Bianca's marriage that secures her social respectability, not her professionalism. In this manner, Jewsbury, like Brontë, is not radical enough to allow Bianca's profession to secure her respectability and fulfilment. (Just as Zoe's happiness rests with her duty to her children, not her love for Everhard.) As such, Jewsbury cowardly resorts to a traditional understanding of respectability and female roles, with Bianca resigning her career and her principles of independence, instead of continuing her vocation once married in affirmation of her belief in the need for both intellectual and emotional fulfilment.

### **The Downfall: Alice and the Domestic Ideal**

In contrast Jewsbury employs Alice as the moral exemplum of the weaknesses of traditional feminine domesticity. When Alice is first introduced to the reader she

epitomises middle class respectability: ‘All the chairs stood in their lawful places against the wall; none of those idle, lounging, pretty inventions for being comfortable, encumbered this singularly prosaic-looking room...at a small work-table by the window sat the two ladies, with a large wicker pannier full of ‘*mending*’ between them.’ (13) Alice even physically resembles this ideal, her ‘features expressed delicacy, and sweetness,’ appearing a ‘docile, gentle creature.’<sup>99</sup> It is only her indignant speech at the ‘tedious work,’ and wish for a ‘useful occupation,’ that disturbs this social archetype. Alice’s mother, Mrs Helmsby, represents the Mrs Ellis’ code of life, reproached by Jewsbury: ‘Your life will be domestic; you are neither to be a fashionable woman nor an authoress.’ Alice’s devotion to books will ‘unfit you for your duties, and fill your mind with fancies.’(14) Jewsbury emphasises Alice’s schooling as a ‘waste’ having to leave ‘school-books’ to enter the marriage market. As Mrs Helmsby admonishes, ‘having your head stuffed too full of book learning,’ will never do ‘woman any good.’ (22) In presenting Alice and Mrs Helmsby as women seated by the domestic hearth, Jewsbury accentuates the difference between women’s social and personal expectations. Marrying for love is dismissed as a ‘silly romantic notion found only in novels,’ (46) prompting Alice to ‘wonder what life *was* given us for.’(46)<sup>100</sup> Mrs Helmsby’s retort is equally pessimistic: ‘You have nothing to look forward to but marrying an honest respectable man, who will support you decently in the sphere in which you were born: For what else do women come into the world,’ replied her mother, ‘but to be good wives? to be something in the world.’(47) Social prestige and possessions make Alice socially successful in her marriage, materialism Jewsbury attacks through Bryant’s humiliation, Alice’s immorality and Bianca’s success.

---

<sup>99</sup> For a recent study of Victorian middle class domesticity refer to Yaffa Claire Drazin, *Victorian London’s Middle-class Housewife. What she did all day*, Greenwood Press, 2001.

In comparison to Bianca, Alice's position represents the exposure of the domestic ideal as patriarchal fraud. Disillusioned with middle class stultified society, her marriage to Bryant secures her position and comfort. However, devoid of purpose and with no outlets for her creativity, sexuality and intellect, Jewsbury emphasises Alice's need for emotional love to develop her identity and self worth. Her socially respectable marriage represents Jewsbury's criticism of the domestic ideal. Consumed with 'weighty business concerns' Bryant is ignorant of 'the weight of ennui which was eating out the life of Alice.'(186) People envelop Alice with their social expectations, whereas her half-sister's class-less position enables her to rise and escape social respectability and convention, in order to become a respected member of the aristocracy.

Ironically, Conrad, the man who leads to Alice's moral downfall, remarks upon her respectability, claiming she 'realises the idea of an English Lady.'(190) For contemporary readers, it was Alice's decision to choose love and 'forbidden happiness' that was shocking and reminiscent of French novels. She is sexually and emotionally affected by Conrad's attention and responds to it as a lifeline, her soul was 'a thirst for words of love' and he delivers them.<sup>101</sup> His love is analogous to idolatry; 'you are my God - my religion.' Alice struggles to 'crush this passion out of her heart' battling with her restrictive conventional and moral upbringing. (281) Alice accepts that by falling in love with Conrad there can be no moral redemption 'I know I have lost my soul for you.' (286) Alice's resulting hysteria, aptly termed a 'malady of women,' is symbolic of her social and sexual death, elaborate, but moral. The

---

<sup>100</sup> Themes Jewsbury first explored in "Agnes Worrall."

<sup>101</sup> Alice's domestic lifestyle was intellectually, emotionally and sexually unsatisfactory, which as Denisoff notes, was partly brought out by Conrad, see p157 and Eric Trudgill *Madonnas and*



metaphorical death of the domestic ideal of the 'smoothly-compacted surface of female existence.' Alice is no longer a respectable woman in the eyes of society and therefore, can not be able to live reconciled with her husband. Bryant's realisation of his own guilt in her decline occurs too late; his appreciation does not prevent her 'fall.'<sup>102</sup> Through Alice's and Bianca's unexpected social positions, Jewsbury debates the nature of false respectability and the failure of the domestic ideal to fulfil women, thus advocating vocation within the Victorian moral and social framework of marriage and family.<sup>103</sup>

The conclusion of the novel raises important questions. In spite of her progressivism, is Jewsbury suggesting that marriage is the ultimate goal of every woman, thus appealing to traditional domestic ideology? Or rather, is she stating that education and professionalism were necessary for unmarried women? *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, *Marian Withers*, *North and South* and *Middlemarch*, all conclude with the heroines' finding equality in love, despite their active support for female vocation away from the domestic. Bianca's career ends through marrying into the aristocracy: completing her self-made journey into social respectability at the expense of female professionalism. Jewsbury's arguments are weakened by her conclusion in the same way as Brontë's *Shirley*, where the assertion that women could be financially and socially independent, taking on a man's role in business diminishes when married. For once, it would seem Jewsbury's passion did not extend far enough in support of a new ideal.

---

*Magdalens The origins of development of Victorian Sexual Attitudes*, Heinemann, 1976, and Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality. Representations of Women in Victorian Britain*, Blackwell 1988.

<sup>102</sup> Jewsbury reminds the reader that Alice's social fall is final, resulting in death. The fallen woman was to become a common heroine of novels of the later 1840s and 1850s, most famously with Gaskell's *Ruth* (1853) see, Tom Winnifrith, *Fallen Women in the Nineteenth Century Novel*, St Martin's Press, 1994.

It was Surridge who first identified the novel as having tensions between feminist intent and defensive, even excessive, Victorian conventionalism.<sup>104</sup> The reviews of the novel were cognate in their discussion of Jewsbury's opposition to 'conventionalism,' while adorning 'her heroine with most of its graces.'<sup>105</sup> The reviewer for *DJSM* agreed that Jewsbury's 'war is with convention, as far as it stands in opposition to the development of the natural powers and feelings...she is not apparently so politically as morally opposed to the assumptions of convention.' The review continued to recommend the novel if readers wished to 'escape themselves, or help others to escape, from the mean conventionalities of prejudice or tyranny, that make custom and station the tests of right and wrong.' Bianca not only defies convention through her rising fame in an unaccredited profession, but ends up being part of the system Jewsbury complains about, as a 'child moulded by circumstance' who 'triumphs over convention' and 'becomes it too.'<sup>106</sup>

As with *Zoe*, reviewers noted Jewsbury's 'genius' highlighting the 'manliness of her sentiment,' in an attempt to dilute her moral point.<sup>107</sup> (Just like *Jane Eyre*, this attempted to soften the radicalism of the view being presented.) Through the novel, Jewsbury's inconsistent beliefs about marriage and female roles merge with her traditionalism 'qualified by her more energetic assertion of womanly individuality.'<sup>108</sup> It is this endorsement and subversion of the traditional ideal which makes the novel so powerful and intriguing.

---

<sup>103</sup> Darice William Elliot, *The Angel out of the House, Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth Century England*, Virginia University Press, 2002.

<sup>104</sup> Surridge, p82.

<sup>105</sup> Chorley, p289.

<sup>106</sup> 'New Books,' *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, 1, April (1848), p370.

<sup>107</sup> See *Spectator*, p279 and *DJMS*, p369. As previously noted, this was a common criticism of women novelists who disapproved of suppressive traditional ideology, with the Brontës, Sand and Eliot also seen as unfeminine.

<sup>108</sup> Foster, *Victorian Women's Fiction*, p35.

In this respect, it is not surprising that *The Half Sisters* concludes with Bianca's marriage and Alice's death; symbolising the failure of traditional ideology and the weaknesses of the new. Bianca can not be a single professional woman, even though Jewsbury represented this position. Marriage and family were still integral to a Victorian understanding of society (represented in fiction and non-fiction).<sup>109</sup> Nonetheless, *The Half Sisters* is significant for its questioning of traditional ideology and its optimistic projections for the future role of women's vocation.

Through Jewsbury's challenge to traditional feminine ideology she projected a 'new' ideal of the independent, successful, vocational woman. Yet, critics argued that her projections were also flawed. For Chorley, there was no doubt that *The Half Sisters* was a novel devoted to 'the condition of women of genius.' Chorley noted that as with Sand's *Consuel* and Staël's *Corinne*, Jewsbury showed that the 'delight of the "shinning theatres"' is handed over the threshold of domestic life by love,' where 'the career of the artist comes to its close.'<sup>110</sup> He believed that Melton took Bianca 'off the stage,' yet, it was Lady Vernon, who suggested she stopped working after her marriage. 'My dear Bianca, will not, I am sure, refuse the first request made by her sister that she will not again appear on the stage, now that she belongs to us.' (389) A request Melton did not insist against, expressing 'all the gratitude it was possible for a man to feel.' (390) However, Bianca's acceptance 'arrange it as you will,' is dismissive and weak after Jewsbury's portrayal of her battle to achieve fame and success in her profession. Yet this was Jewsbury's moral point: women needed vocational satisfaction and love, but, however much Melton accepted Bianca's position, once married, he became her future and she dedicated herself to him and not

---

<sup>109</sup> Karl Ittmann, *Work Gender and Family in Victorian England*, Macmillan, 1995.

<sup>110</sup> Chorley, *Athenaeum*, March 18<sup>th</sup> 1848, p288.

her profession.<sup>111</sup> Jewsbury therefore amalgamates a modern vocational ideology with the traditional belief in marriage and family. Some reviewers interpreted this conclusion as straining to ‘preserve a moral,’ with the *Spectator* arguing that ‘nothing is enforced by the novel even though the lesson is impressed by the writer.’<sup>112</sup> Nonetheless, although Bianca bowed in to convention, through her prognostic discussion in *The Half Sisters*, Jewsbury challenged traditional ideology by heralding women’s vocation and education, love and fulfilment.

As has been discussed, *The Half Sisters* focuses upon women’s vocation and education through an understanding of the importance of domesticity and family. The novel therefore initiated arguments similar to those of *Jane Eyre*, but in a more passionate, radical manner, which was later developed by other female novelists. Jewsbury’s ability to debate topical themes was not just restricted to religious scepticism in *Zoe* or female empowerment in *The Half Sisters*. It was also a strong feature of her third novel, *Marian Withers*, that emphasises the importance of associative co-operation between men and women as well as in industry, which will now be explored.

---

<sup>111</sup> Thomson identifies this conclusion in line with contemporary feminism, where women desire the choice of education and vocation, not necessarily considering either as more important than marriage. This certainly makes Jewsbury’s inconsistencies more logical. See Patricia Thomson, *Victorian Heroines*, p77.

<sup>112</sup> ‘Review of Half Sisters,’ *Spectator*, 18<sup>th</sup> March 1848, p278.

## Chapter Five

### An Industrial Novel: *Marian Withers* 1851

Jewsbury's industrial novel, *Marian Withers* (1851), openly discusses the principles of competition, co-operation and association within capitalism.<sup>1</sup> From the sixteenth century, 'association' was used to denote the action of combining together for a common purpose and Kingsley noted in 1856 that 'association will be the next form of industrial development.'<sup>2</sup> Jewsbury used the term in the novel to explore the principle of joint co-operation between men and master and to discuss the perils of investment in joint-stock companies and rights of labourers to education.<sup>3</sup> Jewsbury's distrust of self-interested materialism is highlighted through the negativity of industrial competition and the inevitable unreliability of some joint-stock company directors. Jewsbury promotes association through Cunningham's and Withers' improvements to machinery and the conditions of workers. This association forms the nucleus of the novel's reforming ideals: 'Association is a new idea for us. We are none of us altogether prepared to carry it out in the details of practical life; but I am convinced that it is the word of the future.' (3:243-4) Jewsbury identified Kingsley's valuation of association in her review of *Alton Locke*.<sup>4</sup> His exposure of the sweating system of the London clothing industry; Crossthwaite and Alton's Chartism; and the principles of Christian socialism, impressed Jewsbury.<sup>5</sup> Even though the *Athenaeum*

---

<sup>1</sup>Serialised in *The Manchester Examiner and Times* from 5<sup>th</sup> January 1850 to 18<sup>th</sup> May 1850 and published by Colburn in 1851. Capitalism is used here as in Chapter One as being the condition of possessing capital from which capitalists can invest in financial and industrial enterprises.

<sup>2</sup>O.E.D. . Noted by Kingsley in his private letters 1878.

<sup>3</sup>Consult the OED.

<sup>4</sup>Jewsbury also reviewed *Yeast* agreeing with its representation of 'the hardships and injustices which are rife in the rural and agricultural districts.' See 19<sup>th</sup> April 1851, *Athenaeum*, p428.

<sup>5</sup>For commentary on Chartism and social politics of *Alton Locke* see Josephine Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem Novel, the Market, the Individual and Communal Life*, Macmillan, 1996, p173-80.

incorrectly assumed her as author, a compliment she was proud of, Jewsbury's review reflects *Marian Withers*:<sup>6</sup> 'We believed that in 'association' will be found the cure for the miseries produced by 'competition; - that 'association' is the watchword of the new order of things which is beginning. The age of individualism is passing away.'<sup>7</sup> Such questions affected industrial novelists who were echoing and reflecting contemporary socio-economic policies of commentators like Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus and J.S. Mill.

### Writing from Experience: Influences on *Marian Withers*

Jewsbury began *Marian Withers* in 1849, directly after the publication of *Mary Barton*, and quickly 'settled the principle,' completing it a year later.<sup>8</sup> She inscribed *Marian Withers* to her brother Frank and friends Stauros Dilberoglue and importantly Lambert Bey, a St Simonian.<sup>9</sup> Jewsbury was influenced by the 'beauty and truth' of St Simonism and their philosophy of co-operation within industry.<sup>10</sup> She would also have been aware of the significance of Cunningham lending Marian a novel by Sismondi, and his connection for contemporary readers with St Simonism.<sup>11</sup> However, Carlyle's

---

<sup>6</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p366.

<sup>7</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> September 1850, *Athenaeum*, p946.

<sup>8</sup> Jewsbury started the novel in January 1849 completing it in 1850 when Ireland asked her for a serial for *The Manchester Examiner and Times*. Despite Colburn accepting the serial as a novel, she did not amend it until 1851, Ireland, *Letters*, p280.

<sup>9</sup> Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint Simon, (1760-1825), believed in the scientific and social reform of humanity. His interest in political economy rested with the conflict in Europe between military, feudal classes and working classes. Saint-Simon tried to combine manufacturing industry with "literary industry," providing a moral code to live by. St Simonism was positivist in needing scientific studies and a practical moral code, but sentimental in demanding a national religion linked to the development of working conditions for the poor. This Christian scientific socialism was later led by Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864). Jewsbury's knowledge was developed through her relationship with Lambert Bey and trips to France in 1845 and 1848. She accepted many religions and philosophies, which all influenced her work. See Saint-Amand Bazard's *Exposition of the Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, 1828.

<sup>10</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p206-7.

<sup>11</sup> Sismondi was influenced by Comte de Saint-Simon's book, *Le Nouveau Christianisme*. See *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1912, vol., 13.

and Disraeli's depiction of the 'hungry forties,' as well as ongoing periodical debates also influenced *Marian Withers*. Ivan Medlar's *The Captains of Industry in English Fiction 1821-1871*, (1970) first summarised Jewsbury's use of Carlylean transcendentalism as an 'antidote to the materialism of the industrialist,' whereby she could argue that not all mill owners were overpowered by capitalist greed.<sup>12</sup>

There is little doubt that Jewsbury's background, lifestyle, and relationships also affected her novel. She was surrounded by the environment and inhabitants of Manchester her novel sought to portray, and therefore wrote from a personal understanding of factory life. Jewsbury's family background also qualified her to write about Lancashire industrial life as her grandfather was a colliery manager and her father, Thomas Jewsbury, learnt cotton manufacturing from the father of Robert Peel, and had his own Mill in Measham, Derbyshire.<sup>13</sup> Medlar identified Jewsbury's use of experience as unique to novels of this genre, with the description of the tour of Wilox's mill as 'one of its kind in this fiction,' probably based on a visit Carlyle made to Mr Jacob Bright's mill in 1847, recalled by Espinasse.<sup>14</sup> Her detailed writing about cotton manufacturing highlights the exactitude of her practical knowledge about the industry:

"When the cotton first comes out of the bags, it is all in hard matted lumps. The teeth of this here 'devil'...tears them up into fragments...The cotton passes through two beaters, and whilst being beaten these fans are blowing all the seeds and dust away, which is carried up those pipes, so that the cotton is now quite clean and open, and ready to be carded." (2:40)

---

<sup>12</sup> Ivan Medlar, p118.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Jewsbury failed at manufacturing and moved his family to Manchester after the Napoleonic Wars, Howe, pxi.

<sup>14</sup> See Ivan Medlar, p41 and *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol., 2, p30.

The realism of the visit to Borrow Clough Mill became a prominent feature of other industrial novels after 1851, seen in *North and South* and *Hard Times*.<sup>15</sup> Shelia Smith comments upon Gaskell's attempts to expose the truth about the 'other nation' through her use of local dialect and street names.<sup>16</sup> *Mary Barton*, *William Langshawe* and *Marian Withers* all cite in their introductions, the intention to present reality and reform. The aim of *Mary Barton* was to 'read the wild romances of their lives.' A personal experience Gaskell recalls to Eliza Fox 'I told the story according to a fancy of my own to really SEE the scene I tried to describe, (and they WERE as real as my own life at the time).'<sup>17</sup> Stone supported her fiction with factual evidence and drew heavily upon local knowledge, including reference to the infamous weaver-poet, Samuel Bamford.<sup>18</sup>

Jewsbury reiterates the realistic depiction of 'real people' and 'real observations,' from the onset of her novel, which begins: 'It was a regular Manchester wet day, of more than ordinary discomfort!' (1:5).<sup>19</sup> Her numerous dinners where male friends discussed politics and business, like the one Arthur Clough attended in 1849, also influenced the realist tone of conversations between Sykes, Higginbottom, Wilcox, Cunningman and Withers.<sup>20</sup> Her ability to present realities and 'not ideals and lay figures' of the industrial world was praised by the *Leader* for 'straightforward dealing

---

<sup>15</sup> Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*, Penguin Classics, 1994 and Elizabeth Gaskell, *Mary Barton*, Penguin Classics, 1994.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, *The Other Nation*, p89.

<sup>17</sup> J.A.V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard, *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, Manchester, 1966, p82. Stone used statistics in her novel, for example she cited that accidents and fatalities were a twentieth less common in cotton factories than in coal mines, (1:90).

<sup>18</sup> A Letter to Samuel Bamford dated January 15<sup>th</sup> 1839, is included in the novel to reinforce the authenticity of the author and her knowledge of the area, setting and events of the tale, see p101-6.

<sup>19</sup> Dixon praised Jewsbury for her reality in *Marian Withers*, see *Athenaeum*, 30<sup>th</sup> August 1851, p921.

<sup>20</sup> Frederick L. Mulhauser, (Ed.), *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*, Claredon, 1957, vol.,1, p237-8 The relaxed approach to the company of women at the Wilcox's dinner is symptomatic of Jewsbury's experiences of dinning in Manchester: 'The ladies were at liberty to remain or depart as they pleased.' (2:14).



with *realities* and general elevation of tone.’<sup>21</sup> Whereas most industrial novels highlighted the dark side of industrial prosperity through worker’s poverty, *Marian Withers* was more balanced in its portrayal of the ‘condition of England’ through representing master’s reforms. As noted by the *Examiner* in 1851, Jewsbury was ‘careful to show that nothing but a false aim or principle on either side can disassociate the interests of capital and labour.’<sup>22</sup>

### A Retort to *Mary Barton*

G.H. Lewes first adhered in the *Leader* to rumours of ‘literary gossip,’ that Jewsbury’s novel was an ‘answer to *Mary Barton*,’ which helped ‘restore the figure of the manufacturer to their pedestal from which *Mary Barton* had, as it was, supposed, so sternly smitten it.’<sup>23</sup> *Mary Barton* and *Marian Withers* highlight similar themes of workers’ poverty, social change and industrial unrest, but have opposing arguments. Jewsbury uses joint-stock company investment to illustrate capitalist greed and focuses her argument upon the masters. Gaskell, however, concentrates on the injustices of workers, Chartism and the poor. Both titles reflect female protagonists, but concentrate equally on male ones: John Withers and John Barton. Nonetheless women’s roles and equality of love are crucial themes to both novels.

The nature of the relationship between Gaskell and Jewsbury is relevant to understanding the correlation between their industrial novels. Despite never being intimate, they were neighbours and Jewsbury spent time reading in Gaskell’s library.

---

<sup>21</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> August 1851 *Leader* p825.

<sup>22</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> September 1851, *Examiner*, p564.

<sup>23</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> September 1851, *Literary Gazette*, p626.

They also socialised together calling with invitations for tea and dinner.<sup>24</sup> However, Gaskell noted her displeasure in November 1848, of a forthcoming dinner engagement with “Zoe,” amongst others, wishing herself ‘well thro’ it.’<sup>25</sup> These feelings were reciprocated by Jewsbury who thought Gaskell a ‘didactic woman;’ called her husband ‘Mr Barton,’ and mocked her piety towards the poor.<sup>26</sup> After the publication of *Mary Barton*, Jewsbury still found Gaskell difficult, ‘I have a notion that if one could get at the ‘Mary Barton’ that is the kernel of Mrs Gaskell one would like her, but I never have done so yet.’<sup>27</sup> The lack of a strong friendship between the women, Gaskell two years senior, was partly due to Jewsbury’s dislike of Unitarianism. Jewsbury believed it better to allow anger to be expressed than to ‘work in the system from no matter what “Unitarian” motive, universal benevolence and “welfare of others” principle.’<sup>28</sup> Conversely, Gaskell found Jewsbury’s outspoken and unconventional nature distasteful, noting an instance of this behaviour: [in the early days in the old home] Miss Jewsbury lay on the floor and read half through the Essays of Elia, and called our drawing room ‘such an ugly room in which we should always be unhappy.’<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless, both women were professionally aware of each other’s work, both writing for Dickens’ *Household Words*.<sup>30</sup> Gaskell even asked Edward Chapman if *Mary Barton* was to succeed *The Half Sisters*, as she thought ‘the present state of public events may be not unfavourable to a tale, founded in some measure on the present relations between masters and work people.’<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> September 1851, letter 101a, November 1852, letter 141, 26 November 1849, letter 56, in J.A.V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard, *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, Manchester, 1966.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., Letter 33.

<sup>26</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p342-3.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p48 and p383-4.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p180.

<sup>29</sup> Elizabeth Haldane, *Mrs Gaskell and her Friends*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1930, p287.

<sup>30</sup> It is more than probably that because of their relationship Gaskell read *Marian Withers*, with their association with *Household Words* and the fact Dickens claimed to be an admirer of Jewsbury’s writing highlights he read her work.

<sup>31</sup> Gaskell to Chapman, April 2<sup>nd</sup> 1848, Chapple, p55.

Jewsbury's dissatisfaction with parts of *Mary Barton* serves to highlight the contribution *Marian Withers* made to the nature of industrial novels of the 1850s. Gaskell had mistaken Jewsbury as the reviewer of *Mary Barton*, and wrote to her in April 1849, informing her that 'my copy of Margaret is in such demand since the reviews in the *Athenaeum*; it is pledged 3 deep.'<sup>32</sup> However, when *Mary Barton* was published, Jewsbury informed Clough of its weaknesses: 'It has however raised a great clamour, for it is said to be dreadfully *one sided*, and from my own knowledge I don't think the masters of the present day deserve such a bad character; it is however a most powerful book.'<sup>33</sup> It is evident in this letter that Jewsbury disagreed with Gaskell's presentation of the masters, being like the Carsons, which adhered to the rumours about her own novel acting as a retort to Mary Barton's 'one sided' depiction of industrial life. This criticism was not just voiced by Jewsbury, but by Chorley's *Athenaeum* review of *Mary Barton*: 'How far it may be kind, wise or right to make Fiction the vehicle for a plain and matter-of-fact exposition of social evils, is a question of limitations which will not be unanimously settled in our time.'<sup>34</sup>

Jewsbury voiced this criticism when reviewing *North and South*, questioning whether it was good to 'thrust' morals 'forward in fiction' when handling them in a 'one-sided' manner. She considered the work 'of the moment...gathered from the columns of a weekly contemporary, retouched and extended.'<sup>35</sup> Her comments reflect the reciprocity between industrial novels and the social and political debates of the time, evident in *Marian Withers* through Jewsbury's inclusion of the debates surrounding

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p76.

<sup>33</sup> Jewsbury to Arthur Clough, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1849, in F L Mulhauser, (ed) *The Correspondence of Arthur Clough*, vol., 1, p234.

<sup>34</sup> Henry Chorley, 'Review of *Mary Barton*,' October 21<sup>st</sup> 1848, *Athenaeum*, p1050. Jewsbury also reviewed *Sylvia's Lovers*.

<sup>35</sup> Jewsbury, April 7<sup>th</sup> 1855, *Athenaeum*, p403.

joint-stock companies. However, in *Marian Withers*, Jewsbury chose to focus upon the masters' responsibility instead of highlighting the plight of the poor. Jewsbury recognised the 'common error' of books written to 'redress the poor' lay in their 'vulgar run against the higher classes,' which *Marian Withers* sought to amend.<sup>36</sup> The reviewer for the *Literary Gazette* highlighted this crucial difference of perspective between *Mary Barton* and *Marian Withers* in 1851:

It seeks rather to vindicate the position of the upright manufacturer, and to satirise the frivolities of provincial fashion. It has an abundance of politics, and animated discussion on Rights of Labour and the Relations of Employers and Employed; but it is in no sense of the word a partisan book; there is no injustice in it, open or implied.<sup>37</sup>

*Marian Withers* was seen as a balanced, realist portrayal of men and masters and not a protest over unjust working conditions. Therefore, Jewsbury's belief that *Mary Barton* was a one-sided, sentimental depiction of the industrial poor, was answered through her representation of entrepreneurial masters in *Marian Withers*, who advocated associative principles and reform. The novel signalled a transition which re-addressed focus away from the poor and tyrannical masters, to captains of industry willing to reform industrial relations through co-operative association.

### **Marian Withers and Novels of Industry: A Literary Inheritance**

It is crucial to place *Marian Withers* within the literary history of industrial novels to identify its contribution to the development of the genre as a transitional novel.<sup>38</sup> This chapter develops Kestner's argument in *Protest and Reform*, which reinstates the

<sup>36</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> September 1850, *Athenaeum*, p946.

<sup>37</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> September 1851, *The Literary Gazette and Journal*, p626.

<sup>38</sup> The main theory and criticism of industrial novels is seen in the following: Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950*, (1960), Kathleen Tillotson, *Novels of the Eighteen Forties*, (1954), Louis Cazamain, *The Social Novel in England 1830-50* (1973), Smith, Catherine Gallagher *The Industrial Reformation of English Literature* (1988) and Guy.

importance of female contribution to the genre as a whole. Kestner convincingly traces the female novelists' role in developing protest over worker's conditions and masters' greed to the need for long-term reforms of co-operation.<sup>39</sup> I would add, that *Marian Withers* is not only overlooked as an industrial text, but is transitional in the development of emphasis away from novels of protest of the 1830s and 1840s to those of reform from the publication of *Marian Withers* onwards.<sup>40</sup> It was Cazamain who first identified the social-problem novel as a distinct sub-genre within Victorian fiction.<sup>41</sup> Cultural and thematic development of the industrial novel of the mid-nineteen hundreds has been well documented, with Williams' *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (1960) and more recently, Gallagher's *The Industrial Reformation of English Fiction 1832-1867* (1988) and Guy's *The Victorian Social-Problem Novel* (1996).<sup>42</sup> Williams focuses his argument upon a small canon of industrial novels, which illustrate common assumptions about the 'new society' through criticism of industrialism. However, he states that these novels do not confront the 'evils' of industrialism or provide solutions, but rather a 'recognition of evil was balanced by fear of becoming involved. Sympathy was transformed, not into action, but into withdrawal.'<sup>43</sup> Williams' conclusion neglects to see the main development of the industrial novel: from exposing the working relations and conditions of the poor, to the need for assimilation of masters, men and reform.

---

<sup>39</sup> Gallagher and Williams mention Gaskell, Eliot and Brontë (briefly), however, Kestner identifies women as important contributors to the genre, who actively exposed the need for legislation reform.

<sup>40</sup> *Protest and Reform* traces the role of the female industrial novel of the 1830s to 1860s, assessing the development of the genre from exposing protest to inciting reform; seen in the work of Craik, Jewsbury Gaskell, Bronte Eliot, Toulmin, Mayne and Kavanagh. Kestner reassesses the social novel, from its place in the male canon by turning his attention to Victorian female authors and reassesses what he terms a 'distortion of the facts.'

<sup>41</sup> Louis Cazamian, (trans. Martin Fido), *The Social Novel in England 1830-50*, London, 1973, p3

<sup>42</sup> Guy examines changes to theory and literary history of the Industrial novel, through analysis of historicist, new-historicist and Marxist criticism, n1, p221.

<sup>43</sup> Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* p109. For further limitations of William's argument consult Guy, p26-9.

Unlike Williams', Gallagher's study thoroughly examines how industrial debate and fiction shaped each other through a questioning of the nature of human freedom; the source of social cohesion, and thirdly, the nature of representation.<sup>44</sup> Although Gallagher identifies Charlotte Tonna's *Helen Fleetwood* (1839-40) as an important industrial novel she omits Stone's *William Langshawe* or Jewsbury's *Marian Withers*: two transitional novels in the development of industrial fiction. *The Industrial Reformation* charts the movement of industrial novels of the 1840s focusing upon freedom and slavery, into the 1850s emphasis upon the family unit and its relation to society, an intentional device, Gallagher states, used to avoid the discontinuity between freedom and determinism. Gallagher argues that family is used in industrial fiction either as 'a model or as a school of social reform,' reinforcing the separation of public and private life found in *North and South* and *Hard Times*.<sup>45</sup>

However, despite the value of Gallagher's study, the exclusion of *Marian Withers* overlooks a crucial stage in the development of this genre. It will be shown that novels of the 1830s and late 1840s concentrate upon protesting against and raising awareness of social unrest over worker's conditions, negatively exposing captains of industry and rebellious workers: *The Factory Boy*, *Mary Barton*, *William Langshawe*. Whereas, novels of the 1850s onwards, instituted by *Marian Withers*, emphasise the need for principles of co-operation and association, representing the masters' reforms

---

<sup>44</sup> Gallagher's study examines a wider range of authors of social fiction, but omits Jewsbury and Stone. Gallagher argues that novels changed between the first Reform Bill in 1832 and the second, 1867, and that this transition can be related to 'the discourse of industrialism' which led novelists to examine the assumptions of their literary form,' pxi. She uses three categories or 'controversies' to identify patterns in social fiction showing a chronological and ideological progression: the nature of human freedom (worker-slave metaphor); source of social cohesion (public and private) and the nature of representation. However, she does not discuss developments within the genre or individual novel's contribution, pxii.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, p115.

in health, safety and education: *North and South*, *John Halifax: Gentleman*, (1856) *Rachel Gray* (1856) and *Felix Holt* (1866).<sup>46</sup>

At the heart of *Marian Withers* lies the principle of the Victorian work ethic, personified through John Withers' journey as a self-made man, rising from poverty to fame and fortune as an inventor and local mill owner. The publication date of Jewsbury's third novel is significant in representing the changing focus of industrial novels away from protesting about the injustices of the poor, towards the masters' role in social and industrial reform and is therefore a transitional novel in the field. It raises similar themes to Trollope's *The Factory Boy*,<sup>47</sup> (1839-40), Stone's *William Langshawe*, *The Cotton-Lord* (1842), Disraeli's *Coningsby* (1844) and *Sybil* (1845), Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848) and *North and South* (1855), Brontë's *Shirley* (1849) Kingsley's *Alton Locke* (1850), *Yeast* (1851) and Dickens's *Hard Times* (1854). Yet, curiously, *Marian Withers* has not received the critical attention its valuable contributions to the development of the genre, rightly deserves. Therefore, the omission of *Marian Withers* from literary theory about the development of the industrial novel and social fiction by women needs rectifying.<sup>48</sup>

Set in 1794, *Marian Withers* documents the 'struggle of Genius with circumstance,' tracing the life of John Withers, an orphan, sent by Miss Fenwick (a local do-gooder)

---

<sup>46</sup> *Felix Holt* was set in the 1830s but focuses upon issues of the 1860s. As such, written almost a decade after other social novels in the genre, it has been seen more as a 'commentary of social problem novels' than being one itself. Guy, p121-2, and p187-203.

<sup>47</sup> Frances Trollope, *The Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong*, *The Factory Boy*, March 1839 to February 1840, *The New Monthly Magazine*.

<sup>48</sup> Howe briefly writes about *Marian Withers*, p111-115. For more recent criticism: Ivan Melada *The Captains of Industry in English Fiction 1821-1871*, University of New Mexico Press, 1970, p40-8, Trefor Thomas, 'Representation of the Manchester Working-Class in Fiction, 1850-1900,' in *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester*, Alan J. Kidd and K.W Roberts (Eds.), M.U.P, 1985, p193-216 and Joseph Kestner, *Protest and Reform, The British Social Narrative by Women, 1827-1867*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, p150-8.

to the workhouse to become a factory apprentice.<sup>49</sup> He chooses the reward of literacy for his exemplary work, as he ‘burned with the idea of becoming a great man.’ (1:21) Withers’ discovers his aptitude to invent and adapt machinery at Union Mills, because he is prevented from gaining payment for over-time due to an ineffective mule. This entrepreneurial spirit leads to the patent for an improved mule, which Withers sells to his old master who is failing at business, thus highlighting his appreciation for enabling him to become literate. This act also allows Jewsbury to emphasise a moral prosperity between men and masters who considered each other in their work.

Through Withers’ inventions Jewsbury highlights the responsibility of masters to improve working conditions. Unlike Gaskell’s negative representation of machinery where Bessy Higgins in *North and South* is poisoned ‘by the fluff’ of an ineffective machine, Jewsbury emphasises the practical benefits by highlighting the advantages through Withers’ progressive zest for invention: ‘Improvement in machinery will not only lighten labour, but shorten the hours of work, and the people will have time to improve themselves, and become something better than drudges.’<sup>50</sup> (2:45-6) Jewsbury saw technological improvement as empowering workers as part of the supply and demand economics of the industry at the time, in complete contrast to the pessimistic predictions of economists Smith, Malthus and Ricardo. Reforming ideals over an appreciation of safety, education and working conditions had been voiced by Stone’s *William Langshawe* but were to become crucial to novels of the 1850s.<sup>51</sup> Stone

---

<sup>49</sup> Review of *Marian Withers*, 30<sup>th</sup> August 1851, *Leader*, p825. Alice and John, named Withers by Miss Fenwick, go to work as an apprentice and domestic servant. Later, Alice will care for Miss Fenwick and receive a legacy which enables her to help John.

<sup>50</sup> Jewsbury mentioned risks to workers, briefly referring to the ‘unhealthy branch of the occupation’ and the ‘miserable-looking children employed at the ‘devil’ but chose to address reform through education.

<sup>51</sup> Elizabeth Wheeler Stone, (1803-1856) wrote *William Langshawe The Cotton Lord* (1842) and *The Young Milliner* (1843). In 1848, *Mary Barton* was attributed to Stone, as Gaskell recalls: ‘I find everyone here has most convincing proofs that the authorship of *Mary Barton* should be attributed to a



adopts this informing method during a tour of a Manchester mill, where mill owner Ainsley dismisses ‘myths’ about ‘crippled and deformed limbs’ being ‘concomitants of factory-labour.’(1:189) Just as Stone uses Ainsley as the articulate master, highlighting present reforms to visitors of his mill, Jewsbury uses Withers’ inventions and the tour of Wilcox’s mill, to discuss the effects of reform and master’s responsibility.

The body of Jewsbury’s novel refers to the 1820s and topical reference to the problems of manufacturers during the speculative mania of 1825-6 and inevitable financial failure. Pre-setting novels, before the Reform Bill of 1832, was a feature of the genre, as seen in *Shirley*, which focused upon the Luddite rebellions of 1811-12, and Stone’s *William Langshawe* (set between 1828-31). In *Marian Withers* Jewsbury uses the economic conditions of the 1820s, and the effect of Sandford’s warehouse failure upon Withers’ factory, to reflect the need for associative principles within industrial relations of the 1850s. Mr. Brown informs Withers of this rippling economic effect upon Manchester: ‘Credit had received a severe shock, which vibrated through the entire commercial chain.’(3:90) One business affected another, and in turn could change the lives of workers and masters alike, who had all invested; ‘things are looking very bad in Manchester, people have been mad. They could not make money nor spend it fast enough, and now there will come a crash.’(3:78)<sup>52</sup> Withers’ mill is jeopardised because payment is not made for his cotton and in turn he can not pay for his new machines, bills and wages. Jewsbury indicates that Withers

---

Mrs Wheeler, nee Miss Stone, and authoress of some book called the ‘Cotton Lord.’ Gaskell does not mention reading *William Langshawe*, which shares similarities to *Mary Barton*.

<sup>52</sup> For contemporary economic and social studies see: William Cooke Taylor, *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing District*, Duncan & Malcolm, 1842, James Phillip Kay-Shuttleworth, *The Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, 1832 and Peter Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England*, 1833.

can only get his workers' wages by calling in loans and borrowing from neighbouring mill owner, Wilcox, 'at a reasonable interest.' It is only Cunningham's offer of partnership that saves his business and eventually leads to the mill's position as forerunner of improvements for workers. Withers' financial crisis illustrates that all businesses are dependent upon one another for survival, also pertinent in *Shirley* and *North and South*, where Thronton's shares lose half their value after the Milton crash.<sup>53</sup> For Withers, it was vital he remained a reliable master, able to pay his workers because his mill represented 'the kingdom he had conquered for himself out of the depths of degradation and misery;' it is a symbol of hope to the hard working poor wanting self-improvement. (1:82) Critics like Smith have identified these ideals as part of the disparity between the two nations, crucial to novels like *Mary Barton*.<sup>54</sup>

### **Re-assessment: Trollope, Stone and Jewsbury**

Fictional representation of industrial problems existed as a literary genre before *Mary Barton* in 1848, through Martineau, Trollope, Stone and Tonna, which influenced and affected Jewsbury, Gaskell and Dickens.<sup>55</sup> In order to identify the industrial novel's gradual transition from protesting against conditions of workers; to conflict and rebellion, and reform through association, three industrial novels by women demand attention: *The Factory Boy*, (1839) *William Langshawe* (1840) and *Marian Withers* (1851). These three novels have been selected primarily to illustrate the development of themes in women's industrial writing and because they are often overlooked in this genre. One of the first novels of the 1830s to deal with industrial questions, Mrs

<sup>53</sup>Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South*, Penguin, 1994, Chapter 25.

<sup>54</sup>Shelia Smith, *The Other Nation*, p83-97.

<sup>55</sup>Monica Correa Fryckstedt, 'The Early Industrial Novel: Mary Barton and its Predecessors,' *Bulletin of John Rylands Univeristy Library* ,63, (1988), p11, p27.

Trollope's *The Factory Boy*, serialised a year after Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, in 1839, exposes exploitation of child workers in North England.<sup>56</sup> Some critics interpreted the novel as a piece of propaganda for the Ten Hours Movement.<sup>57</sup> It is certainly true that Trollope wanted to raise public awareness and researched her novel, visiting mills and meeting Reverend Bull. Bull was a strong proponent of the Ten Hours' Bill that reduced daily working hours and aimed to improve conditions and was fictionally represented by the characters of Walker and Wood.<sup>58</sup> In this manner, Trollope's novel is less sophisticated than later novels, but highlights key areas of the genre that Stone and Jewsbury developed.

*The Factory Boy* depicts the harsh realities of Michael Armstrong, adopted by mill owner, Sir Matthew Dowling, as a vain gesture to impress a lady, only to be sent to a notorious mill that worked children to death. Miss Brotherton, a Manchester heiress, hearing about Michael's fate leads a search for him, learning the truth about conditions in mills. After ten years at Deep Valley Mill, Michael escapes, is reunited with his crippled brother and later marries Miss Botherton.<sup>59</sup> Many believed Trollope's tale exaggerated true events, despite her aim of raising public awareness of the 'this most atrocious factory system,' comparable in vice to slavery.<sup>60</sup> The message of early industrial fiction like *The Factory Boy*, protested about child workers and bad

---

<sup>56</sup> Dickens did not think there was enough room for *The Factory Boy* and *Nicholas Nickleby* both dealing with issues of factory children and industrial injustice; a topic he saved for *Hard Times*. See Pamela Neville-Sington, *Fanny Trollope The Life and Adventures of a Clever Women*, Penguin, 1997, p277.

<sup>57</sup> Gallagher, *The Industrial Reformation*, p127-8.

<sup>58</sup> The Ten Hours Bill, which became an act in 1847, reduced daily hours to ten for women and young persons working in mills, laws more strictly enforce in the 1850s. Consult, Alfred (Samuel Kydd), *The History of the Factory Movement from the Year 1802 to the enactment of the Ten Hours' Bill in 1847*, Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 2 vols., 1857.

<sup>59</sup> For detailed analysis of this novel see Tessa Ransom, *Fanny Trollope: A Remarkable Life*, St Martin's Press, 1995, p127-130 and Pamela Neville-Sington, p 273-278.

<sup>60</sup> Frances Trollope, *The Factory Boy*, London, 1840, p237.

conditions, also seen in Harriet Martineau's 'Manchester Strike,' published in *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832). Industrial novels of the 1840s developed this public exposure, showing problems of suppressing a hungry and incensed workforce, highlighting the responsibility of masters over men's welfare. The images of injustice, depicted in *The Factory Boy*, became almost stereotypical of industrial novels and were later used by Stone to subvert prejudice and re-examine industrial relations between men and masters; themes *Mary Barton*, *Marian Withers* and *North and South* would more fully explore through Chartism and association.

Stone's discussion of the influence of Trades' Unions in *William Langshawe* is an excellent example of the movement of industrial novels from assessing protest to conflict.<sup>61</sup> The novel traces the Manchester industrialist, William Langshawe, who falls upon economic hardship during the 1820s, and is reduced to bargaining with mill owner, Balshawe over proposals to unite their children: Edith (sole heiress) and John Balshawe. John, the 'low-life libertine,' is having an affair with Edith's cousin, Nancy, who is engaged to a worker at Balshawe's mill, Jem Forshawe.<sup>62</sup> Jem's discovery of the affair leads to him joining the Union against his master. Stone, like Jewsbury and many female social novelists, combines exposing reform for workers with the woman question. She also highlights a more balanced perspective of industrial relations. Like Jewsbury, as a resident of Manchester, Stone dispels its

---

<sup>61</sup> For the effect of Unions at this time see Patrick Bratlinger, 'The Case against Trade Unions in Early Victorian Fiction,' *Victorian Studies*, 13, (1969), p37-52 and Shelia Lewenhak, *Women and Trade Unions: An Outline History of Women in the British Trade Union Movement*, London, 1971.

<sup>62</sup> Interestingly, Stone's portrays Balshawe and his affair with Nancy in a similar manner to Carson's flirtation with Mary in *Mary Barton*. Both men abuse positions of social respectability, by using working class women for their gratification, promising to make them ladies, but disrupting their lives.

prejudices through familiar stereotypes of the 'Manufacturing districts' and by parodying the use of industry as an 'unpoetical, unromantic' subject.<sup>63</sup>

'Cotton bags, cotton mills, Spinning-jennies, odious factories, vulgar proprietors, and their still more vulgar wives, and their superlatively vulgar pretensions; dense population, filthy streets, drunken men, reckless women, immoral girls and squalid children; dirt, filth, misery, and crime; - such are the interesting images which rise, "a busy throng to crowd the brain," at the bare mention of the "manufacturing districts."<sup>64</sup>

Stone's description of the 'heart and life of the commerce for which England is renowned,' reflects popularised images of squalor, where 'vulgarity and vice walk side by side,' familiar to middle class readers. (1:7) She reassessed the preconceived alliance between manufacturing and the 'dirt, filth, misery and crime' of Manchester and through emphasising the captains of industry, (reinforced by the novel's title) Stone steers the social novel away from images of poverty to reform.

Consequently, *William Langshawe* varies in emphasis from *Factory Boy* through a more subtle development of class prejudice and with discussion of the powerful influence of Trades' Unions and the arrogant disregard of industrialists. Through representing both labourer and the 'Cottonocracy,' Stone exposes the injustice of masters and men like John Balshawe and the potential rebellion amongst Union workers. In this manner, *William Langshawe* shares similarities with *Mary Barton*, *Shirley* and *Sybil*, by echoing Carlyle's *Chartism*: 'Is the condition of English working people wrong; so wrong that radical working men cannot, will not, and even should not rest quiet under it?'<sup>65</sup> Fryckstedt first highlighted these similarities in *The Early Industrial Novel Mary Barton and its Predecessors*, 1980, which argues that

<sup>63</sup>Fryckstedt noted Stone as the first Manchester resident to write a novel about manufacturing districts, see, 'The Early Industrial Novel,' p11-30.

<sup>64</sup>Elizabeth Stone, *William Langshawe, The Cotton-Lord*, Bentley, 1842, vol.,1, p1-2. All further references will be to this edition and cited in the text.

<sup>65</sup>Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism* Chapter one, p2. For detail, see Stephen Roberts and Dorothy Thompson, *Images of Chartism*, Woodbridge: Merlin, 1998 and *Chartism in Fiction*, 2001.

Stone, Tonna and Martineau influenced Gaskell's *Mary Barton*.<sup>66</sup> Fryckstedt argues that this is most evident with the comparative indifference of masters Mr Elliott and Mr Carson over the hardship of their workers.<sup>67</sup> Gaskell went on to use the new 'militant' worker, evident in *Mary Barton* and the Spinners' Union in *William Langshawe*, to represent one angry with the 'lottery-like nature of life.'

Another main development of novels of the 1840s, illustrated by *William Langshawe*, was the depiction of the power of discontent and conflict via Unionism. Even though Gaskell and Dickens used this theme in the 1850s, Stone initiated the discussion about conflict in *William Langshawe*. Stone cites the power of unions to humiliate workers into submission, 'men have turned out because of the will of their union and not because they were dissatisfied.' If men do attend work, 'they do it at the risk of their lives.' A strike that begins peacefully ends with assassination: 'committed at the behest of the leaders of the Spinners' Union'(2:164). Stone uses her expertise as an inhabitant of Manchester to illustrate the power of Unions and strikes:

Readers who have not happened to reside in the 'Manufacturing Districts' may be surprised to learn that, on an invitation from the leaders of the 'Spinners' Union', who may have some cause, real or imaginary, of dissatisfaction with some of the masters, 'all hands' will strike.' (2:160)<sup>68</sup>

*William Langshawe* highlights the injustice of strikes, exposing the powerful influence of workers and Unions, where 'Men, masters, manufacturers, excellent in themselves, and beneficent and liberal master, have been reduced to the very verge of ruin by the "turn outs," which the Spinners' Union has ordered.' (2:160) Jem Forshawe, like John Barton, Higgins and Barraclough highlight the darker side of

---

<sup>66</sup> Fryckstedt, p11 and Michael Wheeler, 'The Writer as Reader in *Mary Barton*', *Durham University Journal*, ixvii, (1974),50, p93-4. For detailed comparisons between Stone and Gaskell see Fryckstedt.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p13.

strikes and Unions, as opposed to the perspective of the masters' which is seen later in *Shirley*, *Marian Withers* and *North and South*. Jem did not want to be a Union man, 'the Union might be well enough for other folk, but he wanted nought, not he.' (2:165) However, Jem is provoked by Balshawe's arrogant and insulting payment to appease his anger over Nancy's affair, and is driven to the Union, where he swears allegiance against the masters of the mill. Stone deliberately conjures images of 'cloak and dagger' in an attempt to highlight the serious power and influence of Union membership, (essentially a middle class image of an impassioned union member) evocatively seen through Jem's initiation:

I, Jem Forshawe, do voluntarily swear, in the awful presence of Almighty God, and before these witnesses, that I will execute, with seal and alacrity, as far as in me lies, every task of injustice which the majority of my brethren shall impose upon me, in furtherance of our common welfare; as the chastisement of knobs, the ASSASSINATION of oppressive or tyrannical masters, or the demolition of shops, that shall be deemed incorrigible. (2:171-2)

Emphasis on exact detail, referring to 'knobs' and shop demolition, is important in exposing the power and influence of the Union. Stone's description is more detailed than Gaskell's in *Mary Barton*, which alludes to John picking the marked paper appointing him as Carson's murderer: 'Then came one of those fierce terrible oaths which bind members of trades' unions to any given purpose.' (179) *Mary Barton* reflects many of Stone's themes, illustrating the worker's discontent through the sympathetic portrayal of John Barton's Chartism. The Union's power drives Higginbottom mad by fear and starvation, an image repeated in *North and South* by Boucher's portrait: 'Yo' may be kind hearts, each separate; but once banded together, yo've no more pity for a man than a wild hunger-maddened wolf.' (1:155) Higgins re-emphasises the misunderstanding between men and masters that principles of association in *Marian Withers* sought to irradiate. Higgins tells of the Unions' power

---

<sup>68</sup> Stone uses factual evidence to backup her fictional claims, referring readers to E.C Tufnell's

‘it’s a great power; it’s our only power.’ Just like Stone, Gaskell relays the truth of the Unions’ influence and their ‘ways and means.’ Interestingly, it is Margaret who exposes the irony of Higgins’ actions: ‘And you belong to the Union! And you talk of the tyranny of the masters!’ (2: 232) Through Margaret’s influence, Thornton gives Higgins a job, enabling Gaskell’s emphasis upon association to take effect.

Unions and strikes were therefore used by novelists of the 1840s to represent the power of discontented conflict and inevitable futility of workers’ rebellions. Novelists based their representation of strikes upon fact, depicting individual instigators: Disraeli’s Dandy Mick and Devildust, Dickens’s Slackbridge, Stone’s anonymous Union leader and Gaskell’s Higgins.<sup>69</sup> (Despite fictional representation of Union leaders as men, there is evidence that women also contributed to strikes, especially over wage differences).<sup>70</sup> Peter Gaskell reflected the importance of unions in *The Manufacturing Population of England* (1833): ‘However, well-disposed the industrious and economical workmen may be, he is placed upon a level with the most profligate and idle, who are in general the stirrers up of these strikes.’ Workers normally earning 20-25 shillings lived off 2 or 4 shillings supplied by Unions funds.<sup>71</sup> Strikes and social crises are inevitable features of Victorian industrial novel, where working men’s anger over conditions, leads to desperate acts of murder and suicide: Carson, Boucher and Wolstenholme. Rioting, attacks and fires were also prevalent, vividly depicted in *Shirley* and *North and South*. The fire at Carson’s mill, like those in *Shirley*, represents frustration between masters and men where ‘class distrusted

---

Character, Object, and Effects of Trades’ Unions, 1834.

<sup>69</sup> Gaskell used the ‘Glasgow Thuggery’ cotton-spinners incident of 1837 and Dickens the Preston strike for *Hard Times* and his article in *Household Words* ‘On Strike’ 8, (1854,) p553-9.

<sup>70</sup> Women often complained about pay discrepancies. In Lancashire, in 1834, the average male wage was 22s 8 ½ d per week, compared to women’s of 8 s 8 ½ d. Lewenhak sees the development of Unions as a form of the self-help ethos of Victorian Britain, p52- 55.



class.’ This suspicion develops in novels of the 1850s, seen through the Milton strikes in *North and South*, enabling discussion about co-operation between labour relations. Thornton’s stubborn insistence on being unaccountable to his men leads to the strike, ‘We, the owners of capital, have a right to choose what we do with it.’ (1:117) Like Jewsbury’s *Marian Withers*, Gaskell highlights reform, through Margaret’s southern influence: ‘I see two classes dependent upon each other in every possible way, yet each evidently regarding the interests of the other as opposed to their own.’ (1:118) *North and South* devotes attention to the complex nature of Unions, the implications of their action and the principles of reform, from the master’s perspective initiated by *Marian Withers*.

The evolution of the industrial novel is evident from 1830-50, in *William Langshawe*, *Mary Barton* and *Shirley*, where emphasis changes from protest to conflict, and then to reform with *Marian Withers* and *North and South* focusing upon association, responsibility and education. The protests of the 1830s, the ‘hungry forties,’ economic depression and high unemployment, fostered a sense of rebellion.<sup>72</sup> It was not until the Factory Act of 1844, that fictional focus altered away from protest to reform and improvement; signalled by *Marian Withers*. The Factory Act was important because it aimed at reducing women and children’s working hours to ten a day in an attempt to lessen the extent of child labour.

Other industrial novels of the 1850s, used Manchester to signify the new industrial ‘moral order,’ where liberal cultural developments within the condition of workers

---

<sup>71</sup> Peter Gaskell, p301-2.

<sup>72</sup> See Steven King and Geoffrey Timmins, *Making Sense of the Industrial Revolution. English Economy and Society 1700-1850*, M.U.P, 2001.

were debated, incorporating the belief in mass education.<sup>73</sup> *Marian Withers* therefore also highlighted the real need for masters to co-operate in trade and not follow the *lassiez-faire* philosophy of Carson and Bounderby: the embodiment of aggressive, materialist, captains of industry. The influence of Carlyle's philosophy upon industrial novels, as well as contemporary legislation, affected the tone and perspective of women's industrial novels during this period.

The novel places responsibility of humanitarian reform upon the masters, where Wilcox's break times for his workers are dismissed by Higginbottom as 'just one of your notions.' Like Dicken's *Bounderby*, he takes no interest in his workers once they leave the mill, 'he paid them their wages on Saturday night, and they might be ill or well, drunken or sober, as they pleased. If they did not come to their work they were scratched off the books, and no excuse asked or taken.'(2:36-7). Higginbottom is the adverse of Wilcox, keeping an unsafe, dirty mill where profit leads to rebellion. 'He made money, and he saved money...but his mill had been set on fire more than once, - his men were the most bitter and active members of the Trades; Union, they were discontented and disaffected and hated their masters...who narrowly escaped being shot by some of his own men during a strike for a dispute about wages.'(2:37) Jewsbury highlights, via Cunningham, that ignorance leads to 'unions against masters,' instead of co-operation; 'their interests must go together if either party are to prosper.'(2:112)<sup>74</sup> Unlike Stone or Gaskell, Jewsbury focused on principles of reform more than apportioning blame. Unlike the authors of *North and South* and *Hard Times*, Jewsbury looked towards a realistic representation of the industrial question,

---

<sup>73</sup> See Trefor Thomas, p193.

<sup>74</sup> This theme was explored three years later in *North and South*, where Thornton learnt the value of co-operation with his men after the strike. See chapters 24 and 25.

focusing upon joint-stock companies and co-operation within trade: where ‘one day co-operation will gradually take the place of competition.’(2:23-4) *Marian Withers* used the self-made man as the proponent of industrial reform through enhanced working conditions, education and mutual respect. The advancement of the industrial novel from protests of the 1830s (Trollope, Martineau and Tonna) to Stone’s emphasis upon rebellion and conflict in the 1840s, led to associative principles of education, master responsibility and mutual understanding initiated by *Marian Withers* in the 1850s.

### **Joint-Stock Companies: ‘the ruling mania of the day.’**

The key development of the industrial novel of the 1850s that *Marian Withers* initiated was the question of competition versus co-operation, discussed by mill owners at Wilcox’s dinner party. As has been identified, Higginbottom propounds the individualist view that ‘each should fend for ourselves,’ seeing no ‘good of going partners with all the world,’ but wanting a ‘fair stand-up fight in business.’(2:17). Withers was equally cautious, disapproving of the idea of something for nothing, ‘I have no faith in them, they are all just scheme for making everybody rich without working; they have taken the place of lotteries.’ (2:15) He believed they cheat the order of nature; an antithetical principle to the Victorian work ethic upheld by Jewsbury.

The 1820s were full of ‘speculative mania in which joint-stock companies sold shares in just about every industry and enterprise in existence – coal, steam, milk and eggs,

brewing, wool, as well as foreign companies in the Americas and India.’<sup>75</sup> Jewsbury uses this speculation to directly discuss the current trend for joint-stock companies, where mill owners in *Marian Withers* are sceptical about the financial ‘lottery’ of joint investment where people do not work ‘for themselves, but trust to the directors juggling with their money.’(2:16-17) Cunningham supports the joint-stock company in principle, as an extension of the ideal of co-operation, but appreciates that practical risks foster distrust amongst mill owners like Higginbottom. In charting the development of trade from an unfettered, competitive arena of conflict, Cunningham shows how regulated associations could exist:

Vicious as the working, and as the effects of some of these joint-stock companies may be, still they contain a principle that will gradually re-organise the whole machinery of society. Co-operation will gradually take the place of competition. A great social question is opening up... Masters and men, capital and labour, are beginning to stand in antagonism to each other... There will be a struggle, the end of which none of us may live to see, but I believe firmly, that the laws of commerce will be laid down, and that labour will be organised and its forces disciplined... side by side with this growing ANTAGONISM of interests, there is rising the idea of ASSOCIATION, which will mature and develop itself gradually, till... it will have strength to gather together the conflicting interests into one. (2:24-5)

The essence of the principle of joint-stock investment was the possibility for entrepreneurs to fulfil their ambitions and inventions, whether by bridge or canal building or the construction of new railways, through sharing capital. Joint-stock banking was also vogue, as the growth of large financial investment heightened the possibility to earn more from your money. However, as Trollope’s novel, *The Way We Live Now* highlighted most poignantly in 1875, captains of industry, like Melmotte, taint the reputation of such ventures through their greed. This is also illustrated in *Marian Withers*, when Millbank, the partner at Sandford & Co., and director of a joint-stock mining company, absconds from the company taking fifty thousand pounds of shareholders’ money. Millbank’s selfishness represents the

---

<sup>75</sup> See Harriet Martineau *History of the Thirty Years Peace, A.D. 1816-1846*, London, 1877-8, 4 vols.

unknown dangers of joint investment and serves as a practical example, echoing Mr Brown's comment that joint-stock companies have 'played the hangman with people.' Both fiction and non-fiction represented the downfall of co-operative investment with Martineau's *Autobiography* exposing her father's business losses, and Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843-4) highlighting the bogus life insurance company of Tigg Montague. Numerous articles in the *Times* from 1818 onwards also discussed parliamentary legislation and joint-stock companies, publishing annual reports of new registered companies, and lengthy lists of the winding up of others.<sup>76</sup>

Due to the inevitable confusion and element of risk attached to joint-stock companies, advice books and manuals were written on the formation and implementation of new legislation.<sup>77</sup> Charles Wordworth's *The Laws of Joint-Stock Companies* (1845), Alexander Pulling's *The Law of Joint Stock Companies* (1850) and Thomas Tapping's *Joint Stock Companies and How to Form Them* (1866), were practical guides about setting up and running companies to current legislation. One shareholder praised the 'good service' of the *Times* in 1852 for printing information about directors and 'the risks and perils of the enterprise.'<sup>78</sup> Jewsbury submerged *Marian Withers* fully into contemporary interest respecting joint-stock companies and the popular philosophies surrounding them using this realism to add persuasion to her argument for association.

---

<sup>76</sup> The following table records the numbers of companies printed in *The Times*. See: 26<sup>th</sup> March 1849, p8, 13<sup>th</sup> November 1849, p6, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1849, p5, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1849, p5, 4<sup>th</sup> December 1849, p8, 20<sup>th</sup> December 1849, p5 and 13<sup>th</sup> November 1850, p5, 10<sup>th</sup> January 1851, p7, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1852, p4.

Year	Companies Provisionally Registered	Companies Completely Registered	Fees Obtained	Failed Audit Report
1848	123	63	2,5951	-
1849	165	31	2,9271	59
1850	159	57	2,6561	1 bankrupt
1851	63	187	3,178 1.17s	-

<sup>77</sup> The act of 1844 meant all joint-stock companies had to register with an official registrar, which helped restrain the activities of unprofessional businessmen. The principle of limited liability was first recognised in legislation of 1855-6, which again helped to regulate these businesses. (Other important acts were 1855, 1856, 1857, 1862, 1867)

<sup>78</sup> Letter to the Editor, *Times*, 26<sup>th</sup> March 1852, p8.

**Capitalism, Competition and Co-operation: The Principles of Association and Education in *Marian Withers*.**

The ideals inherent in *Marian Withers* resided with Jewsbury's emphasis upon education, association and co-operation. The first part of Jewsbury's novel, depicting Withers' rise to success, was noted by critics as powerful and vivid, full of 'originality:' a morally inspiring and virtuous story.<sup>79</sup> For Jewsbury, it was necessary to include Withers' background, what she termed 'the prologue to the play,' in order to highlight the mutual reliance of masters and men. She thought this principle of association more successful than competition or co-operation, which could result in joint failure. Therefore, she agreed with J.S. Mill that change in society could occur through the growth of co-operative principles: 'associations of individuals voluntarily combining their small contributions, now perform works, both of industry and of many other characters, which no one person or small number of persons are rich enough to accomplish.'<sup>80</sup> Jewsbury highlighted these points through Withers, emphasised here by *The Examiner*:

The introduction of this character brings with it much natural and easy discussion of the respective relations of the labourer and capitalist, and that, with evidently strong leanings to the associative as supposed to be distinguished from the competitive principle (we have often shown that can never be so distinguished but by a fallacy of reasoning).<sup>81</sup>

The other mill owners allowed Jewsbury to explore issues of competition and dependence of masters and men. Sykes, Higginbottom and Wilcox, are all self-made men, who rose from 'operatives to be the owners of the largest mills in the neighbourhood.' As the least enlightened master, Higginbottom represents the greedy

---

<sup>79</sup> The representation of self made masters in Victorian industrial fiction did not include the master's rise to success, but introduced them as successful, like Bounderby, Thornton and Mr Millbank.

<sup>80</sup> J.S.Mill, *Principles of Political Economics*, London, vol., 2, Bk 4, p247-8.

<sup>81</sup> Anon, 'Marian Withers,' 6<sup>th</sup> September (1851), *The Examiner*, p564-5.

capitalist, putting profit before improvement, seen in many industrial novels of the time as the reluctant ‘economic individualist to engage in corporate activity.’(3:43) Sykes, on the other hand, is portrayed more sensitively, having been physically scared by his hard work, even his ‘growth seems to have been stunted from hardship and overwork in his childhood.’ (2:16). In comparison Wilcox is the compassionate master who gives infant workers a ten-minute break which, ‘carries them on bravely to the end of the day.’ (2:35) It is through Higginbottom’s individualist principles and resentment of Withers’ ‘enlightened ideas,’ that Jewsbury conveys her argument for mutual co-operation; good relations between workers and masters, and not the threat of riot and rebellion.

Contrary to industrial novels of the 1840s, *Marian Withers* exposes the socio-economic effects of capitalism through the masters’ perspective. It is therefore important to note, albeit briefly, that economics was a key area of debate in this period, with significant arguments raised and discussed by J. S. Mill, Adam Smith, Karl Marx and Thomas Carlyle. Although, Jewsbury was neither a Marxist nor a capitalist, her ideas about the publishing marketplace were imbedded in social arguments of her time. She would have been aware, for example, that economists like Smith and Malthus were seen to support capitalists with their laissez-faire belief in market competition and non-interventional policies.

Consequently, Withers and Cunningham depict this need for association through the mutual understanding of men and masters. Withers is not Dickens’ Bounderby, ‘a man made out of coarse material’ who rose from the ‘gutter’ to become the leading manufacturer and banker of Coketown. Neither is he an earlier version of Thackeray’s

Melotte motivated by money and brought down by inevitable greed, (both images reflective of Higginbottom). Instead Withers represents honesty, self-determination and hard work, and would have been 'far richer had he been less ingenious.'(1:83) Withers reiterates Jewsbury's belief in the Victorian work ethic, scorning captains of industry and shareholders of joint-stock companies that want 'riches' without personal labour. Cunningham wants to 'see the practical workings of the relations' between masters and men and fulfils Jewsbury's ideology of reform, through his partnership with Withers. Like Marian, Cunningham wants employment, the 'power to carry my own views into effect' and 'not to increase my fortune.'(3:104) In terms of industrialist protagonists, Withers is unique. If one looks at Bounderby, Carson and Thornton, they are one-sided, representing the autocratic master, the greedy capitalist or the reformed master. Due to Withers' background as a worker in dire poverty, he is an empathetic, progressive master, furthering the industry through invention, so much so that 'people came from 'round and square to see his improvements and inventions.' (2:60) Jewsbury could have modelled Withers on Sir Joseph Whitworth (1803-87), an apprentice cotton spinner in Derbyshire, who, like Withers, used his aptitude for mechanics to improve machinery. Jewsbury would also have been aware of Samuel Bamford (1788-1872) the Lancashire weaver who rose to notoriety as the voice of the oppressed workers through his simple and popular poems, another possible influence for the character.<sup>82</sup>

Withers represents the transitional stage of industrialists; an educated man wanting to transform his industry for the better, evolving from the first generation of masters who

---

<sup>82</sup> Jane mentioned Jewsbury's visit to 'the house of Bamford "The Radical" weaver – poet.' Huxley *Letters*, p280. Gaskell depicts Job Legh reading Bamford's 'God Help the Poor,' which Mary copies for her father, as a sign of their allegiance to the plight of the poor and his Chartist sympathies (*Mary Barton*, p104).



were 'rough coarse strangers to etiquette,' (Boulderby and Higginbottom). He is in between the second and third generation of refined educated gentlemen, like Cunningham, who focus on working conditions as well as profit, a dilemma noted by Gaskell who wanted to show Thornton as 'strong and tender and *yet a master*.'<sup>83</sup> Stone's industrialists also represent the coarse first generation of masters who rose by 'the sweat of my brow.' Balshawe, like Higginbottom is the 'tyrannical despot,' not only similar in name with Langshawe, but sharing his capitalist aims; living on 'figures by day, he dreams of pounds shillings and pence by night.'(1:72) Whereas, like Cunningham, Ainsley is a businessman wanting social respectability: 'I have a considerable fortune, acquired, as you know, in the trade of the times; but hand-in-hand with riches I have striven to gain those habitudes, tastes, and acquirements which alone can make riches respectable.' (1:66) Medlar firstly identified these changes within fiction of the nineteenth century and noted that Withers is influenced by captains of industry from all generations.<sup>84</sup> Jewsbury looked towards examining the development of industrialists with Withers, Wilcox and Cunningham as examples of masters who respected workers and improvement: businessmen driven by humanitarian and technological progression not capitalist greed.

### **Education for the Masses**

*Marian Withers* was the first novel of the 1850s to herald education as the necessary reform to enlightening industrial relations; a theme later explored in *North and South*, *Hard Times* and *John Halifax*. By the 1850s, parliamentary bills had reduced workers' hours and introduced health and educational requirements, which encouraged

---

<sup>83</sup> Jennifer Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell A Habit of Stories*, Faber & Faber, 1993, p366.

<sup>84</sup> Ivan Medlar, px-xi.

novelists to look away from protest towards social reform.<sup>85</sup> Withers' believed in education as the key to his success, but understood the working classes' reticence to change, 'I have seen machinery escorted to the mill by armed soldiers,' but, was aware that in time they would come to see the advantages. (2:114) Jewsbury used Withers to highlight the practical, entrepreneurial exponent of improvement and Cunningham as the moral, cultural exemplar of these ideals. Cunningham voices the philosophy behind Withers' work believing that 'it is through enterprise and ambition that greater things are achieved,' signalling the difference between 'genius and common-place inefficiency.' (2:166) Nonetheless, Withers and Cunningham firmly sustained the belief that the country could not be economically 'safe' with 'large masses of its population half-awashed to the sense of their own ignorance undisciplined, lying at the foundation of society.'(2:112) Together they represent the future of industrial relations, through developing the workers of the future, as Cunningham projects: 'These men have the old, barbaric strength of undisciplined life, they need educating, they need cultivating, but they will change the face of the world.' (2:137)

*Marian Withers* goes even further in its quest to highlight social issues, raising the political point that the *nouveau rich* middle classes felt responsible for raising those below them in the hierarchy; albeit a substantial task: 'To organise the masses that have been congregated together in many districts, to civilise them and educate them, is the great work of the present century, and one not to be achieved in a day.'(2:113) Through Withers and Cunningham, Jewsbury argues that workers' problems rested with their ignorance and that until educated they 'will have no more sense than

---

<sup>85</sup> King and Timmins, *Making Sense*, 2001.

children.’ (2:56) Higginbottom is typically outraged by Withers’ idea, representing the self-made man who believed God dictated the divide between rich and poor, echoing arguments raised through Disraeli’s ‘two nations:’ ‘Educate them! Teach ‘em reading and writing that they may turn radicals, politicians and trades union demagogues!’ (2:56) Jewsbury was conventional in her belief that man should utilise his talents help himself.

It is through Cunningham that she emphasises the words and philosophy of Victorian moral guides, such as Samuel Smiles’ immensely popular *Self Help* (1859), which sold over 20,000 copies in its first year of publication.<sup>86</sup> Cunningham echoes Smiles’ ideology through his belief that ‘a spirit of self-help does lie at the bottom of success.’ (2:22) He continues his speech, in essence a mirror of the Carlylean principles of hero-worship and hard work, stating that ‘self-reliance is the back-bone of all heroism of character.’ (2:22) However, it is through Cunningham, that Jewsbury expresses the need to work together to achieve greatness: ‘Man does much for himself, but all great objects have been attained when he has joined himself with others and worked in concert with them.’ (2:23) Cunningham sees the education of the masses, as ‘a kind of edged tool which must be sheathed in dogmatic religious instruction, as otherwise it would cut the fingers of both those who receive it and those who have rashly placed it in their hands.’ (3:107) Jewsbury stresses that it is the ‘duty’ of masters to ‘educate against the starvation of the mind,’ so that workers ‘shall have that instruction to which they are entitled as rational and accountable beings.’ (3:108) Many women industrial novelist therefore argued that education was not just important for workers but also essential for middle class women. In *Marian Withers*, Jewsbury follows the

---

<sup>86</sup> Samuel Smiles, *Self help*, 1859. 20,000 sold in the first year, then 130,000 over the next thirty.

example of Stone, by advocating education to improve relations between masters and men as well as those of men and women. Marian's education paid for by industrial toil; is similar to Edith's in *William Langshawe*, who is given 'all the accomplishments that money could purchase.'(1:18) Stone, like Jewsbury uses the novel to highlight the assimilation process of workers and women. Through Edith and Marian, the reader witnesses the ennui of middle class domesticity; 'women's lot is on her, and she will yet be proved by suffering' (1:21) Edith has 'energy' to combat her 'lot' and like Marian is more educated than her father, 'the rising generation enjoy advantages to which their parents had no access.' (1:23) Unlike factory hands, whose education was a positive benefit, middle class women's accomplished education suited them for marriage, not vocation: an argument which became central to female industrial novels of the mid-nineteenth century: *William Langshawe, Shirley, Marian Withers and North and South*.

Ironically, Withers does not utilise the education he paid for Marian; 'thou art a good and industrious lass; it is a pity thou wert not a lad.'(99) Withers is a strong proponent of women being 'useful' and objects to idleness: 'to my mind women had better come and work in a factory than do nothing but sit all day with their hands before them.' (2:58) Marian can not emulate women of her class, whose idle natures lead to moral disdain. Just like Everhard and Lord Melton in *Zoe and The Half Sisters*, Jewsbury uses a male protagonist in *Marian Withers* to voice her belief in vocation and female education, with Withers claim: 'I don't want her to be a fine lady with all her schooling.' Conversely, Alice Withers represents the traditional, patriarchal ideal providing a place of sanctuary and replenishment for Withers. Her domestic usefulness, exemplified by her 'duties,' are imparted to Marian: 'the mysteries that fit

a woman to become the queen of that arcanum called HOME, in which she must have her root and find her place to dwell.’(66) Marian, raised with Withers’ work ethic, is despondent about her purposeless education that elevates her aspirations above her class, prevented from working or being fashionable idle. Marian’s education at Mrs Majoribanks Boarding School, the best education Wither’s money could buy, leads to her dissatisfaction with ‘vulgar’ and ‘uncivilised manufacturing people.’ Jewsbury uses Marian to mirror Hilda Arl, who is of aristocratic, not manufacturing money, and depicts the need for vocation through Lady Wollaston’s fall. Jewsbury’s ‘Cassandra-like’ introduction to Lady Wollaston prepares the reader for her criticisms of traditional domestic ideology:

The women of England at the present day are eaten up with *ennui* to a much greater extent than is suspected; the devouring activity of their minds has been stimulated by the general increase of higher culture, but they find no adequate employment for it... this has, in our day, given place to a craving for emotion... If often happens (in the middle ranks more especially) that there are women cultivated to a degree far superior to the society amongst which they are placed... These are the women who are greedy of emotion... left to themselves they only awaken the disciples’ question, “To what purpose is all this waste?” (247-9)

Through her association with food and hunger, with ‘devouring’, ‘eaten up,’ ‘greedy’ and ‘craving for emotion,’ Jewsbury emphasises the nature of women’s ennui as a physical appetite for vocation.<sup>87</sup> She addresses the problem of ‘superfluous energy,’ symptomatic of educated, ‘cultivated,’ middle class women who seeks satisfaction from ‘emotion.’ Lady Wollaston ‘craved’ attention from her neglectful husband, and like Alice, was fulfilled by falling in love with flattery (Later repeated with Lousia Gradgrind in *Hard Times*). Yet the cruel reality of Albert’s warning about her social position is a poignant reminder of Jewsbury’s quest to highlight the sham of respectability: ‘Do you not see that it is ruin of us both that you risk?’(3:158)

---

<sup>87</sup> The use of food and disease metaphors was also common in relation to the woman reader, see Chapter Seven.

In leaving her husband her adultery would have ‘soiled’ both their reputations. Jewsbury emphasises the moral of the affair, which enables Lady Wollaston to find ‘some employment worthy to fill the life which hitherto I have so miserably wasted.’ (3:230)

It is Marian’s return from schooling to Burn Brook, which initiates sub-plot romances allowing Jewsbury to discuss women, education and marriage, also seen through the heroines of *William Langshawe*, *Shirley* and *North and South*. In 1849 Jewsbury promised to vent her frustrations over the woman’s question in her third novel; ‘I’ll be hanged if I don’t ease my mind in the next book I write!’<sup>88</sup> Jewsbury does this effectively through her examination of the nature of marriage and social respectability through the relationship of the Arls, (caricatures of the Paulets.)<sup>89</sup> The facile marriage of Hilda and Glynton for a ‘house...park and position in the world;’ Lady Wollaston’s adulterous affair with Albert, and Nancy Arl’s mercenary philosophy about marrying for social advancement. Like the portrayal of Alice’s marriage in *The Half Sisters*, Hilda’s is also compared to a prostitute: ‘wherein does she differ (except that she makes a better bargain) from the wretched woman who, from their necessities, sell themselves for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread?’ (2:32) *William Langshawe* also incorporates these analogies as the market depreciation, leads to Edith Langshawe being used as a bargaining tool to gain capital for her father’s factor.

In *Marian Withers*, Jewsbury uses Marian’s courtship and alliance with Cunningham to emphasise the need for association and unity between women and men and masters and men. Their marriage represents the union of the daughter of an industrialist with a

---

<sup>88</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p279.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p339.

gentleman, symbolising hope for future achievement of humanitarian ideals through this resulting upward mobility.<sup>90</sup>

### Victorian Respectability: Symbols of Industrial Success

Jewsbury was vociferous against what she termed the ‘antiseptic principle’ of respectability also evident in *Zoe* and *The Half Sisters*, believing success came from motivation and hard work, not money and status.<sup>91</sup> She disliked the hypocrisy surrounding society’s perception of respectability, especially towards women and marriage. The manufacturers in *William Langshawe*, all self-made men, reflect the need for status and wealth explored in *Marian Withers* and other industrial novels. The pride exhibited by Langshawe, ‘I’ve earned all my money by the sweat of my brow; and I don’t care who knows it,’(1:18) is contrasted to Ainsley’s embarrassment about the vulgarity of the cotton-lords who like Bounderby in *Hard Times*, make money from the ‘trade of the times.’ (2:419)

Jewsbury develops this theme in *Marian Withers*, where all the masters were spinners with the exception of Cunningham (second-generation mill owner). Withers maintains his work ethic and enforces his maxim of education onto his workers, illustrating that his rise was made possible through his gift of literacy. Despite having no personal desire for social advancement, Withers’ expectations for Marian are higher: ‘like all men of his class, who had raised themselves up, he set an immense value upon book learning and cultivated manners.’ (2:81-2). He wanted her to be educated, genteel but not fashionably idle. Just as in *William Langshawe*, Jewsbury’s early industrialists were not interested in fashionable society; Withers forbade Marian a trip to Bath

---

<sup>90</sup> For detailed discussion about women’s issues in *Marian Wither* see Lehmbeck.

because it was above her station in life and served no purpose. These principles were seen by Mill in *The Principles of Political Economy* (1848) as imitating the position of the aristocracy. Mill saw the numbers passing from ‘the class of the occupied rich to that of the unoccupied,’ was increasing rapidly, illustrated by Fanny and Mrs Thornton in *North and South*.<sup>92</sup>

It is through Cunningham that Jewsbury introduces the idea of moving from ones station, not just financially, but socially through culture and refinement. When Cunningham becomes Withers’ partner he cultivates a sense of taste and culture amongst the mill owners, who want to be seen as progressive, genteel and respectable. They show a ‘fetish worship’ which developed a ‘taste for art, and a respect for cultivation of the intellect.’(3:239-40) Stone also highlights the advantages of increased wealth with institutes ‘for the promotion of knowledge, art and science’ and the ‘exercise of humanity.’(1:182) Nonetheless, she calls Balshawe and Langshawe members of the *Cottonocracy* because they exhibit wealth and influence through trade, not birth and education. Gaskell also portrays Thornton’s desire to have fame as well as wealth, to be known in ‘foreign countries and faraway seas.’ Ones station questions the complicity between art and social injustice.

In the same way that mill owners looked to art, education and culture as a sign of success, workers were encouraged by Withers and Cunningham to gain principles of self-belief and respect. Through their improvements, highlighted at the close of the novel, Jewsbury makes her moral point: time and effort on behalf of masters and men are needed before reaping the rewards of hard labour. Workers are given a ‘lyceum’

---

<sup>91</sup> For the full quotation, see Ireland, *Letters* p181-2.



and reading room with volumes and newspapers and are provided with a schoolmaster for evening instruction. Jewsbury emphasises that through the introduction of basic education, interest spreads, ‘with education came also enlightened ideas of self-control and self-government.’ She was aware that when workers stopped spending wages on ‘sensual dissipation’ through ‘idleness and drunkennes,’ improvements would be made in their ‘habits and manners,’ making them ‘belong to a different race of beings’ (3:241) This form of civilisation, characterised by Mill as ‘the capacity of co-operation,’ was seen through the associative principles within *Marian Withers* and *North and South*.<sup>93</sup> These humanist principles were also adhered to by James Kay-Shuttleworth’s recommendation of 1832 that cited captains of industry should take responsibility for their workers to ‘stimulate the appetite for useful knowledge.’ Cleanliness, clothing and nutrition were identified as contributions ‘every capitalist’ could make to the ‘happiness of those in his employment.’<sup>94</sup> Principles which accorded basic human needs to workers (a point female novelists extended to include women) and first discussed in industrial fiction in *Marian Withers*, later developed in *North and South* and *Hard Times*. Gaskell and Dickens explored this point through comparative living standards contrasting Stephen Blackpool’s and Betsy Higgins’ struggles with the opulence of Bounderby and Fanny Thornton.

Through comparing philosophies of mill owners Sykes, Higginbottom and Wilcox; the improvements of the ‘working master’ and ‘gentleman master’ Cunningham and Withers; and the realities of joint-stock investment, Jewsbury exposes her dislike of competitive, capitalist industry where workers are undervalued and uneducated.

---

<sup>92</sup> J.S. Mill, *The Principles of Political Economy*, vol., 2 Book 4, Ch 6, p310. This was part of a broader changing economic, Mill termed the ‘stationary state.’

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p247.

<sup>94</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth, 1832, p63.

*Marian Withers* highlights Jewsbury's contempt for middle class respectability depicted through the wealthy Arls and Albert and Lady Wollaston's affair. Yet most powerfully, through her arguments for female vocation and the union of Cunningham and Marian, Jewsbury highlights the place for associative behaviour, not only amongst masters and men, but between men and women. Therefore, *Marian Withers* is not only an under-read industrial novel that demands a more important and significant place within the genre it helps define, but, it is also transitional in effecting the emphasis of the industrial novel of the 1850s, focusing on the masters' perspective and the need for reform through education and association. Therefore, as a novelist, Jewsbury developed her ability to relate her work to wider contemporary debates, and in the case of *Marian Withers*, Jewsbury pre-empted changes to the genre through emphasis on co-operative reform.

Moreover, Jewsbury's first three novels not only highlight her technical development as a writer, but also her engagement with the main controversial social debates of her age. As a novelist, Jewsbury was therefore acutely appreciative of her public position and the influence her writing could have upon readers. These were concerns Jewsbury was also aware of in her role as reviewer and publisher's reader, where she developed the skills she had acquired as a novelist, in order to broaden her experience and professionalism in the marketplace. Therefore it will now be argued that Jewsbury's anonymous and private roles as reader and reviewer, consolidated her reputation in the literary and publishing marketplace, and led to her developing professionalism as an all round woman of letters.

## Chapter Six

### Entering the Critical Arena: Public and Private Professional

It has been shown that Jewsbury's reputation and success as a novelist enabled her to develop and explore further skills as a reviewer and reader during the 1850's onwards. Her connection with editors and publishers such as Dickens, Jerrold and Bentley and her articles for prominent magazines, led to a widening of her writing experience with an offer to write for the *Athenaeum*. It is important to study Jewsbury's position as a reviewer, which she held for thirty-one years, because it forms a large part of her developing professionalism in the market. Reviewing is an overlooked area of study that is a significant literary and cultural activity, which develops writer's skills, ideas and talents, forged throughout fiction.<sup>1</sup> Jewsbury's role is best appreciated through its reflection of diverse literary tastes and trends and for its insight into the criteria of literary assessment. Moreover, it is important to assess Jewsbury's contribution to two main areas of Victorian literary criticism: sensationalism and children's literature.

As fiction reviewer for the *Athenaeum*, Jewsbury consolidated the professional identity she had established as an author.<sup>2</sup> Her fiction reviews reflect the nature of critical judgement during the 'age of periodicals' embodying an essentially conservative cultural and literary opinion.<sup>3</sup> Many reviewers believed that works of art should make society look at 'itself in the glass.'<sup>4</sup> As such, Jewsbury's reviews have

---

<sup>1</sup> The most recent studies about Victorian literary criticism are Thompson's *Reviewing Sex*, 1997 and Mark W. Turner, *Trollope and the Magazines: Gender Issues in Mid-Victorian Britain*, Macmillan, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Jewsbury was appointed by T.K Hervey in 1848, but also worked for: William Hepworth- Dixon (1853-69), Dr John Doran (1869), Norman MacColl (1870- till the end of her career).

<sup>3</sup> Wilkie Collins, 'The Unknown Public,' *Household Words*, August 21<sup>st</sup> 1858, p222.

<sup>4</sup> R.H Hutton, 'The Empire of Novels,' *Spectator*, 9, (1869),p p43-4.

been identified as ‘mirrors’ to mid-Victorian literary preference reflecting contemporary critical literary culture.<sup>5</sup> They are an essential part of her public and private development as a professional, influential critic. In order to understand Jewsbury’s position within a male dominated field it is first necessary to examine the complex nature of the market.

The mid-Victorian era was one of close relations between author, publisher and critic, making Jewsbury’s diverse but versatile skills as reader, reviewer and author invaluable.<sup>6</sup> Ironically, she saw her post at the *Athenaeum* as temporary, ‘this desultory writing for the Athenaeum does not employ all my time, nor is it likely to last.’<sup>7</sup> Yet, out of twenty-six women reviewing for the magazine during 1840-80, Jewsbury was the only permanent female reviewer.<sup>8</sup> She preceded other women writers, such as Millicent Garrett-Fawcett and Katherine Mansfield, who along with editor Norman MacColl and Charles Wentworth Dilke, contributed to the feminist

<sup>5</sup> Frckstedt, Monica Correa, *Geraldine Jewsbury’s Athenaeum Reviews, A Mirror of Mid-Victorian Attitudes to Fiction*, Upsala, 1986.

<sup>6</sup> Jewsbury’s mixed skills as reader, reviewer and author were rare. Despite examples of novelists who were also reviewers (Henry James, Bulwer-Lytton, Dickens, Eliot, Craik and Oliphant) or authors who were editors (Dickens, Thackeray and Eliot) there are no other examples of women involved in all three roles.

<sup>7</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p427.

<sup>8</sup> Below is a table compiled from *Athenaeum* reviews of the number of female reviewers and their reviews, which indicates that Jewsbury wrote the most reviews over the longest period:

Reviewer	Dates	Nos.	Reviewer	Dates	Nos.
Austin, Miss Sarah	1845, 48, 49	16	Kavanagh, Julia	1847	4
Costello, Lousia Stuart	1842, 43, 45	21	Lawrence, Hannah	1830-50	214
Crosse, Cornelia	1865	2	Linton, Eliza Linn	1859	2
Dilke, Mrs Maria	1849	1	Loudon, Mrs Jane	1853	1
Dixon, Mrs	1860	1	Love, Miss E	1856	27
Deron, Florence	1865	1	Morgan, Lady Sidney	1840s	130
Eden, Mrs Lena	1860-4	142	Mulock, Dinah	1848	24
Fawcett, Dame Millicent	1870-1	4	Nichols, Mrs	1862	3
Hervey, Anna	1846	1	Sinnet, Mrs	1840, 60	9
Jameson, Anna	1843	1	Taylor, Mrs Ada	1860	1
Jewsbury, Geraldine	1849-80	2,300	Williams, Jane	1854-60	188

tone of the magazine.<sup>9</sup> Jewsbury's letters to Dixon reveal her talent for forming professional friendships (repeated with Bentley) and her increased enjoyment and confidence for reviewing.<sup>10</sup> At this time, the critic's role increased in relation to the number of readers and writers in the market.<sup>11</sup> With over 50,000 journals published between 1824-1900, every area of human activity was documented and debated, with serials and reviews forming a large proportion of the 'craze' of literary criticism.<sup>12</sup> Matthew Arnold argued that all political and social parties were represented through British periodicals, with 'every faction has, as such, its organ of criticism.'<sup>13</sup> This form of market segmentation meant there was not one periodical that solely dominated.

As a reviewer, Jewsbury formed part of this 'public mind' as a 'middleman' between author and reader and a 'representative spokesman of the public' and 'interpreter of genius.'<sup>14</sup> (Transferable skills also utilised as a reader, see Chapter Seven.) However, Jewsbury entered a profession that was to attract its own criticism during her career with claims of unaccountability and 'discredit from overcrowding.'<sup>15</sup> Lucas Collins

---

<sup>9</sup> Marysa Demoor highlights the contribution of these women writers to the *Athenaeum* (including Emilia Dilke, Jane Harrison and Augusta Webster) and the influence of MacColl and Dilke upon the feminist tone of the magazine from 1870 onwards. Consult, *Their Fair Share: Women, Power and Criticism in the Athenaeum, from Millicent Garrett Fawcett to Katherine Mansfield, 1870-1920*, Ashgate, 2000.

<sup>10</sup> UCLA, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1867, April 14<sup>th</sup> 1861 and see Chapter Seven.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Wolff noted that, 'as periodical literature became increasingly widespread and important, book-reviewing assumed an increasingly important role as a channel of information and opinion,' Michael Wolff (Ed.), *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1959, p270.

<sup>12</sup> Rosemary T. Vanarsdel and J. Don. Vann (Ed.), *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research*, 1978, p3. Vanarsdel states that the age 'portrays itself' through this wealth of periodical literature. In 1865 there were 554 periodicals and 1271 newspapers, consult Alva, Ellegård, 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain,' *GUA*, 63, (1957), p3.

<sup>13</sup> Erickson, p73.

<sup>14</sup> Q.D Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public*, Chatto & Windus, 1965, p26 and Juliet Devine Jump, 'Weekly Reviewing in the Eighteen Sixties,' *Review of English Studies*, 3, (1952), p261 and Anon, 'Recent Works of Fiction,' *Prospective Review*, 9, (1853), p229-47.

<sup>15</sup> Henry James, 'The Art of Fiction,' *Longman's Magazine*, September, (1884), p506. Also see, Edward Bulwer-Lytton's 'On art in Fiction,' 1838, in Edwin M. Eigner (Ed.), *Victorian Criticism of the Novel*,

complained in *Blackwood's* in 1859, about reviews perpetuating weak criticism by enabling 'readers of the review to talk in second-hand criticism of books that they have never read.'<sup>16</sup> Lewes reiterated the view that 'mediocrity increases the production of mediocrity,' emphasising critics' responsibility for the 'lowered' standard, dismissing 'half-contemptuous, half-languid patronage of what we do not seriously admire.'<sup>17</sup> Lewes tried to elevate the profession of literature, including authors and reviewers, by claiming that 'in the present state of things a man who had health, courage, and ability, can earn by literature the income of a gentleman.'<sup>18</sup>

Despite challenges to the profession, reviewers exerted authority and influence over the reading and literary practices of mid-Victorian Britain. As a female reviewer, Jewsbury's criticism was influential to novelists and publishers, especially Bentley who targeted female readers.<sup>19</sup> However, Jewsbury's critical authority was related to her adoption of an established critical code and must therefore be examined through a cultural understanding of the influences upon her professionalism: anonymity and gender.

### **Professional Masks: Anonymity, Pseudonyms and the Critical Code**

Jewsbury's reputation as a successful circulating library novelist was widespread in public and professional circles.<sup>20</sup> However, her work as reviewer and reader was

---

Cambridge University Press, 1985, p38 and Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography*, John Lovell Company, New York, 1883, p189.

<sup>16</sup> W. Lucas Collins, Review of *Adam Bede*, *Blackwoods Magazine*, April, (1859), p494.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p352-3.

<sup>18</sup> G.H Lewes, 'Condition of Authors in England, Germany and France,' *Frasers Magazine*, 35,(1847), p285-6. Altick claims that reviewers could earn up to £300 p.a. which elevated them beyond middle class earnings. Consult, R.D Altick, *The Sociology of Authorship: The Social Origins, Education, and Occupations of One Thousand British Writers, 1800-1935*, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 66, (1962), p389-404.

<sup>19</sup> See Chapter Seven.

<sup>20</sup> Lewes wrote about Jewsbury's popularity as a novelist in 1850, see p1.

anonymous, raising fundamental questions about the nature of her critical writing and the development of her public, professional persona. It is important to understand the contentious nature of the mid-Victorian critical arena and the significance of the debate about anonymity and gender in order to appreciate Jewsbury's role and contribution as a reviewer.<sup>21</sup> Whilst the *Athenaeum* traditionally supported anonymity, the *Fortnightly Review's* abandonment of anonymity in 1865 triggered a public debate. As Editor, Lewes outlined his belief in 'full and free expression' of opinion, and reviewer responsibility: 'he will be asked to say what he really thinks and really feels, to say it as his own responsibility, and to leave its appreciation to the public.'<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the premise of the debate over anonymity rested with unaccountability.<sup>23</sup> Trollope, writing for the *Fortnightly Review*, believed reviewers should not hide behind the 'reputation and authorial name of the magazine,' and in 1883, exposed the system as 'very bad indeed...so bad as to be open to the charge both of dishonesty and incapacity. Books are criticised without being read - are criticised by favour - and are trusted by editors to the criticism of the incompetent.'<sup>24</sup> Trollope demanded individual accountability, arguing that a 'corporate identity,' gives 'weight' to incompetent reviewers and even persuaded Blackwood to test his belief, issuing two novels *Nina Balatka* (1866) and *Linda Tressel* (1867) under pseudonyms to see if they would succeed without his name.<sup>25</sup> He concluded that irrespective of standard, it was incredibly difficult for novels to gain critical approval without a reputable name. G.H. Guest, recapitulated the influence of reputation noting in *Belgravia* in 1869: 'a man

---

<sup>21</sup> For recent discussion about anonymous writing see Catherine A. Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England,' in John Jordan and Robert Patten, (Eds.), *Literature in the Market Place, Nineteenth Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, C.U.P, 1995, p250-68.

<sup>22</sup> Editorial Preface to first edition, *Fortnightly Review*, 1, (1865). Other contributors were Trollope, Eliot, Meredith, Huxley, Walter Bagehot and Conway.

<sup>23</sup> See Thomas Hughes, 'Anonymous Journalism,' *Macmillan's Magazine*, December, 5, (1861), p157-168, and Emilè Zola, 'Anonymity in Literature,' *The Times*, 23<sup>rd</sup> September, (1893), p6-9.

<sup>24</sup> Anthony Trollope, 'On Anonymous Literature,' *Fortnightly Review*, 1, (1865), p491-98 and *Autobiography*, p140.

who had a *name* may relax his mind, while he fills his pocket even of the veriest trash.’<sup>26</sup>

However, Jewsbury upheld a belief in anonymity within reviewing. Despite praising Trollope’s *Three Clerks* (1857) for making his characters ‘stand up right on their feet, as real men and woman should,’ she criticised *The Claverings* (1867) for its lack of realism, showing no attachment to reputation.<sup>27</sup> Jewsbury used her name within fiction but understood the value of anonymity in her role as reviewer and reader.<sup>28</sup> As a reader, she asked Bentley to transcribe her reports when writing directly to the author to preserve her anonymity; ‘let my notes be copied as she knows my writing.’<sup>29</sup> Her comment highlights a cautious understanding that although anonymous, reviewers and readers were not exempt from recognition.

For Jewsbury, anonymity was therefore a shroud to critical honesty enabling a clear indication of her beliefs, opinions and literary tastes. Yet, as her review of Anne Thackeray’s *Story of Elizabeth* (1863) illustrates, not all reviewing was anonymous. Jewsbury objected to the ‘unconscious indifference’ with which Anne Thackeray portrayed a mother-daughter’s ‘domestic love duel’ for the hero. Its ‘hard, arid spirit’ affected the reader ‘like an unseasonable frost.’<sup>30</sup> Although Jewsbury anticipated better work, her encouragement did not quell William Thackeray’s paternal pride. He assumed the reviewer to be friend, John Cordy Jeaffreson, and was considerably

---

<sup>25</sup> Michael Wolff (Ed.), *1859: Entering a Crisis*, p271.

<sup>26</sup> G.H Guest, ‘Writing for Money,’ *Belgravia*, 8, (1869), p573.

<sup>27</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> Decmeber 1857, *Athenaeum* p1621 and 15<sup>th</sup> June 1867 p783.

<sup>28</sup> Jewsbury’s suggested the pseudonym ‘Gerald Endor’ but gauged the advantage of signing her fiction at a time when women dominated the market, see Ireland, *Letters* p158-9. Oliphant also understood this, employing her name to sell her books, but like Jewsbury, when reviewing anonymity was paramount: ‘Anonymity is a great institution - I think I shall go in for that henceforth in everything but novels.’ Blackwoods MS 4266 1870 National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

<sup>29</sup> BM 46, 657, (125), 12<sup>th</sup> December 1864.



annoyed. This incident exposes the fact identity was not necessarily anonymous within the industry and reputation and nepotism were almost expected as products of success. Jewsbury judged the manuscript fairly, uninfluenced by reputation, cohering to the principles of anonymity as a standard within literary criticism. As this example illustrates, nepotism and ‘puffery’ were therefore common objections to anonymity.<sup>31</sup>

Even Oliphant, took advantage of her professional position to aid friends in the industry and was accused by Blackwood of ‘puffing’ favourite authors.<sup>32</sup> In contrast, Jewsbury used her anonymity for professional opinions of novels, even if written by friends. Her review of Elizabeth Paulet’s *Dharma: Three Phases of Love* (1865) highlights such professionalism.<sup>33</sup> Even though she stated her enthusiasm for the author (making herself accountable) Jewsbury criticised the unsuitability of the love scene as it might ‘cause a conflagration on the book-shelves of the Library.’<sup>34</sup> As a reviewer, Jewsbury considered the moral needs of the reader, despite the fact that ironically her own novel, *Zoe*, had been removed from library shelves in Manchester in 1845 for fear of influencing young men.<sup>35</sup> Jewsbury’s anonymity enabled her honesty and informed her professional understanding of the moral and social responsibilities of authors, reviewers and publishers.

---

<sup>30</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> April 1863, *Athenaeum*, p552-3.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Puffery’ was used to denote unwarranted flattery by reviewers of texts by family or friends.

<sup>32</sup> Blackwood was critical of Oliphant’s reviews in “The Old Saloon.” See Vineta & Robert Colby, *Equivocal Virtue*, p166. Oliphant’s denial is less convincing in light of her private letters of 1892, which indicate a willingness to aid friends in the business: ‘Of course for my little friend George Nugent Banker, as well as for my other friend whom you mention, Dr Boyd and Miss Ritchie, I should be delighted to say everything that is good.’ Blackwood Manuscripts, BL, MSS 4592, September 21<sup>st</sup> and October 28<sup>th</sup> 1892.

<sup>33</sup> Bettina Lehmbeck, *Studies in Geraldine Jewsbury's Fiction with particular attention to the Woman's Question*, Edinburgh, M.Lit, 1988, Appendix.

<sup>34</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> June 1865, *Athenaeum*, p777.

<sup>35</sup> Jewsbury described the reception of her novel to George Bentley in May 1880, it was, ‘put in a *dark cupboard* in the Manchester Library of that day - because *Zoe* was calculated to injure the morals of the young men.’ Michael Sadleir, *Nineteenth Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Record*, Constable, London, 1951, p193 and see Chapter Two.

### Impersonating the Dominant Critical Code

Critics have associated women in the marketplace with a ‘muted group, asserting a presence via the ‘dominant idiom’ found within the public discourse of literary criticism.<sup>36</sup> Women reviewers like Jewsbury and Oliphant adopted the established tone of a magazine as part of the dominant hegemony of the profession.<sup>37</sup> Any examination of Jewsbury’s reviews exposes her use of this established persona, writing ‘as we have said,’ or ‘we would like to know,’ associating her with an influential body of critics.<sup>38</sup> Her confidence is apparent through her reports, many of which advise authors they ‘could do better.’ K .S Macquoid, author of *Hester Kirton*, ‘gives the promise of more than she fulfils at present...the author can, and, we expect, will, do better next time.’<sup>39</sup> This role as mediator between reader and author was accentuated through Jewsbury’s anonymity and connection to the body of the magazine.

Oliphant parallels Jewsbury as a long-standing female reviewer of the mid-Victorian period, heralded as a ‘matriarchal watch-dog for middle class morality;’ the literary equivalent of Queen Victoria.<sup>40</sup> During her fifty years at *Blackwoods*, she also assumed the dominant tone of the magazine, which she considered ‘the most manly

---

<sup>36</sup> This is the view of Mary Crawford and Roger Chaffin as quoted in Elizabeth. A Flynn and Patrocínio P. Schwieckart, *Gender and Reading Essays on readers, Texts and Context*, John Hopkins University Press, 1992, pxvi.

<sup>37</sup> I am referring to Jewsbury’s use of a male tone as that which was indicative of the dominant style of reviewing at the time. Men dominated the role and therefore Jewsbury naturally imitated the established critique by using ‘we’ instead of ‘I.’

<sup>38</sup> This was a register Dixon used and would have been familiar to Jewsbury within the magazine. See Dixon, ‘Review of *Marian Withers*,’ *Athenaeum*, 30<sup>th</sup> August 1851, p920-1. It was also something she developed whilst writing for Dickens, see Chapter Two.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 11<sup>th</sup> June 1864, p804.

<sup>40</sup> ‘New Books,’ *Blackwood’s Magazine*, (July), 1875, p99.

Many of Oliphant’s reviews demonstrate her moral and social concerns; she felt that authors should be ‘moral guardians.’ D.J.Trela (ed) *Margaret Oliphant: Critical Essays on a Gentle Subversive*, S.U.P, 1995.

and masculine of magazine.’<sup>41</sup> Oliphant’s use of this persona was a professional decision, whereby she imagined ‘herself into a male perspective.’ Her review ‘sought authority by disguising itself as a male voice’ as part of ‘critical cross-dressing.’<sup>42</sup> Both Jewsbury and Oliphant adopted a dominant authority, so much so that the ‘voice of female critics was often indistinguishable from those of their male peers.’<sup>43</sup> Braddon was also aware of the influence of this established voice and ‘wrote from an entirely masculine standpoint,’ when preparing an article on Zola.<sup>44</sup> The employment of the dominant male persona, seen as ‘literary transvestism,’ created an image of distance between reader, reviewer and author, which along with anonymity, enhanced Jewsbury’s authority as part of an established reviewing culture.<sup>45</sup> Therefore as a female reviewer, Jewsbury’s role gives important insight into the complex nature of gender and anonymity within the profession and contributes to an overall understanding of Mid-Victorian reviewing culture. However, the additional significance of studying Jewsbury’s reviewing is evident through a detailed examination of the reviews, which form a reflection of mid-Victorian attitudes to reading practices; an understanding of the nature of critical criteria and insight into the trends of sensationalism and children’s literature.

---

<sup>41</sup> Coghill, *Autobiography*, p160. In this sense she perceived some of her fiction as too feminine for the magazine, *The Days of My Life*, (1857), was not serialised by Blackwood because she considered the female protagonist too ‘womanish’ a story-teller.

<sup>42</sup> Elisabeth Jay, ‘A Woman in a Man’s World,’ in *Mrs Oliphant: A Fiction to Herself, A Literary Life*, Clarendon, 1995 p72-96.

<sup>43</sup> Thompson, *Reviewing Sex*, p112.

<sup>44</sup> BM MS ADD May 12<sup>th</sup> 1880, 58, 786 (61).

<sup>45</sup> Jay, p47.

Jewsbury's *Athenaeum* Reviews: 'The secret of a novel is a possession of the author and his reader.'<sup>46</sup>

Jewsbury's reviews represent a reflection of mid-Victorian reading tastes and trends and her influence upon the criteria for fiction from 1850's–1880's. As such, this wealth of material is evidence of Jewsbury's developing professionalism and is valuable to any interpretation of the significance of her career. Jewsbury was constantly aware of the reader and the variety of reading tastes and was also conscious to uphold a high literary standard and sense of instructive morality. Eliot remarked upon Jewsbury's 'copy-book morality' that heightened her reputation as a moral guardian of fiction.<sup>47</sup> As a creative author and a caustic and witty writer, Jewsbury also fulfilled Zola's expectations of good criticism:

In criticism, as we understand it, there is a creative function which distinguishes it from a mere summary or report. It calls for personal interpretation, for logical power, not to mention a very whole erudition. All this constitutes a very distinct individuality, capable of producing a work of its own.<sup>48</sup>

As author of eight novels and numerous magazine articles, Jewsbury had creative as well as critical talent. Her extensive education also made her a competent candidate for reviewing and professional reading.<sup>49</sup> Jewsbury's talent for reviewing resided in her ability to recommend novels for particular times, places and moods, enabling readers to select suitable fiction. *Annis Warleighs Fortune* was therefore recommended as a 'pleasant romantic reading for a winter evening,' whereas *Angelo* was 'not reading for the dog-days [hot weather.]'<sup>50</sup> The diversity of middle class reader's preferences was imbedded in Jewsbury's mind as she referred to some novels

<sup>46</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> October 1865, *Athenaeum*, p537.

<sup>47</sup> George Eliot, [Review of *Constance Herbert*] *Westminster Review*, 64, (1855), p294.

<sup>48</sup> A translation of Zola's speech at Lincoln's Inn Hall for the annual conference of the Institute of Journalism on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1893, is found in the *Times*, 23<sup>rd</sup> September, (1893), p6.

<sup>49</sup> See Chapter Seven for details of her education and its significance to her role as reader and reviewer.

as ‘High class’ or books ‘for the sea-side.’<sup>51</sup> Jewsbury’s awareness and consideration for the ‘multi-layered reading public’<sup>52</sup> was part of her professional role as reviewer, (and reader) but it was also recognised as an essential component for market success.<sup>53</sup> Yonge’s *The Chapel of Pearls* (1869) required ‘a painful effort of attention on the part of the reader,’ and was not suitable for all, whereas Russell Mitford’s *Atherton* (1854) ‘refreshes the reader like a drive in the country.’<sup>54</sup> Jewsbury’s categorisation of Yonge as Sunday school reading or ‘a cheap reward book for children, young people, or servants,’ suggests her insistence on strong moral guidance within fiction.<sup>55</sup> Her understanding of hierarchical readership is further demonstrated by Jewsbury’s review of *Framleigh Hall*, (1858):

We do not commend this book for scenes of strong interest or exciting incident - it may not be a popular circulating library book; but those readers who care for a higher class of reading will know how to appreciate it, and will be apt to return to it after they close the volume.<sup>56</sup>

Even though Jewsbury noticed this divide she appealed to all classes of readership. Even though she was conservative in her classification of literary texts, she did concur that reading was important, and should be accessible, to all. The recurrent endorsement of the novels Jewsbury reviewed rested upon three principles: morality, realism and entertainment. Novels were valued upon criteria gained from her

---

<sup>50</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> May 1854, *Athenaeum*, p585.

<sup>51</sup> See *Athenaeum* review of T. A Trollope’s *Guilio Malatesta: A Novel*, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1863, p767 and Mrs. Wood’s *Redcourt Farm*, 25<sup>th</sup> July 1868, p107. Q.D Leavis’ research into readership of the Victorian period highlights the ‘educated’ reader of Eliot and Reade as opposed to the lower-middle-class reader of Dickens, Thackeray and Trollope. See Leavis, p158.

<sup>52</sup> This term is also used by R. D Altick in ‘The Literature of an Imminent Democracy,’ in *1859: Entering an age of Crisis*, (ed) Michael Wolff, Indiana University Press, 1959, p215-228.

<sup>53</sup> Mudie divided readers into Class A and B depending on their financial subscription, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 1850, *Athenaeum*, p389. Thackeray wrote to Trollope about the need to consider the readers’ tastes at all times: ‘I often say I am like the pastry cook and don’t care for tarts, but prefer bread and cheese; but the public love the tarts (luckily for us), and we must bake and sell them.’ Trollope *My Autobiography*, 1883, p102. Refer to Chapter One.

<sup>54</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1869, *Athenaeum* p126 and 15<sup>th</sup> April 1854, p463.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1856, p1051. This is certainly true of Jewsbury’s view of children’s literature which has strong moral classifications, see later.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 21<sup>st</sup> August 1858, p232.

knowledge of the publishing and literary market and her understanding of the composition of novels. Her reviews are informal, developed from her early experience with *Household Words* and *DJSM*.<sup>57</sup> All 2,300 of Jewsbury's reviews should be seen in light of the context of their day but for ease of assessment can be divided according to subject matter.<sup>58</sup> Jewsbury assessed major and minor fiction, children's fiction, feminist works and non-fiction.<sup>59</sup> Her reviews follow a pattern: a general discussion of themes; a contemporary comment; digression or notice of an author's previous work; plot, character and style analysis; suitable readership and overall recommendation.<sup>60</sup> Her reviews concern the value judgements of narrative style, the composition of novels and expected response of the reading audience. As such, analysis of Jewsbury's reviews highlights that her criteria for morally entertaining and instructive writing welcomed the domestic novels of the 1850's but objected to sensation novels of the next decade.

**Literary Trends: 'A breath of country air after the heated atmosphere of ambitious sensation novels.'**<sup>61</sup>

Jewsbury recommended novels that were amusing, ('light') moral (not didactic) and realistic (not too life-like to be dull), but was aware of the limitations of her criteria.

---

<sup>57</sup> Consult Chapter Two.

<sup>58</sup> The division of her reviews makes them more accessible for research: major and minor fiction, books for the young, Christmas/gift books, translations, books on the Woman's Question, travel, American, French, religion, war, cookery, memories and correspondences, Bjönson's tales, minor minstrels and poetry. Also see p2, fn 6, of this thesis.

<sup>59</sup> I am indebted to Fryckstedt's *Geraldine Jewsbury's Athenaeum Reviews*, p90-160, which lists many of Jewsbury's reviews, and more recently London University's work on indexing the *Athenaeum*, for its comprehensive list. I have compiled the two for convenience and accuracy, which can be consulted in Appendix E. For Jewsbury's work on feminist novels see, Fryckstedt, 'New Sources on Geraldine Jewsbury and the Woman Question,' *Research Studies*, 51, (1983), p51-63 and Demoor for feminist reviewing at the *Athenaeum* from 1870 onwards.

<sup>60</sup> Eneas Dallas's dismissal of criticism in *The Gay Science* (1866) as a 'luxuriant wilderness' that 'yields nowhere the sure tokens of a science,' could be revised in light of Jewsbury's formulaic reviewing pattern.

<sup>61</sup> Anne Manning's *Meadowleigh* 30<sup>th</sup> January 1864, *Athenaeum*, p154.

Despite her literary appreciation, Jewsbury understood the business of novels and accepted trends as profitable.<sup>62</sup> She also understood the economics of the marketplace and was aware of the need for book and serials with immediate appeal. Her assessment of sensation literature is important for an understanding of the reaction of literary and cultural trends of the 1860's. The critical response to sensation novels has been well documented as a response to the increase of 'second rate' women writers.<sup>63</sup> With satirical cartoons of 'Lady Disorderly's Secret,' and *Punch's* parody, 'The Sensation Times and Chronicle of Excitement' (1863).<sup>64</sup> Jewsbury attacked sensation novels because they represented ill-constructed writing and were morally weak. Her cultural and literary disapproval is reflected in her reviews of Broughton, Braddon and Wood's novels. Jewsbury considered that Broughton did not put her 'heart and soul' into her writing but was financially motivated, predicting that her grip of the market would slip 'she will not hold her public forever.'<sup>65</sup> Even though the success of the sensation novel and novelist was temporal, Jewsbury understood the effect the trend had upon the market and more importantly women's involvement, and therefore

---

<sup>62</sup> Jewsbury was not alone in disliking the trend as other prominent women reviewers, Oliphant and Eliot also shared her opinion. See: 14<sup>th</sup> June 1860, *Athenaeum*, p50, George Eliot, 'Belles Lettres' *Westminster Review*, 30 (1866), p268-80, Margaret Oliphant, 'Novels,' *Blackwoods Magazine*, 102, (1867), p257, and 94, (1863), p168-83.

<sup>63</sup> For a selection see: Anon, 'The Perils of Sensation,' *Saturday Review*, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1864, p558-9, Anon, 'Sensation Novels,' *The Medical Critical and Psychological Journal*, 3, (1863), p513-9, Anon, 'Sensation Novelists: Miss Braddon,' *North British Review*, 43, (1865), p180-204, Holt Hutton, 'Sensation Novels,' *Spectator*, 8<sup>th</sup> August 1868, p931-2, Alfred Austin, 'Our Novels. The Sensation School,' *Temple Bar*, 29, (1870), p410-24, M.E.Braddon, 'The Sensation Novel,' *Argosy*, 18, (1874). Jeanne Fahnenstock 'Bigamy: The Rise and Fall of a Convention,' *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, 36, (1981), p47-71, Patrick Brantlinger, 'What is "Sensational" about the "Sensation Novel?"' *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, 37, (1982), p1-28, Lyn Pykett, *The 'Improper' Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing*, Routledge, 1992, Marlene Tromp, Pamela K Gilbert, Aeron Haynie, (eds) *Beyond Sensation, Mary Elizabeth Braddon in Context*, State University of New York Press, 2000 and Carnell.

<sup>64</sup> Bret Harte published an abridged version of Braddon's work, *Condensed Novels by Miss M.E. Braddon and Mrs H-n-y W-d*, Boston, 1871, cited in Winifred Hughes, *The Maniac in the Cellar Sensation Novels of the 1860s*, Princeton University Press, 1980, p70.

<sup>65</sup> Many writers complained about this as argued in Chapter One. BM 46, 655, (63-5), 9<sup>th</sup> January 1874.

recommended Bentley accept some of the best examples of their class, including Wood's *East Lynne* (1867).<sup>66</sup>

Although Jewsbury tolerated sensationalism because it made good business sense, she used her public forum in the *Athenaeum* to register her criticism. *Cometh Up as a Flower* (1867) made an 'offence against good taste or good feeling on every page,' whereas *My Wife's Pin Money* (1860) was written 'in a jargon...fit only for the waste paper basket.'<sup>67</sup> Jewsbury's most scathing attack of her objections to sensation fiction was printed in her review of *Only A Woman: A Story in Neutral Tint*:

'Neutral tint! Why, if dealing in a battle, and suicide, and sudden death, bigamy, broken hearts, delirium tremens, shipwreck, - with all the concomitant horrors of sharks and savages, every possible untoward complication of human events, - can be called writing a story in neutral tint, we would like to know what is meant by vivid colouring!'<sup>68</sup>

This sarcastic assault mocks the features of sensation fiction and the construction of unrealistic, immoral plots. For Jewsbury, there was a thin line between morality, amusement and sensationalism and she therefore advocated everything in moderation. Her criticism of Craik's *A Noble Life* (1866) was due to its over-compensation for sensationalism: 'in her determination to keep clear of sensational or emotional interest, the author has gone to the opposite extreme, and desired herself and her readers the lawful elements of human passion.'<sup>69</sup> For Jewsbury, emotion was essential to good writing, but excessive amounts formed her criticism of sensationalism because it promoted immorality and indecency.

'Ingrained coarseness' was prevalent in Bulwer-Linton's *Behind the Scenes*, and exposed the hub of Jewsbury's disapproval: 'It is not the vulgarity of mere manners

---

<sup>66</sup> As noted, Jewsbury was aware of all aspects of the business of publishing, argued in Chapter Seven.

<sup>67</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> April 1867, *Athenaeum*, p515 and 6th October 1860, p449.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1860, p15.



and customs; but the innate vulgarity, destitute of all humour and insight into reality which recoils upon the writer without at all reflecting upon the character of circumstances they profess to illustrate.’<sup>70</sup> Jewsbury was adamant that the manner in which topics were conveyed, the moral of sensation novels, was vital to the tone of the text and reproached Craik’s ‘morbid sentimentalism’ in *Two Marriages* (1867). Jewsbury warned writers ‘to guard against, as it lessens the worth and value of her moral teaching.’<sup>71</sup> As noted, Jewsbury disliked Broughton’s *Cometh Up* for its ‘all pervading coarseness,’ which should not be put ‘into the hands of girls with a view to what some one calls “their beneficial amusement.” It was the ‘free and unrestrained utterance’ of Broughton’s expression and use of ‘slang’ which annoyed Jewsbury. Yet, interestingly, Bentley had already accepted this novel for publication, before consulting Jewsbury’s opinion as his reader, and this more than likely fuelled Jewsbury’s dislike:<sup>72</sup>

There is a sensual sentimentality, self-indulged emotion, and a morbid scepticism, with dashes of equally morbid religious emotion...a lack of knowledge of character of human nature... On every page there is some offence against good taste or good feeling.<sup>73</sup>

Jewsbury’s objection to the ‘vulgarity’ of the sensation novel is seen through her use of ‘sentimentality,’ ‘sensual’ ‘taste’ and ‘self-indulged emotion.’ The fact she repeats ‘morbid’ also emphasises her belief that this novel did not encourage moral strength. Typically, Jewsbury’s commentary on sensationalism is inconsistent. Even though overall she disliked the genre, she had exceptions. Reade’s *The Cloister and the Hearth* (1861) was filled with an ‘overflowing of adventure...the most marvellous and heart-thrilling description,’ which Jewsbury praised as a positive literary

---

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1866 ,p296.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 15<sup>th</sup> April 1854, p460.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 9<sup>th</sup> March 1867, p317.

<sup>72</sup> For a fuller discussion of this event see Chapter Seven.

<sup>73</sup> 20th April 1867, *Athenaeum*, p514 –5.

technique. It had ‘dangers so imminent and escapes so hair breadth, that the reader will feel almost as nervous as if they had ended fatally.’<sup>74</sup> She therefore saw Reade’s ability to create suspense as an asset of sensationalism, also observed in Willke Collins and Jeaffreson. *Olive Blake’s Good Work* (1862) prevented the reader from ‘seeing too far before him;’ a device developed by detective fiction.<sup>75</sup> Despite her overall acceptance of sensationalism, for reasons of popularity and profitability, Jewsbury adamantly maintained her high standards by demanding good, amusing and moral literature. Jewsbury’s inconsistent standards about women readers and writers is intriguing, especially for a woman who represented an unconventional modern image of womanhood. Even though her standards were not always politically correct (in reference to the unsuitability of novels for certain classes or women) they reflect a society and marketplace where views about women’s reading was evidently being challenged.

### Constructive Criticism

Jewsbury informed Dixon that she was a ‘foolometer’ for literary works but despite her criticisms she encouraged potential talent.<sup>76</sup> She identified Le Fanu’s *Wylder’s Hand* (1864) and Mrs Trollope’s *Clever Woman* (1854) as talented novels needing development.<sup>77</sup> Mrs Mackenzie Daniels’ was ‘clever enough to write a better novel, if she would only take the pains to settle beforehand what she is going to write about, and to weave the plot of her story less loosely.’<sup>78</sup> Being able to spot potential was obviously very useful when assessing manuscripts in her role as publisher’s reader

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1861, p576.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 1st February 1862, p150.

<sup>76</sup> UIUC 28<sup>th</sup> February 1868.

<sup>77</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> March 1864, *Athenaeum* p372 and 5<sup>th</sup> August 1854, p969 respectively.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 9<sup>th</sup> April 1859, p484.

and much like the Bentley reports, her reviews condemn, recommend or advise revision through constructive criticism. *Marrying for Money* (1862) needed a structural make-over; ‘the want of a strong, firm hand is evident throughout the book, to bring the incidents together, to give purpose and unity to the story, and to make it as good as it has the capabilities for being made.’<sup>79</sup> *Annis Warleigh’s Fortune* (1864) lacked coherency, ‘the story branches off into several streams, and it is not pleasant to be dragged away from people and places we like, to follow fresh courses.’<sup>80</sup>

Some of Jewsbury’s criticisms are caustic and sharp highlighting her confidence, enhanced by her anonymous authority. George Herbert’s *Gerald Fitzgerald* (1858) received the sharp edge of her pen, criticised as a ‘foolish story - it is also a long one.’ His characters were compared to, ‘effaced slides in a magic lantern but make no nearer approach to human beings.’<sup>81</sup> Le Fanu’s *All in the Dark* (1866) laboured under ‘humming and hawing,’ a term Jewsbury used to describe slang and conventional dialects that were, ‘even more annoying in print than even in speech.’<sup>82</sup> She also criticised Gaskell’s *A Dark Night’s Work* (1863) as a ‘wearying morsel from week to week,’ which was ‘like a wine that had become flat when the bottle is corked and uncorked day after day.’<sup>83</sup> Gaskell confessed to Dickens’ that she did not suit serialisation and Jewsbury agreed, pronouncing her book as ‘painfully depressing,’ which did nothing to ‘brace up or stimulate any brave or heroic impulse.’<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 28<sup>th</sup> June 1862 p851.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1864, p118.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 24<sup>th</sup> April 1858, p530.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 30<sup>th</sup> June 1866, p860.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 28<sup>th</sup> February 1863, p291.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 30<sup>th</sup> May 1863, p708 and Jenny Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell, A Habit of Stories*, Faber & Faber, 1993, p360-1.

However, Jewsbury's outright criticisms were most discouraging; 'we cannot recommend our readers to invest either their time or their eyesight in reading *Matrimonial Shipwrecks* - the title is decidedly the best part of the book.'<sup>85</sup> These criticisms expose her concern for the 'numerous ill considered...rough and ready slapdash' novels which 'too many modern novelists affect,' contributing to her criteria for better fiction.<sup>86</sup> Nonetheless, Jewsbury insisted she represent a model for her own criteria and would correct her *Athenaeum* proofs because 'when people are abused they have a right to expect good grammar.'<sup>87</sup>

### **Criteria: Realism, Morality and Entertainment**

Jewsbury's reviewing criteria therefore enforced her dislike of sensationalism. Her tripartite standard of realism, morality and entertainment reflected cultural demands during the 1850's. The publication of David Masson's *British Novelists and their Styles* (1859) saw realism as a test of a novel's success, based upon memorable, realistic characters.<sup>88</sup> Jewsbury's affinity to realism is made obvious by any reading of her reviews that praise 'life-like' characters. Whilst *Brother Paul* (1864) was acclaimed for reading 'very like actual experience,' Craik's *Faith Unwin's Ordeal* (1866) highlighted the authoress knew 'little of life' as her characters bore 'too little resemblance to human nature to enlist the sympathy of the reader.'<sup>89</sup> Jewsbury's understanding of the subtlety of realism is displayed through her review of Adolphus Trollope's *La Beta* in 1861, which read like an 'entirely true story' with 'every touch of description' emphasising 'bright and graphic reality.' She advocated his realistic

<sup>85</sup> Annette Mallaird's *Matrimonial Shipwrecks* 29th July 1854, *Atheaneum*, p940.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1866, p765, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1854, p310 and 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1868, p587.

<sup>87</sup> MP 320/a 10<sup>th</sup> July 1859.

<sup>88</sup> David Masson, *British Novelists and their Styles*, Macmillan, 1859.

<sup>89</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> March 1864, *Athenaeum*, p330 and 20<sup>th</sup> January 1866, p89.

depiction of life: 'the whole story seems to be quite true - only it is told so well it has the fascination of a novel.'<sup>90</sup> However, Jewsbury was aware that realism could be too naturalistic, approving of 'scenes of real life within fiction that were not so real as to be dull.' The characters' lives in George Macdonald's *Seaboard Parish* are 'made precisely of the same as our own,' and therefore Jewsbury predicted the reader's demand for a 'little more story and a little less sermon.'<sup>91</sup> Consequently, Jewsbury admired realistic writing placed within a fictional world, something Oliphant's *Matthew Paxton* failed to create; 'in a attempt to be real he has become literal.'<sup>92</sup>

Novels also had to exert an 'agreeable influence upon the reader.'<sup>93</sup> *Violet Osborne* (1865), despite being neither 'strong' or of 'salient interest,' was a novel Jewsbury believed could be 'read with pleasure' and 'safely given to young people.'<sup>94</sup> Mrs S. C. Hall's *A Woman's Story* (1857) also had a high moral tone throughout and was suitable to be 'placed in the hands of young persons who are not licensed to read fiction as a rule.'<sup>95</sup> Her concern for moral guidance exposes much about Jewsbury's perception of the influence of reading but is also attributable to her understanding of Mudie's influence. As a professional reader she attached importance to Mudie's conservative preferences which dictated market sales and as such her criteria reflect and emphasise the moral tone gauged by Mudie as a requirement of his readers.<sup>96</sup> Gettman has suggested that this prudish portrayal of the mid-Victorian public reflected the 'unduly anxious' publishers and booksellers. Nonetheless, Jewsbury

---

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 4<sup>th</sup> May 1861 p628.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 5<sup>th</sup> September 1868 p298.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1854, p1138.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 5<sup>th</sup> November 1864, p598.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 26<sup>th</sup> May 1865, p633.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 1<sup>st</sup> August 1857, p971.

<sup>96</sup> Refer to Chapter One.

echoed other authors, literary reviewers and journalists of the time, who also felt this moral responsibility.

Wilkie Collins commented on the increased reading public of the 1860's in *Household Words*, arguing that it was best to teach this 'lost literary tribe' how to 'discriminate' between 'a good book and a bad book' in order to profit from it.<sup>97</sup>

Jewsbury's review of Anne Marsh's *Margaret and her Bridesmaids*, (1856) effectively represents her opinion of an author's moral responsibility:

The morality is not enforced by sententious preaching; but by the skilful management and careful working out of the story...We imagine that few could read it without deriving some comfort or profit from the quiet good sense and unobtrusive words of counsel with which it abounds.<sup>98</sup>

Morality had to be subtle, not didactic, integral to plot and character motivation if it was to strengthen the reader. Her use of 'profit' 'careful' and 'counsel' are indicative of her belief in the influence of fiction upon its readers. Just like Oliphant's *Son of the Soil*, (1866) Jewsbury praised novels that 'can scarcely be read without leaving an influence for good.'<sup>99</sup> It was the tone and conveyance of topic that Jewsbury was cautious to assess as 'vulgar' or 'refreshing' and not necessarily the topic matter. As such, Jewsbury's moral code depended upon the author. *Sir Owen Fairfax* written by Lady Ponsonby, had 'one or two events...that in the hands of other writers might have exceeded the bounds of propriety.'<sup>100</sup> Jewsbury admired Jeaffreson's fiction for its exemplary morality.<sup>101</sup> The central theme of *Not Dead Yet* (1864) was a 'remarkable cause of generous self-sacrifice; the effect upon the reader is to make him feel it to be

---

<sup>97</sup> Wilkie Collins, *Household Words*, 21<sup>st</sup> August 1868, p222.

<sup>98</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> April 1856, *Athenaeum*, p458.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1866, p766.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p765.

<sup>101</sup> John Cordy Jeaffreson was Jewsbury's friend and colleague at the *Athenaeum*, see J. Cordy Jeaffreson, *A book of Recollections*, Hurst and Blackett, 1884, p10.

a noble thing 'to suffer and be strong' - not in the least depressing as many tales of self-sacrifice are made...no one can read it without feeling helped and strengthened as by the words of a friend.'<sup>102</sup>

As well as demanding novels to promote moral realism, Jewsbury adamantly asserted her belief that fiction should be entertaining, echoing many authors and literary commentators of the 1850's.<sup>103</sup> George Herbert's *Gerald Fitzgerald*, sinned against his vocation and committed the 'most mortal sin' of novel writing by not being amusing.<sup>104</sup> The best novels managed to be realistic and imaginative but conversely, depressing novels did not 'brace the energies and inspire the reader with a brave cheerfulness.'<sup>105</sup> Many authors shared this belief in the need for light and amusing fiction, which was part of Dickens' philosophy behind the 'instruction and amusement' of *Household Words*.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, escapist entertainment was crucial to Jewsbury's assessment of good novels: 'in real life we meet with our own sorrows, and expect to meet with them; but in novels we look for a little poetic cheering up. Characters should be able to suffer but endure these sufferings for the better.'<sup>107</sup> Humour was an essential ingredient 'not common in these days,' with the exception of Collins' *Hide and Seek* (1854) which exemplified a 'genuine, healthy sense of fun.'<sup>108</sup>

<sup>102</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> May 1864, *Athenaeum* p735 and 28th March 1863, p420.

<sup>103</sup> Dickens, Thackeray and Trollope all noted that fiction was also part of light entertainment.

<sup>104</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> April 1858, *Athenaeum*, p530.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 15<sup>th</sup> August 1863, p207.

<sup>106</sup> See Charles Dickens, 'A Preliminary Word,' *Household Words* 30<sup>th</sup> March 1850, p1. Thackeray, Dickens and Trollope shared Jewsbury's opinion. Trollope believed novels should please and instruct, as, 'very much good or harm must be done by novels.' Anthony Trollope' *Autobiography* New York John Lovell Co., 1883.

<sup>107</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> June 1864, *Athenaeum*, p834.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1854, p775.

Jewsbury did not just uphold this criteria in her professional role as a reviewer, but used it when recommending books to friends. In a letter to Mrs Roebuck, dated 1870, she advocated *Uncle Peter's Fairy Tales for the Nineteenth Century*, as a book that 'made you laugh till your sides ache.' Furthermore, emphasising her belief in the need for light-hearted literature, Jewsbury continued to praise the book for being 'full of fun,' adding that 'a good laugh is so precious!'<sup>109</sup>

### Their Own Worst Critic: Women Reviewing Women

Overall, it has been seen that Jewsbury's reviewing criteria promoted a morally amusing and entertaining novel, with a 'spark of genius.' (As will be seen, criteria that was also common to her assessment of manuscripts for Bentley).<sup>110</sup> Her disapproval of Braddon and Broughton and other sensation novelists was based upon standards of decency and vulgarity, not just gender, as men were also attacked for this moral breach.<sup>111</sup> However, many of her reviews express negativity towards women authors largely because of their contribution to second rate writing spurred by sensation literature. Her criticism of women authors, whilst in sympathy with the familiar disdain of Eliot's 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists,' (1852) arose from a desire to promote a high standard of writing for women. Jewsbury's argument is expressed in her review of *Martin's Summer* as, 'one of those numerous class of novels that are written by young ladies who having read some novels of quiet life think they can write one.'<sup>112</sup> Jewsbury was responding to negative images of women

---

<sup>109</sup> DC letters, 1870.

<sup>110</sup> This criterion was also common to her assessment of manuscripts for Bentley. See Chapter Seven.

<sup>111</sup> Thackeray's *Lovel the Widower* was attacked for being vulgar. It is not sparkling Bitter ale, but a deleterious beverage, neither good nor pleasant.' Any reader would feel 'conscious of having suffered a moral deterioration from the intense ingrained vulgarity of spirit which pervades and shapes the whole story.' 7<sup>th</sup> December 1868, *Athenaeum*, p758.

<sup>112</sup> UIUC L61, 24<sup>th</sup> March 1879.



and writing, perpetuated by reviewers like Anne Mozley, who argued that women were ‘desultory, restless, incorrigible, interrupters, incapable of amusing themselves or of being amused by the same thing for five minutes together.’<sup>113</sup> Such imagery fuelled negativity about the woman writer and reader, contributing to increased market productivity; the ‘fast producing engine’ churning ‘off its hundreds and hundreds of sheets.’<sup>114</sup> Both Braddon and Broughton experienced being ‘scapegoats’ for the ‘sins of this generation of second and third-rate novelists.’<sup>115</sup> However, Broughton did not forgive Jewsbury’s attacks claiming, ‘I’m sure I don’t recognise old Jewsbury’s pen dipped in vinegar and gall,’ and satirised her as the ‘tomahawking’ reviewer, Miss Grimston, in *The Beginner* (1891): ‘Oh! How can she? Having known what the suffering is, how can she have the heart to inflict it on others.’<sup>116</sup>

In her weekly letter to Jane, Jewsbury admitted to having, ‘a sort of prejudice against women’s novels,’ with very few exceptions: ‘I mean, I would not on any account take up a woman’s novel at a venture, unless I knew something about the writer.’<sup>117</sup> Unaccountable as this objection is, Jewsbury tried to balance her personal prejudice with professional reasoning. A series of reviews in the *Athenaeum* from the 1860s

---

<sup>113</sup> Anne Mozley, ‘On Fiction as an Educator’, *Blackwoods Magazine*, 108, (1870), p457. Oliphant was also renowned for her attacks on women writers, see ‘Novels’ *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 102, (1867), p257-80, and 94, (1863) p168-83 and ‘Modern Novelists Great and Small,’ 77 (1855), p554-68.

<sup>114</sup> ‘New Books,’ *DJSM*, April, 7, (1848), p367-74 and G.H Lewes, ‘Criticism in Relation to Novels,’ *Fortnightly Review*, 3,(1865),p352. Also see: ‘S,’ ‘What is the Harm of Novel Reading?’ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 78, (1855), p 932-4, ‘Recent Novels and their Moral and Religious Teaching,’ *London Quarterly Review*, 27, (1866), p100-24, W. R. Fraser, ‘Our Female Novelists’, *Christian Remembrancer*, 38, (1859), p209-36, A.S Kinnear, ‘The Lady Novelist of Great Britain,’ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 40, (1853), p18-25.

<sup>115</sup> Wolff, *Letters*, p144.

<sup>116</sup> Miss Grimston, reviewer for *The Porch*, is represented as a failed author who revenges herself upon other women, through ‘tomahawking’ about their novels. Broughton’s description of Grimston, as a bitter author-turned-reviewer exposes the fact she considered Jewsbury to have let women writers down, from a lack of sisterly solidarity. Rhoda Broughton, *A Beginner*, Bentley, 1894, Vol., 1 p142 and Michael Sadlier, *Things Past*, Constable 1944, p177.

<sup>117</sup> Ireland, *Letters*, p159.

best describes Jewsbury's disillusionment with weak female novels. *A Life Struggle*, by Miss Pardoe, received an exasperated review as a 'foolish' novel devoid of any sense:

We have protested again and again against that false morality which prevails in second-rate novels, where common sense and common justice are sacrificed to some imaginary point of honour, or self-elected duty, - where one claim is exaggerated to the exclusion of all relative duties...Readers and writers cannot too strongly lay it to heart that common sense is the only virtue under heaven "that brings its own reward."<sup>118</sup>

The neglect of morality, common sense and knowledge of the world were regarded as typical faults of women writers. As such, Georgina Craik's *Mildred* had a conclusion as 'disagreeable and unsatisfactory as the ingenuity of a woman can make it.'<sup>119</sup> Yet, *Behind the Scenes*, offended Jewsbury most deeply for being 'shocking enough if it came from one of the coarser sex. From a woman it is revolting.'<sup>120</sup> The inclusion of the 'horrors' of mistresses and illegitimacy overwhelmed Jewsbury because the novel lacked any moral guidance for the reader. Therefore, Jewsbury recommended specific feminine characteristics in novels by women. Craik's *Life for a Life* suited her tastes being 'replete with a graceful tender delicacy' written with 'good simple, careful English.'<sup>121</sup> These traits were associated with the wider critical notion of good, moral female novels, teaching about domestic life and love, 'second-rate' in comparison to serious works of literature by men.<sup>122</sup> Craik's sentiments in *Two Marriages* were 'pure, refined and womanly,' and Lady Ponsonby wrote 'like a Lady, and like a Lady who knows how to write.'<sup>123</sup>

<sup>118</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> January 1860, *Athenaeum* p50.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 12<sup>th</sup> September 1868, p329.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 15<sup>th</sup> April 1854 p461.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1859, p176.

<sup>122</sup> Thompson identified a gender criteria where novels were reviewed using feminine and masculine criteria even if not written by a man or a woman. See, *Reviewing Sex*.

<sup>123</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> March 1867, *Athenaeum*, p317, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1866, p765.

As previously noted, Jewsbury did not support women novelists for the sake of showing solidarity with her sex.<sup>124</sup> Her attack of women writers was part of the critical response to the increase in mediocrity in the market. Her assessment of feminine traits within writing was in line with the cultural history of gender theocracy prevalent in Mid-century reviewing. (She adopted a double standard in her reviews and reports in response to her discipline.)<sup>125</sup> Jewsbury's unusual role as female reviewer reflects cultural and critical attitudes to sensationalism. Her reviews also significantly reflect mid-Victorian fictional tastes; the ideology of critical writing; and the nature of gender and anonymity, giving insight into the responsibility and authority of Jewsbury's reviewing career. In addition, her reviews are also valuable for their contribution to the developing area of children's literary criticism, which will now be addressed.

### **Jewsbury's *Athenaeum* Reviews of Children's Literature 1854-1880**

Critical discussion about the importance of children's reviewing has identified the genre as overlooked but implicit to a deeper understanding of Victorian literary culture.<sup>126</sup> Jewsbury's children's reviews demand attention because they represent a fundamental change in the publishing and literary market as part of a separate, professional area of literary criticism. As main reviewer of children's literature at the *Athenaeum* in the 1870s, Jewsbury's reviews embody cultural attitudes within Victorian society.<sup>127</sup> The twenty-six years Jewsbury reviewed children's literature

---

<sup>124</sup> Jewsbury's views on issues around women's roles were inconsistent with her proto-feminist opinions. The fact she believed in female vocation, especially female novelists, did not stop her from criticising women who entered the profession. For detail see Chapter Four.

<sup>125</sup> See Chapter Two

<sup>126</sup> Peter Hunt, *Children's Literature The Development of Criticism*, Routledge, 1990, p1, p5 and *Children's Literature*, Blackwell, 2001.

<sup>127</sup> Children's literature is a contentious term with boundaries that shift definition in accordance to social conceptions of childhood and the child. Through my reference to children's literature, I explore

forms a significant part of her career and is important for an understanding of Victorian literary culture.<sup>128</sup> Her reviews are full of implicit and overt comments about the definition of childhood, the nature of the Victorian child, gender, and the influence of fiction. It is important to study children's literature and Jewsbury's criticism because it is important for an understanding of Victorian childhood and family within literary culture. There has been no substantial research into this area of reviewing, which like women's literature, tends to be devalued as second rate.<sup>129</sup> The fact over half women writing at this time were children's writers compared with 10% of men emphasises the female dominance within the genre.<sup>130</sup> Interestingly, Sandners has recognised that despite the high percentage of Victorian women writing children's literature, canonical texts were written by men.<sup>131</sup> Nonetheless, despite the cultural and economic pressures surrounded women and writing, noted earlier, children's literature was accepted as a more natural form.<sup>132</sup>

Dickens advocated the importance of children's literature as an intrinsic part of the ideology of the family within Victorian society, in 1853 in his article, 'Frauds on the Fairies.' He exposed the universality of children's literature claiming that it

---

Jewsbury's perception of the mid-Victorian concept of childhood and her values and images of the child. For further theory about the definition of this term see Peter Hunt (ed) *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, Routledge, 1996 and *Understanding Children's Literature*, Routledge, 1999.

<sup>128</sup> Jewsbury's first children's literature review for the *Athenaeum* was printed on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1854, then infrequently on 6<sup>th</sup> December 1856, 14<sup>th</sup> December 1861 and 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1864, until regular weekly reviews throughout the 1860s and 1870s. All reference to her reviews will be noted through date. She also wrote two children's novels, *An Adopted Child* (1852) and *Angelo* (1855).

<sup>129</sup> The majority of criticism about children's literature at this time is still found in P.J Harvey Darton's, *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*, C.U.P. 1932 and Percy Muir's *English Children's Books, 1600-1900*, Batsford, 1954. For the connection between the devaluing of children and women's literature see, Lissa Paul, 'Engima Variations: What Feminist Theory Knows about Children's Literature,' *Signal*, 54, (1987), p186-201.

<sup>130</sup> Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer*, p199.

<sup>131</sup> David Sandners, *The Fantastic Sublime: Romanticism and Transcendence in Nineteenth Children's Fantasy Literature*, Greenwood Press, 1997, p137.

<sup>132</sup> Nina Auerbach and Ulrich Camilus Knoepfelmaker, *Forbidden Journeys Fairy Tales and Fantasy by Victorian Women Writers*, Chicago Press, 1992, p1.

‘enchanted vast hosts of men and women’ and highlighted its influence upon adult imaginative reading: ‘it has greatly helped to keep us, in some sense, ever young, by preserving through our worldly ways one slender track not overgrown with weeds, where we may walk with children, sharing their delights.’<sup>133</sup>

Dickens’ article exposes the important connection between Victorian children’s literature and a progressive belief in the need for imagination and instruction. Literary criticism of children’s fiction developed in the early nineteenth century and during the height of Jewsbury’s reviewing in 1860, it was an established part of the *Athenaeum*’s literary critique. The market for children’s literature responded to changing attitudes to childhood, a mid-Victorian ‘revolution in consciousness of the child;’ through emphasis on moral education; the compulsory school system (enforced by the 1870 Forster Act) and supply and demand.<sup>134</sup> John Newby’s *Pretty Little Pocket Book* (1744) signalled the beginning of the separate publishing market for children’s literature.<sup>135</sup> Books were divided between didactic Evangelical tracts and entertaining penny ‘dreadfuls’ and chapbooks.<sup>136</sup>

The conflicting beliefs that children should learn to read for instruction, in order to interpret God’s words, in order to foster children’s imaginations, rested upon a

---

<sup>133</sup> Charles Dickens, ‘Frauds on the Fairies,’ *Household Words* 8<sup>th</sup> October 1853, p392.

<sup>134</sup> J. S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children’s Fiction*, Croom Helm, 1981, p 23. For Victorian changes to the conception of childhood, consult Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, Penguin, 1973.

<sup>135</sup> See S. Roscoe, *John Newby and his Successors, 1740-1814: A Bibliography*, Sauls Press, 1973. For detail on the history of children’s literature see: Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Pritcher, *An Oxford Companion to Children’s Literature*, O.U.P 1999, Maria Nikolajeva (ed) *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children’s Literature*, Greenwood Press, 1995, Robert Lee Wolff & Jonathan Cott (ed), *Masterworks of Children’s Literature The Victorian Age*, Stonehill Publications, Volume 5 part I, II, and Volume 6, 1985.

<sup>136</sup> For research into chapbooks and penny dreadfuls see: *Chapbooks: A Guide to Reference Material on English, Scottish and American Chapbook Literature of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Neuberg, 1992.

polarised theory of the child born innocent or having original sin.<sup>137</sup> These childhood theories were played out during the nineteenth century, evident through a selection of books Jewsbury reviewed: *Campanella; or, the Teachings of life*, *The Bible Opened for Children*, *Tales for the Toys, told by themselves* and *Whispers from Fairy Land*. Children's literature was not only important as an educational and leisure activity but was also economically influential. Like the *London Review* of 1850, which noted that children's books were 'increasing at a higher ratio than any other class of literature,' Jewsbury was aware of their profitability.<sup>138</sup>

Jewsbury's career as children's reviewer of the 1870's has been overlooked, but its significance rests with her establishment of criteria for children's reading material. Her progressive philosophy about children appears throughout her reviews, influenced partly by Maria Jane's Calvinism.<sup>139</sup> Despite this background, or because of it, Jewsbury considered pleasure and profit essential to children's literature, justified by her review of 1854:

Tales for children are more important than novels for grown up people. None but the very best and choicest experience ought to be presented in them. The form of the book is small, - but they are not therefore insignificant. It requires the finest tact and instinct to write well for children, and so far from being a loss of dignity, it is our opinion that they are the only work for which a superior spirit would not disdain to turn author. When children's books are really good, grown people can read them with as much pleasure and profit as children.<sup>140</sup>

In placing children's fiction above that of adults, Jewsbury emphasises its importance and the need for good writing and 'choicest experience' within her criteria. She also highlights the connection between adult and child as intrinsic to 'good' children's

---

<sup>137</sup> These polarised Augustan and Romantic views are discussed by David Sandners, and by Gillian Anderson, *Religion and Moralising in Children's Fantasy, 1550-1836*, These Collection University of Kent, Canterbury, 1983.

<sup>138</sup> 'Cheap Literature,' *London Review*, March, (1850), p67.

<sup>139</sup> Noted in Chapter Two.

<sup>140</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> March 1854, *Athenaem*, p373.

novels. It was not only Dickens who agreed with this view, but George MacDonald also noted, ‘I do not write for children, but for the childlike, whether five or fifty.’<sup>141</sup> Many of the successful authors Jewsbury recommended wrote for both adults and children including authors of canonical children’s texts (Kingsley, Lewis and Sewell).<sup>142</sup> Conscious of the adult as selector and purchaser of children’s literature, Jewsbury endorsed books like *Happy Nursery*, engaging adult and child as reader and listener, ‘Mothers will find it a mire of amusement as well as instruction for their young children...and children would have much care for the book itself.’<sup>143</sup> *My Young Days* was another example: ‘grown people will find it as pleasant for their own reading as the young people for whose benefit they may buy it.’<sup>144</sup>

### **‘Pleasure and Profit:’ Jewsbury’s Criteria for Children’s Literature**

As with her adult reviews Jewsbury disliked sermonising, favouring original, fun, repeatable stories. Her belief in the value of this lucrative market and the need for innovation and variety is expressed in this review of *Ursula* (1864):

A careless reader may suppose that when “children’s books” have been described as “books for children” there is neither need for room for further classification; but the critic and the bookseller know otherwise. There was a time when stories for little people, like peas in a bushel, so closely resembled each other in substance and appearance that the buyer could scarcely do better than make the purchase with closed eyes. But of late years the diversities of juvenile taste, temper and faculty have been so carefully considered by a distinct class of writer, that papas and mammas find it difficult to select the book best suited... not only may literature for the young be divided and sub divided, but each subdivision admits of so much minute and delicate separation into species and sub-species.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>141</sup> U.C Knoepfelmacker, *Ventures into Childland: Victorian Fairytales and Femininities*, University of Chicago, 1998, p116.

<sup>142</sup> For example, Jules Verne, Holme Lee, Louisa Alcott, Harriet Beecher-Stowe and Dickens. The transitional focus upon imagination in children’s literature was a direct influence of William Blake’s *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1794) which represents one of the first examples of mutli-layered reading for adult and child. See Heather Glen, *Vision and Disenchantment: Blake’s ‘Songs’ and Wordsworth’s ‘Lyrical Ballads’* C.U.P, 1983.

<sup>143</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> April 1871, *Athenaeum* p463.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 18<sup>th</sup> November 1871, p654.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1864, p744-5.

This almost Darwinian categorisation shows the transition that occurred within the genre as it grew to suit the 'diversities of juvenile taste.'<sup>146</sup> As Gillian Beer's *Darwin's Plots Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth Century Fiction* (1983) noted, Darwin's theories affected many novelists and critics during the time that Jewsbury was reviewing. In reference to the need for parental choice and guidance, Jewsbury emphasises her role as critical mediator between author, text and reader, highlighting the need to suit the reader's tastes. It is important to note that children's literature was written for a specific audience but was selected, brought, reviewed and often read, by adults. This becomes important when analysing Jewsbury's reviews, as it is more often the adult perspective of Victorian childhood and literary preference, 'an expression of intention with regard to children,' which is projected.<sup>147</sup> As such, fiction read by children and reviewed by Jewsbury expressed adult notions of the requirements of literature for children.<sup>148</sup> Despite this existing similarity within Jewsbury's criteria for adult and child fiction, she separated children's literary needs, reiterating Elizabeth Rigby's outcry in 1844 in the *Quarterly Review*:

The truth is, though seldom apprehended by juvenile book writers, that children are distinguished from ourselves less by an inferiority than by a difference in capacity... a mere weaker decoction of the same ideas and subjects that suit us will be very unsuitable to them. A genuine child's book is as little like a book for grown people cut down, as the child himself is like a little old man.<sup>149</sup>

Like Rigby, Jewsbury was adamant that children's fiction should not consist of a 'weak decoction' of unsuccessful adult novels or worse still, like *Elsie's Choice*,

---

<sup>146</sup> Consult Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin George Eliot and Nineteenth Century Fiction*, Ark Paperbacks, 1983, Leo J Henkin, *Darwin in the English Novel 1860-1910, The Impact of Evolution on Victorian Fiction*, Russell & Russell, 1963.

<sup>147</sup> Karin Lesnik-Oberstein, *Children's Literature Criticism and the Fictional Child*, Clarendon, 2001, p4

<sup>148</sup> The idea that children's fiction is a reflection of adult projections of society is also noted by Sandners, p27 and John Stephens, 'Not by Words Alone, Language, Intertextuality, Society,' in *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction*, Longman, 1992, p84-119.

<sup>149</sup> Elizabeth Rigby, 'Children's Books,' *Quarterly Review*, 74 (1844), p16.



imitate adult novels on a ‘small scale.’<sup>150</sup> Therefore an understanding of the child’s world was paramount for good literature for the young. Both *The Runaway* and *Lilliput Lectures* had ‘insight into the anonymous metaphysical puzzles which sometimes occupy a child’s mind, making grown up people wonder whether children are very wise or very foolish, and where their ideas and thoughts come from.’<sup>151</sup> Both authors understood ‘the working of a child’s thoughts, which is so true that it seems almost like an inspiration’ and was therefore recommended to parents, teachers and children.<sup>152</sup>

In examining Jewsbury’s criteria for review it becomes clear that, as with adult fiction, she carefully considered length, subject, morality, realism, and overall amusement of each book. She thought ‘bad’ styles, ‘ill-used’ language and misplaced grammar and spelling should not be emulated by children as they ‘have a strange faculty for picking up wrong modes of speech.’<sup>153</sup> *Scamp and I: A Story of City Byways* (1877) was criticised for its language, ‘being spelled and printed exactly as the lowest of London life are supposed to pronounce their words.’<sup>154</sup> Therefore, suitability of the text was equally paramount in literature for children as with adults. Pedagogy had natural connotations with children’s literature, ever since the genre was established, therefore Jewsbury’s insistence upon instructive, entertaining and moral tales is not surprising.<sup>155</sup> Her insistence upon a mix of pleasure and profit was

---

<sup>150</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1869, *Athenaeum*, p20 and 27<sup>th</sup> December 1873, p870.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 4<sup>th</sup> January 1873, p17.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1871, p400.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1868, p753.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 11<sup>th</sup> August 1877, p177.

<sup>155</sup> Nikolajeva, px-ix.

exemplified in *Earth Moon*, ‘the bewildering array of mathematical calculations is mixed up with daring adventure and rollicking fun.’<sup>156</sup>

Just as with her adult reviews Jewsbury insisted upon a tripartite criterion of entertainment, instruction and morality. An essential part of Jewsbury’s criteria for children’s literature was to be as real as ‘the fresh open air,’ with ‘seized at the moment and photographed - reality.’<sup>157</sup> *Jack Granger's Cousin* failed: ‘people in the book act too much like clocks, going accordingly to the rules laid down for them by the author.’ Jewsbury looked for authors who could ‘paint naughty children to the life.’<sup>158</sup> Yet some aspects of realism were problematic like *Alfie, the Street Boy*, which dealt with homelessness in a romantic style.<sup>159</sup> Jewsbury valued the realistic portrayal of character, place or emotion, but was against unsuitable topics such as the fallen woman:

We object strongly to this specific form of sin and wretchedness being revealed to young creatures, who ought not to have their minds darkened by the shadow of such knowledge before the mind is fitted to receive it. The terrible social problem involved is not to be handled on a sentimental episode in a story, not to be made the subject of entertaining reading.<sup>160</sup>

Her rejection, (employing the plural pronoun as a form of established, critical authority) resided with the fact some topics were outside children’s experience. Instead a realistic morality was advocated, exemplified by *Mangold*: ‘We hope that young readers will profit by the reformation and repentance of the mischievous young urchins.’<sup>161</sup> Jewsbury therefore considered it important that children’s novels should

---

<sup>156</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> November 1873, *Athenaeum* p594.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1873, p245.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 9<sup>th</sup> September 1871, p336.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 27<sup>th</sup> April 1878 p541.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1873, p769.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1873 ,p16.

‘from the first page to the last, read more like truth than fiction,’ but was cautious to censor this realism.<sup>162</sup>

Twenty years after Rigby’s review, Jewsbury was still plagued by the unsuitability of certain topics, as she reviewed stories which were too ‘painful, and not altogether calculated for the reading of children.’<sup>163</sup> One of her strongest objections was the inclusion of sarcasm and mockery as part of humour: ‘to teach children to mock before they know to revere is to stunt their moral growth, and to offer cruel injury to the spiritual life still hidden in the germ.’ Jewsbury therefore believed it was the reviewer’s responsibility to promote moral reading, to encourage moral growth, expressed here in her review of *Myrtle and Cypress* (1875):

It turns on love, jealousy, disappointment, and a Catholic priest, who is a saint and in love with the heroine...We hold that tales of love and marriage and the romantic misunderstandings of lovers, ought to find no place in the library of young people. Sickly sentimental and feeble emotional religions are not the mental or moral nourishment on which healthy and growing young natures ought to be brought up.<sup>164</sup>

Despite the similarity to issues raised in *Zoe*, this book was rejected as unsuitable for children because it imitated adult novels. Jewsbury saw the book as unhealthy, lacking in the ‘mental and moral nourishment’ required of texts for children because it did not morally instruct.<sup>165</sup>

As noted in her adult reviewing criteria, Jewsbury was fundamentally concerned with morality. Stories which were ‘vulgar in tone’ were unacceptable, as Jewsbury believed ‘children ought not to have their instincts of good taste spoiled by having

---

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 7<sup>th</sup> April 1877, p446.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 9<sup>th</sup> December 1871, p754.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 11<sup>th</sup> December 1875, p787.

anything mean or ugly set before them, either in print or in picture.’<sup>166</sup> *Village Maiden* was equally refuted; ‘it adds one to the number of idle books which can do no good to any one. It is weak sugar-and-water apt to pall upon the taste, and take away the appetite for better things.’<sup>167</sup>

Finding a ‘good’ children’s book was the core of children’s literary criticism, and as an early critic in the field, Jewsbury strongly adhered to this principle.<sup>168</sup> She revelled in recommending *Talent in Tatters* (1877) as so ‘good and kind and excellent that the story is like a pudding so full of plums that there is nothing else to be seen or tasted.’<sup>169</sup> *All in the Garden Green* had ‘not too much detail,’ showing ‘much aptitude and that natural sense of the right proportions of things which makes all the difference between a well-told story and one awkwardly developed.’<sup>170</sup> *Uncle Joe’s Stories* were highly suitable; ‘rollicking, fantastic and full of hearty fun and good will, told with a sprit of enjoyment that is contagious.’<sup>171</sup> Overall, Jewsbury applauded these books because they instructed through capturing the interest and amusement of the reader giving ‘plenty of fun and frolic, as well as the graver matter of admonition and warning.’<sup>172</sup> Yet she also looked for ‘that indescribable touch which gives zest and spirit to the best children’s books.’<sup>173</sup> The skill of choosing books for children, which Jewsbury had perfected by 1870, was criticised for the assumption of a ‘knowable

---

<sup>165</sup> Interestingly, this connection with health was also employed when assessing the negative influence of adult sensation novels. See Pamela K. Gilbert, *Disease, Desire and the Body in Victorian Women’s Popular Novels*, C.U.P, 1997.

<sup>166</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> December 1873, *Athenaeum*, p869.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 18<sup>th</sup> November 1871, p654.

<sup>168</sup> Adrain Chambers, ‘The reader in the Book,’ in *Booktalk; Occasional Writing of Literature and Children*, Bodley Head, 1985, p34-58 and Karin Lesnik-Oberstein, *Children’s Literature Criticism and the Fictional Child*, Clarendon, 2001, p3.

<sup>169</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> November 1877, *Athenaeum*, p627.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1877, p697.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 18<sup>th</sup> January 1879, p86.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1873, p16.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1871, p835.

child.’<sup>174</sup> Yet, Jewsbury based her conception of childhood and the child reader upon experience: of the market and her successful children’s novels, *Adopted Child* (1853) and *Angelo* (1861).<sup>175</sup> Consequently, she dismissed *Vice Royalty* (1860) because it assumed the intellect of ‘confirmed childhood’ as a ‘*talking down*’ to the reader.<sup>176</sup>

### Gender Criteria: Books for Boys and Girls

Through her criteria and the subject matter of the books she reviewed, Jewsbury constructs different gender-reading identities for boys and girls.<sup>177</sup> The distinction between gender and reading at this time, is evident through children’s periodicals, a third of which after 1866 were dedicated to boys, including the popular *Boys Own Magazine*, with girl’s periodicals only developing in 1880.<sup>178</sup> This assumed literary gender model for boys and girls is apparent through titles of books and Jewsbury’s assessment: *The Slave Dealer*, *In The Eastern Seas*, *The Daisy Playmate* and *True Hearted: A book for Girls*.<sup>179</sup> Jewsbury’s division within criteria for children’s fiction reflected adult ideologies about gender roles during the 1860’s and 1870’s. Richards’ identification about popular fiction as a shaping of social ideas and role models is

---

<sup>174</sup> Jacqueline Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan or the Impossibility of Children’s Fiction*, Macmillan, 1984, p10.

<sup>175</sup> *Angelo*, is a book for boys, similar to *Heidi*. Angelo is an orphan who experiences cruel trials but uses his talent for art to help others. He dedicates his life to helping poor children. *The Ladies Companion* heralded it as ‘the most valuable work of the day.’ *The Adopted Child* is for young girls and sequels *Sorrows*. It follows the life of Clarrisa, abused and ill treated, seen as the sin of her mother’s unloving marriage. She learns the value of work and independence, after a series of trials she marries for love. Both novels are moral, but not didactic, and entertain the reader throughout.

<sup>176</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> July 1860, *Athenaeum*, p13.

<sup>177</sup> In a similar manner to her use of feminine traits to review women’s novels, see Chapter Six.

<sup>178</sup> Don Vann & Rosemary VanArsdel, ‘Magazines for Children,’ *Victorian periodicals a guide to research*, vol., 2, p91-98, p93.

<sup>179</sup> Many titles of boys’ books were similar, ranging from *Boys Adventures in the Wilds of Australia*, *In The Eastern Seas*, *At the South Pole*, *Drifting and Steering: A Tale for Boys*. In contrast girls’ stories focus upon nature or the domestic role: *Sweet Flowers*, *A Needle and Thread: A Tale for Girls*, *Aunt Louisa’s Home Companion*, *Drawing Room Amusement and Evening Party Entertainments*.

relevant to Jewsbury's reviews as a representation of mid-Victorian attitudes towards children's literature and the concept of childhood.<sup>180</sup>

Jewsbury's reviews of boys' fiction concentrated upon adventures and school life. *Out to Sea*, was a 'capital' book she considered universal in appeal, 'All boys who love tales about adventures by sea - and where is the boy who does not? - will find the adventures of jovial Jack Junter fascinating.' It contained the statutory 'hair breadth escapes, enough to make the boldest reader "hold his breath for a time."<sup>181</sup> Agricultural and Industrial settings were also popular as Jewsbury advised: 'tales about mines have a fascination hardly second to ship wrecks and disasters at sea.' Jewsbury's projected model for boys' fiction was therefore synonymous with a masculine, imperialist ideology.<sup>182</sup> *The Winborough Boys; or, Ellerslie Park*, as part of the school-story genre managed to reinforce imperialist ideology by upholding masculine ideals of strength, bravery, victory and territory. Jewsbury saw stories for boys as tending to 'inculcate manliness, honourable feeling, generosity, and the virtues without which neither boys nor men can be worth anything.'<sup>183</sup> This comment exposes the fact Jewsbury saw literature as part of 'growing-up,' integral to adulthood, making fictional gender-roles influential.<sup>184</sup> Jewsbury thought boys should be portrayed as 'specimens of natural boy nature' and praised *Digby Heathcote* for this realism:

The boys are real boys of different grades of goodness and badness; the sayings and doings are those of natural boys; - and the distinction between fun, mischief and stupid badness of disposition is carefully and sharply marked.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* M.U.P, 1969, p1.

<sup>181</sup> *Out to Sea* and *The Miner's Son*, 4<sup>th</sup> January 1873, *Athenaeum*, p76-7.

<sup>182</sup> For details about the influence of island stories see, Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventure in a Man's World*, Harper Collins, 1991, p93-125.

<sup>183</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1871, *Athenaeum*, p836.

<sup>184</sup> See W.O.G. Lofts, & J. D. Adleu, *Men Behind Boys' Fiction*, Baker, 1970.

<sup>185</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> November 1860, *Athenaeum*, p709.

This description mainly represents boys as boisterous and wild, placing a value upon this model behaviour in fiction. Imperialism was used as a popular ideology of the day to model these social principles in fiction for boys.<sup>186</sup> Even the style of Jewsbury's reviews reflects the fast action and movement of the stories deemed suitable for boys 'a story more fascinating, more replete with the most rollicking fun, the most harrowing scenes of suspense, distress, and hairbreadth escapes from danger, was seldom before written, published, or read.'<sup>187</sup> Whereas girls' books were reviewed as representations of safe, religious romances. There were few adventure books like *Tower on the Tor*, recommended for both sexes: 'few boys there are who will not read it eagerly, but girls also will find the adventures, dangers, and hairbreadth escapes quite as charming.'<sup>188</sup> Interestingly Jewsbury describes these adventures as 'charming,' using a softer adjective than the more frequently employed 'wild' or 'fascinating' used in reviews of boys' adventures. It is therefore evident that Jewsbury's use of language when reviewing children's books for boys and girls produced a gender divide in the fictional portrayal of their roles.<sup>189</sup> Mr Law's *Letters of Marque, and Tales of the Sea and Land*, exposes Jewsbury's connection of certain topics with gender roles. It was suitable only for boys because, 'girls could hardly feel anything but horror at the tales of strife and bloodshed.'<sup>190</sup> Jewsbury's review of *A Cruise in an Acorn* by Mrs Jerrold Smith, further strengthens this point; 'it may be true to the human nature of boys that they should tease their sisters, but it would have

---

<sup>186</sup> A theme of Jeffrey Richards critique, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* M.U.P, 1969 also consult Bratton, p110-15.

<sup>187</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> December 1872, *Athenaeum*, p766.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 6<sup>th</sup> January 1877, p16.

<sup>189</sup> The use of different language to describe boys and girls fiction enforced Jewsbury's gender reading models. Thompson has noted the use of language as an unconscious gender distinction based upon the tone of the text and not the sex of the writer, see Diane Nicola Thompson's *Reviewing Sex*, p2.

<sup>190</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1873, *Athenaeum*, p245.

been pleasanter to the readers of this story if Master Harry had been gentler and less overbearing towards “Sunny.”<sup>191</sup>

Through distinguishing the suitability of books for boys and girls, Jewsbury’s reviews expose fiction’s influence upon gender expectation. In 1877 she reviewed *Our Trip to Blunderland* as a book for boys, of a ‘vigorous, ardent, not too say mischievous spirit, which would terrify good little misses out of their best white frocks and blue shoes.’ In the same review she discussed *Jungle Peak and Plain* which again represented the typical boyhood pursuits of outdoor sport as solidifying the experiences of a middle class Victorian male: ‘as thrilling as the heart of the most insatiable boy could desire. It is quite a boys book, the shooting and slaying, and hunting, and the hair-breadth escapes, would horrify their sisters.’<sup>192</sup>

As noted, Jewsbury’s reviews of boys’ books upheld male bravado, imperialism and reinstated the masculine ideal, whilst simultaneously exposing the feminine role as domestic and home based. The book *Fairy Flowers* made acute observations on what girls should or should not be doing: ‘little girls ought to spend their money on useful objects; little girls ought to be kind and good natured when they go out to parties.’<sup>193</sup>

When reviewing girls’ books, Jewsbury frequently mentioned suitability and whether a book was ‘safe,’ as opposed to the enjoyment girls would derive. *Hetty's Resolve* is a typical example; ‘it may be given safely alike to girls going to school or staying at home.’<sup>194</sup> Whereas male fantasy in Victorian boys’ literature has been accused of blurring sexual difference, fiction for girls highlighted their gender role in a more

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1875, p18.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 17<sup>th</sup> November 1877, p627.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 18<sup>th</sup> December 1869, p88.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 31<sup>st</sup> December 1870, p886.



realistic manner, enforcing ‘the reality of gender binaries.’<sup>195</sup> Books for girls were recommended if they had ‘good counsel and real experience’ as more instructive and domestic than the adventure fiction enjoyed by their brothers: ‘girls are not supposed to be exacting on the score of good sense in their story books.’<sup>196</sup> Jewsbury considered the reading of novels from different countries was important for widening girls’ experiences, less imperialistically, than socially and domestically; ‘it is good and profitable for English girls to vary their interests in reading, and these French stories will show them incidents in the lives of girls under other environments than their own.’<sup>197</sup>

Nelson adheres to the argument that gender was unimportant within fiction as both sexes needed to be obedient and morally honest.<sup>198</sup> However, Jewsbury’s reviews prove this was not the case, exposing distinct gender divides within children’s literature. Therefore, Jewsbury praised girls’ fiction that ignored love, to maintain innocence and restrict experience: ‘The tale is fitted for girls, and does not depend on its interests for any precocious incidents of love and marriage, which too often make what ought to be wholesome stories nothing but novels in disguise.’<sup>199</sup> Interestingly this censorship did not apply to boys. Their stories were often interspersed with a little love tale ‘mixed up with the more stirring incidents,’ which Jewsbury considered boys would ‘skip.’<sup>200</sup> (This point leads onto Jewsbury’s belief about the influences of fiction, especially novel reading upon women, which will be addressed in the next chapter.)

---

<sup>195</sup> Knoeplemacker, p25.

<sup>196</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> May 1873, *Athenaeum*, p693.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1874, p19.

<sup>198</sup> Claudia Nelson, *Boys will be Girls: The Feminine Ethic & British Children’s Fiction, 1857-1917*, Rutgers University Press, 1991.

<sup>199</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> September 1874, *Athenaeum*, p381.

The fact women's vocation had been debated in fiction since 1848 is reflected through Jewsbury's reviews of girls' fiction in the 1870s.<sup>201</sup> Although vocation was not common to girls' fiction (unlike women's novels of the same time), emphasis was placed upon representing women as the moral and physical 'health' of a family.<sup>202</sup> Jewsbury's insistence upon stories that emphasised the home was part of this conservative morality, which praised Yonge's religious and domestic influence upon girls reading. Honig has noted that many Victorian girls conformed to stereotypes represented through Yonge's fiction, which Jewsbury strongly advocated.<sup>203</sup> Therefore, Jewsbury's reviews adhere to the traditional ideology of gender roles despite changing perspectives of heroines in adult fiction of the same time.<sup>204</sup> Jewsbury was inconsistent in her support for the changed image of the female role within girls fiction. On the one hand she recognised the trend for the 'girl of the period,' in *Stories of Girlhood* (1877), who worked and utilised talents, not as a 'hardship' but as 'a natural way of using their faculties.'<sup>205</sup> Yet on the other, she criticised a book for not promoting 'the duties assigned to them in that state of life to which they have been born.'<sup>206</sup> Such inconsistency over the question of female vocation raised in fiction has been noted above as common within Jewsbury's critique of adult fiction and was also evident within her assessment of children's literature.<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 26<sup>th</sup> December 1874 ,p877.

<sup>201</sup> See Chapter Four.

<sup>202</sup> Judith Rowbotham, *Good Girls make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction*, Blackwell, 1989, p21.

<sup>203</sup> Edith Lazaros Honig, *Breaking the Angelic Image: Women's Power in Victorian Children's Fantasy*, Greenwood, 1988, p65-7.

<sup>204</sup> See Gillian Avery, *Childhood Patterns a Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Stories, 1770-1950*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1975.

<sup>205</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> November 1877, *Athenaeum*, p628.

<sup>206</sup> Rowbotham also notes the effects of the changing female stereotype upon girls, in 'Household Fairy and Home Goddess: The Changing Feminine Stereotype,' in *Good Girls make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction*, p11-52.

<sup>207</sup> Refer back to the beginning of this chapter and chapter Four.

Therefore, studying Jewsbury's reviewing career is important for insight into the critical market, especially her contribution to sensationalism and children's literary criticism. Jewsbury's attack upon female sensation writers; her contribution to the growing area of children's literary criticism and her criteria for literary talent, is significant for a wider understanding of the mid-Victorian marketplace and her unique position as a female reviewer within this industry. Many of the themes running throughout Jewsbury's reviews were also reflected in her reader's reports, which she wrote simultaneously from 1849-1880. It is therefore essential, when analysing Jewsbury's professionalism, to also look at this area, as an integral part of her development as a literary critic.

## Chapter Seven

### The Entrepreneurial Reader: Jewsbury, Reading and the Economics of the Publishing Market.

As has been seen through Jewsbury's experience of magazine writing for *Household Words* and *DJSM*, the composition of *Zoe*, her novels and relationships with key publishing and literary figures, Jewsbury developed from an amateur writer into a professional. As a reviewer for the *Athenaeum*, she gained unlimited knowledge and experience of the market, which enhanced her confidence as a critic. Yet, it was her work as a reader which secured this professionalism and led to her successful reputation as an all round woman of letters.<sup>1</sup>

Jewsbury was one of the first female publisher's readers to be hired by Bentley in the late 1850s.<sup>2</sup> For twenty-two years Jewsbury privately assessed manuscripts sent to her by Bentley with a view to their literary and commercial success.<sup>3</sup> The reports highlight Jewsbury's contribution and influence as a female publisher's reader, and her experiences of the literary and publishing market.<sup>4</sup> They are therefore significant in enhancing an understanding of women's developing professionalism and position

---

<sup>1</sup> Jewsbury's reports to Bentley form the Bentley collection at the British Library BM 46,653-660. They are also held in part at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC L1-50). Consult Alison Ingram, *Index of the Archives of Richard Bentley & Sons 1829-98*, Cambridge, 1977. I am also indebted to Rosenmayer for a list of most of Jewsbury's reader's reports held in the British Library, see Appendix II, p625-79.

<sup>2</sup> Joanne Wilkes, *The Half Sisters*, Worlds Classics, OUP, 1994, pxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that as a reviewer and later as a publisher's reader, Jewsbury's work was anonymous and known only to Bentley, the *Athenaeum* staff and close friends. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this anonymity led to Jewsbury adopting a masculine critical code, which was more conservative than her earlier fictional works.

<sup>4</sup> Other reader's at this time whose reports have survived, included Jonathan Cole, William Stubbs, H.R. Fort Bowne, James Mummings. See BM 46,661 (91-178).

in the literary trade as well as revealing insights into mid-Victorian ideology about women and reading.<sup>5</sup>

Jewsbury recalled her appointment as a publisher's reader to Mantell in October 1858, in somewhat materialist terms, 'I went and had an interview with the whole house of Bentley - I think they must be pleased with their bargain.'<sup>6</sup> Although her appointment was unique in the 1850s, women were increasing their presence in the field.<sup>7</sup> In an article for *Macmillan's Magazine*, Palgrave recognised the fashion for 'run and read' libraries and the trend of sensationalism as indicative of this increased female involvement, which partly led to Bentley's foresight in acquiring Jewsbury.<sup>8</sup> Bentley understood that female publisher's readers were essential agents best suited to interpret and respond to this growing market, and by 1870, employed five more women readers: Adeline Sergeant, Minnie Featherstoneharsh, Mrs G.W. Godfrey, Gertrude Mayer and Lady Dorchester (typically middle-class).<sup>9</sup> Importantly, as successful authors these women also displayed the qualities and knowledge of the market recommended for male publisher's readers.<sup>10</sup> Houses competing with Bentley

---

<sup>5</sup> See: Amy Cruse, *The Victorian and Their Books*, 1935, Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*, Chicago Press, 1957, Q.D Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public*, Chatto & Windus, 1968, Isabel Rivers, (Ed), *Books and Their Readers in the Eighteenth Century*, Leicester University press, 1982, Sally Mitchell, *The Fallen Angel: Chastity, Class and Women's Reading 1835-1880*, 1981, John Jordan and Robert Patten (eds) *Literature in the Marketplace, Nineteenth Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, C.U.P, 1995, Jacqueline Pearson *Women's Reading in Britain 1750-1835, A Dangerous Recreation*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, Kate Flint *The Woman Reader 1837-1914*, Clarendon, Oxford, repr. 1999.

<sup>6</sup> MP 318/7 October 1858.

<sup>7</sup> See Rosenmayer, 1970, part II, Lewis Charles Roberts, *Regular Floods of Literature. Literate and Material Practices in Valuing the Victorian Novel*, PhD, Indiana University, 1999, Karen M. Carney 'The Publisher's Reader as Feminist: The Career of Geraldine Endors Jewsbury', *Victorian Periodical Review* 29, (1996), p146-58 and *Coming to Terms: British Women Writers and Their Publishers*, University of Illinois, 1999.

<sup>8</sup> F.T Palgrave, 'Readers in the 1760's and 1860's' *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1, (1860), p488-9.

<sup>9</sup> Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, 1979, p157. There is also evidence of reports written by Charlotte Jackson, (or Lady Catherine Hannah), but they are sporadic and suggest she was not a permanent reader. See BM 46, 661 (91-178).

<sup>10</sup> Adeline Sergeant was a novelist of over ninety books and wrote a chapter of appreciation for women writers, in Margaret Oliphant et al, *Women Novelists of Queen Victoria's Reign; A Book of*

for the female market, such as Macmillan, did not employ women readers at this time, concentrating upon academic and 'serious' literature, as opposed to popular works. However, they did not completely overlook the female novel reader, publishing Oliphant, Ward and Crawford and Dinah Mulock (who later married the partner, George Craik.)<sup>11</sup>

Despite little research into the role of the reader in the nineteenth century, many publishers wrote about the significance of the job at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> Publisher's readers, also known as literary advisors, were predominantly men, (Meredith, Morley Lang, Garnett). Originating from the early nineteenth century the professional reader gained importance after 1840, as authorship and novel reading increased. Bentley and Macmillan had reputations for hiring good readers, yet the exact requirements of the role were difficult to define. Nonetheless, Jewsbury suited the criteria most firms desired in their readers: a sound literary judgement, ability to 'spot winners' and a 'commercial acumen and *flair*.'<sup>13</sup>

Writing about the late nineteenth century, F. A. Swinnerton agreed that readers needed to incorporate a sound knowledge of the literary world with a gift for detecting a best-seller, even in manuscript form:

He must combine enthusiasm with calm; caution with boldness. He must be patient, wary, shrewd; he must know something upon every subject; he must be acquainted with all literatures, and, preferably, with several languages. He must understand the book trade, must have a very easy familiarity with the work of all living authors, so that he knows how they are 'ranked' by critics and how they are 'rated' by the Libraries. He must be a critic able to appreciate both the unfamiliar and the conventional...he is expected to mark down a best

---

*Appreciation*, Hurst & Blackett, 1987. Mrs G. W. Godfrey wrote *Dolly*, which appeared in Bentley's *Temple Bar* in 1878 and Featherstoneharsh also published six novels between 1871-84. See the DNB.

<sup>11</sup> Macmillan MS 55931-6 and Sally Mitchell, *Dinah Mulock Craik*, Boston, Twayne, 1983.

<sup>12</sup> For further information on the role of the publisher's reader see: William Tinsley *Randon Recollections of an Old Publisher*, Tinsley, 1900, Gettman *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers*, C.U.P. 1960 and Lynne Maria Fritschner "Publishers' Readers, Publishers, and their Authors," *Publishing History*, 7, (1980), p45-100.

<sup>13</sup> Stanley Unwin, *The Truth About Publishing*, George Allen & Unwin, 1926, p25.

seller at sight, and to distinguish between the work that is immature through excess of genius and work that is crude through congenital incapacity. He is to be a hack and an explorer, the brains of a publishing business and the anonymous and frequently ill-paid servant of his employer.<sup>14</sup>

Even though the role was associated with masculine qualities (worldly experience, broad education, general and business knowledge), Jewsbury fulfilled all the above requirements through her education and her knowledge of the marketplace. She could translate French and Italian and due to her sister's early influence, was well read in a wide range of literary and non-fictional subjects, making her general knowledge quite vast for a woman educated in her times.<sup>15</sup> In addition, as author of eight novels and a reviewer she had vast experience of both the publishing and literary industry. Despite Jewsbury being far from Swinnerton's description of an 'ill-paid servant,' it is interesting to note that her income (although the same as male readers at Bentley's firm) was half of Chapman & Hall's reader, George Meredith.<sup>16</sup>

Stanley Unwin, reflecting upon the industry in which he spent his working life, stated that publisher's readers were 'much abused people,' unknown to the author or public; they worked anonymously with no one to 'recognise publicly the benefits they had derived from their friendly suggestion and criticisms.'<sup>17</sup> Education was crucial to the role and some identified Jewsbury as a 'hack' reader and not an influential 'expert,'

---

<sup>14</sup> Frank Arthur Swinnerton, 'The Task of the Publisher's Reader,' in *Authors and the Book Trade*, Gerald Howe, London, 1932, p35-6.

<sup>15</sup> Her sister influenced Jewsbury's education and literary talents seeing her need for an occupation as vital to her independence and security. She sent her to the Miss Darby's Boarding School in 1826 and also to a finishing school in London to acquire lady-like pursuits and languages. See Monica Correa Fryckstedt, 'The Hidden Rill: The Life and Career of Maria Jane Jewsbury: I' *Bulletin John Ryland's University Library Manchester*, 66:2 (1984) p177-203 and 'The Hidden Rill: The Life and Career of Maria Jane Jewsbury: II' 67, (1984), p450-473 and Harriet Devine Jump, 'My Dearest Geraldine: Maria Jane Jewsbury's Letters,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81:1 (1999), p63-72.

<sup>16</sup> He received £200 p.a. for assessing one hundred ms, whereas Jewsbury got £63 for approximately sixty. However, Bentley paid the same amounts to his readers irrespective of gender. Solveig. p129-30. For detail on Jewsbury's earnings see Chapter One.

<sup>17</sup> Unwin, p25.

like Macmillan's Edward Garnett, because she lacked a formal university education.<sup>18</sup> This was class specific, with readers like Jewsbury being categorised as self-educated 'hack' readers by Oxbridge 'expert,' such as George Meredith, John Morley, Andrew Lang and Edward Garnett. As late as 1883, Richard Horne proved unsympathetic to the self-taught reader, 'A legitimate Reader to a Publisher, must be a person who by nature, education and circumstances, is inevitably fitted for the office.'<sup>19</sup> Jewsbury was very well educated, but nonetheless could be described as a 'hack' because she lacked university training. The role of reader also required a wide general knowledge and a specialist understanding of the composition of novels and their suitability for the market, which Jewsbury developed from her experiences as a journalist and novelist. It will be shown that, Jewsbury's reports and relationships in the market demonstrate she had all necessary skills and was therefore an expert, professional reader who contributed to the success of the Bentley House.

As one of the earliest examples of a female publisher's reader, Jewsbury was a market-guide; a female novelist who wrote for female readers. Her work for Bentley and the experience of interpreting and influencing a growing and profitable area of the market helped further Jewsbury's professional identity. It also developed her confidence as an authority in the industry whilst simultaneously exposing her adoption of a more conservative ideology about the woman reader, which was akin to her male critical reviewing persona.

---

<sup>18</sup> The differentiation between 'hack' and 'expert' reader was dependant on education and class. The word 'hack' derived from the Hackney carriage which was hired to those who could not afford their own. Tuchman, p25

<sup>19</sup> Richard Horne, *Exposition of the False Medium and Barriers Excluding Men of Genius From the Public*, Effingham Wilson Royal Exchange, London, 1883, p147.



### Jewsbury's Reader's Reports for Bentley & Sons - 1858-1880.

As a professional reader, Jewsbury considered approximately sixty novels a year. Her reports range from in-depth analysis of four pages to hastily scribbled rejections less than a side in length.<sup>20</sup> It is this diverse manner of assessment, which upon first consideration may be judged as disordered, which leads to a wealth of information for the researcher. Despite the existence of a large numbers of reports, dated from 1858-80, held in the British Library and at Illinois, they are incomplete.<sup>21</sup> It is difficult to assess how many were actually written, due to the flexible nature of Jewsbury's work, and the fact she could write daily, weekly or monthly. However, the remaining Bentley reports require analysis for invaluable insight into the role of a reader; criteria for good literature; literary trends; reader preference, and changes to the mid-nineteenth century publishing and literary industry, which shall all be considered in relation to Jewsbury's experience and authority in the market.

Jewsbury used her reading talents in multifaceted ways; to select profitable and popular manuscripts, to write reviews, and to keep informed of market trends and tastes. Reading was intrinsic to her work as author, reviewer and publisher's reader, but it was also a passion. She had an insatiable desire to read and was eager to review as many novels as possible. In one week she could read eleven books for review and

---

<sup>20</sup> All Jewsbury's reader reports are written on A5 folded paper, often covering four sides. She wrote in black and blue ink, depending on whether the paper was white or blue, with a tendency to write diagonally across some of the pages making her words almost illegible. When she visited - mostly her brother in Manchester, Lady Llanover in Wales and Silwood Park, Yorkshire - she would use her host's headed notepaper. Her reports have the appearance of being written very quickly and her words increase in size as she writes hastily or when she feels strongly about a topic. In this manner, they are sometimes illegible. She used abbreviations of words and underlined for emphasis. I have tried to maintain this authenticity as much as possible when quoting.

<sup>21</sup> The Bentley Papers have reports dated from 1860-80. Those at UIUC from 1868-80, there is no repetition in these reports and they are not a complete set.

was therefore, unsurprisingly, an expert skim reader. Whilst reading fifty to sixty books a year for Bentley, she simultaneously reviewed over one hundred books for the *Athenaeum*.<sup>22</sup> She read each manuscript one at a time, sometimes returning them the following day to Bentley along with her reports. One of her letters highlights her concern that the author should be informed she had only kept the manuscript for two weeks, due to illness and not because she has not read it.<sup>23</sup>

Jewsbury's love and enthusiasm for good novels probably drove her through having to read and review others that were less well structured, whose styles were synonymous to 'eating chopped straw!' or 'having one's mouth filled with sawdust,' or 'fit only for the waste paper bin.'<sup>24</sup> Neither did she want to read 'cant,' but insisted that novels should be written to the highest degree whatever their purpose or audience, so they could be enjoyed. Many of the manuscripts read by Jewsbury, culminated in one conclusion: a dull, lifeless plot. Some were described as 'wooden,' others merely 'dishwashings.'<sup>25</sup> She was not content with any manuscripts that were 'a mere waste of time and eye sight to read,' and sometimes expressed her dismay at reading yet another unsuitable novel through her humorous sarcasm.<sup>26</sup> *The Field of Life* (1861) received such treatment as a feeble story whose 'Interest moves on like a fly in treacle,'<sup>27</sup> as did *Alice Cul* (1861) an unacceptable novel, which must have been

---

<sup>22</sup> M.C Fryckstedt, *Mirror*, p30. Also see G. Griest, *Mudies*, who states that during 1864 in five months she read twenty-five novels for Bentley, p112.

<sup>23</sup> BM 46, 653, (52), 17<sup>th</sup> February 1861.

<sup>24</sup> BM Report on *Lady Mary* 46658, 261, November 9<sup>th</sup> 1869, and *Manoeuvring Woman*, 46 657, 170, October 27<sup>th</sup> 1865, and review of M.E.E Nelson's *My Wife's Pin Money*, *Athenaeum*, October 6<sup>th</sup> 1860, p449.

<sup>25</sup> BM 46, 656, (19-20 ),6<sup>th</sup> December 1860 and 46,656, (59), June 19<sup>th</sup> 1861.

<sup>26</sup> BM 46, 658, (3), 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1867.

<sup>27</sup> BM 46,656, (28), 21<sup>st</sup> February 1861. This novel was published by Saunders & Otley in 1861 under the title *The Field of Life; or Sowing and Reaping*.

‘written in Bedlam but without a spark of the great wit said to be allied with madness.’<sup>28</sup>

These comments are acute and witty, emphasising Jewsbury’s intellect and sense of humour. They are almost more representative of her reviews than a private report, written with detailed analysis and consideration for improvement, and as such highlight Jewsbury’s professionalism. Interestingly, Mackenzie writing to Stanley Unwin at the beginning of the twentieth century, about the difference between readers and critics, advocated reader’s reports as a standard for the reviewer. ‘I wish reviewers would write as good criticism as publisher’s readers.’<sup>29</sup> Jewsbury’s reports were similar to reviews and were used by Bentley as templates for other readers. Her constructive criticism, which inevitably gave way to her wit and sarcasm, also reflects her personality and the obvious enjoyment she received from her work. In this manner she coined the derogatory phrase, ‘Minerva Press,’ to describe the dross of novels she had to read.<sup>30</sup> Her sharp rejection of Rushton’s *The Man of Speculation* (1861) also exposes her playful sarcasm, as the novel was ‘like walking thro’ a field of stiff clay on a rainy day.’<sup>31</sup>

The humour and sarcasm found within Jewsbury’s reader’s reports are akin to those in her personal letters. Jewsbury was adept at writing engaging and lively letters - a talent of her professional writing. Frequently, she expresses her frustration or boredom over the novels she is assessing, as in 1873, when she exclaimed to Bertha

---

<sup>28</sup> BM 46 656, (81), 20<sup>th</sup> November p861.

<sup>29</sup> Unwin, p26.

<sup>30</sup> Minerva Press was a derogative term in the publishing trade, see Dorothy Blakey's *The Minerva Press 1790-1820*, London, 1939.

<sup>31</sup> BM 46, 656, (61), 19<sup>th</sup> June 1861.

Johnes, I am reading an ms that makes my brain feel like a piece of wet blotting paper!<sup>32</sup>

As her confidence and relationship with Bentley grew, Jewsbury often commented about ms in detail identifying common criticisms within the writing. The lack of ‘vocation’ and talent in many writers was the fault of *Gain and Loss* (1862) which was some of the ‘greatest rubbish’ she had read for a long while.<sup>33</sup> Some manuscripts were ‘terribly slow and long winded,’ whilst others had no grasp of character. One author was chastised for making the heroine ‘too ugly for any body to fall in love with, or look to like,’ whereas others were devoid of all talent; *Sold at Last* (1862) was a ‘foolish worked out young lady’s story.’<sup>34</sup> Jewsbury was very confident of her opinions and firm in all her rejections, with many ‘not worth the paper it is written upon.’<sup>35</sup> Some manuscripts were simply; ‘neither very bad nor very good,’ but instead just ‘muddled’ stories.<sup>36</sup> When reading *The Return Visit* (1864) she could not resist being sarcastic:

I am sorry to say that I found it so dull that it nicely put me to sleep. Is that a sufficient criticism or do you want further details? Do not encourage the author to write another.<sup>37</sup>

The wit and humour of these reports is familiar to Jewsbury’s critical writing. Her vitriolic attack in the *Athenaeum* against the *Earl’s Cedars* (1860) stated that ‘the

---

<sup>32</sup> DC 7110, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1873.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., (140), 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1862.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., (248), June 11<sup>th</sup> 1863 and 46, 655, (122), 28<sup>th</sup> May 1862.

<sup>35</sup> BM 46, 656, (278), 6<sup>th</sup> December 1863.

<sup>36</sup> BM 46, 657, (31) 19<sup>th</sup> April 1864.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., (28), 18<sup>th</sup> April 1864.

incidents of the whole story are like fireworks made with damp powder which ought to be brilliant, but they hang fire and won't blaze at all.'<sup>38</sup>

It has been seen that Jewsbury was not shy to reject manuscripts attaching phrases to her report stating 'of course refuse,' 'do not meddle' and 'send it back without any thanks or other arrangement.' She rejected *Daphne Begina* (1876) because the author was 'a goose and will never do anything – the ms is rubbish.'<sup>39</sup> Jewsbury's outright rejections were often powerfully honest and based upon a standard criteria for good novels. This is highlighted by *Adventures of a Young Lady* (1861) 'I find it vulgar in style, common in incident and by no means amusing. I do not advise you to accept it nor indeed can I see any reason at all why it should be published.'<sup>40</sup> The fact the book was 'ill-written' dull and immoral meant it failed her criteria. However, most of her rejections were very thorough and outlined possible amendments the author should consider. It was rare for Jewsbury to dismiss a manuscript without a detailed report as she would 'read the story very carefully and have weighed my verdict.'<sup>41</sup> She wrote lengthy revisions and meticulous amendments for the author's aid and as such 'brought to her work something of the attitude of a surgeon. Ruthlessly and incisively' taking ms apart.<sup>42</sup> It was such attention to the detail of each manuscript that exposes Jewsbury's commitment to her job.<sup>43</sup> This care and responsibility for every manuscript can be compared to Meredith's dismissive 'reject' submitted as his report.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> March 1860, *Athenaeum*, p37.

<sup>39</sup> UIUC January 9<sup>th</sup> 1876, L9.

<sup>40</sup> BM 46, 656,(46), 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1867.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*,(211) 11<sup>th</sup> February 1863.

<sup>42</sup> Fritschner, p59.

<sup>43</sup> Sometimes she read so much she reached overload, 'reading an ms that makes my brain feel like a piece of wet blotting paper! August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1873, DC MS 7110.

<sup>44</sup> B.W Matz's , 'George Meredith,' *Fortnightly Review* 86, (1909), p288.

In a letter to friend Bertha, Jewsbury offered her advice on a piece of writing, highlighting her belief in the skills involved ‘as yet you do not know the mechanical process of putting things on paper, you do not know the value of the stroke.’<sup>45</sup> For Jewsbury, content and presentation were essential to good writing but interestingly she felt the mechanical processes of grammar and punctuation could be taught. It was the ‘something that bites’ which was an original talent. As a professional reader, with an eye for business, it was in Jewsbury’s interest to encourage writers with potential and to keep them in mind for the future. *My Self and My Relations* (1861) received some encouragement; ‘it bears the promise of talent if the young lady will work, study, and allow to the probabilities of things. At present she knows too little of life and human nature to write so good a novel as she is capable of writing.’<sup>46</sup> Jewsbury suggested Anne Robertson focused upon characterisation, construction, and narrator’s voice and style. With *Nadir to Zenith* (1871) the author exhibited ‘immense signs of power and talent and I think it would be worth yr while to keep her in view,’ but Jewsbury adds the telling comment, ‘but she does not yet know her business.’<sup>47</sup>

The object of Jewsbury’s manuscript reading was the discovery of favourable novels, which was an opportunity she relished. *Men and Women* by the author of *Susan Hopley*<sup>48</sup> was an example of ‘fine fiction’ as ‘a capital book.’ It kept her entertained until its conclusion; a rare tribute:

It kept even a hard-hearted novel-reader like me in a state of high excitement from beginning to end. It is quite a Godsend, for if you begin it you cannot put it down! At least I could not, and I neither skipped, nor yet looked on, to see what was coming, but went step by step, cutting my leaves as I went on - if that is not a compliment, what is?<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> DC, 7096, 19<sup>th</sup> August 1869.

<sup>46</sup> BM 46, 656, (80), 6<sup>th</sup> November 1861. This novel was published by Low in 1862.

<sup>47</sup> UIUC, D5 undated.

<sup>48</sup> Catherine Crowe.

<sup>49</sup> Ireland *Letters*, p99-100.

Her effort to find suitable novels for Bentley was continual requiring immense knowledge, talent and patience. However it did lead to Jewsbury's successful discovery of Wood's *East Lynne* and Braddon's *Aurora Floyd*.

### Searching for a 'Good' Story: Criteria of Assessment

Jewsbury's criterion gives insight into the nature of the publishing market and into the construction of 'good' literature. Just like her reviewing criteria, Jewsbury looked for a novel which was interesting, moral, amusing and true to nature. Added to this was the individual style and talent of the writer: the something 'that bites.'<sup>50</sup> Novels required good titles that would not disappoint the reader, unlike *The Bride of the Sepulchre* (1861), 'a name to freeze the marrow in anticipated horror,' despite not frightening 'the smallest monstrous mouse that trots across the floor.'<sup>51</sup> The author of *The Plot and the Victim* (1871) highlighted Jewsbury's demand for 'photography - like reality' as the author had the 'beauty of making his characters alive wh is a great thing & rare.'<sup>52</sup> Jewsbury's emphasis upon realism in both her reviews and reports was common of other literary critics and authors during the late 1850s and 1860s. Thackeray aimed for writers of the *Cornhill* to reflect life; 'whatever a man knows about his life, its doings, that let us hear about.'<sup>53</sup> The desire for realism that would instruct, or guide, whilst amusing at the same time, is also noted through Trollope's advice to aspiring authors to involve the reader's moral judgement and emotions, to 'touch reader's heart and draw his tears.'<sup>54</sup> Something Jewsbury echoed with her belief that novels needed more 'heart and soul.'

<sup>50</sup> BM, 46, 657, (254), 26<sup>th</sup> December 1866.

<sup>51</sup> BM 46, 656, (141), 29<sup>th</sup> March 1861.

<sup>52</sup> UIUC, November 18<sup>th</sup> 1871, L6.

<sup>53</sup> Anthony Trollope, *My Autobiography*, 1883, p101.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p166.

At the core of Jewsbury's criteria for a good novel was a moral: one that gave a moral influence upon the reader for the better. She termed novels 'vulgar' if they did not promote uplifting morality however she did not like didactic tones. It has been illustrated that as standard, Jewsbury rejected manuscripts that were 'coarse' and did not uphold morality. Some topics were judged too 'unpleasant and painful' for fiction stories, such as the flogging of children, prevalent throughout William Pichard Mann's *From the Cradle to the Grave* (1862).<sup>55</sup>

Rambling story chiefly about ill using and flogging children of which there are one or two horrible descriptions which certainly wld induce the reader to fling down the book. You might as well give vivid descriptions of a limb being amputated.<sup>56</sup>

It was not the mention or inclusion of certain topics that Jewsbury disliked, but more the nature of their treatment. She advised Bentley to decline *Mary Avbry* (1869) on the basis that it was 'an abortive attempt at bigamy and suicide, the latter is almost laughable, tho' that is not the author's intention.'<sup>57</sup> In this sense, she believed that a coarse novel written badly was insulting to the reader. This caution was not the development of a conservative censorship within her views, but more a strong belief in the principle of a high standard of writing. Literary merit was an essential factor within Jewsbury's assessment and many failed because they were 'devoid of spirit or point,' and worth nothing as a 'piece of literature.'<sup>58</sup>

As a result, Jewsbury constantly judged how a particular novel would affect or influence the reader. The inclusion of a childbirth scene in *The Struggle for Life* (1864) was 'indelicate' and clearly Jewsbury was outraged at the suggestion of a

---

<sup>55</sup> The full title of this novel, *From the Cradle to the Grave of the Footsteps of the Church*, was published in 1865 by Masters.

<sup>56</sup> BM 46, 656, (166), 14<sup>th</sup> October 1862.

<sup>57</sup> BM 46, 658, (239), 9<sup>th</sup> July 1869.

<sup>58</sup> BM 46, 660, (189), 31<sup>st</sup> August 1874.



woman hearing a man declare his love for her as she was giving birth to her husband's child.<sup>59</sup> The novel was not just criticised because of the married heroine, Elfrieda's love for the single George Treherne, but because of its shocking violation to good taste, due to the fact that there was no moral conclusion; 'the author must show her sympathy with what is right in her treatment of the wife's conduct,' and the heroine must, 'repress her emotion only let it be seen in spite of herself.'<sup>60</sup> This comment reveals that Jewsbury's objection to certain topics, was not just from a heightened sense of morality or even hypocrisy, (for seduction, illegitimacy, adultery, child-birth, and passion all feature in her own novels,) but more because of the manner in which authors presented this material.<sup>61</sup>

Just as in her reviews, controversial themes, such as love affairs, illegitimacy and the fallen woman, like Gaskell's *Ruth*, could be acceptable if they enhanced the reader after the book had been read. However, unlike Gaskell's novel, *Jenny Booth* (1864) was rejected because it explored the seduction of a village girl as its 'main incident' and neglected to explain the heroine's innocence or what she had learn as a result.<sup>62</sup> *Olive's Love Affair* assessed in 1872 had expressions of 'moaned she,' and 'shrieked she' which Jewsbury thought were amateurish representing 'idle work,' more than being too indecent to read.<sup>63</sup> She reiterates this concern in *Destroits* (1873) 'there is a love scene, which although very probable and natural - would in a book, be all the

---

<sup>59</sup> Florence Marryat's *The Struggle for Life* was published by Bentley in 1865. Jewsbury revised this novel, altering the title to *Love's Conflict*. Jewsbury had written about Zoe's labour in her first novel as a horrid experience which made her question God, but she did so in a manner which made the reader think she was wrong to judge.

<sup>60</sup> BM, 228.

<sup>61</sup> Anita Levy, *Reproductive Urges: Popular Novels, Reading, and Sexuality and the English Nation*, University of Pennsylvania, 1999 Barbara Lechie, *Culture and Adultery the Novel the Newspaper and the Law 1857-1914*, University of Pennsylvania, 1999.

<sup>62</sup> Elizabeth Pigot's novel was published by Macintosh, 1867. This was a theme that was to be developed in 1891, with the publication of Thomas Hardy's, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, but in a manner less immoral as it left the reader absolving Tess of guilt.

better if the what shall I say? kissing were somewhat curtailed or at least not reported in so much detail.’<sup>64</sup> Jewsbury recognised that the scene was natural and fitting to the overall story but disliked the explicitness of description that was not suitable for publication.

Therefore, morality and interest were Jewsbury’s guiding principles when reviewing and reading. Her judgements were persuaded and influenced by her so called, ‘priggish personal morality and vision of the moral responsibility of the Bentley firm.’<sup>65</sup> Yet, her reader’s reports demonstrate a concern for more conventional morals and often a dislike for some sensation novels that were rising in fashion during the 1860s. Jewsbury was to write of a wider changing taste in literature, in a review of *Lord Lynn’s Wife* in the *Athenaeum* in 1864.<sup>66</sup> She felt that old tales of ‘true love’ gave way to the preference of an ‘interest for bigamy,’ and that if people ‘in after times’ were to judge the morality of 1864’s English society based upon its fiction, they would deduce a belief in bigamy and impropriety; ‘it would naturally be believed that people, in the best regulated families, were in the habit of marrying two wives, or two husbands.’

Jewsbury disliked the lack of moral retribution for heroines of sensation novels and objected to immoral plots. She preferred simple stories with optimistic endings, often confirming the traditional domestic ideology of marriage, found in Jane Austen. Her sharp wit and ‘optimistic’ endings won Jewsbury’s approval because of her moral

---

<sup>63</sup> BM 46, 660, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1872.

<sup>64</sup> This was a title Jewsbury gave the novel. BM 46, 660, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1873.

<sup>65</sup> Rosenmayer, p68.

<sup>66</sup> John Bewick’s Harwood’s novel was published in 1864.

way of educating and entertaining her readers but also for the realistic understanding of the importance of money on society. As such, Jewsbury's morality was concerned with highlighting optimism and ways readers could learn from situations novelists depicted within an amusing, witty manner. Armed with this sense of social moral duty, she was more a reflection of the guardian of reader's morality, than a priggish 'prude' who merely objected to sensational subjects.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, Fritschner's interpretations of Jewsbury's reports as prudish are incorrect and instead Jewsbury's reports should be seen as a response to the established critical code and a desire to maintain a high standard of literature (encouraged by Mudie's library). Jewsbury believed in censorship over sensation because, like Eliot, she perceived this form of female writing as second rate. She thought there were too many 'false moralists' a phrase reminiscent of W. R. Greg's notorious attack on women sensation writers in the *National Review* of 1859.<sup>68</sup> In 1862, Jewsbury informed Bentley of this second class writer: 'it is a species of impertinence in young ladies to trouble publishers with such inane stuff.'<sup>69</sup>

Jewsbury was constantly aware of the commercial as well as literary requirements of good novels, as they needed to sell in circulating libraries. Therefore, she was equally mindful, in her position as reviewer, of monopolies which dictated market sales: 'Mudie wld probably take a good many copies - and general circulating library readers wld take it and fancy it amusing.'<sup>70</sup> Yet, Jewsbury was also part of this power, exerting her professional influence: 'I made everybody read *Made in Heaven*

---

<sup>67</sup> Fritschner, p94.

<sup>68</sup> W.R. Greg, 'The False Morality of Lady Novelists,' *National Review*, 8, (1859), p144-67.

<sup>69</sup> BM 46, 656, 12<sup>th</sup> April 1862.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, (196), 17<sup>th</sup> January 1863.

and bothered Mudies out of their lives.’ Despite it being a novel which ‘sinned against good taste,’ Jewsbury created a demand, which Mudie had not counted upon.<sup>71</sup>

Jewsbury’s reaction as a reader to market influence is important because it exposes her understanding of the need to reflect the conservatism of Mudie’s within assessing the potential success of novels. Ironically this contrasts to the liberalism of her first two passionate and scandalous novels which were compared to the indecency of Sand, (See Chapter Four). Through her reports it becomes clear that Jewsbury believed her role incorporated selecting appropriate novels that did not ‘do harm’ to the reader, author or Bentley’s reputation, therefore maintaining a high standard of morality. However, although acting as a moral censor of the content and style of novels, women and families would read, Jewsbury did not adopt the patriarchal critical view that fiction reading was a ‘dangerous’ pursuit for women, but instead saw reading as an interactive process between author, publisher’s reader, reviewer and novelist.

### **Interactive Readership**

As a professional (paid) female reader, Jewsbury recommended novels for other women readers. It is therefore interesting to assess her understanding of and responsibility to this reader. Jewsbury believed the late 1850s were ‘days of universal reading,’<sup>72</sup> and by the late 1870s *Blackwood’s* concurred that everyone was ‘something of a reader.’<sup>73</sup> During this time a paradox existed between the presentation of the woman reader and writer through the press and the actual practices of women in the marketplace, analysed comprehensively by Kate Flint’s *The Woman Reader*

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 7<sup>th</sup> October 1873.

<sup>72</sup> Jewsbury, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1858, *Athenaeum* p 530.

<sup>73</sup> Anon, ‘Contemporary Literature: Journalism’, *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 124, (1878), p644.

1837-1914.<sup>74</sup> Jewsbury was part of this inconsistency; like other authors, she exposes prejudices about women readers in her reviews, reports and novels, in order to depict flaws with the domestic roles of her heroines. However, she also highlighted some women's writing as second-rate raising her concern for high literary standards on behalf of both reader and author.

Women readers were gaining an authority through their number and presence as consumers of novels, mostly in the form of subscribers to Mudie's giving them power of choice.<sup>75</sup> Therefore reviewers and critics were concerned to promote a moral reading choice satirised here by Trollope as a physical temptation: 'there are those who read unblushingly; those who read and blushed; and those who sternly would not read at all.'<sup>76</sup> His connection to the physical reaction of blushing as sexual embarrassment and guilt represents the critical imagery of the negative effect of fiction upon women, reinforced by some readers and reviewers.<sup>77</sup> Jewsbury's reports partly reflect this traditional ideology by insisting upon 'safe' domestic novels like Mrs Church's 'wholesome' *Greymore* or *Home at Heatherbrae*, suitable for reading amongst the 'best regulated families.'<sup>78</sup> However, an assessment of her reports and novels, shows that Jewsbury's perception of the reader was expressed in many

---

<sup>74</sup>Flint's scholarly assessment of reading trends, advice manuals, fiction, education, female correspondence and the periodical press, is set against an historical-cultural and often psychological analysis. Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914*, Claredon, 1999.

<sup>75</sup> This was a paradoxical authority as the act of reading enabled women to enter the market as consumers and producers, but as has been seen, this was still heavily connected to the office of the home. Refer back to Chapter Two.

<sup>76</sup> Trollope, *Nineteenth Century*, p26-7.

<sup>77</sup>See Mary O' Farrell, *Behind the Blush* and Levy, *Reproductive Urges*. Flint and Pearson have comprehensively assessed the impact of criticism upon the image of the woman reader. For contemporary articles see: 'The Effect of Novel Reading on Girls,' *Spectator*, 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1864, p1209, Margaret Oliphant, 'Novels,' *Blackwoods Magazine*, 102, (1867), p257, 'Youth as Depicted in Modern Fiction,' *Christian Remembrancer*, 52, (1866), p210.

<sup>78</sup>*Athenaeum*, 9<sup>th</sup> September 1871, p336-7 and 24<sup>th</sup> March 1860 p466-7. Braddon also employed a 'health' metaphor in *John Marchmont's Legacy* by describing Mary's 'personal extravagance' for reading 'dirty, bloated, ungainly volumes,' therefore, emphasising their 'unhealthy' influence. Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *John Marchmont's Legacy* O.U.P, 1999, p22.

different ways. In her report to Bentley of July 1877, whilst remarking upon the coarseness of a manuscript that was like ‘ingrained dye,’ she exposed a conservative belief in the ability of a writer to negatively influence women readers, ‘the author is enough of an author to know how to keep from shocking the feelings and innocent readers who want to be pleased with the book, alas!’<sup>79</sup> The use of the term ‘innocent’ highlights her belief that some fiction had the possibility to corrupt some readers, and consequently authors had a duty to write morally well (a belief shared by many reviewers.)<sup>80</sup>

In this sense, as a professional reader, Jewsbury was conforming to the critical perception of women, which decreed they needed protecting from potentially corruptive texts or more importantly, knowledge. Her usage of negatives, such as ‘indecent’, ‘coarse’ or ‘vulgar,’ contrasts with the purity of the woman reader. *The Latest Chronicle of Marriage* (1867) was one manuscript that exposed this opinion, ‘there are scenes - what shall I say? of seduction wh are indecent, immoral - & tending to do harm to miscellaneous readers.’<sup>81</sup> The reader – a young woman - who happened to stumble over this novel would be shocked by its coarse tone. Jewsbury believed the text had power to ‘do harm,’ which in turn, further emphasises the image of an innocent or naïve reader and can be seen as in line with the conservative critical prejudice.

---

<sup>79</sup> UCLA, L22a, 1877.

<sup>80</sup> See W.R. Fraser’s ‘Our Female Novelists,’ *National Review*, 7, (1858), p416-35, Justin MacCarthy, ‘Novels with a Purpose,’ *Westminster Review*, 26, (1864), p24-49, G.H. Lewes, ‘The Lady Novelist,’ *Westminster Review*, 2, (1852), p129-41, ‘The Vice of Novel Reading,’ *Temple Bar*, 42, (1874), p251-7.

<sup>81</sup> BM 46, 658 (374).

However, even though Jewsbury perpetuated masculine ideas about the potential dangers some texts posed for women, an equal amount of her analysis discloses her belief in interactive readership, between the author, text and reader. It also demanded certain criteria, which gave the writer a duty to interest, include and engage the reader as well as the right to be properly entertained. This is best illustrated through her letters to her New Zealand friend, Walter Mantell, where Jewsbury remarked on the 'intense reality' some Maori friends 'put into books they had read & liked.' She considered their response to literature and 'how much books mean to them' as an illustration of active readership. It provoked a reaction which would prompt a writer to do their very best; 'one saw in them the "readers" one wld wish to do ones best for - & when it wld be a reward to one to have given pleasure to.'<sup>82</sup>

Although she appears to concur with traditional ideology, utmost in Jewsbury's mind was the need for good reading material. It is therefore more probable that she would have agreed with Braddon, that reading was a 'splendid thing after a hard day's work,' and that 'no wise man or woman was ever the worse for reading novels. Novels are only dangerous for the poor foolish girls who read nothing else, and think that their lives are to be paraphrases of their favourite books.'<sup>83</sup> As will be seen, as a professional reader, it was Jewsbury's duty to also ensure all novels maintained a high literary standard which morally uplifted and 'strengthened the mind of the reader.'<sup>84</sup>

As a 'specimen of the gentle reader,' Jewsbury believed the author's duty was to encourage enjoyment and experience within reading.<sup>85</sup> Successful novels guided, not

---

<sup>82</sup> MP 083-316/1 April 1858.

<sup>83</sup> Elizabeth Braddon, *The Doctor's Wife*, p30.

<sup>84</sup> BM 21<sup>st</sup> February 1862 (46, 656).

<sup>85</sup> UCLA 28<sup>th</sup> February 1868.

led the author allowing for identity with characters, and for readers to partake in the action of the story. In this manner, novels needed to be morally acceptable without being didactic or patronising, or worse still, dull. The relationship between author and reader was for Jewsbury, one of interaction:

A reader loves to assist at the unravelling of a plot or the detection of evidence for himself, and not to have it flashed out to him in half-a-dozen sentences of explanation in the last chapter.<sup>86</sup>

The reader's need to be teased through a story and allowed to 'assist with the unravelling of the plot,' is a far cry from the image of the inert or passive woman reader. Novels which required no reciprocity between reader and the action, were dismissed as 'simplistic' or 'infantile.' The plot of Trollope's *Castle Richmond*, (1860) despite being praised was elementary: 'The merest tyro in novel reading would have suspected the solution to the knot of difficulties which even the lawyer did not get.' Much more suitable was *Mainstone's Housekeeper* (1860) where 'constructive ability' could be shown on behalf of the reader; 'the mystery moves along so as to keep the reader's curiosity briskly engaged in following it up'<sup>87</sup> Jewsbury thought novels should challenge the reader, but also, be cleverly constructed and subtle. The author of *Scarsdale* (1860) 'does *not* carry his reader through the story...as the incident lies in distracting profusion all around him.'<sup>88</sup> The author and reviewer were expected to allow the reader to judge character; 'whether it be that the reader "hates his own likeness in a brother's face" or that Mr John Barlett is in reality a very pitiful specimen of humanity we will not decide.'<sup>89</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *Athenaeum*, February 1<sup>st</sup> 1862, p150.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1860, p755 and May 19<sup>th</sup> 1860, p681.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, June 23<sup>rd</sup>, p852 and 18<sup>th</sup> August 1860, p226.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, January 28<sup>th</sup> 1860, p133.



A novel needed to provoke an active response, a failure of *Atheline* (1860) ‘the reader will no doubt go through the story as we did ourselves, in the constant hope that something interesting is about to come on.’<sup>90</sup> Phlegmatic authors and novels of ‘languid interest’ were consequently not recommended to readers. If a novel did not entertain, excite and involve the reader, it was merely a waste of eyesight.

This interaction worked both ways, as Jewsbury insisted upon the author’s duty to entertain and morally instruct the reader in an interesting manner. In her long review of Thackeray’s *Lovel the Widower* (1861), Jewsbury expressed her disappointment over his lack of moral responsibility. She believed that as one of the main proponents of ‘light literature’ of the day, where ‘all he writes is sure to be read,’ that Thackeray would be dutiful to the reader. However, she was disgruntled by the ‘sad failure of a man of genuine powers,’ to promote any good influence; ‘after reading the book, the reader will feel cause of having suffered a moral deterioration from the intense ingrained vulgarity of spirit which pervades and shapes the whole story.’ Jewsbury thought Thackeray neglected his duty, a symptom that he ‘should do better work than this in his generation.’<sup>91</sup> The fact the reader would ‘feel’ a moral decline, the negative influence of a novel, further implied an inconsistency within Jewsbury’s beliefs, as surely innocent readers would not recognise ‘ingrained vulgarity of spirit.’ This had implications within her own ideas and produced a dichotomy, whereby readers were to be interactive and not to be patronised by an author, but simultaneously were innocent and had the potential to be corrupted.

---

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., February 25<sup>th</sup> 1860, p268.

<sup>91</sup> *Athenaeum*, 7<sup>th</sup> December 1861, p758.

With this in mind, as a professional reader, Jewsbury selected material appropriate for the circulating libraries to shelve; choosing novels that entertained without being morally outrageous. As a private reader, Jewsbury insisted upon maintaining the appearance of feminine respectability within her reading recommendations to others. As noted above, writers and commentators of the time also believed in authors' duty and responsibility to the reading public.<sup>92</sup> Even though novels meant to amuse and influence the reader in a morally enhancing way, some had the potential of being too illicit. Jewsbury's belief was firmly stated in her review of *Olive Blake's Good Work* (1860). This attempt at a sensation novel showed John Cordy Jeaffreson, doing 'his duty, not only by providing a very interesting story, but by telling it remarkably well,' i.e. amusing and morally good. Therefore, conversely, the worst sins a novelist could commit, in Jewsbury's eyes, were to induce boredom and indecency; to the extent that a novel was 'not entertaining, and that is a fatal fault, which no amount of other virtues will redeem.'<sup>93</sup>

Novels lacking in refinement and art, such as *The Story of Agnes Home*, read 'like a bad dream,' and were seen as vulgar in tone and style.<sup>94</sup> They were not suitable for a moral and entertaining read. Miss Molesworth's *The Great Experiment*, seemed to miss out on all counts:

Amusement as we have often inculcated, is the cardinal virtue of a novel. There is, however, an occasional coarseness, both uttered and indicated, which is a breach of good taste that no ambition to be either "true to life," or "spirited," or "fearless," can render necessary. Coarseness disfigures all workmanship, whether it comes from the hand of man or woman.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> This was a conscious belief of many writers at the time including Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Gaskell and Oliphant.

<sup>93</sup> *Athenaeum*, 24<sup>th</sup> November 1860, p708.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1860, p28.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1860, p542.

Coarse, dull works were therefore the antithesis of Jewsbury's requirements of good reading material. Literature, however "light," needed to inform. It was the intrinsic principle of wanting to be entertained and informed as a reader that led to Jewsbury rejecting novels which even the 'patientest reader would fling it down a quarter from the end.'<sup>96</sup> She was impatient if a novel did not even manage to fulfil basic requirements.

Moreover, Jewsbury believed all readers should use their judgement, even if this meant selecting the pages they read; 'if some compression and omission might have been advantageously used, the judicious reader will exercise that privilege for himself.'<sup>97</sup> Jewsbury expressed this choice in her first novel, *Zoe* (1845), stating that just as it was the authors privilege to digress when writing a novel and have 'his say without interruption,' so the reader should choose whether to read asides, 'the reader having also his remedy, of reading or not as it please him.'<sup>98</sup>

Therefore it would appear that Jewsbury perceived the act of reading as objective and would have disagreed with Sam Smiles who thought reading was 'a mere passive reception of other men's thought; there being little or no active effort of our mind in the translation.'<sup>99</sup> This ideology viewed women readers as passive and susceptible to a dangerous habit' of 'identifying the situations of a novel with the circumstances of her own life.'<sup>100</sup> (This was certainly something Jewsbury was guilty of as she often

---

<sup>96</sup> BM 46,656, (82), 21<sup>st</sup> November 1861

<sup>97</sup> *Athenaeum*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1860, p542.

<sup>98</sup> Geraldine Jewsbury, *Zoe; A History of Two Lives*, Virago Press, reprinted: 1989, p317.

<sup>99</sup> Sam Smiles, *Self Help*, p257.

<sup>100</sup> *Saturday Review*, 1866, p440.

felt she was ‘living in a novel.’)<sup>101</sup> There were numerous warnings during the 1860s in many of the weeklies like the *Saturday Review*, about young ladies ‘as possible wives,’ being unduly influenced by the ‘mere fetish worship of money and a moustache.’<sup>102</sup> The identification of this ‘dangerous habit’ is a hangover from earlier religious reasoning and male unease, which Pearson’s *Women’s Reading in Britain 1750-1835, A Dangerous Recreation*, identifies with political and social ideologies.<sup>103</sup> Prejudices about female reading as appertaining to a sense of hidden dangers, which have the potential to disturb societal roles, were raised by Jewsbury as part of her critical professionalism.<sup>104</sup>

Not only was Jewsbury aware of the need for a text to engage the reader, but her role as publisher’s reader and reviewer meant she understood the diversity of reading tastes. So despite accordance with critical prejudice about the effects of novels upon women readers, overall Jewsbury believed the reader had the ultimate say in the success of a novel, ‘the reader will find fault and make his criticism after he has read

---

<sup>101</sup>Jewsbury likened the action of one of Mrs Carlyle’s servants, who had been lying about being pregnant to ‘the heroine of a minerva press novel.’ Jewsbury’s reaction to the ‘story’ of her dismissal and immoral conduct, had a physical effect upon her, ‘took away my heart and made my eyes so large I cannot shut them!’

<sup>102</sup> ‘Novels Past and Present,’ *Saturday Review*, 14<sup>th</sup> April 1866, p439.

<sup>103</sup> Pearson assesses cultural ideologies assimilating negative effects of reading upon the body/ mind. The ‘pleasures and the perils’ of women reading are analysed against a background of contemporary masculine fear of disturbing the *status quo*. She argues that reading was vital for women of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to enter a very closed market, but that literary women were perceived more as leisured than productive within this market.

<sup>104</sup>Importantly, Pearson identifies the heroines of some fiction read by women as representing comparable images for women’s rights to a literary authority, showing them more actively than contemporary reviewers portrayed (a theme repeated in the 1860’s and expanded through the sensation heroine). Pearson’s examination of the ‘dangerous recreation’ looks mostly at the reader within the narrative alongside the historical reader, considering only to a small extent, the women’s professional development as reader and writer within the market. She does not develop her assertion that women readers and writers like Austen used reading as a ‘vehicle to claim and challenge cultural authority,’ p122.

the book.’<sup>105</sup> Nonetheless, it is the duty of the publisher’s reader, reviewer and author to maintain high moral and literary standards within popular fiction.

### The Business of Reading: Jewsbury’s Knowledge of the Market and Consideration of Profit.

As previously noted, experience from both the literary and publishing market was essential to the role of reader. The job was governed by ‘technical and commercial, as well as literary considerations,’ and in this vein needed someone competent in all areas.<sup>106</sup> Jewsbury described this observational experience as critical to her work, ‘I like to see things and people, as a spectator at a play, it is part of my profession.’<sup>107</sup> Despite the limited research into the role of the publisher’s reader, it is known that publishers wanted them to be ‘an extension of the audience’, with many, like Jewsbury, being successful authors. As authors, readers brought to the role; an understanding of the construction and publication process of novels; knowledge of the audience and current literary tastes, and literary connections and business relationships. Both Meredith (Chapman & Hall), and Morley, (Macmillan) were authors and George Smith famously asked Charlotte Brontë for her opinion of manuscripts, especially Thackeray’s novels.<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> *Athenaeum* July 7<sup>th</sup>, p15.

<sup>106</sup> Unwin, p25.

<sup>107</sup> MP (309/26 ) July 15<sup>th</sup> 1857.

<sup>108</sup> Frank A Mumby & Ian Morris, *Publishing and Book-Selling*, Johnathon Cape, London , 1974, Vol. 1, p217.

Jewsbury's knowledge of the market is highlighted through her prediction of the potential audience of a novel and publisher suitability. For example, *Jane Welcraft* (1862) was more suited to Mr. Newby or an 'inferior publisher,' such as *Reynold's Miscellany*. Even though her recommendation had a hint of superiority, her rejections were based on the suitability of the novel for Bentley's clientele of middle class women.<sup>109</sup>

As her reviewing also exposed, Jewsbury was aware of the diversity of reading tastes as part of the business of reading: 'Mudie wld probably take a good many copies – and general circulating library readers wld take it and fancy it amusing.'<sup>110</sup> She was also conscious of Bentley's different needs as a publisher, and recommended new material for his magazines *Temple Bar* and *Bentley's Miscellany*. After reading a review in *The Times* of a novel similar to one she had assessed, she advised Bentley to take it as a serial, as 'a likely book to take with the public right now'<sup>111</sup> Jewsbury's commitment to 'suit the taste of the public,' was part of a reader's role, as outlined by Swinnerton:

He should have his stethoscope pressed close to the heart of the public, so as to know when that heart jumps a beat. If it jumps a beat, or if the beat quickens or slackens, a change in literary fashion is imminent, and the professional reader must be ready to anticipate any change of fashion, and ready to discount mere fluctuations of pulse.<sup>112</sup>

Being able to listen to the reading public 'heart' beat was a very important talent that required a detailed knowledge of tastes reflected through sales and literary trends, and understanding of the power of circulating libraries. Jewsbury cautioned Bentley against accepting Mrs Owen's *Till Death do us Part* (1869) because it was unsuitable,

<sup>109</sup> BM 64, 656, (157), 9<sup>th</sup> September 1862.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., (196), 17<sup>th</sup> January 1863.

<sup>111</sup> UIUC 13<sup>th</sup> March 1868, L1a.

<sup>112</sup> Swinnerton, p36.

‘people would only laugh at you if you were to publish it.’<sup>113</sup> Jewsbury not only used her knowledge of the tastes and trends of literature and the market to select novels but also understood their commercial viability.

She would conclude her reports with the economic potential of the novel, highlighting if she thought it ‘would pay,’ a failure of Starbuck’s *Avcady*: ‘I have considered well as I was in some doubt whether other people would be interested so as to make it a paying return for you.’<sup>114</sup> Jewsbury thought Braddon’s *Lady Audley’s Secret* (1862) inferior to *Aurora Floyd* (1862), nevertheless, she knew it would ‘sell any other novel of the same author.’<sup>115</sup> She first saw *Lady Audley’s Secret* in *Robin Goodfellow’s Magazine* and thinking it clever, she counselled Bentley not to ‘let it slip.’ Once secured, her business sense dictated that *Aurora Floyd* should be published first as it was a stronger novel and would captivate the readers’ appetite and therefore create a demand for the second.<sup>116</sup> Consideration for the ‘indication of the general public,’ the economics of the market and her literary talent form the basis of her professionalism.<sup>117</sup>

As noted, in her role as reviewer, Jewsbury was aware of the appeal and profitability of sensation novels despite believing them of secondary literary quality. Jewsbury was business minded, and was always mindful of the reputation of the Bentley House.

<sup>113</sup> BM 46, 658, (174), 4<sup>th</sup> January 1869.

<sup>114</sup> BM 46, 656, (274).

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, (145-8), 29<sup>th</sup> July 1862.

<sup>116</sup> *Aurora Floyd* was serialised in *Temple Bar* from January 1862-3; *Lady Audley’s Secret* in *Goodfellow and Sixpenny Magazine* and published in three volumes in October 1862. Maxwell was initially going to publish *LAS* as a cheap edition because he was unaware of its success. Carnell, p128.

<sup>117</sup> BM 46, 660, (12), dated 1873.

However, on occasion, Bentley overruled her. As her assessment of Broughton's *Not Wisely But Too Well*, (1866) illustrates, she disliked the novel:

A bad story. Please have nothing to do with it - it will do you no credit - a house like yours bringing out a work so ill calculated for the teaching of decent people. I entreat you if you have made any bargain to break it.<sup>118</sup>

However, Bentley published it with much success, highlighting that literary excellence did not always win over economics. Jewsbury understood this and if Bentley 'wanted a novel' to serialise in *Temple Bar*<sup>119</sup> or as a 'yellow back',<sup>120</sup> she found a manuscript solely for this purpose, making sure he knew of its limited suitability. Captain Reid Mayne's *Maroon* (1862) was one such novel - French in style with too much romantic interest - which Jewsbury recommended as a railway book, because it was 'not of any value to literature -only to light amusing reading.'<sup>121</sup> Another ms, was one which 'you could not print it as a story intended for rational beings but if you want a yellow backed railway book it might do for that purpose.'<sup>122</sup>

As a reader who considered the profit and reputation of the firm, Jewsbury has been identified as a 'cultural broker.'<sup>123</sup> She was certainly conscious of the fact that publishing was a money-making business, as she suggested Bentley reprint books as a means of obtaining extra revenue. She asked 'wd it pay' to reissue *Beaford's Italy* in 1878, a 'book of genius I read it afresh not long ago and I had as much affect on me

<sup>118</sup> BM 46, 657, (219), 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1866.

<sup>119</sup> Jewsbury recommended serials for *Bentley's Miscellany*: Le Fanu's *Bird of Passage* appeared in *Temple Bar* from April-June 1870, Lynn Linton's *Patricia Kemball* February 1874 -February 1875.

<sup>120</sup> These terms were synonymous with cheap literature. W.H Smith set up a railway stall to sell cheap literature in 1848 and George Routledge's Shilling Railway Library was one form of competition during this period. See Altick, p299, Q. D. Leavis, p152-9, Sadleir *XIX Century fiction*, vol ii, 1951.

<sup>121</sup> BM 46, 656, (113), 17<sup>th</sup> May 1862, published in 1862 by Hurst & Blackett, probably as a recommendation from Jewsbury.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., (110), 16<sup>th</sup> May 1862.

<sup>123</sup> Solveig, C. Robinson, *Defining the Nature of Good Literature: Victorian Women of Letters*, Chicago University, Ph.D., 1994, p18.



as when I read it first.’<sup>124</sup> Also, books that had lost him revenue when first printed were recommended for re-publication, if the market was more favourable to accepting it. After reading a review in the *Times* of a novel, similar in genre, to one she had assessed, she advised ‘it is a likely book to take with the public right now.’<sup>125</sup> Even when working on her Balzac translation, she considered the financial implications of needing to get it right, and did her ‘honest best’ to try and make her proofs accurate, knowing that ‘corrections in the press cost you money.’<sup>126</sup>

Jewsbury fulfilled her role effectively and knew that her skills were valuable to Bentley. The fact the printers would usually consult her when Bentley was unavailable is further evidence of her experience and respect.<sup>127</sup> Not only was she cognisant of the changing literary tastes and the marketability of a novel, but she used her own judgement as an author to discern what the reader would enjoy, (even if this did not personally suit her.) Her remarks on reading *Buenos Ayres and the Argentina Republic* (1864) aptly summarise her perception of her role as reader: ‘I cannot tell you to take it if I am any example of the readers for whom you publish!’<sup>128</sup>

Jewsbury’s work combined all aspects of criticism enhanced through her complimentary experiences as author, reviewer and reader. Through tracing the diversity of information found within the Bentley reports, clear patterns emerge within her criteria for selecting and rejecting novels on the basis of literary skill, market taste and profitability. Jewsbury used her knowledge of the marketplace and

---

<sup>124</sup> UIUC 21<sup>st</sup> June 1878, L34.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 13<sup>th</sup> March 1868, L1a.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 13<sup>th</sup> June 1878, L32.

<sup>127</sup> Spotherwoods printers asked for Jewsbury’s advice. UIUC, 10<sup>th</sup> October 1878, L43.

<sup>128</sup> BM 46, 657, (35), 28<sup>th</sup> April 1864.

the growing female readership to inform Bentley's choice of novels, to reflect public tastes and trends. However, she also demanded a high literary standard that sometimes conflicted with her professional knowledge of profit. She perceived the reader as objective, not passive, and in need of being amused and entertained by a morally exciting story. Therefore her prejudices about women writers should be seen as a disappointment in the achievement of high literary works for both reader and writer. Overall, the assessment of Jewsbury's reader's reports exposes her as a valuable and influential reader at the Bentley House: a woman who not only had knowledge of the literary and publishing industry, but mastered her experience and talent to become a confident authority within the marketplace. Additionally, Jewsbury should also be perceived as a woman who was so enthused about reading and writing that she shared her passion through her professionalism.

## Conclusion

### 'I was born to drive theories and rules to distraction:' The Paradox of Jewsbury.

This thesis analyses Jewsbury's career in relation to the context of mid-Victorian literary and publishing history in order to establish women's contribution as professionals in the marketplace.<sup>1</sup> Jewsbury is important as a representative of the development of ideas and actions about the emergence of female professionalism within authorship and literary criticism of the mid-nineteenth century. Through her various, but complimentary roles, it has been shown that Jewsbury understood the process and business of writing books; assessing and criticising literary content as well as appreciating market trends and profitability.<sup>2</sup> The paradox of Jewsbury's work therefore rests with the fact she was both conservative and radical in her opinions about popular fiction, literary criticism and female professionalism. On the one hand, she encourages the innovative sensationalism, which was both popular and profitable, but she also rejects it from a sense of conservative morality. In this manner, Jewsbury accepted Wood's *East Lynne* but was offended by Broughton's 'vulgar' *Cometh Up*, as a novel that did not inspire or morally uplift the reader. Even though both novels addressed similar sensational themes, Jewsbury firmly emphasised the need for a high moral and literary standard as part of her conservative professional 'duty.' It is through an assessment of her witty, incisive and sarcastic reader's reports and *Athenaeum* reviews that her bipartisan understanding of the literary market and women's contribution to it, is gained.

---

<sup>1</sup> As such, it develops upon Cohen's assessment of women's domesticity as forming part of professionalism within the home as well as paid work outside of the home. See Cohen, *Professional Domesticity*.

<sup>2</sup> This has also been seen through Craik, Oliphant and Braddon, consult Chapter One.

Jewsbury is a writer who frustrates a single model of the conception of writing. Therefore, in an attempt to understand the complexity of her writing, all aspects of her literary and publishing career have been addressed. Jewsbury stated that ‘it is no good you setting up a theory about me. I was born to drive theories and rules to distraction.’<sup>3</sup> This paradox, of being both radical and conservative, can be seen as a feature of the duality of the mid-Victorian age, where writers were struggling to be both popular and moralists.

This thesis contributes and supports the recent work of Liggins and Duffy, *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts: Divergent Femininities* (2001), which signals a change in feminist criticism away from just ‘restoring’ individual Victorian women writers, to their broader placement within the marketplace. They argue that it is vital feminist criticism continues to reinstate ‘lost’ women writers and locate ‘their texts in the marketplace for which they wrote,’ whilst also highlighting the more complex appreciation of the ‘conservative/radical dilemma’ within women’s writing. This focuses upon Victorian women’s texts which both ‘endorse *and* subvert ideological norms in their representations of femininity.’<sup>4</sup> Other feminist critics such as Flint, Pykett and Cvetkovich, have also recently re-examined the importance of popular Victorian fiction for a reassessment of the contradictory femininity represented through women’s writing.<sup>5</sup> Nayder’s criticism of Braddon argues for this moral conservatism by suggesting a paradox between her ‘willingness to support the patriarchal norms and traditions that she criticizes in certain portions of her work.’<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Ireland, *Letters* p191.

<sup>4</sup> Emma Liggins and Daniel Duffy, *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts: Divergent Femininities*, Ashgate. 2001, pxxiv and pxvii.

<sup>5</sup> See Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914*, Claredon, 1999, Lyn Pykett, *The Improper Feminine: The Women’s Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing*, Routledge, 1992, Ann Cvetkovich, *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture and Victorian Sensationalism*, Rutgers University Press, 1992, and Liggins and Duffy.

<sup>6</sup> See Lilian Nayder, ‘Rebellious Sepoys and Bigamous Wives: The Indian Mutiny and Marriage Law Reform in *Lady Audley’s Secret*,’ in *Beyond Sensation*, p31-42.

Accordingly, Braddon, like Jewsbury is identified as part of the ‘conservative/radical dilemma.’ This thesis therefore contributes to this recent wave of criticism about women in the marketplace through Jewsbury’s own contradictory appreciation of popular fiction in her role as publisher’s reader, reviewer and circulating library novelist.

Jewsbury received critical attention in the 1980s through her ‘recovery’ as a ‘lost’ Victorian writer. However, this feminist criticism invented Jewsbury as an advocate for feminist ideologies, which is a paradigm that does not fully work. It has been seen that Jewsbury was a complex character whose writing positively asserted a belief in the potential of women’s professionalism in line with a domestic and traditional ideology. It is perhaps more helpful to see Jewsbury as progressive. Although she may have challenged existing female roles, and wanted more opportunities for single women, she also believed in the centrality of marriage and domesticity to a woman’s life. This parallels her contradictory expressions about the criteria for popular literature: advocating morally interesting, innovative but conservative novels. Nonetheless, as has been seen, her commentary on the possibility of women’s careers, evidenced in her letters and *The Half Sisters*, is strong argument for her progressivism. Like her criteria for assessing literature, Jewsbury’s novels were always moral despite discussing liberal, often unconventional ideas. She attacks traditional structures within Victorian society through her discussion about the weakness of domestic ideology; the lack of female education and vocation; the hypocrisy of religious piety and futility of clerical seclusion, as well as harmful ‘social respectability.’ As such, her position cannot be simply categorised as ‘feminist,’ especially as this term was only in use from 1894 onwards.<sup>7</sup> Jewsbury’s

---

<sup>7</sup> The term feminist and feminism first used in Britain in 1894, derived from the French, *Féminisme*. Therefore, discussion of Jewsbury’s work as ‘feminist’ seems irrelevant when the term was not in use

novels, reviews and reader's reports are more complex statements about the nature of mid-Victorian thought and attitudes towards literature and cultural and social ideals.

Carney has argued that Jewsbury's reading was shaped by her 'feminist principles,' a statement which in light of Jewsbury's inconsistency is too simplistic.<sup>8</sup> As such, her views about women's vocation and position in marriage are often contradictory, with emphasis upon women's liberation, (signing for the rights of married women to own their property) combined with an aversion to 'emancipation' and a belief in marriage and motherhood. Her private and personal statements differ, evident in her novels and letters to Jane Carlyle. Despite proposing herself and Jane as models of women, as 'indications of a development of womanhood, which as yet is not recognised,' Jewsbury wanted a husband and a 'dozen children.'<sup>9</sup> This is also true of her heroines, who display modern aspirations within vocation (Bianca's acting career) and marital status (the equality of the relationship of Marian and Cunningham), but revert to a traditional understanding of women's roles through marriage and renouncing their work, (Marian and Bianca.) If their actions are immoral or unconventional, like Zoe, Clotilde, Hilda and Alice, they live unsatisfied or die: symbolic that even though the traditional ideology is flawed, modern suggestions of vocation and independence also seems to be lacking.

The difficulty with past Jewsbury scholarship is that it overlooks Jewsbury's dynamism as a writer within the marketplace, and this study therefore calls for a reassessment of Jewsbury as a representative of a developing professional woman

---

and also in light of the dichotomy of her radical and conservative views. See Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860* Macmillan, 1985 and O.E.D.

<sup>8</sup> Karen Carney puts this view forward in both her article and thesis, see *Coming to Terms* and 'The Publisher's Reader as Feminist.'

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p347 and p369.

writer who explored divergent ideologies. Consequently, as well as reinstating an overlooked and under-read Victorian literary figure, this thesis contributes to a wider understanding of mid-Victorian literary history and feminist criticism.

Jewsbury symbolises a professional, experienced woman utilising transferable and interdisciplinary skills within the marketplace. This thesis has explored the fact that personally, as well as professionally, Jewsbury represents a woman, ‘full of inconsistencies;’ her work and lifestyle highlighting a complex image of female professionalism. Single, middle-class and financially independent, she used work both as a means for vocation and income. Her passionate and unconventional manner, as well as her appearance (her petite frame, red hair, green eyes and matching green spectacles) reflects her attitude towards friendship, love and work, highlighted most profoundly through her numerous letters to Mantell, Jane Carlyle, Bentley and Hepworth-Dixon.<sup>10</sup> Her voluminous correspondence gives insight into her shifting perception of professionalism, female authorship and the changing marketplace. Jewsbury’s own claim is evidence of her industrious nature: ‘I am up to the chin in affairs...I am full of work & no time to do it in!...I am generally behind hand in all things “books, work, healthful play.”’<sup>11</sup>

All Jewsbury’s letters highlight the interdisciplinary nature of her roles and the importance of her literary and business relationships, exposing her professional dedication to high moral standards within fiction, whilst also appreciating sensationalist trends within reading tastes. They also allow for an important glimpse into the literary life of a woman in the marketplace, through her professional and social world, revealing personal secrets, snippets of society news, and witty asides:

---

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix F.

<sup>11</sup> 324/3, February 25<sup>th</sup> 1862.

‘Gaskell is dead but I hope she has left her novel finished.’<sup>12</sup> Jewsbury regarded society as something to be endured, ‘I always feel more or less like an Indian taking scalps,’ but her ardent belief that ‘all people have a story,’ led to her social sufferance at literary parties and to her keen belief in communication. Jewsbury’s sense of authorship, her gift for telling a story and making the reader feel engaged and interested, permeated her life through her correspondence reflecting one of their principal values.

Jewsbury’s relationship with the literary and publishing market was dynamic and complex. At times, her work simply reflects the literary and cultural tastes of 1850-60 through her emphasis upon moral domestic tales, written by Yonge, Marsh and Hall. However, as has been argued, at other times, she contests the established or received discourses within which women writers worked. Jewsbury argued for a higher standard of popular fiction for women and a belief in the professionalism of female authorship.

Overall, the theoretical assumption behind this thesis is that an historical approach, backed up by archival research will take us a long way to understanding Jewsbury’s literary professionalism. Although crucially, feminist criticism has recognised women’s place in literary history, thus giving Jewsbury importance as a writer, it has been argued that it is problematic to categorise her writing as feministic, due to her contradictory opinions. Nonetheless, Jewsbury contributes to the debate through her progressive ideas about women’s vocation, education and the need for doubt within

---

<sup>12</sup> 326/10 1865 and 309/26 July 15<sup>th</sup> 1857



religious faith, as well as the example of her own career, and understood through an appreciation of divergence within her representation of female readership and authorship.

Therefore, in conclusion, the implications of this study for a reading of Victorian literary culture are seen through Jewsbury's position as a developing professional in the market, reflecting and contesting contemporary reading criteria, trends and social debate. Her novels initiate a response to the main cultural ideas of the 1840s and 1850s by forming a cultural dialogue, which is immensely valuable to an understanding of the period and its literature. Her writing is part of the *zeitgeist* of the age and as such is intrinsic to an appreciation of the detailed nature of the publishing and literary field. When Jewsbury is looked at in the context of literary culture, as a subversive writer and a developing professional woman, the influence of her reports, reviews, novels and letters is immense for an understanding of the nature of mid-Victorian authorship, gender and criticism.

## Appendix A

**Table 1: Relative value of the pound for 1850, 1860, 1870**

2000	£1	£10
1850	48.07	480.13
1860	43.31	433.05
1870	42.60	426.01

Due to the R.I.P. not beginning until 1847, and the cost of living index in 1914, these figures may be inaccurate. However, they are a useful guideline as to the rate and value of conversion. All figures have been derived from Kevin Smith, Office of National Statistics, London, as of April 2001. Kevin.smith@ons.gov.uk and Layton and Crowther 1850-1913.

Below are three comparative tables of expenditure based upon social class for the Victorian period:

Gentleman's Out-goings	Cost of Living in £	
	1845	1883
Taxes	30	40
Clothing	80	100
Servants	30	40
Bread	25	20
Meat	50	80
Groceries	40	60
Dairy	70	90
Wines	40	40
Coal/light	30	40
Washing	30	40
Sundries	95	110
Total	£620	£765

**Table 2: Average cost of Living for a Gentleman 1845 and 1883**

Tradesman's Out-goings	Cost of Living in £	
	1845	1883
Rent	18	20
Clothing	12	15
Bread	20	16
Meat	20	28
Groceries	20	22
Sundries	15	19
Total	105	120

**Table 3: Average cost of living for a Tradesman 1845 and 1883**

Labourer's Out-goings	Cost of Living in £	
	1845	1883
Rent	3	4
Clothing	8	8
Groceries	3	5
Bread/Meat etc	17	20
Total	31	37

**Table 4: Average cost of living for a labourer 1845 and 1883**

## Appendix B

Table of Comparative Literary Earnings<sup>1</sup>

<i>Author</i>	<i>Novel</i>	<i>Date of Publication</i>	<i>Amount Received</i>
Braddon, Mary	<i>Lady Audley's Secret</i>	1862	£800 <sup>2</sup>
	<i>Aurora Floyd</i>	1863	£1,000 <sup>3</sup>
	<i>John Marchmont's Legacy</i>	1863	£1,000 <sup>4</sup>
	<i>Eleanor's Victory</i>	1863	£1,000
Broughton, Rhoda <sup>5</sup>	<i>Not Wisely But too Well</i>	1867	£250 <sup>6</sup>
	<i>Cometh Up as a Flower</i>	1867	£500 <sup>7</sup>
	<i>Red as a Rose is She</i>	1870	£700 <sup>8</sup>
	<i>Goodbye, Sweetheart</i>	1872	£900 <sup>9</sup>
	<i>Nancy</i>	1873	£1,000 <sup>10</sup>
	<i>Joan</i>	1876	£1,260 <sup>11</sup>
	<i>Second Thoughts</i>	1880	£1,300 <sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All figures are a guide to the amount a novel received from the initial sale of the ms to the publisher, and does not include income gained from serialisation or others editions unless otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup> Robert L. Wolff, *Sensational Victorian: The Life and Fiction of Mary Elizabeth Braddon*, Garland, 1979, pp143-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> She received £2,000 for the two-year copyright of *John Marchmont's Legacy* and *Eleanor's Victory*. Robert. L. Wolff, 'Devoted Disciple: The Letters of M e Braddon to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton 1862-1873,' *Harvard Literary Bulletin*, 22, (1974) p13.

<sup>5</sup> Her novels averaged £350 per volume through till the 1900's. She always received one payment for the copyright and therefore did not get money for reprints/foreign editions, Marilyn Wood *Rhoda Broughton: Profile of a Novelist*, Paul Watkins: Stamford, 1993, p95.

<sup>6</sup> She received £5 for the original serialisation in *Dublin University Magazine* but was offered £250 by Bentley and refused the offer, so Tinsley's must have been slightly higher. See BL MS 46, 618 (85).

<sup>7</sup> BL MS 46, 618 (193), (218).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., (222).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., (222).

<sup>10</sup> Royal A. Gettman, *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers*, C.U.P, 1960, p244.

<sup>11</sup> BL MS 46, 637 (30).

<sup>12</sup> Marilyn Wood, p74.

<b>Collins, Wilkie</b>	<b>Basil</b>	1852	£350 <sup>13</sup>
	<i>Armada</i>	1866	£5,000 <sup>14</sup>
	<i>Poor Miss Finch</i>	1872	£750 <sup>15</sup>
<b>Dickens, Charles</b>	<i>Barnaby Rudge</i>	Jan –Nov 1841	£2,500 <sup>16</sup>
	<i>Martin Chuzzlewit</i>	Jan 1843- july 1844	£4,000 <sup>17</sup>
	<i>Dombey and Son</i>	Oct 1846- april 1848	£9,000 <sup>18</sup>
	<i>Bleak House</i>	March 1852-sept 1853	£ 10,984. 13s. 3½d <sup>19</sup>
	<i>Little Dorrit</i>	Dec 1855- June 57	£11,000 <sup>20</sup>
	<i>Our Mutual Friend</i>	May 1864- Nov 1865	£6,000 <sup>21</sup>
	<i>Edwin Drood</i>	1867	£7,500 <sup>22</sup>
<b>Eliot, George</b>	<i>Scenes of a Clerical Life</i>	1858	£443 <sup>23</sup>
	<i>Adam Bede</i>	1859	£800 <sup>24</sup>
	<i>Mill on the Floss</i>	1860	£3,985 <sup>25</sup>
	<i>Silas Marner: The Weaver Raveloe</i>	1861	£1,600 <sup>26</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Collins was an unknown writer at this time, Gettman, p76.

<sup>14</sup> J.A Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers*, Macmillan, 1995, p105.

<sup>15</sup> BL MS 46, 618 (235).

<sup>16</sup> Sutherland, p115.

<sup>17</sup> This was plus a ¼ share of the profits which could amount to over £16,000.

<sup>18</sup> Robert L. Patten, *Charles Dickens and his Publisher*, Clarendon, 1978, p188.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p227.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p10.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p308.

<sup>22</sup> This was plus half profits, Arthur Waugh, *One Hundred Years of Publishing*, 1930, p133 .

<sup>23</sup> Rosemary Ashton, *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Life*, Hamilton, 1996, p195.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p208.

<sup>25</sup> Gordon Haigh, *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Biography*, Penguin, 1992, p327.

<sup>26</sup> Plus an addition £160, *ibid.*, p341.

	<i>Romola</i>	1861	£1,600 <sup>27</sup>
	<i>Felix Holt</i>	1863	£7,000 <sup>28</sup>
	<i>Middlemarch: A Study of Provincial Life</i>	1871-2	£9,000 <sup>29</sup>
	<i>Daniel Derona</i>	1876	£4,330 <sup>30</sup>
Gaskell, Elizabeth	<i>Mary Barton</i>	1848	£200 <sup>31</sup>
	<i>Cranford</i>	1853	£38.52.0 <sup>32</sup>
	<i>Lizzie Leigh</i>	1853	£20 <sup>33</sup>
	<i>North and south</i>	1855	£600 <sup>35</sup>
	<i>The Life of Charlotte Bronte</i>	1857	£1,000, <sup>36</sup>
	<i>Sylvia's Lovers</i>	1863	£1,000 <sup>37</sup>
	<i>Wives and Daughters</i>	1866	£2,000 <sup>38</sup>
<b>Jewsbury, Geraldine</b>	<i>Right and Wrong</i>	1859	£180 <sup>39</sup>
<b>Oliphant, Margaret<sup>27</sup></b>	<i>Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland</i>	1849	£150 <sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cornhill offered £10,000 for the entire copyright, but gave only 6 years. Ashton, p257.

<sup>28</sup> This was for a 5 year copyright Ibid., p282.

<sup>29</sup> Haigh p443.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p498.

<sup>31</sup> Uglow, p183.

<sup>32</sup> Dickens gave Gaskell this for Canford's serialisation in Anne Lohrli, *Household Words A Weekly Journal, 1850-9*, University of Toronto, 1973, p128.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p58.

<sup>35</sup> Uglow, p443.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p444.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p456.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p572.

<sup>39</sup> MP 315/7 February 12<sup>th</sup> 1858.

<sup>27</sup> Oliphant's earnings show that between 1870-91 she received approximately £10, 125, or £500 p.a. See Gaye Tuchman and Nina Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers and Social Change*, Yale University Press, 1989, p194ff.

<sup>28</sup> Mrs Harry Coghill, (Ed), *Autobiography and Letters of Mrs Margaret Oliphant*, Blackwoods, 1899, p22.

	<i>John Drayton</i>	1851	£100 <sup>29</sup>
	<i>The Melvilles</i>	1852	£200 <sup>30</sup>
	<i>Zaidee: A Romance</i>	1856	£800 <sup>31</sup>
	<i>Agnes Hopetoun's Schools and Holidays</i>	1858	£100 <sup>32</sup>
	<i>The Perpetual Curate</i>	1864	£1,500 <sup>33</sup>
	<i>Madonna Mary</i>	1865	£1,000 <sup>34</sup>
	<i>Miss Majoribanks</i>	1866	£1,200 <sup>35</sup>
	<i>The Story of Valentine and his Brother</i>	1874	£1,000 <sup>36</sup>
	<i>The Curate in Charge</i>	1875	£500 <sup>37</sup>
	<i>Young Musgrave</i>	1877	£700 <sup>38</sup>
	<i>He That Will Not When He May</i>	1878	£750 <sup>39</sup>
<b>Thackeray, William</b>	<i>The Newcomers</i>	1854	£4,100 <sup>40</sup>
	<i>Virginians</i>	1857	£6,000 <sup>41</sup>
<b>Trollope, Anthony</b>	<i>The Warden</i>	1855	} } £727. 11s. 3d <sup>42</sup>
	<i>Barchester Towers</i>	1857	

<sup>29</sup> BL ADD 46, 616, (24).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., (114).

<sup>31</sup> Elisabeth Jay, *Mrs Oliphant: A Fiction to Herself, A Literary Life*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1995, p280.

<sup>32</sup> BL ADD 54, 919, (1).

<sup>33</sup> *Autobiography*, p84.

<sup>34</sup> J.A Haythornthwaite, 'The Wages of Success: Miss Majoribanks: Oliphant and the House of Blackwood,' *Publishing History*, 15, (1984), p99.

<sup>35</sup> Jay, says £1000 but Haythornthwaite states £1,200, see Jay p279 and Haythornthwaite, p94.

<sup>36</sup> Jay, p282.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p283.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p284.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p230.

<sup>41</sup> Sutherland, p106.

<sup>42</sup> All statistics are taken from his Trollope's *Autobiography* unless otherwise stated, *An Autobiography* John Lovell, 1983, p316.

<i>The Three Clerks</i>	1858	£250 <sup>43</sup>
<i>Doctor Thorne</i>	1858	£400
<i>The Bertrams</i>	1859	£400
<i>Castle Richmond</i>	1860	£600
<i>Framley Parsonage</i>	1861	£1,000
<i>Orley Farm</i>	1862	£3,135
<i>Rachel Ray</i>	1863	£1,645
<i>The Small House at Allington</i>	1864	£3,000 <sup>44</sup>
<i>Can You Forgive Her?</i>	1864	£3, 252 <sup>45</sup>
<i>Miss Mackenzie</i>	1864	£1,300
<i>The Claverings</i>	1867	£2,800
<i>Last Chronicle of Barse</i>	1867	£3,000
<i>Nina Balatka</i>	1867	£450 <sup>46</sup>
<i>Linda Tressel</i>	1868	£450
<i>He Knew that he was Right</i>	1869	£3,200 <sup>47</sup>
<i>Ralph The Heir</i>	1871	£2,500
<i>Lady Anna</i>	1874	£1,200
<i>The Way We Live Now</i>	1875	£3,000 <sup>48</sup>
<i>Is he Popenjoy?</i>	1878	£1,600
<i>John Caldigate</i>	1879	£1, 800

<sup>43</sup> Jay, p280.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Nina Balatka and Linda Tressel were two of Trollope's test novels to examine whether a reputable name was a necessity to an artist to secure a good price for a novel, in his experience it was, see Trollope, *Autobiography*, pp184-88.

<sup>47</sup> Sutherland, p106.

<sup>48</sup> *Autobiography*, p317.

<b>Wood, Mrs Henry</b>	<i>East Lynne</i>	1861	£700 <sup>49</sup>
	<i>Mrs Halliburton's Troubles</i>	1862	£700 <sup>50</sup>
	<i>The Channings</i>	1862	£500 <sup>51</sup>
	<i>Shadow of Ashlydyat</i>	1863	£1,000 <sup>52</sup>
	<i>Lady Adelaide's Oath</i>	1867	£600 <sup>53</sup>
	<i>Bessy Rome</i>	1870	£525 <sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> £500 agreement and additional £200 after high sales, Gettman, p142

<sup>50</sup> BL ADD 46, 617, (297)

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.,(286-7)

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., (328) ) and 2/5<sup>th</sup> profits (46, 618, 38)

<sup>53</sup> BL ADD 46, 618, (129)

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., (230)



## Appendix C

### Sonnet by Geraldine Jewsbury

Copied from *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 61, (1843), p47, (Also referenced in Lehmbek's *Studies in Geraldine Jewsbury's Fiction*, M.Lit, Edinburgh, 1988, p62.)

#### Sonnet

My heart is sick with longing though I feed  
    On hope, Time goes with such a leaden pace  
That neither gives nor takes from thy embrace,  
As if he slept, forgetting his old speed:  
For as in sunshine only we can read  
The march of Minutes on the dial's face;  
So in the shadow of this lonely place,  
There is no love, and time is dead indeed!  
But when, dear lady, I am near thy heart  
Thy smile is time, and then so swift it flies,  
It seems we only meet to tear apart,  
With aching hands, and lingering of eyes –  
Alas! alas! that we must learn hours' flight,  
By the same light of love that makes them bright.

## Appendix D

A list of Jewsbury's articles for Dickens's *Household Words* from 1850-9

Title	Date	Column Length	Payment	Information
<b>The Young Jew of Tunis</b>	27 <sup>th</sup> April 1850, pp118-20	4.5	£2.2.0	A fanatic's guilty attempt at murdering his second wife after committing bigamy.
<b>A Curious Page of Family History</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> December 1851, pp246-49	7.5	£3.15	Concerning a Yorkshire family in the 18 <sup>th</sup> Century; the marriage of the daughter. Told as factual
<b>A Forgotten Celebrity</b>	28 <sup>th</sup> February 1852, pp534-38	7.1/4	£ 3.13..6	The history of Marie de Jars de Gourney, and her mocked literary fame
<b>A Page from a Sad Book</b>	31 <sup>st</sup> July 1852, pp 474-76	5	£2.12.6	A documented account of a Witchcraft examination, in Salem, in 1692. Told as an article.
<b>The Black Lad</b>	30 <sup>th</sup> April 1853, pp206-8	4.5	£2.12.6	Ancient Lancashire custom and procession of a black figure on horseback through streets in memory of a wicked master.
<b>The Great Saddleworth Exhibition</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> October 1853, pp109-112	5.5	£2.15.0	Excursion to Yorkshire to see the exhibition in a remote part of the world.

<b>Specimen of the Alchemists</b>	16 <sup>th</sup> June 1855, pp 457-65	16	£12.0.0 for 2, £12.12.0 for each	Chapter 1 details the history of alchemy and the biographies of men who tried to learn the secrets of the art.
<b>Specimen of the Alchemists</b>	23 <sup>rd</sup> June 1855, pp488-92	8.5	As above	Chapter 2 more stories about men trying to learn the art of Geber.
<b>More Alchemy</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> July 1855, pp540-3	6.5	£3.13.6	In part from <i>Elias Ashmole's Theatrum Chemicum Britannic</i> 1652, about learning to be an alchemist.
<b>Instructive Companions</b>	29 <sup>th</sup> September 1855, pp211-14	5.5	£2.2.0	<b>Co written with Mr. Henry Morley.</b> About industrial schools and the poor.
<b>Tardy Justice</b>	27 <sup>th</sup> October 1855, pp298-301	5.5	£3.0.0	A criminal case in France during the 17 <sup>th</sup> Century where an innocent man died for a murder he did not commit.
<b>Disputed Identity</b>	22 <sup>nd</sup> December 1855, pp481-87	15- should read 13.1/4	£7.17.6	<b>The lead article</b> Account of a transported convict's double identity.
<b>Gold Mines at Home</b>	15 <sup>th</sup> March 1856, pp203-4	2.5	£1.11.6	Written as an article in chronological and historical order.

<b>Two Difficult Cases. Case the First</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> November 1856, pp385-91	12	£5.5.0	<b>Miss French &amp; Miss Jewsbury's anonymous Friend</b>  Four Barristers for the alleged murder of the Quakeress Sarah Stout. <i>Case the Second is by Henry Morley, and is unconnected.</i>
<b>The Frenchman of two Wives</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> December 1856, pp 485-90	10.3/4 should read 9.3/4	£5.15.6	A retelling of a criminal case of bigamy which occurred in France in the 17 <sup>th</sup> century.
<b>Agnes Lee</b>	11 <sup>th</sup> July 1857, pp36-46	20.1/4	£10.10.0	A Story in four chapters about the life of Agnes; her constancy to her husband who goes mad, and her benevolence to those women in need of occupation and shelter in France.
<b>Nicholas the Rope Dancer</b>	21 <sup>st</sup> May 1859, pp 588-59	12	£6.6.0	A story about an abusive stepfather.

## Appendix E

### Index of Geraldine Jewsbury's *Athenaeum* Reviews

The following reviews have been compiled from City University's Index of the *Athenaeum* and from Monica Correa Fryckstedt's comprehensive study *Geraldine Jewsbury's Athenaeum Reviews: A Mirror of Mid-Victorian Attitudes to Fiction*, Uppsala, 1986. They form a list of all Jewsbury's signed reviews and have proved immeasurably useful in researching the *Athenaeum* and Jewsbury's role as reviewer.

- The Aarbergs 1940 (December 31, 1864)
- Abbey Lands: a Tale 1558 (September 5, 1857)
- Above Rubies 1923 (September 3, 1864)
- Acrostics from across the Atlantic 2177 (July 17, 1869)
- Acts and Gestes of Garin de Loherain 1845 (March 7, 1863)
- Ada Fortescue 1846 (March 14, 1863)
- Ada Moore's Story 2063 (May 11, 1867)
- Adam Bede 1635 (February 26, 1859)
- Adele 1580 (February 6, 1858)
- Adrien 1457 (September 29, 1855)
- Adrienne Hope 1992 (December 30, 1865)
- Adrift; from the Diary of Harper Atherton 1764 (August 17, 1861)
- Adventure of my Cousin Smooth 1466 (December 1, 1855)
- Adventures of a Young Naturalist 2253 (December 31, 1870)
- The Adventures of an Arcot Rupee 2091 (November 23, 1867)
- Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratizlaw of Mitrowitz 1819 (September 6, 1862)
- The Adventures of Caliph Haroun al Raschid 1468 (December 15, 1855)
- Afraja: a Norwegian and Lapland Tale 1417 (December 23, 1854)
- After Business Jottings: Poems 1953 (April 1, 1865)
- After Dark 1479 (March 1, 1856)
- After Long Years 1879 (October 31, 1863)
- After Many Days 1709 (July 28, 1860)
- After the Wedding 1507 (September 13, 1856)
- The Afternoon of Unmarried Life 1622 (November 27, 1858)
- Against Wind and Tide 1676 (December 10, 1859)
- Aggesden Vicarage 1684 (February 4, 1860)
- Agnes Valmar. Three Volumes 1375 (March 4, 1854)
- Aimee 2302 (December 9, 1871)
- Aims and Ends 1839 (January 24, 1863)
- Alda Graham and her Brother Philip 2302 (December 9, 1871)
- Aldershot, and all about it 1535 (March 28, 1857)
- Aldersleigh 2140 (October 31, 1868)
- Alec Forbes of Howglen 1964 (June 17, 1865)
- The Alexandra: a Gift Book to the Alexandra Orphanage for Infants, Hornsey Rise 2219 (May 7, 1870)
- Alfred Leslie 1468 (December 15, 1855)
- Alfred Staunton 1637 (March 12, 1859)

- Alice Ferrars 1962 (June 3,1865)
- Alice Graeme 2111 (April 11,1868)
- Alice Herbert, and Emily's Choice 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Alice Hythe 1922 (August 27,1864)
- Alice Lisle 1704 (June 23,1860)
- Alice Littleton 1660 (August 20,1859)
- Alice Nugent 1419 (January 6,1855)
- Alive or Dead? 1700 (May 26,1860)
- All for the Best 1750 (May 11,1861)
- All in the Dark 2018 (June 30,1866)
- All Right: an Old Maid's Tale 1711 (August 11,1860)
- All's Well that Ends Well 1821 (September 20,1862)
- Almost 1570 (November 28,1857)
- Almost a Heroine 1666 (October 1,1859)
- Almost Faultless 2210 (March 5,1870)
- Alone 1412 (November 18,1854)
- Altogether Wrong 1867 (August 8,1863)
- Always in the Way 2028 (September 8,1866)
- Amberhill 1477 (February 16,1856)
- American and Italian Cantatrici 2080 (September 7,1867)
- Amusing Tales, adapted to the Capacities of Children 1417 (December 23,1854)
- Amy and her Mother 1448 (July 28,1855)
- Andrew Ramsay of Errol 1975 (September 2,1865)
- Angelo Lyons 2039 (November 24,1866)
- Angelo 1385 (May 13,1854)
- The Angle-House 1957 (April 29,1865)
- Anne Boleyn 1416 (December 16,1854)
- Anne Clayton 1448 (July 28,1855)
- Anne Hereford 2140 (October 31,1868)
- Annis Warleigh's Fortunes 1891 (January 23,1864)
- Anschar 1199 (October 19,1850)
- Anthony Burns: a History 1536 (April 4,1857)
- Apelles and his Contemporaries 1714 (September 1,1860)
- Aristonulus, the Last of the Maccabees 1457 (September 29,1855)
- Armstrong Magney 2061 (April 27,1867)
- Arrows in the Dark 1858 (June 6,1863)
- The Art of Amusing: a Collection of Graceful Acts, Games, Tricks, Puzzles, and Charades 2282 (July 22,1871)
- The Art of Dressing Well 2148 (December 26,1868)
- Arthur Brandon 1507 (September 13,1856)
- Artingale Castle 2072 (July 13,1867)
- Arvon 1414 (December 2,1854)
- Ashburne 1522 (December 27,1856)
- Aspirations of Nature 1589 (April 10,1858)
- At the Back of the North Wind 2263 (March 11,1871)
- At the South Pole 2268 (April 15,1871)
- At War and the World 2140 (October 31,1868)
- Atheline 1687 (February 25,1860)
- Atherton, and other Tales 1381 (April 15,1854)
- Aubrey Court 1962 (June 3,1865)
- Aunt Agnes; by a Clergyman's Daughter 1757 (June 29,1861)

- Aunt Dorothy's Will 1711 (August 11,1860)
- Aunt Judy's Christmas Volume for 1870 2249 (December 3,1870)
- Aunt Judy's Christmas Volume 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Aunt Judy's Letters 1824 (October 11,1862)
- Aunt Louisa's Home Companions 2263 (March 11,1871)
- Aunt Mabel's Prayer 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Autobiography of a Female Slave 1536 (April 4,1857)
- Autobiography of a Lump of Coal 2289 (September 9,1871)
- The Autobiography of a Working Man 1807 (June 14,1862)
- Autobiography of Maude Bolingbroke 1904 (April 23,1864)
- Autobiography of the Blind James Wilson 1531 (February 28,1857)
- Autour d'une Source 2203 (January 15,1870)
- Les Aventures de Robin Jouet 2230 (July 23,1870)
- Avila Hope 1952 (March 25,1865)
- The Bab Ballads 2163 (April 10,1869)
- Baby Bianca 1759 (July 13,1861)
- The Baddington Peerage 1701 (June 2,1860)
- Baffled 1587 (March 27,1858)
- The Bank Parlour 1763 (August 10,1861)
- Barbara Home 1913 (June 25,1864)
- Bardrick, the King of the Teign 2177 (July 17,1869)
- Baronscliffe 1816 (August 16,1862)
- Basil Godfrey's Caprice 2106 (March 7,1868)
- Basilissa, the Free of a Secret Craft 2163 (April 10,1869)
- The Battle on the Bosphorus 1469 (December 22,1855)
- The Bay Path 1546 (June 13,1857)
- La Beata 1750 (May 11,1861)
- Before the Conquest 2228 (July 9,1870)
- Begg'd at Court 2069 (June 22,1867)
- Behind the Scenes. Three Volumes 1381 (April 15,1854)
- The Beleaguered Hearth 1497 (July 5,1856)
- La Belle Marie 1808 (June 21,1862)
- Ben Sylvester's Word 1504 (August 23,1856)
- Bengala 1695 (April 21,1860)
- Bent, not Broken 2049 (February 2,1867)
- Bentley Priory 1672 (November 12,1859)
- Beppo the Conscript 1897 (March 5,1864)
- Bertha's Repentance 1858 (June 6,1863)
- Bertram Noel 1581 (February 13,1858)
- The Bertrams: a Novel 1639 (March 26,1859)
- Besom Ben 1958 (May 6,1865)
- Betty Westminster 1649 (June 4,1859)
- Beyminstre 1487 (April 26,1856)
- Beyond the Church 2008 (April 21,1866)
- The Bible Opened for Children 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Bibliothèque des Merveilles 2061 (April 27,1867)
- Biographies of Celebrated Canadians and Persons connected with Canada 1853 (May 2,1863)
- The Birth-day Council 1470 (December 29,1855)
- Bitter Sweets: a Love Story 1957 (April 29,1865)
- Black and Gold; or, the Don! the Don! 1937 (December 10,1864)
- Black Moss 1921 (August 20,1864)

- Blanche and her Betrothed 1470 (December 29,1855)
- Blanche Gamond 2249 (December 3,1870)
- Blanche of Montacute: a Tale 1959 (May 13,1865)
- Blanche's Wanderings 1567 (November 7,1857)
- Blenham 1458 (October 6,1855)
- Blight 1641 (April 9,1859)
- The Blind Girl of Wittenberg 1508 (September 20,1856)
- Blount Tempest 1939 (December 24,1864)
- The Blue Ribbons 1417 (December 23,1854)
- Blythe House 1914 (July 2,1864)
- Boernice 1600 (June 26,1858)
- Bokinga 1389 (June 10,1854)
- Bond and Free 1713 (August 25,1860)
- A Book about Naughty Boys 1474 (January 26,1856)
- A Book for Governesses 2157 (February 27,1869)
- The Book of Good Counsels 1766 (August 31,1861)
- The Boot on the Wrong Foot, and other Tales 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Bound to the Wheel 2018 (June 30,1866)
- The Boy in Grey 2267 (April 8,1871)
- Boy Life among the Indians 2302 (December 9,1871)
- The Boyle Lectures for the Year 1864 1935 (November 26,1864)
- A Boy's Adventures in the Wilds of Australia 1417 (December 23,1854)
- A Boy's Voyage round the World 1506 (September 6,1856)
- Brazil as it is 1842 (February 14,1863)
- Breakers Ahead 1920 (August 13,1864)
- Briars and Thorns 2071 (July 6,1867)
- The Bride of the Wilderness 1411 (November 11,1854)
- The Brief Career 1400 (August 26,1854)
- A Brief Essay on the Position of Women 2039 (November 24,1866)
- Brittany and its Byeways 2207 (February 12,1870)
- The Broad Arrow 1644 (April 30,1859)
- The Broken Sword 1375 (March 4,1854)
- The Broken Troth; from the Italian 1758 (July 6,1861)
- The Brother Basset 1450 (August 11,1855)
- My Brother; by an Old Author 1421 (January 20,1855)
- Brothers and Sisters 1915 (July 9,1864)
- The Brownlows 2113 (April 25,1868)
- The Bucklyn Shaig 1983 (October 28,1865)
- The Burnish Family 1535 (March 28,1857)
- Burrowdale 1740 (March 2,1861)
- Burton Abbots: a Woman's Story, in Four Books 1851 (April 18,1863)
- The Bush-Boys 1476 (February 9,1856)
- By the Road-Side 2228 (July 9,1870)
- By the Sea-Shore 2100 (January 25,1868)
- By the Trent 1942 (January 14,1865)
- The Cabin by the Wayside 1397 (August 5,1854)
- The Cabinet Secret 2072 (July 13,1867)
- Cabman's Holiday 1458 (October 6,1855)
- The Californian Crusoe 1427 (March 3,1855)
- Called to Account 2071 (July 6,1867)
- Camille 2100 (January 25,1868)



- Campanella 2291 (September 23,1871)
- The Campbells 1672 (November 12,1859)
- Can Wrong be Right? 1799 (April 19,1862)
- Can You Forgive Her? 1975 (September 2,1865)
- Captain Balfour 2115 (May 9,1868)
- Captain Brand, of the Centipede, a Pirate of Eminence in the West Indies 1716 (September 15,1860)
- Captain Molly 1579 (January 30,1858)
- The Career of a Rising Man 1440 (June 2,1855)
- Carine Steinburgh: an Autobiography 1808 (June 21,1862)
- Carmina Varia; being Miscellaneous Poems 2163 (April 10,1869)
- Carr of Carrlyon 1802 (May 10,1862)
- Carry's Confession 1952 (March 25,1865)
- Carstone Rectory 1717 (September 22,1860)
- Caste 1472 (January 12,1856)
- Caste 1575 (January 2,1858)
- The Castle Builders 1417 (December 23,1854)
- Castle Rag and its Dependencies 1588 (April 3,1858)
- Castle Richmond 1699 (May 19,1860)
- Cathara Clyde 1698 (May 12,1860)
- Catherine de Vere 1543 (May 23,1857)
- Catherine Irving: a Novel 1444 (June 30,1855)
- Catherine the Egyptian Slave in 1852 1464 (November 17,1855)
- The Caudine Forks 2017 (June 23,1866)
- Cecil Forrester 1942 (January 14,1865)
- Cecy's Recollections 2216 (April 16,1870)
- Cerise 2005 (March 31,1866)
- Chamber Dramas for Children 2282 (July 22,1871)
- Chances and Changes 1655 (July 16,1859)
- Chandos 2016 (June 16,1866)
- Change 1740 (March 2,1861)
- The Chaplet of Pearls 2152 (January 23,1869)
- Chapters from the Life of James Tacket 1727 (December 1,1860)
- Chapters on Wives 1707 (July 14,1860)
- Characters and Incidents 1506 (September 6,1856)
- Charity Helstone 1984 (November 4,1865)
- Charles Dallaway 1408 (October 21,1854)
- Charles Oliphant 1582 (February 20,1858)
- Charles Random 1419 (January 6,1855)
- Charley Nugent 1702 (June 9,1860)
- Charlie Thornhill 1858 (June 6,1863)
- Charlotte's Inheritance 2108 (March 21,1868)
- Chateau Lescure 1489 (May 10,1856)
- Chateaubriand and His Times 1658 (August 6,1859)
- Checkmate 1620 (November 13,1858)
- The Chepford People 2059 (April 13,1867)
- Chesterford, and some of its People 1861 (June 27,1863)
- The Chevaliers 1711 (August 11,1860)
- Child Life 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Childhood and Youth: a Tale 1816 (August 16,1862)
- The Children of Capt. Grant 2178 (July 24,1869)

- Children of the Sun 2163 (April 10,1869)
- A Child's Poetic Thoughts 2163 (April 10,1869)
- Christian Heroes of the Army and Navy 2093 (December 7,1867)
- Christian Melville; by the author of "Mathew Paxton" 1471 (January 5,1856)
- Christian's Mistake 1947 (February 18,1865)
- Christie's Faith 2042 (December 15,1866)
- Christmas at the Cross Keys 1846 (March 14,1863)
- A Christmas Cake, in Four Quarters 2304 (December 23,1871)
- A Christmas Story 1735 (January 26,1861)
- Chronicles of Dartmoor 2004 (March 24,1866)
- Chronicles of St. Mary's 2151 (January 16,1869)
- Church and Chapel 1863 (July 11,1863)
- The Church in the World 1830 (November 22,1862)
- Cinderella 2230 (July 23,1870)
- City and Suburb 1752 (May 25,1861)
- The City Banker 1516 (November 15,1856)
- Clara Hope 1576 (January 9,1858)
- Clara Howard 1496 (June 28,1856)
- Clara Morison 1394 (July 15,1854)
- Clara Vaughan 1905 (April 30,1864)
- Clara 2159 (March 13,1869)
- Clarissa 2135 (September 26,1868)
- Claude de Vesci 1478 (February 23,1856)
- Claude Wilford 1501 (August 2,1856)
- Claudia and Pudens 1737 (February 9,1861)
- The Claverings 2068 (June 15,1867)
- Clemency Franklin 2019 (July 7,1866)
- Cleve Hall 1441 (June 9,1855)
- Climbing: a Manual for the Young 1758 (July 6,1861)
- Clinton 1373 (February 18,1854)
- The Cloister and the Hearth 1775 (November 2,1861)
- Cloudland and Shadowland 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Clouds and Sunshine 1401 (September 2,1854)
- The Clyffords of Clyffe 1989 (December 9,1865)
- The Coldstreams and the Musqueteers 1489 (May 10,1856)
- The Colonel's Daughters 1585 (March 13,1858)
- Colston 2173 (June 19,1869)
- Cometh Up as a Flower: an Autobiography 2060 (April 20,1867)
- The Coming of Age of Mdlle. Bridot 1987 (November 25,1865)
- Common Sense 1995 (January 20,1866)
- Compensation 1499 (July 19,1856)
- Les Comperes du Roy 2100 (January 25,1868)
- The Conduct of Life 1729 (December 15,1860)
- Confessions of a Too Generous Young Lady 1656 (July 23,1859)
- Confidences 1654 (July 9,1859)
- The Conquest gained by Death 1965 (June 24,1865)
- The Conquest of a Soul 1837 (January 10,1863)
- The Conscript: a Tale of the French War 1966 (July 1,1865)
- Constance and Edith; or Incidents of Home Life 1577 (January 16,1858)
- Constance Rivers 2064 (May 18,1867)
- Constance Sherwood 1977 (September 16,1865)

- Constantine 1447 (July 21,1855)
- The Convent and the Manse 1406 (October 7,1854)
- Cookery for English Households. By a French Lady 1932 (November 5,1864)
- The Cook's Guide and Housekeeper's and Butler's Assistant 1769 (September 21,1861)
- The Coquette 1585 (March 13,1858)
- The Coral Island 1579 (January 30,1858)
- The Cornish Ballads, and other Poems 2163 (April 10,1869)
- The Coronet and the Cross 1557 (August 29,1857)
- Corvoda Alley 1700 (May 26,1860)
- Cost of a Secret 1859 (June 13,1863)
- The Cotton Lord 1804 (May 24,1862)
- Counsels of an Invalid 1838 (January 17,1863)
- The Count de Perbruck 1668 (October 15,1859)
- The Countess de Bonneval 1553 (August 1,1857)
- The Countess Gisela 2253 (December 31,1870)
- Country Coteries 2111 (April 11,1868)
- Country Landlords 1706 (July 7,1860)
- A Country Visit 1873 (September 19,1863)
- A County Family 2189 (October 9,1869)
- The County Magistrate 1453 (September 1,1855)
- Court-Life at Naples in our Times 1760 (July 20,1861)
- Court Secrets 1569 (November 21,1857)
- The Cousin: A Tale 1427 (March 3,1855)
- The Cousin from India 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Cousin Stella 1656 (July 23,1859)
- The Cousins' Courtship 1684 (February 4,1860)
- Cradock Nowell 2030 (September 22,1866)
- The Crawfords 1808 (June 21,1862)
- The Cream of a Life 1869 (August 22,1863)
- Creeds 1640 (April 2,1859)
- Crewe Rise 1394 (July 15,1854)
- Crispin Ken 1752 (May 25,1861)
- Cross Purposes 1464 (November 17,1855)
- The Cross Road 1514 (November 1,1856)
- Crossing the Border 1907 (May 14,1864)
- The Crown Ward 1496 (June 28,1856)
- The Cruellest Wrong of All 1593 (May 8,1858)
- Cruise of the Daring 1758 (July 6,1861)
- Crystal Palace Guide 1404 (September 23,1854)
- The Curate and the Rector 1660 (August 20,1859)
- The Curate of Overton 1412 (November 18,1854)
- Le Cure Manque 1450 (August 11,1855)
- The Curse of the Claverings 2004 (March 24,1866)
- Cuthbert St. Elme, M. P. 1551 (July 18,1857)
- A Cyclopaedia of Female Biography 1561 (September 26,1857)
- Dacia Singleton 2040 (December 1,1866)
- The Danes sketched by Themselves 1910 (June 4,1864)
- Danesbury House: Prize Tale 1691 (March 24,1860)
- Dangerous Connexions 1920 (August 13,1864)
- The Danvers Papers: an Invention. By the Author of The Heir of Redclyffe 2072 (July 13,1867)
- A Dark Night's Work 1857 (May 30,1863)

- Darlington 1485 (April 12,1856)
- Dashwood Priory 1417 (December 23,1854)
- Daughter Deborah 1258 (December 6,1851)
- A Daughter of Eve 1846 (March 14,1863)
- The Daughter of the Cedars 1612 (September 18,1858)
- The Daughters of Merville 1717 (September 22,1860)
- Dauntless 1579 (January 30,1858)
- David and Goliath 1514 (November 1,1856)
- The Dawn and the Object 2062 (May 4,1867)
- Dawn and Twilight 1579 (January 30,1858)
- The Day of Small Things 1684 (February 4,1860)
- De Cressy 1499 (July 19,1856)
- De Profundis: a Tale of the Social Deposits 1944 (January 28,1865)
- The Dead Lake, and other Tales 2210 (March 5,1870)
- The Dean 1647 (May 21,1859)
- Dearforgil, the Princess of Breffney 1549 (July 4,1857)
- Deborah 1538 (April 18,1857)
- A Decade of Italian Women 1639 (March 26,1859)
- Deck and Port 1253 (November 1,1851)
- Deep Waters 1852 (April 25,1863)
- Les Demi-Dots 1842 (February 14,1863)
- The Dennes of Daundeleyon 1668 (October 15,1859)
- The Deserted House of Hawksworth 1852 (April 25,1863)
- Dharma; or, Three Phases of Love 1963 (June 10,1865)
- The Diamond Rose 2079 (August 31,1867)
- Diamonds and Dust 1489 (May 10,1856)
- Diana Wynyard 1499 (July 19,1856)
- Diaries of a Lady of Quality, from 1797 to 1844 1908 (May 21,1864)
- The Diary of a Poor Young Gentlewoman 1701 (June 2,1860)
- The Dictionary of Daily Wants 1750 (May 11,1861)
- Dictionary of Useful Knowledge, A to F 1754 (June 8,1861)
- Digby Heathcote 1726 (November 24,1860)
- Dina 1953 (April 1,1865)
- Dione, and other Poems 2177 (July 17,1869)
- A Disputed Inheritance 1869 (August 22,1863)
- Dissimulation 1571 (December 5,1857)
- Distant Cousins 2302 (December 9,1871)
- Doctor Antonio: a Tale 1466 (December 1,1855)
- Doctor Harold 1986 (November 18,1865)
- The Doctor of Beauweir 2152 (January 23,1869)
- Doctor Thorne 1597 (June 5,1858)
- Doll World 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Domestic Life in Palestine 1784 (January 4,1862)
- Domestic Management 2073 (July 20,1867)
- Dona Blanca of Navarre 1392 (July 1,1854)
- Dora 2112 (April 18,1868)
- Dorothy Dovedale's Trials 1907 (May 14,1864)
- Dorothy Firebrace 1947 (February 18,1865)
- Dorothy 1474 (January 26,1856)
- The Double Coronet 1512 (October 18,1856)
- The Dove in the Eagle's Nest 2012 (May 19,1866)

- The Dower House 2119 (June 6,1868)
- A Dozen Pair of Wedding Gloves 1421 (January 20,1855)
- Dr. Harcourt's Assistant 2153 (January 30,1869)
- Dragon's Teeth 1864 (July 18,1863)
- The Draper in Australia 1511 (October 11,1856)
- Drawing Room Plays 2204 (January 22,1870)
- The Dream Numbers 2121 (June 20,1868)
- Dreams of Victory and Defeat; and other Poems 2290 (September 16,1871)
- Dred 1505 (August 30,1856)
- Drifting and Steering 2249 (December 3,1870)
- The Dudleys 1661 (August 27,1859)
- Dumbleton Common 2054 (March 9,1867)
- Dunellan Manse 1470 (December 29,1855)
- Dunvarlick 1964 (June 17,1865)
- The Earl's Cedars 1690 (March 17,1860)
- The Early Dawn 1526 (January 24,1857)
- Early Struggles 1573 (December 19,1857)
- Eastern Hospitals and English Nurses 1486 (April 19,1856)
- Easton and its Inhabitants 1596 (May 29,1858)
- Edith 1601 (July 3,1858)
- Edmondale 1759 (July 13,1861)
- The Education of Character 1527 (January 31,1857)
- Edward Willoughby. Two Volumes 1391 (June 24,1854)
- Eleanor Morrison 1704 (June 23,1860)
- Eleanor's Victory 1873 (September 19,1863)
- Elfie in Sicily 1687 (February 25,1860)
- Elfrida 2163 (April 10,1869)
- Elinor Dryden's Probation 2063 (May 11,1867)
- Ellen Raymond 1641 (April 9,1859)
- Ellesmere 1499 (July 19,1856)
- Ellie 1464 (November 17,1855)
- Elmwood 1509 (September 27,1856)
- Elsie Seymour 1491 (May 24,1856)
- Elsie Venner: a Romance of Destiny 1748 (April 27,1861)
- Elster's Folly 2021 (July 21,1866)
- Emeline Latimer: a Novel 1558 (September 5,1857)
- The Emigrant's Daughter 1719 (October 6,1860)
- The Emigrant's Home 1489 (May 10,1856)
- Emilia in England 1905 (April 30,1864)
- Emily Foinder 2019 (July 7,1866)
- Emily Morton: a Tale 1655 (July 16,1859)
- Emily Vernon 1417 (December 23,1854)
- Emily's Choice 2059 (April 13,1867)
- Emmanuel Appadocca. Two Volumes 1379 (April 1,1854)
- Englewood House 2127 (August 1,1868)
- The English and Australian Cookery-Book. By an Australian Aristologist 1932 (November 5,1864)
- The English Envoy at the Court of Nicholas I 1391 (June 24,1854)
- An English Girl's Account of a Moravian Settlement in the Black Forest; edited by the author of "Mary Powell" 1604 (July 24,1858)
- English Puritanism and its Leaders: Cromwell, Milton, Baxter, Bunyan 1752 (May 25,1861)

- The English Woman's Journal 1713 (August 25,1860)
- English Women of Letters: Biographical Sketches 1826 (October 25,1862)
- Englishwomen and the Age 1713 (August 25,1860)
- The Enigma 1501 (August 2,1856)
- The Enterprising Impresario 2080 (September 7,1867)
- The Epicure's Year-Book and Table Companion 2103 (February 15,1868)
- Erick Thorburn 2167 (May 8,1869)
- Ernest Graham: a Doctor's Story 2018 (June 30,1866)
- Ernest Milman 1528 (February 7,1857)
- Ernestin 1660 (August 20,1859)
- Ersilia; or, the Ordeal 2070 (June 29,1867)
- Esperanza 1417 (December 23,1854)
- Essays and Stories; by G. W. Bosanquet 2218 (April 30,1870)
- Ethel Beranger 1610 (September 4,1858)
- Ethel Woodville 1647 (May 21,1859)
- Ethel's Romance 2129 (August 15,1868)
- Eva Desmond 1612 (September 18,1858)
- Eveleen 1504 (August 23,1856)
- Evelyn Lascelles: an Autobiography 1449 (August 4,1855)
- Evelyn Marston 1496 (June 28,1856)
- Evenings at the Tea Table 2267 (April 8,1871)
- Evenings with the Sacred Poets 2236 (September 3,1870)
- Everley: a Tale 1465 (November 24,1855)
- Everybody's Pudding Book 1812 (July 19,1862)
- The Evil Eye 1725 (November 17,1860)
- The Evil Star 1372 (February 11,1854)
- The Evils of Wet-Nursing 1616 (October 16,1858)
- The Exile 1439 (May 26,1855)
- The Exiles of Italy 1581 (February 13,1858)
- The Exiles of the Cebenna: a Journal written during the Deician Persecution 1660 (August 20,1859)
- Experiences of an English Sister of Mercy 1783 (December 28,1861)
- The Faces in the Fire 1466 (December 1,1855)
- Faggots for the Fireside 1417 (December 23,1854)
- The Fair Carew 1257 (November 29,1851)
- Fairy Fancies, from the German 2203 (January 15,1870)
- Fairy Tales and Sketches by Hans Christian Andersen 2225 (June 18,1870)
- Faith Unwin's Ordeal 1995 (January 20,1866)
- Faithless 2175 (July 3,1869)
- Falkner Lyle 2002 (March 10,1866)
- The Fall of Sebastopol 1514 (November 1,1856)
- False and True 1644 (April 30,1859)
- False Positions 1868 (August 15,1863)
- A False Step in Life 1712 (August 18,1860)
- The Family Feud 1428 (March 10,1855)
- Family Interests: a Story taken from Life 1474 (January 26,1856)
- The Family Save-All 1765 (August 24,1861)
- The Family 2100 (January 25,1868)
- Far above Rubies 2070 (June 29,1867)
- The Farm of Aptonga 1519 (December 6,1856)
- Fashion and Famine 1400 (August 26,1854)

- A Fatal Error 1921 (August 20,1864)
- The Fate of a Year 1859 (June 13,1863)
- The Fate of Folly 1637 (March 12,1859)
- Father and Daughter 1632 (February 5,1859)
- Father Sterling 1921 (August 20,1864)
- Felix Holt, the Radical 2017 (June 23,1866)
- The Fella 2226 (June 25,1870)
- Fellow Travellers 1623 (December 4,1858)
- Fellowship 2159 (March 13,1869)
- Female Life among the Mormons 1458 (October 6,1855)
- The Feminine Soul: its Nature and Attributes 1533 (March 14,1857)
- Fern Vale 1820 (September 13,1862)
- Fetters of Iron 2099 (January 18,1868)
- Few Leaves; by G. L. Larkins 2177 (July 17,1869)
- A Few Out of Thousands 1633 (February 12,1859)
- Fides, the Beauty of Mayence; adapted from the German 1991 (December 23,1865)
- Fides 1551 (July 18,1857)
- The Fight of Faith 2153 (January 30,1869)
- The First-Born 1700 (May 26,1860)
- The First Temptation 1860 (June 20,1863)
- Fish, and How to Cook it 2013 (May 26,1866)
- The Fisher Girl; Translated from the Norwegian by Sivert and Elizabeth Hjerleid 2289 (September 9,1871)
- The Fisher Girl; Translated from the Norwegian 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Fit to be a Duchess; with other Stories of Courage and Principle 1735 (January 26,1861)
- Five Hundred Pounds Reward 2075 (August 3,1867)
- Five Weeks in a Balloon 2178 (July 24,1869)
- Five Weeks in a Balloon 2228 (July 9,1870)
- Five Years of It 1610 (September 4,1858)
- Flirts and Flirts 2130 (August 22,1868)
- Flora Lyndsay 1384 (May 6,1854)
- Florence 1627 (January 1,1859)
- Florian's Husband 1888 (January 2,1864)
- Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces 2297 (November 4,1871)
- Flowers and Fancies 1514 (November 1,1856)
- The Flying Scud 2064 (May 18,1867)
- Footprints of Former Men in Far Cornwall 2233 (August 13,1870)
- Footsteps behind Him 1821 (September 20,1862)
- For and Against 1596 (May 29,1858)
- Forbidden Fruit 1865 (July 25,1863)
- Forgiveness 1758 (July 6,1861)
- Forgotten by the World 2200 (December 25,1869)
- The Forsters 1570 (November 28,1857)
- Forty Years Ago 2098 (January 11,1868)
- The Foster Brothers 1636 (March 5,1859)
- Found Dead 2176 (July 10,1869)
- The Fountain of Arethusa 1105 (December 30,1848)
- The Fountain of Youth, and other Poems 2163 (April 10,1869)
- Four Messengers 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Framleigh Hall 1608 (August 21,1858)
- France 2222 (May 28,1870)

- Francesca's Love 2127 (August 1,1868)
- Frank and Andrea 1675 (December 3,1859)
- Frank Elliott 1661 (August 27,1859)
- Frank Hilton 1442 (June 16,1855)
- Frederick Rivers, Independent Parson 1917 (July 23,1864)
- The French Pastor at the Seat of War 1508 (September 20,1856)
- Freshfield 1668 (October 15,1859)
- Fret Not, and other Poems 2161 (March 27,1869)
- A Friend in Need 1608 (August 21,1858)
- The Frigate and the Lugger 1786 (January 18,1862)
- From Death to Life 1760 (July 20,1861)
- From Hay-time to Hopping 1712 (August 18,1860)
- El Fureidis 1702 (June 9,1860)
- The Gables: a Story of a Life 1573 (December 19,1857)
- The Gage of Honour 2191 (October 23,1869)
- The Gain of a Loss 2015 (June 9,1866)
- Galileo Galilei 1795 (March 22,1862)
- Garestone Hall 1605 (July 31,1858)
- The Garies and their Friends 1565 (October 24,1857)
- Gaston Bligh 1587 (March 27,1858)
- The Gate of Pearl 2249 (December 3,1870)
- The Gayworthys 1972 (August 12,1865)
- Gazida 1765 (August 24,1861)
- Gemma 2042 (December 15,1866)
- George Cruikshank's Fairy Library. - The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman 2216 (April 16,1870)
- George Geith of Fen Court 1947 (February 18,1865)
- Georgie Barrington 1649 (June 4,1859)
- Gerald Fitzgerald 1591 (April 24,1858)
- German Tales; by Berthold Auerbach 2226 (June 25,1870)
- The Giant 2288 (September 2,1871)
- Gibert Messenger 1465 (November 24,1855)
- Gilbert Midhurst 1641 (April 9,1859)
- The Gilberts and their Guests 1597 (June 5,1858)
- Giulio Branchi: The Story of a Tuscan 1530 (February 21,1857)
- Giulio Malatesta 1857 (May 30,1863)
- Gladys the Reaper 1724 (November 10,1860)
- A Glance behind the Grilles of Religious Houses in France 1445 (July 7,1855)
- Glenwood Manor House 1541 (May 9,1857)
- Gloaming of Life: a Memoir of James Stirling 1581 (February 13,1858)
- Gloucester Cathedral 1499 (July 19,1856)
- Gold: a Tale for the Times 1400 (August 26,1854)
- The Golden Chain of Praise 2163 (April 10,1869)
- The Golden Gate, and other Stories 2267 (April 8,1871)
- The Goldsworthy Family 1910 (June 4,1864)
- The Good St. Louis and his Times 2205 (January 29,1870)
- The Good Time Coming 1502 (August 9,1856)
- Gordon of Duncairn 1623 (December 4,1858)
- Grace Lee: a Tale 1429 (March 17,1855)
- Grace of Glenholme 1859 (June 13,1863)
- Grace Truman 1548 (June 27,1857)
- Grace's Fortune 2115 (May 9,1868)



- Gracie Amber 1547 (June 20,1857)
- The Grahams of Bessbridge House, Dydborough 2004 (March 24,1866)
- Grandmother's Money 1700 (May 26,1860)
- Granny's Wonderful Chair, and its Tales of Fairy Times 1519 (December 6,1856)
- Grasp your Nettle 1968 (July 15,1865)
- The Great Experiment 1695 (April 21,1860)
- The Great Highway 1384 (May 6,1854)
- The Green Hand 1501 (August 2,1856)
- The Grey House on the Hill 2288 (September 2,1871)
- Greymore 1691 (March 24,1860)
- Grey's Court 1956 (April 22,1865)
- Gross Purposes 1465 (November 24,1855)
- Gruffel Swilendrinken 1519 (December 6,1856)
- Guy Deverell 1982 (October 21,1865)
- Guy Livingstone 1553 (August 1,1857)
- Hand and Glove 1599 (June 19,1858)
- Handbook of Domestic Recipes 1812 (July 19,1862)
- The Handwriting on the Wall 1575 (January 2,1858)
- Hannah Lavender 1726 (November 24,1860)
- The Happy Boy 2213 (March 26,1870)
- The Happy Colony 1405 (September 30,1854)
- The Happy Cottage 1507 (September 13,1856)
- The Happy Nursery 2268 (April 15,1871)
- The Harp of the Valley 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Harry Birket 1691 (March 24,1860)
- Harry Egerton 2165 (April 24,1869)
- Harry Hartley 1678 (December 24,1859)
- Harry Ogilvie 1501 (August 2,1856)
- Hartley Hall 1601 (July 3,1858)
- The Harvest 2129 (August 15,1868)
- The Haunted Castle 1819 (September 6,1862)
- Haunted Hearts 1917 (July 23,1864)
- Hawksview: a Family History of our Own Times 1655 (July 16,1859)
- Head and Hand 1727 (December 1,1860)
- Health and Beauty 1511 (October 11,1856)
- Heart and Cross 1858 (June 6,1863)
- Hearths and Watchfires 1819 (September 6,1862)
- The Hearts of Steel 1446 (July 14,1855)
- Heartsease 1412 (November 18,1854)
- Heckington 1597 (June 5,1858)
- The Heir of Mabberley 2059 (April 13,1867)
- The Heir of Vallis 1380 (April 8,1854)
- The Heiress of Somerton. Three Volumes 1376 (March 11,1854)
- The Heiress of the Blackburnfoot: a Tale of Scottish Rural Life 1958 (May 6,1865)
- The Heiress of Vernon Hall 1591 (April 24,1858)
- The Heirs of Blackridge Manor 1491 (May 24,1856)
- The Heirs of Cheveleigh 1599 (June 19,1858)
- The Heirs of the Farmstead 1579 (January 30,1858)
- Heirs of the Soil 2213 (March 26,1870)
- Helen Leeson 1472 (January 12,1856)
- Helen Lincoln 1504 (August 23,1856)

- Helen Lindsay 1656 (July 23,1859)
- Helen 1719 (October 6,1860)
- Henry and Mary 1727 (December 1,1860)
- Henry Lyle 1496 (June 28,1856)
- Henry St. John, Gentleman, of "Flower of Hundreds", in the County of Prince George, Virginia: a Tale of 1774 - 1775 1675 (December 3,1859)
- Herbert Chauncey 1710 (August 4,1860)
- Heroes of the Crusades 2145 (December 5,1868)
- Heroines in Obscurity 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Hester and Ellinor 1372 (February 11,1854)
- Hester Kirton 1911 (June 11,1864)
- Hester's History 2164 (April 17,1869)
- Hester's Sacrifice 2012 (May 19,1866)
- Hetty Gouldworth 2040 (December 1,1866)
- Hetty's Resolve 2253 (December 31,1870)
- Hever Court 2098 (January 11,1868)
- The Hidden Path 1464 (November 17,1855)
- The Hidden Sin 2013 (May 26,1866)
- Hide and Seek. Three Volumes 1391 (June 24,1854)
- High Church 1712 (August 18,1860)
- High Places 1728 (December 8,1860)
- The Highlanders of Glen Ora 1569 (November 21,1857)
- The Hills of the Shatemuc 1508 (September 20,1856)
- Historical Chapters relating to many Lands 1417 (December 23,1854)
- The History and Pleasant Chronicle of Little Jehan de Saintre and the Lady of the Fair Cousins, without being otherwise named 2129 (August 15,1868)
- History of Lace 1939 (December 24,1864)
- The History of Moses Wimble 1645 (May 7,1859)
- The History of the Cotton Famine 1920 (August 13,1864)
- A History of the Gypsies, with Specimens of the Gypsy Language 2007 (April 14,1866)
- The Hobbies 1551 (July 18,1857)
- The Holidays of the Countess 1982 (October 21,1865)
- Hollywood Hall 1648 (May 28,1859)
- Home and the Homeless 1625 (December 18,1858)
- The Home at Heatherbrae 2289 (September 9,1871)
- A Home-Book for Children of All Ages 1378 (March 25,1854)
- Home Life of English Ladies of the Seventeenth Century 1725 (November 17,1860)
- Home Life of the Lancashire Factory Folk during the Cotton Famine 2061 (April 27,1867)
- The Home Theatre 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Homeless 1757 (June 29,1861)
- Homely Rhymes, Poems, and Reminiscences; by Samuel Bamford 1951 (March 18,1865)
- Honey and Gall: a Poetical Miscellany 1829 (November 15,1862)
- The Honeymoon 1442 (June 16,1855)
- Hope Campbell 1414 (December 2,1854)
- Hope Deferred 1976 (September 9,1865)
- Hope Evermore 1730 (December 22,1860)
- Hope's Happy Home, and other Poems 2163 (April 10,1869)
- Horrors of the Virginian Slave Trade 1897 (March 5,1864)
- The House by the Churchyard 1842 (February 14,1863)
- The House of Camelet 1601 (July 3,1858)
- The House of Elmore 1467 (December 8,1855)

- The House of Raby 1416 (December 16,1854)
- The House of Rochfort 2073 (July 20,1867)
- The House on the Moor 1727 (December 1,1860)
- The Household Fairy 2228 (July 9,1870)
- The Household of Bouverie 1716 (September 15,1860)
- How could he Help it? 1700 (May 26,1860)
- How to Dress Well 2148 (December 26,1868)
- Howard Plunkett 1550 (July 11,1857)
- The Huguenot Exiles 1499 (July 19,1856)
- Hulse House 1697 (May 5,1860)
- Hungarian Sketches in Peace and War 1404 (September 23,1854)
- The Huntley Casket 1772 (October 12,1861)
- Ida May 1404 (September 23,1854)
- Ida 1600 (June 26,1858)
- Idalia 2053 (March 2,1867)
- Idaline 1408 (October 21,1854)
- Idols of Clay 2070 (June 29,1867)
- Idonia, and other Poems 2177 (July 17,1869)
- Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West 1531 (February 28,1857)
- Industrial and Social Position of Women in the Middle and the Lower Ranks 1570 (November 28,1857)
- The Industrial Resources of the District of the Three Northern Rivers, the Tyne, Wear, and Tees 1958 (May 6,1865)
- Inez: a Tale of the Alama 1443 (June 23,1855)
- Influence 1697 (May 5,1860)
- Intellectual Education, and its Influence on the Character and Happiness of Women 1597 (June 5,1858)
- Irene's Repentance 2069 (June 22,1867)
- The Iron Cousin 1386 (May 20,1854)
- The Ironsides 1706 (July 7,1860)
- Ismeer 1496 (June 28,1856)
- Italy 2177 (July 17,1869)
- Ivors 1518 (November 29,1856)
- Jane Grey 1829 (November 15,1862)
- Jane Hardy 1553 (August 1,1857)
- Janet Mowbray 1379 (April 1,1854)
- Janet, one of Many 1823 (October 4,1862)
- Jasper Lyde 1248 (September 27,1851)
- The Jealous Wife 1445 (July 7,1855)
- Jeanne de Vaudreuil 1473 (January 19,1856)
- Jenny Bell 2006 (April 7,1866)
- Jerningham 1395 (July 22,1854)
- Jerville 1491 (May 24,1856)
- Jessie Grey 2228 (July 9,1870)
- Jessie Melville 1501 (August 2,1856)
- Jessie's Expiation 2055 (March 16,1867)
- Joan Carewe 1860 (June 20,1863)
- John Drayton 1245 (September 6,1851)
- John Greswold 1911 (June 11,1864)
- John Halifax, Gentleman; by the author of "The Head of the Family", Etc 1487 (April 26,1856)
- John Leifchild, D. D. 1852 (April 25,1863)

- John Neville 1976 (September 9,1865)
- Jonathan Oldaker 1521 (December 20,1856)
- Joseph Anstey 1870 (August 29,1863)
- Joseph the Jew 1531 (February 28,1857)
- The Journal of a Home Life 2062 (May 4,1867)
- The Journey to the Centre of the Earth 2302 (December 9,1871)
- "The Julia": a Tale 1642 (April 16,1859)
- Julia 1530 (February 21,1857)
- Kansas 1536 (April 4,1857)
- Katherine Ashton 1392 (July 1,1854)
- Katherine Morris: an Autobiography 1711 (August 11,1860)
- Kathie Brande 1515 (November 8,1856)
- Katie Johnstone's Cross 2228 (July 9,1870)
- Katie Lawford's Victory, and other Stories 2069 (June 22,1867)
- Keeping Afloat 1892 (January 30,1864)
- Keeping up Appearances 1726 (November 24,1860)
- Kiama 1569 (November 21,1857)
- The King of Topsy-Turvy 2268 (April 15,1871)
- Kinkora 1947 (February 18,1865)
- Kitford 1644 (April 30,1859)
- Kitty Lamere 1464 (November 17,1855)
- The Knave of Clubs 2118 (May 30,1868)
- Kynance Cove 1965 (June 24,1865)
- Labour and Live 1558 (September 5,1857)
- "Labour Stands on Golden Feet": a Holiday Story for Sensible Apprentices, Young Men, and Masters 2291 (September 23,1871)
- The Lace-makers 1973 (August 19,1865)
- Lady Adelaide's Oath 2056 (March 23,1867)
- Lady Alice 1250 (October 11,1851)
- Lady Bountiful's Legacy to her Family and Friends 2115 (May 9,1868)
- Lady Fortune 1837 (January 10,1863)
- The Lady of Glynne 1570 (November 28,1857)
- Lady Lee's Widowhood 1373 (February 18,1854)
- Lady May: a Pastoral 2161 (March 27,1869)
- The Lady of Fashion 1474 (January 26,1856)
- Lady Selina Clifford, and other Tales 1246 (September 13,1851)
- The Lady's Guide to the Ordering of her Household and the Economy of the Dinner-table 1787 (January 25,1862)
- The Lady's Mile 2014 (June 2,1866)
- The Laird of Norlaw: a Scottish Story 1622 (November 27,1858)
- The Laird of Restalrig's Daughter 1567 (November 7,1857)
- The Lamplighter 1383 (April 29,1854)
- The Lances of Lynwood 1465 (November 24,1855)
- The Land of the Kelt 1688 (March 3,1860)
- Langton Manor House 1605 (July 31,1858)
- Lanterns 1451 (August 18,1855)
- The Last Chronicles of Barset 2075 (August 3,1867)
- The Last Days of a Bachelor 1819 (September 6,1862)
- The Last Earl of Desmond 1414 (December 2,1854)
- The Last of the Cavaliers 1647 (May 21,1859)
- The Last of the Czars 1464 (November 17,1855)

- Late Laurels 1910 (June 4,1864)
- Later Years 1421 (January 20,1855)
- Laugh and grow Wise 1519 (December 6,1856)
- Laura Gay 1474 (January 26,1856)
- Laura's Pride 2144 (November 28,1868)
- Lays of Memory, Sacred and Social 1525 (January 17,1857)
- Laws and Bye-Laws of Good Society 2148 (December 26,1868)
- The Laws of Life. With Special Reference to the Physical Education of Girls 1659 (August 13,1859)
- The Layman's Breviary 2106 (March 7,1868)
- The Layrock of Langley Side 1915 (July 9,1864)
- Leaves from a Family Journal 1432 (April 7,1855)
- Lectures on the History of Ireland 2177 (July 17,1869)
- The Lees of Blendon Hall 1655 (July 16,1859)
- The Lee Shore 1525 (January 17,1857)
- Left to the World 1965 (June 24,1865)
- Legends of the Lintel and the Ley 1860 (June 20,1863)
- The Leighs 1762 (August 3,1861)
- Leo 1884 (December 5,1863)
- Leonora Casaloni 2152 (January 23,1869)
- Leonora 1491 (May 24,1856)
- Lessons and Trials of Life 1375 (March 4,1854)
- A Letter to the Queen on Lord Chancellor Cranworth's Bill 1446 (July 14,1855)
- Lewell Pastimes 1398 (August 12,1854)
- Leyton Hall, and other Tales 2047 (January 19,1867)
- The Life and Adventures of Clever Woman 1317 (January 22,1853)
- Life and its Lessons 1247 (September 20,1851)
- Life and its Lessons 1683 (January 28,1860)
- A Life for a Life 1658 (August 6,1859)
- Life in the Land of the Fire Worshippers 1763 (August 10,1861)
- The Life, Letters and Posthumous Works of Frederika Bremer 2129 (August 15,1868)
- Life of Amelia Wilhelmina Sieveking 1883 (November 28,1863)
- The Life of Madame de Beauharnais de Miramion 2232 (August 6,1870)
- The Life of Madame Louise de France 2178 (July 24,1869)
- The Life of Richard Feverel 1654 (July 9,1859)
- The Life of Sir Timothy Graceless, Bart. 1895 (February 20,1864)
- The Life of the Rev. Robert Newton 1435 (April 28,1855)
- Life Pictures from a Pastor's Note-Book 1547 (June 20,1857)
- A Life Struggle 1681 (January 14,1860)
- Life's Chances 1483 (March 29,1856)
- Life's Foreshadowings 1646 (May 14,1859)
- Life's Lesson 1408 (October 21,1854)
- Lifting the Veil 2229 (July 16,1870)
- Lights and Shadows of English Life 1443 (June 23,1855)
- Likes and Dislikes 1594 (May 15,1858)
- Lillian's Inheritance 2067 (June 8,1867)
- Lilliesleaf 1467 (December 8,1855)
- Lilliput Lectures 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Lily and Nanny at School 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Lily 1472 (January 12,1856)
- Linden Manor 1453 (September 1,1855)

- The Linesman 1496 (June 28,1856)
- Lion Hearted; by the author of The Gambler's Wife 1934 (November 19,1864)
- Lionel Merval 2021 (July 21,1866)
- Little Black Cap, and other Stories 2288 (September 2,1871)
- Little Effie's Home 2250 (December 10,1870)
- Little Elsie's Summer at Malvern 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Little Flaggs, the Almshouse Foundling 1902 (April 9,1864)
- The Little Gipsy 2145 (December 5,1868)
- Little Millie, and her Four Places 1457 (September 29,1855)
- Little Pussy Willow 2288 (September 2,1871)
- The Little Rift 2073 (July 20,1867)
- Little Rosy's Pictures 2263 (March 11,1871)
- Little Sunshine's Holiday 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Live It Down 1848 (March 28,1863)
- The Living among the Dead 1697 (May 5,1860)
- Le Livre de Cuisine 2103 (February 15,1868)
- Lizzie Wentworth 2232 (August 6,1870)
- Lloyd Pennant 1894 (February 13,1864)
- London Characters and the Humorous Side of London Life 2232 (August 6,1870)
- London Pilgrims 1971 (August 5,1865)
- The Lonely Man of the Ocean 1514 (November 1,1856)
- A Long Look Ahead 1436 (May 5,1855)
- Look Before You Leap 1951 (March 18,1865)
- Lord Falconberg's Heir 2107 (March 14,1868)
- A Lord for a Rival 1587 (March 27,1858)
- Lord Lynn's Wife 1936 (December 3,1864)
- A Lord of the Creation 1561 (September 26,1857)
- Lorna Doone 2164 (April 17,1869)
- A Loss Gained 1816 (August 16,1862)
- Lost and Won 1637 (March 12,1859)
- The Lost Child 1378 (March 25,1854)
- The Lost Father 2216 (April 16,1870)
- The Lost Legends of the Nursery Songs 2225 (June 18,1870)
- A Lost Love 1452 (August 25,1855)
- Lost Sir Massingberd 1911 (June 11,1864)
- The Lost Treasures 1396 (July 29,1854)
- Lotta Schmitt, and other Stories 2091 (November 23,1867)
- Louis de Rippie 2153 (January 30,1869)
- Love and Duty 2267 (April 8,1871)
- Love and Labour 1699 (May 19,1860)
- Love and Life in Norway 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Love in Light and Shadow - Katherine Evening 1569 (November 21,1857)
- Love the Avenger 2167 (May 8,1869)
- Love versus Money 1453 (September 1,1855)
- Love versus War 1440 (June 2,1855)
- Lovel the Widower 1780 (December 7,1861)
- Lover and Husband 2200 (December 25,1869)
- Lovers of the Present Day 1842 (February 14,1863)
- Love's Matchless Might 2124 (July 11,1868)
- The Loves of Rose-Pink and Skye-Blue 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Loving, and being Loved 1759 (July 13,1861)

- The Loyalist's Daughter 2059 (April 13,1867)
- Lucian Playfair 1562 (October 3,1857)
- Lucy Crofton 1682 (January 21,1860)
- Lynn of the Craggs 1947 (February 18,1865)
- Mabel Vaughan 1565 (October 24,1857)
- Mad 2153 (January 30,1869)
- Madame Silva's Secret 2173 (June 19,1869)
- Madeleine Graham 1898 (March 12,1864)
- Madeline Clare 1484 (April 5,1856)
- Magdalen Havering 1731 (December 29,1860)
- Magdalen Hepburn 1394 (July 15,1854)
- Magdalen Stafford 1549 (July 4,1857)
- The Magic Spectacles: a Fairy Story 2288 (September 2,1871)
- The Magical Eye-Glass 2201 (January 1,1870)
- The Magician's Own Book 2304 (December 23,1871)
- The Magic Word 1525 (January 17,1857)
- Maiden Sisters 1627 (January 1,1859)
- Maidenhood 2057 (March 30,1867)
- The Maitlands: a Tale of the Day 2010 (May 5,1866)
- Malvern 1469 (December 22,1855)
- Mammon 1426 (February 24,1855)
- Man and his Money 1477 (February 16,1856)
- Man and Money 1401 (September 2,1854)
- The Man in Chains 1922 (August 27,1864)
- The Man of Destiny 1717 (September 22,1860)
- The Man of Fortune 1648 (May 28,1859)
- The Man of the People 1692 (March 31,1860)
- The Man of the World 1499 (July 19,1856)
- Manordean 1757 (June 29,1861)
- The Manse of Mastland 1725 (November 17,1860)
- Manxland 1860 (June 20,1863)
- The Maori King 1927 (October 1,1864)
- March Winds and April Showers 1419 (January 6,1855)
- Margaret. A Tale of the Real and the Ideal 1116 (March 17,1849)
- Margaret: A Story of my Life from Five to Twenty-five 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Margaret and her Bridesmaids 1485 (April 12,1856)
- Margaret Denzil's History. Annotated by her Husband 1936 (December 3,1864)
- Margaret Ericson's Choice, and other Poems 2177 (July 17,1869)
- Margaret Hamilton 1584 (March 6,1858)
- Margaret Stourton 1870 (August 29,1863)
- Marguerite's Legacy 1538 (April 18,1857)
- Marian Rooke 1988 (December 2,1865)
- Marion's Path through Shadow to Sunshine 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Marjorie Duddingstoune 2063 (May 11,1867)
- The Marquis d'Hauterive 1688 (March 3,1860)
- Married, or not Married; that is the Question 1714 (September 1,1860)
- Married Woman 1429 (March 17,1855)
- Marrying by Lot 2151 (January 16,1869)
- Marrying for Money 1809 (June 28,1862)
- Martha 1453 (September 1,1855)
- Martin Pole 1869 (August 22,1863)

- Martin the Weaver 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Mary Bertrand 1699 (May 19,1860)
- Mary Ellis 1419 (January 6,1855)
- Mary Lindsay 1868 (August 15,1863)
- Mary Lyndon 1457 (September 29,1855)
- Mary Mathieson 1473 (January 19,1856)
- Mary Stanley 2173 (June 19,1869)
- Master and Pupil 1641 (April 9,1859)
- Master John Bull 2302 (December 9,1871)
- The Master of Churchill Abbots and his Little Friends 1624 (December 11,1858)
- The Master of Wingbourne 2050 (February 9,1867)
- The Master 1812 (July 19,1862)
- Masters and Workmen 1588 (April 3,1858)
- Matilda the Dane 1859 (June 13,1863)
- Matrimonial Shipwrecks 1396 (July 29,1854)
- Matrimonial Speculation 1414 (December 2,1854)
- Matters of To-day 1845 (March 7,1863)
- Matthew Paxton 1404 (September 23,1854)
- Mattie: a Stray 1917 (July 23,1864)
- Maud Bingley 1622 (November 27,1858)
- Maud Neville 1940 (December 31,1864)
- Maud Winthrop's Life Charge 1891 (January 23,1864)
- Maude Clifford 2167 (May 8,1869)
- Maude Talbot 1375 (March 4,1854)
- Mauleverer's Divorce 1570 (November 28,1857)
- Maurice Dering 1914 (July 2,1864)
- Maurice Elvington 1485 (April 12,1856)
- Maxwell Drewitt 1986 (November 18,1865)
- May and December 1414 (December 2,1854)
- May and her Friends 2054 (March 9,1867)
- May Blossom 1758 (July 6,1861)
- May Flowers 1440 (June 2,1855)
- Mea Culpa 2157 (February 27,1869)
- Meadowleigh 1892 (January 30,1864)
- The Means and the End 2066 (June 1,1867)
- Measure for Measure: a Novel 1823 (October 4,1862)
- Medusa, and other Tales 2122 (June 27,1868)
- Meg 2114 (May 2,1868)
- Meister Karl's Sketch-Book 1493 (June 7,1856)
- Melbourne House 1941 (January 7,1865)
- The Melville Family 2304 (December 23,1871)
- The Melvilles 1282 (May 22,1852)
- A Memoir of Lady Anna Mackenzie 2148 (December 26,1868)
- Memoir of the Life and Writings of William Tennant 1767 (September 7,1861)
- Memoirs and Correspondence of King Jerome and Queen Catherine. First Part 1766 (August 31,1861)
- Memoirs of Queen Hortense, Mother of Napoleon III 1789 (February 8,1862)
- Memoirs of the Queens of Prussia 1584 (March 6,1858)
- Memorials of Agmondesham and Chesham Leycester 1508 (September 20,1856)
- Memorials of Eliza Hessel. True Womanhood 1643 (April 23,1859)
- Memorials of an only Daughter; by her Mother 1598 (June 12,1858)



- Memorials of the Rev. William V. B. Shrewsbury 2117 (May 23,1868)
- Mercedes: a Romance 1957 (April 29,1865)
- The Merchant Vessel 1507 (September 13,1856)
- Merry Tales for Little Folk 2145 (December 5,1868)
- Mes Semblables 2299 (November 18,1871)
- Meta's Letters 2053 (March 2,1867)
- The Methodist 1649 (June 4,1859)
- Mia and Charlie 1470 (December 29,1855)
- Mignonette 1624 (December 11,1858)
- The Mildmayes 1518 (November 29,1856)
- Mildred 2133 (September 12,1868)
- Mildrington, the Barrister 1858 (June 6,1863)
- Miles Buller 1959 (May 13,1865)
- The Mill on the Floss 1693 (April 7,1860)
- Millicent Neville 1661 (August 27,1859)
- Millie Howard 1407 (October 14,1854)
- Milly Warrener 1639 (March 26,1859)
- The Mine 2288 (September 2,1871)
- The Miner's Oath 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Minnie's Love 1740 (March 2,1861)
- Miriam Copley 1651 (June 18,1859)
- Miriam's Sorrow 1901 (April 2,1864)
- Miscellanies, being a Selection from the Poems and Correspondence of the Rev. Thomas Wilson 1607 (August 14,1858)
- Misrepresentation 1675 (December 3,1859)
- Miss Forrester 1980 (October 7,1865)
- Miss Gilbert's Career 1736 (February 2,1861)
- Miss Jane, the Bishop's Daughter 2066 (June 1,1867)
- Miss Mackenzie 1953 (April 1,1865)
- Miss Russell's Hobby 1971 (August 5,1865)
- The Missing Link 1684 (February 4,1860)
- The Mistakes of a Life 1846 (March 14,1863)
- Mistletoe Grange 2216 (April 16,1870)
- Modern Pilgrims 1493 (June 7,1856)
- The Modern Playmate 2228 (July 9,1870)
- The Mohawk Chief 1582 (February 20,1858)
- The Monarchs of the Main 1439 (May 26,1855)
- The Monctons 1478 (February 23,1856)
- The Months 1519 (December 6,1856)
- Moonshine: Fairy Stories 2299 (November 18,1871)
- The Moonstone 2126 (July 25,1868)
- The Moor Cottage 1750 (May 11,1861)
- The Moors and the Fens 1587 (March 27,1858)
- Mopsa the Fairy 2171 (June 5,1869)
- More than a Match 2064 (May 18,1867)
- Mormon Wives 1530 (February 21,1857)
- The Mormon's Own Book 1438 (May 19,1855)
- The Mormons: the Dream and the Reality 1538 (April 18,1857)
- Morning Clouds 1534 (March 21,1857)
- The Morning of Life 1670 (October 29,1859)
- Morton Varney 1410 (November 4,1854)

- The Mortons of Bardom 1892 (January 30,1864)
- The Mosaic-Worker's Daughter 2146 (December 12,1868)
- The Moslem and the Christian 1433 (April 14,1855)
- Moss-Side 1571 (December 5,1857)
- Mothers and Sons 1547 (June 20,1857)
- Mothers of Great Men 1649 (June 4,1859)
- A Mother's Trial 1654 (July 9,1859)
- Motley 1450 (August 11,1855)
- The Mountain Refuge 1835 (December 27,1862)
- Mr. Arle 1515 (November 8,1856)
- Mr. Christopher Katydid of Casconia 1921 (August 20,1864)
- Mr. Stewart's Intentions 1938 (December 17,1864)
- Mr. Vernon 2124 (July 11,1868)
- Mr. Wind and Madam Rain 1888 (January 2,1864)
- Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management 1812 (July 19,1862)
- Mrs. Blake: a Story of Twenty Years 1808 (June 21,1862)
- Mrs. Gibbon's Parlour Maid 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Mrs. Isoult Barry "her diurnal book" 2302 (December 9,1871)
- Mulissy, H. T. 1491 (May 24,1856)
- Musgrove 1249 (October 4,1851)
- My Apingi Kingdom: with Life in the Great Sahara 2268 (April 15,1871)
- My Brother's Keeper 1439 (May 26,1855)
- My Brother's Wife 1451 (August 18,1855)
- My First Journal 1701 (June 2,1860)
- My First Season 1458 (October 6,1855)
- My Heart's in the Highlands 1763 (August 10,1861)
- My Insect Queen 2177 (July 17,1869)
- My Lady 1623 (December 4,1858)
- My Life, and What shall I do with It? A Question for Young Gentlewomen; by an Old Maid 1726 (November 24,1860)
- My MS 1468 (December 15,1855)
- My New Suit; and other Tales 2289 (September 9,1871)
- My Parish 1518 (November 29,1856)
- My Parisk 1518 (November 29,1856)
- My Schoolboy Friends 2228 (July 9,1870)
- My Third Book 1688 (March 3,1860)
- My Travel 1450 (August 11,1855)
- My Wife and I 2304 (December 23,1871)
- My Wife's Pin-Money 1719 (October 6,1860)
- My Young Days 2299 (November 18,1871)
- The Myrtle and the Heather 1520 (December 13,1856)
- Nannette and her Lovers 1383 (April 29,1854)
- Narrative of a Spring Tour in Portugal 2220 (May 14,1870)
- The Nations Around 2228 (July 9,1870)
- The Near and the Heavenly Horizons 1753 (June 1,1861)
- Neighbours and Friends 2116 (May 16,1868)
- Nellie or Truro 1493 (June 7,1856)
- Nelly Carew 1684 (February 4,1860)
- Nelly Deane 1941 (January 7,1865)
- The Netherbys of Otterpool 1591 (April 24,1858)
- Netherton on the Sea 2175 (July 3,1869)

- Netley Hall 1695 (April 21,1860)
- The Nevilles of Garretstown: a Tale of 1790 1711 (August 11,1860)
- The New Cookery Book and Complete Manual of English and Foreign Cookery on Sound Principles of Taste and Science 2103 (February 15,1868)
- New Nobility 2068 (June 15,1867)
- The New Priest in Conception Bay 1707 (July 14,1860)
- The Newly-Married Couple 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Newton Dogvane 1650 (June 11,1859)
- The Next-Door Neighbours 1448 (July 28,1855)
- Nightshade: a Novel 1546 (June 13,1857)
- The Nine Days' Queen 2163 (April 10,1869)
- No Man's Friend 2067 (June 8,1867)
- A Noble Life 2001 (March 3,1866)
- The Noble Traytour 1581 (February 13,1858)
- A Noble Woman 2111 (April 11,1868)
- Nobly False 1850 (April 11,1863)
- Noel 1970 (July 29,1865)
- Nonpareil House 1469 (December 22,1855)
- Norman Sinclair 1783 (December 28,1861)
- Normanton 1834 (December 20,1862)
- Northwode Priory 1573 (December 19,1857)
- Not an Actress 2211 (March 12,1870)
- Not an Angel 1891 (January 23,1864)
- Not Dead Yet 1909 (May 28,1864)
- Notes of England and Italy 2202 (January 8,1870)
- Notes on Burgundy 2205 (January 29,1870)
- Notice to Quit 1777 (November 16,1861)
- Now or Never 1678 (December 24,1859)
- "Now or Never" 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Nut-Brown Maids 1672 (November 12,1859)
- The Oak Staircase 2302 (December 9,1871)
- Oakdale Grange 2225 (June 18,1870)
- Oakley Mascott 1419 (January 6,1855)
- Odd Neighbours 1961 (May 27,1865)
- Oeland: a Thread of Life 1473 (January 19,1856)
- Off the Line 2058 (April 6,1867)
- Off to Sea 2291 (September 23,1871)
- The Old and the New Home: a Canadian Tale 2267 (April 8,1871)
- Old and Young 1648 (May 28,1859)
- The Old Chelsea Bun-House 1416 (December 16,1854)
- An Old-Fashioned Girl 2225 (June 18,1870)
- The Old Grey Church 1491 (May 24,1856)
- The Old Home 1527 (January 31,1857)
- The Old Homestead 1502 (August 9,1856)
- The Old Maid's Secret 2302 (December 9,1871)
- An Old Man's Secret 2021 (July 21,1866)
- Old Memories 1513 (October 25,1856)
- Old Merry's Annual for 1872 2302 (December 9,1871)
- Old Merry's Travels on the Continent 2267 (April 8,1871)
- The Old Palace 1587 (March 27,1858)
- The Old Plantation, and What I gathered there in an Autumn Month 1645 (May 7,1859)

- Old Saws New Set 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Old-Town Folks 2170 (May 29,1869)
- Old Vauxhall 1783 (December 28,1861)
- The Old Vicarage 1489 (May 10,1856)
- Olive Blake's Good Work 1788 (February 1,1862)
- The Olive Branch 1548 (June 27,1857)
- Olive Varcoe 2145 (December 5,1868)
- Oliver Cromwell England's Great Protector 1521 (December 20,1856)
- Oliver Cromwell 1527 (January 31,1857)
- Oliver Ellis 1758 (July 6,1861)
- Olympia in the Crimea 1447 (July 21,1855)
- On Food 1769 (September 21,1861)
- On Old Debt 1632 (February 5,1859)
- On Smoking and Drinking 2165 (April 24,1869)
- On Truth and Error 1525 (January 17,1857)
- On the Edge of the Storm 2151 (January 16,1869)
- Once and Again 1953 (April 1,1865)
- One against the World 1971 (August 5,1865)
- One-and-Twenty 1594 (May 15,1858)
- One Trial 1695 (April 21,1860)
- One Trip more, and other Stories 2268 (April 15,1871)
- One Year 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Only a Woman 1706 (July 7,1860)
- Only a Woman's Love 2181 (August 14,1869)
- Only an Earl 2177 (July 17,1869)
- Only Temper 2114 (May 2,1868)
- Orange Blossoms 1558 (September 5,1857)
- The Ordeal for Wives 1940 (December 31,1864)
- Orphans 1579 (January 30,1858)
- Orval 2158 (March 6,1869)
- The Osbornes of Osborne Park 1725 (November 17,1860)
- Oswald Cray 1939 (December 24,1864)
- Our Brother Paul 1757 (June 29,1861)
- Our Charlie 1962 (June 3,1865)
- Our County 1870 (August 29,1863)
- Our Cousin Veronica 1485 (April 12,1856)
- Our Domestic Pets 2268 (April 15,1871)
- Our Eastern Empire 1519 (December 6,1856)
- Our Last Years in India 1828 (November 8,1862)
- Our Own Story 1482 (March 22,1856)
- Our Premier 2049 (February 2,1867)
- Our Uncle's Home 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Our White Violet 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Out of the Depths: the Story of a Woman's Life 1660 (August 20,1859)
- Out of the Meshes 2146 (December 12,1868)
- The Outbreak of the French Revolution 2287 (August 26,1871)
- Over the Cliffs 1719 (October 6,1860)
- Over the Sea 1546 (June 13,1857)
- The Owlet of Owlstone Edge 1474 (January 26,1856)
- The Paragreens on a Visit to the Paris Universal Exhibition 1521 (December 20,1856)
- Parish and other Pencillings 1468 (December 15,1855)

- A Parisian Family 2268 (April 15,1871)
- Passages from the Life of Agnes Home 1714 (September 1,1860)
- Passages in the Life of a Young Housekeeper related by Herself 1812 (July 19,1862)
- Passages in the Life of an Old Maid 1902 (April 9,1864)
- The Passionate Pilgrim 1596 (May 29,1858)
- Past Meridian 1427 (March 3,1855)
- Paul Ferroll 1451 (August 18,1855)
- Paul Foster's Daughter 1762 (August 3,1861)
- Paul's Courtship 2068 (June 15,1867)
- Pearl 2137 (October 10,1868)
- Peculiar: a Tale of the Great Transition 1899 (March 19,1864)
- The Pedlar 1547 (June 20,1857)
- Perpetua: a Love Tale 1736 (February 2,1861)
- Perversion 1491 (May 24,1856)
- The Pet Lamb 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Phases of Life 1918 (July 30,1864)
- Phemie Keller 2016 (June 16,1866)
- Phemie Millar 1382 (April 22,1854)
- Philip Lisle 1869 (August 22,1863)
- Philip Paternoster 1605 (July 31,1858)
- Philip Rollo 1382 (April 22,1854)
- Philip the Dreamer 2044 (December 29,1866)
- Phillip Lancaster 1419 (January 6,1855)
- Philo 2063 (May 11,1867)
- Photo, the Suliote 1538 (April 18,1857)
- The Phrenologist's Daughter 1372 (February 11,1854)
- A Physician Story 1408 (October 21,1854)
- Picked up at Sea 1895 (February 20,1864)
- Pictures from the Pyrenees 1519 (December 6,1856)
- Pictures of Cottage Life in the West of England 2253 (December 31,1870)
- Pictures of the Olden Time 1549 (July 4,1857)
- Pink and White Tyranny 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Pippins and Pies 1417 (December 23,1854)
- The Pirate of St. Laurent 1845 (March 7,1863)
- The Pirate's Fort 1390 (June 17,1854)
- A Plain Cookery-Book for the Working Classes 1812 (July 19,1862)
- Plain John Orpington 2012 (May 19,1866)
- The Plant Hunters 1580 (February 6,1858)
- The Planter's Victim 1493 (June 7,1856)
- Played Out 2046 (January 12,1867)
- Playing on the Brink 2069 (June 22,1867)
- Playing Trades 2211 (March 12,1870)
- The Poachers 1856 (May 23,1863)
- Poems and Romances; by George Augustus Simcox 2177 (July 17,1869)
- Poems; by George Francis Armstrong 2163 (April 10,1869)
- Poems; by J. B. Selkirk 2163 (April 10,1869)
- Poems; by James Sykes 1514 (November 1,1856)
- Poems; by Menella Bute Smedley 2161 (March 27,1869)
- Poems from the German 1817 (August 23,1862)
- A Poet Hero 2228 (July 9,1870)
- The Poet's Children 1869 (August 22,1863)

- The Poetical Works. Volume I 1525 (January 17,1857)
- Pomponia 2069 (June 22,1867)
- The Poor Relation 1599 (June 19,1858)
- Poplar House Academy 1642 (April 16,1859)
- The Population of an Old Pear Tree; edited by the author of "The Heir of Redclyffe" 2227 (July 2,1870)
- Portraits of Celebrated Women 2148 (December 26,1868)
- Poultry as a Meat Supply 2021 (July 21,1866)
- Practical and Economical Cookery, with a Series of Bills of Fare 1596 (May 29,1858)
- Practical Illustration of Woman's Right to Labour 1767 (September 7,1861)
- Praying and Working 1833 (December 13,1862)
- The Pride of Life: a Novel 1405 (September 30,1854)
- The Pride of the Mess 1439 (May 26,1855)
- Primitiae 2163 (April 10,1869)
- The Princess and the Goblin 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Princess Ilse: a Legend 1474 (January 26,1856)
- The Principles of Charitable Work, as set forth in the Writings of Amelia Wilhelmina Sieveking 1883 (November 28,1863)
- Principles of Education, drawn from Nature and Revelation, and applied to Female Education in the Upper Classes 1976 (September 9,1865)
- The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom. Volume I. Part II 1448 (July 28,1855)
- The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom. Volume I., Part I. 1400 (August 26,1854)
- The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom. Volume II, Part I 1509 (September 27,1856)
- The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byron. Volume II, Part II 1607 (August 14,1858)
- A Prodigal Son 1846 (March 14,1863)
- Progress and Prejudice. Three Volumes 1376 (March 11,1854)
- The Prophecy 1834 (December 20,1862)
- The Prophets 1458 (October 6,1855)
- Proposals for, and Contributions to, a Ballad History of England, and the States sprung from her 2177 (July 17,1869)
- Proverbs and Comediettas 2204 (January 22,1870)
- Prue and I 1520 (December 13,1856)
- The Quadroon 1503 (August 16,1856)
- The Quaker-Soldier 1675 (December 3,1859)
- Queen Mab 1882 (November 21,1863)
- The Queen of the County 1932 (November 5,1864)
- The Queen of the Seas 1940 (December 31,1864)
- The Queen's Maries 1811 (July 12,1862)
- The Queen's Pardon 1709 (July 28,1860)
- Quel Amour d'Enfant! 2061 (April 27,1867)
- Quicksands of Fashion 1429 (March 17,1855)
- The Quiet Heart; by the author of "Katie Stewart" 1417 (December 23,1854)
- Quits! A Novel 1558 (September 5,1857)
- Rab and his Friends 1783 (December 28,1861)
- The Race for Wealth 2030 (September 22,1866)
- Rachel Gray 1472 (January 12,1856)
- Rachel's Secret 2040 (December 1,1866)

- Railways and the Credit of France 1842 (February 14,1863)
- Raised to the Peerage 1668 (October 15,1859)
- Raising the Veil 1821 (September 20,1862)
- Ralph Redfern 2124 (July 11,1868)
- Ralph 1871 (September 5,1863)
- Ran away to Sea 1584 (March 6,1858)
- Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 2267 (April 8,1871)
- Randal Vaughan 1495 (June 21,1856)
- Rathlynn 1907 (May 14,1864)
- The Real and the Beau-Ideal 1702 (June 9,1860)
- Realmah 2146 (December 12,1868)
- Reaping the Whirlwind 1936 (December 3,1864)
- Recollections of a Maiden Aunt 1624 (December 11,1858)
- Recollections of Geoffrey Hamlyn 1645 (May 7,1859)
- Recollections of Mrs. Hester Taffetas, Court Milliner and Modiste during the Reign of King George the Third and his Cousort Queen Charlotte 1561 (September 26,1857)
- The Rector's Homestead 2116 (May 16,1868)
- The Red-Birth House 1469 (December 22,1855)
- The Red Rose 1591 (April 24,1858)
- The Red Shirt 1989 (December 9,1865)
- The Red Track 1821 (September 20,1862)
- The Redcourt Farm 2126 (July 25,1868)
- The Refugee 1561 (September 26,1857)
- The Religion of Fools 1842 (February 14,1863)
- Report of the Association for Promoting the General Welfare of the Blind 1718 (September 29,1860)
- Report of the Superintendent and Schoolmistress of the Children's Establishment, Limehouse, for the Year ending December 31, 1863 1940 (December 31,1864)
- Reptiles and Birds 2210 (March 5,1870)
- Respectable Sinners 1861 (June 27,1863)
- Rest and Unrest 1623 (December 4,1858)
- Retribution 1759 (July 13,1861)
- Reuben Sterling 1651 (June 18,1859)
- Revelations of School Life 1372 (February 11,1854)
- Reverses 1934 (November 19,1864)
- The Rich Husband 1595 (May 22,1858)
- The Riches of Poverty 1428 (March 10,1855)
- The Right, Duties, and Relations of Domestic Servants, their Master and Mistresses 1581 (February 13,1858)
- The Ring and the Veil 1487 (April 26,1856)
- Rington Priory 1917 (July 23,1864)
- The Rival Kings 1575 (January 2,1858)
- The Rival Roses 1445 (July 7,1855)
- The Rival Suitors 1543 (May 23,1857)
- Riverston 1573 (December 19,1857)
- Robert Chetwynd's Confession 2129 (August 15,1868)
- Robert Falconer 2123 (July 4,1868)
- Robert Mornay 1649 (June 4,1859)
- Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England 2182 (August 21,1869)
- Roger Whatmough's Will 1920 (August 13,1864)
- Roke's Wife 2140 (October 31,1868)

- The Romance and its Hero 1634 (February 19,1859)
- The Romance of a Dull Life 1776 (November 9,1861)
- The Romance of Mary Constant 2021 (July 21,1866)
- A Romance of the Bush 1435 (April 28,1855)
- Romola 1863 (July 11,1863)
- Rosa 1924 (September 10,1864)
- Rose Clark 1493 (June 7,1856)
- Rose Mary 1744 (March 30,1861)
- Rose Morison 1562 (October 3,1857)
- Rose Sinclair 2011 (May 12,1866)
- Rough and Smooth 1860 (June 20,1863)
- Roughing It with Alick Baillee 1727 (December 1,1860)
- Round the World, and other Stories 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Roxana 1831 (November 29,1862)
- The Royal English and Foreign Confectioner 1821 (September 20,1862)
- The Royal Merchant 2228 (July 9,1870)
- The Royal Sisters 1584 (March 6,1858)
- The Ruling Passion 1573 (December 19,1857)
- Rupert Rochester, the Banker's Son 2216 (April 16,1870)
- Ruth Baynard's Story 1756 (June 22,1861)
- Rutledge 1716 (September 15,1860)
- Sabina: a Sicilian Tale of the Thirteenth Century 1404 (September 23,1854)
- Sacred Allegories 2302 (December 9,1871)
- Sacred Lyrics; by John Guthrie 2161 (March 27,1869)
- Saxelford 1523 (January 3,1857)
- Say and Seal 1692 (March 31,1860)
- Scarsdale 1712 (August 18,1860)
- The School for Politics 1411 (November 11,1854)
- A Screw Loose 2137 (October 10,1868)
- The Seaboard Parish 2132 (September 5,1868)
- A Search for Winter Sunbeams in the Reviccaa, Corsica, Algiers and Spain 2202 (January 8,1870)
- The Second Mrs. Tillotson 2028 (September 8,1866)
- Second to None 1920 (August 13,1864)
- The Secret History of a Household 1429 (March 17,1855)
- The Secret of a Life 1623 (December 4,1858)
- The Selected Writings of John Ramsay 2290 (September 16,1871)
- Selections from the Poetry of the Afghans 1815 (August 9,1862)
- Self-Mastery 1579 (January 30,1858)
- Selfishness 1457 (September 29,1855)
- The Semi-Attached Couple 1715 (September 8,1860)
- The Semi-Detached House 1661 (August 27,1859)
- Sequel to Neddy and Sally; or, Love and Glory 1514 (November 1,1856)
- The Seven Sons of Mammon 1783 (December 28,1861)
- Seven Years, and other Tales 1683 (January 28,1860)
- The Shadow of Ashlydyat 1891 (January 23,1864)
- The Shadow of the Yew, and other Poems 1514 (November 1,1856)
- The Shadows of Destiny 2029 (September 15,1866)
- The Shady Side and the Sunny Side: Two New England Stories 2114 (May 2,1868)
- Sham! 1620 (November 13,1858)
- Shattered Idols 1949 (March 4,1865)



- Shifting Scenes in Theatrical Life 1672 (November 12,1859)
- The Shilling Kitchener 1750 (May 11,1861)
- Shirley Hall Asylum 1876 (October 10,1863)
- Shoals and Quicksands 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Shoepac Recollections 1491 (May 24,1856)
- Short Stories for Young People 2291 (September 23,1871)
- Shreds and Patches 1620 (November 13,1858)
- Side Winds 1759 (July 13,1861)
- Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe 1745 (April 6,1861)
- Silbert's Wold 1491 (May 24,1856)
- Silken Cords and Iron Fetters 2268 (April 15,1871)
- The Silver Bells 2230 (July 23,1870)
- A Simple Woman 1860 (June 20,1863)
- Simplicity and Fascination 1466 (December 1,1855)
- Singlehurst Manor 2156 (February 20,1869)
- Sir Cyrus of Stoneycleft 2055 (March 16,1867)
- Sir Everard's Daughter 1863 (July 11,1863)
- Sir Gervase Grey 1393 (July 8,1854)
- Sir Gilbert 1642 (April 16,1859)
- Sir Guy d'Esterre 1593 (May 8,1858)
- Sir Henry Appleton 1579 (January 30,1858)
- Sir Jasper's Tenant 1982 (October 21,1865)
- Sir Julian's Wife 2040 (December 1,1866)
- Sir Owen Fairfax 2015 (June 9,1866)
- Sir Rohan's Ghost 1700 (May 26,1860)
- Sir Thomas 1468 (December 15,1855)
- Sirenia 1810 (July 5,1862)
- Sister Anne 1569 (November 21,1857)
- The Sister of Charity 1543 (May 23,1857)
- Sisterhoods in the Church of England, with Notices of some Charitable Sisterhoods in the Church of Rome 1842 (February 14,1863)
- Sisters of Charity, and Some Visits with them 1439 (May 26,1855)
- Sisters of Charity, Catholic and Protestant, Abroad and at Home 1432 (April 7,1855)
- A Sister's Story 2114 (May 2,1868)
- Sivan the Sleeper 1547 (June 20,1857)
- Skating on Thin Ice 1868 (August 15,1863)
- The Skeleton in the Cupboard 1724 (November 10,1860)
- Sketches and Tales of the Shetland Isles 1506 (September 6,1856)
- Sketches from Life 1523 (January 3,1857)
- Sketches from the Border Land 2229 (July 16,1870)
- Sketches of Life and Sport in South-Eastern Africa 2220 (May 14,1870)
- Skirmishing 1856 (May 23,1863)
- The Small House at Allington 1900 (March 26,1864)
- Snow-Flakes and Sunbeams 1519 (December 6,1856)
- Snowed Up 1860 (June 20,1863)
- The Social and Political Dependence of Women 2073 (July 20,1867)
- Society in a Garrison Town 2156 (February 20,1869)
- Some Account of Mrs. Clarinda Singlehart 1436 (May 5,1855)
- Some Memorials of Renee of France, Duchess of Ferrara 1664 (September 17,1859)
- Some Years After: a Tale 1661 (August 27,1859)
- A Son of the Soil 2015 (June 9,1866)

- Sophy Laurie 1981 (October 14,1865)
- Southwold 1648 (May 28,1859)
- Sowing the Good Seed 2291 (September 23,1871)
- The Sparrowgrass Papers 1508 (September 20,1856)
- The Spirit of the Holly 1473 (January 19,1856)
- Spring Comedies 2273 (May 20,1871)
- The Squire: a Biographic Sketch 1740 (March 2,1861)
- The Squire of Chapel Daresfield 2126 (July 25,1868)
- Squires and Parsons 1704 (June 23,1860)
- St. Eustace 1561 (September 26,1857)
- St. Martin's Eve 2006 (April 7,1866)
- The Stage and the Company 1584 (March 6,1858)
- Stanhope Burleigh 1442 (June 16,1855)
- The Star and the Cloud 1538 (April 18,1857)
- The Star-Chamber 1373 (February 18,1854)
- Stella 1910 (June 4,1864)
- Stenelaus and Amylda 1581 (February 13,1858)
- The Step-Sisters 1757 (June 29,1861)
- The Step-Son 1421 (January 20,1855)
- Stephen Scudamore the Younger 2253 (December 31,1870)
- The Stepmother 1697 (May 5,1860)
- Steyne's Grief 1701 (June 2,1860)
- The Stolen Cherries 2149 (January 2,1869)
- A Storehouse of Stories 2227 (July 2,1870)
- A Storehouse of Stories 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Stories About 2263 (March 11,1871)
- Stories for Darlings; by the Sun 2288 (September 2,1871)
- Stories from the Shores of the Rhine 1832 (December 6,1862)
- Stories from Waverley; from the Original of Sir Walter Scott 2227 (July 2,1870)
- Stories of French School Life 2302 (December 9,1871)
- A Stormy Life 2096 (December 28,1867)
- A Story about Riflemen and Rifles 1701 (June 2,1860)
- The Story of a Lost Life 1701 (June 2,1860)
- The St. Lawrence and the Sanquenay 1525 (January 17,1857)
- The Story of a Moss Rose; or, Ruth and the Orphan Family 2289 (September 9,1871)
- The Story of a Stolen Heir 1579 (January 30,1858)
- The Story of an Orange Lodge: a Chronicle of Dublin; by Brother Wagtail 1965 (June 24,1865)
- The Story of Captain Cook's Three Voyages round the World 2267 (April 8,1871)
- The Story of Elizabeth 1852 (April 25,1863)
- The Story of Madge and the Fairy Content 2267 (April 8,1871)
- The Story of my Wardship 1516 (November 15,1856)
- The Story of Nelly Dillon 2041 (December 8,1866)
- The Story of Two Lives 2216 (April 16,1870)
- Straight Forward, and Patience Hart; or, the Dissembler 1690 (March 17,1860)
- Strange Work 2146 (December 12,1868)
- Strathmore 1970 (July 29,1865)
- Stretton of Ringwood Chace 1698 (May 12,1860)
- Struggle for Life 1744 (March 30,1861)
- Struggles in Falling 1627 (January 1,1859)
- Students Abroad 1420 (January 13,1855)

- Studies of the Manners and Literature of Germany in the Nineteenth Century 1822 (September 27,1862)
- Studios Women 2148 (December 26,1868)
- Stung to the Quick 2098 (January 11,1868)
- Such Things Are 1846 (March 14,1863)
- A Summer Day Dream, and other Poem 1514 (November 1,1856)
- Sunbeam Stories 2145 (December 5,1868)
- The Sunbeam 1741 (March 9,1861)
- Sunbeams in the Cottage 1409 (October 28,1854)
- Sunbeams 1448 (July 28,1855)
- Sunday Echoes in Week-day Hours 2250 (December 10,1870)
- Sunshine after Rain 1551 (July 18,1857)
- Sunshine and Gloom: a Tale of Modern Life 1409 (October 28,1854)
- Sunshine and Shadow 1499 (July 19,1856)
- Supplementary Stories and Poems 2219 (May 7,1870)
- Susanne de L'Orme 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Sybilla Lockwood 1924 (September 10,1864)
- Sylvan Holt's Daughter 1620 (November 13,1858)
- Sylvia's Lovers 1844 (February 28,1863)
- The Tablette Booke of Ladye Mary Keyes 1759 (July 13,1861)
- A Tale for the Pharisees 1652 (June 25,1859)
- A Tale of a Nest 2302 (December 9,1871)
- A Tale of the French Revolution 2225 (June 18,1870)
- Tales for the Marines 1464 (November 17,1855)
- Tales for the Marines 1975 (September 2,1865)
- Tales of Many Lands 1888 (January 2,1864)
- Tales of the Civil Wars 2263 (March 11,1871)
- Tales of the Toys, Told by Themselves 2145 (December 5,1868)
- Tales 1459 (October 13,1855)
- The Talisman, the Opal 2015 (June 9,1866)
- The Talk of the Town 2145 (December 5,1868)
- Taming a Shrew 1842 (February 14,1863)
- Temptation and Atonement 1639 (March 26,1859)
- Ten Days in a French Parsonage in the Summer of 1863 1925 (September 17,1864)
- Tender and True 1512 (October 18,1856)
- A Terrible Wrong 2098 (January 11,1868)
- Theodora Phranza 1547 (June 20,1857)
- Theodosia Ernest 1610 (September 4,1858)
- Thorney Hall: the Story of an Old Family 1432 (April 7,1855)
- Thornycroft Hall 1940 (December 31,1864)
- Thoughts from a Girl's Life 1921 (August 20,1864)
- Thoughts of Home 1923 (September 3,1864)
- Thoughts on the Dwellings of the People, Charitable Estates, Improvements and Local Government in the Metropolis 1838 (January 17,1863)
- The Three Clerks 1574 (December 26,1857)
- The Three Fountains 2163 (April 10,1869)
- The Three Graces 2176 (July 10,1869)
- Three Phases of Christian Love 2042 (December 15,1866)
- The Three Watches 1948 (February 25,1865)
- Three Weddings 2229 (July 16,1870)
- Through the Shadows 1654 (July 9,1859)

- Time, Faith and Eternity 2124 (July 11,1868)
- The Tin Box: a Story of the Last Century. From the Escritoire of the late Samuel Scobel (Clerk) 1704 (June 23,1860)
- Tinsel or Gold 1704 (June 23,1860)
- Tinykin's Transformations 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Told at Last 1902 (April 9,1864)
- Too Much Alone 1690 (March 17,1860)
- Too Strange not to be True 1912 (June 18,1864)
- Too True 2177 (July 17,1869)
- The Town of the Cascades 1899 (March 19,1864)
- The Tragedy of Life 1751 (May 18,1861)
- Training for Life 2128 (August 8,1868)
- Transmutation 1395 (July 22,1854)
- Travels in the Holy Land 1784 (January 4,1862)
- Treason at Home 1996 (January 27,1866)
- Treatise on Deportment, Dancing, and Physical Education for Young Ladies 1767 (September 7,1861)
- Trial and Trust 1904 (April 23,1864)
- The Trial of Handsome William 1837 (January 10,1863)
- The Trial 1920 (August 13,1864)
- Tricotrin 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Tried and True 1860 (June 20,1863)
- Tried in the Fire 1695 (April 21,1860)
- Troubled Dreams 1514 (November 1,1856)
- A Troubled Stream 2022 (July 28,1866)
- True as Steel 1846 (March 14,1863)
- True Love 2170 (May 29,1869)
- Trumps 1754 (June 8,1861)
- Tufts of Heather from the Northern Moors 2062 (May 4,1867)
- A Turn around my Dining-Room 1447 (July 21,1855)
- Twice Lost 1866 (August 1,1863)
- Twice Married 1464 (November 17,1855)
- Twice Refused 2175 (July 3,1869)
- The Twickenham Papers; by a Society of Novelists 1735 (January 26,1861)
- Twilight Hours: a Legacy of Verse 2161 (March 27,1869)
- A Twine of Way-side Ivy 1535 (March 28,1857)
- The Two Aristocracies 1549 (July 4,1857)
- The Two Brides 1624 (December 11,1858)
- The Two Brothers 1591 (April 24,1858)
- The Two Buccaneers 1596 (May 29,1858)
- Two French Marriages 2126 (July 25,1868)
- The Two Homes 1487 (April 26,1856)
- The Two Homes 1666 (October 1,1859)
- The Two Households 1711 (August 11,1860)
- Two Lives 1819 (September 6,1862)
- Two Marriages 2054 (March 9,1867)
- The Two Mottoes 1634 (February 19,1859)
- Two Years of School Life 2149 (January 2,1869)
- Ulic O'Donnell 1713 (August 25,1860)
- Uncle Ralph 1587 (March 27,1858)
- Uncle Silas 1941 (January 7,1865)

- Unconscious Influence 1470 (December 29,1855)
- Unconventional 2012 (May 19,1866)
- Under the Blue Sky 2298 (November 11,1871)
- Under the Lime Trees 1543 (May 23,1857)
- Under the Spell 1759 (July 13,1861)
- Under the Willows; and other Poems 2164 (April 17,1869)
- Under Two Flags 2103 (February 15,1868)
- Undercurrents: a Story of our own Day 1676 (December 10,1859)
- Undercurrents Overlooked 1684 (February 4,1860)
- Unedited Stories of Edgar Poe 1832 (December 6,1862)
- Ungava 1580 (February 6,1858)
- The Unprotected 1546 (June 13,1857)
- Unrequited Love 1623 (December 4,1858)
- Until the End 2093 (December 7,1867)
- Up and Down in the World 1856 (May 23,1863)
- Uphill Work 1758 (July 6,1861)
- The Ups and Downs of an Old Maid's Life 2128 (August 8,1868)
- Urling 1596 (May 29,1858)
- Ursula 1591 (April 24,1858)
- The Vagabond 2302 (December 9,1871)
- The Valley of a Hundred Fires 1724 (November 10,1860)
- Vara 1388 (June 3,1854)
- Varium 1632 (February 5,1859)
- Veiled Hearts 1495 (June 21,1856)
- Vendgiad 1581 (February 13,1858)
- The Verneys 1634 (February 19,1859)
- Vernon 1514 (November 1,1856)
- Veronia 1870 (August 29,1863)
- Vestigia 1514 (November 1,1856)
- Vice-Royalty; or, Counsel respecting the Government of the Heart. Addressed to Young Men 1706 (July 7,1860)
- Vicissitudes of a Gentlewoman 1867 (August 8,1863)
- Violet Bank and its Inmates 1593 (May 8,1858)
- Violet Douglas 2132 (September 5,1868)
- Violet Osborne 1960 (May 20,1865)
- Violet Rivers 2289 (September 9,1871)
- Violet Vaughan 2040 (December 1,1866)
- Violets and Jonquils 1562 (October 3,1857)
- The Virginia Comedians 1411 (November 11,1854)
- The Vision of a Midsummer Morning's Dream 1403 (September 16,1854)
- The Vision of Socrates, and other Poems 2177 (July 17,1869)
- Vittoria 2052 (February 23,1867)
- Vivia: a Journal 1398 (August 12,1854)
- Voyages Aeriens, Etc 2202 (January 8,1870)
- Voyages and Travels of Capt. Hatteras 2178 (July 24,1869)
- Wait and Hope 1670 (October 29,1859)
- Wallencourt 2125 (July 18,1868)
- Walter Goring 2002 (March 10,1866)
- Walter Hurst 1376 (March 11,1854)
- Wanderings in Verse 2163 (April 10,1869)
- Wanted, a Home 1921 (August 20,1864)

- The Warden 1422 (January 27,1855)
- Warne's Model Cookery and Housekeeping Book 2103 (February 15,1868)
- Warne's Model Cookery and Housekeeping Book 2151 (January 16,1869)
- The Washingtons 1692 (March 31,1860)
- The Watchman 1464 (November 17,1855)
- The Waterdale Neighbours 2094 (December 14,1867)
- Wau-Bun 1502 (August 9,1856)
- The Way Home 1491 (May 24,1856)
- The Way of the World 1678 (December 24,1859)
- The Wayfarers 1588 (April 3,1858)
- Wayfe Summers 1858 (June 6,1863)
- The Wayward Heart 1702 (June 9,1860)
- Wearing the Willow 1725 (November 17,1860)
- The Web of Life 1595 (May 22,1858)
- Wedded and Winnowed 1714 (September 1,1860)
- The Wedding Day in all Ages and Countries 2183 (August 28,1869)
- The Wedding Present 1842 (February 14,1863)
- Western Border Life 1534 (March 21,1857)
- Western Windows; and other Poems 2177 (July 17,1869)
- Westward Ho! New edition 1471 (January 5,1856)
- Whaling and Fishing 1530 (February 21,1857)
- What a Woman ought to be: Reflections on Education 1937 (December 10,1864)
- What might have been 1520 (December 13,1856)
- What Money Can't Do 2002 (March 10,1866)
- What you Will 1588 (April 3,1858)
- Wheel within Wheel 1752 (May 25,1861)
- When I was a Little Girl 2288 (September 2,1871)
- Which is Which? 1695 (April 21,1860)
- Which? or, Eddies round the Rectory 1605 (July 31,1858)
- Which will Triumph? 2061 (April 27,1867)
- White and Black: a Story of the Southern States 1783 (December 28,1861)
- The White Chief 1471 (January 5,1856)
- The White Cockade 2076 (August 10,1867)
- The White Elephant 1675 (December 3,1859)
- The White House by the Sea 1579 (January 30,1858)
- The White Rose 2105 (February 29,1868)
- Who Breaks - Pays: Italian Proverb 1756 (June 22,1861)
- Who is to Have It? 1656 (July 23,1859)
- Who shall be Duchess? 1711 (August 11,1860)
- Who was to blame? 1960 (May 20,1865)
- The Widow Bedott Papers 1493 (June 7,1856)
- The Widow Green and her Three Nieces 1682 (January 21,1860)
- Wife and Child 2153 (January 30,1869)
- A Wife and Not a Wife 2062 (May 4,1867)
- The Wife and the Ward 1642 (April 16,1859)
- The Wife's Evidence 1889 (January 9,1864)
- The Wife's Temptation 1651 (June 18,1859)
- The Wife's Trials 1435 (April 28,1855)
- Wild Fire 1893 (February 6,1864)
- The Wild Gazelle 2112 (April 18,1868)
- The Wild Huntress 1741 (March 9,1861)

- Wild Times 1967 (July 8,1865)
- The Wild Tribes of the North 1581 (February 13,1858)
- The Wilderness of the World 1489 (May 10,1856)
- Will He Marry Her? 1601 (July 3,1858)
- Will Weatherhelm 1675 (December 3,1859)
- William and James, or the Revolution of 1688 1593 (May 8,1858)
- William Bathurst 1983 (October 28,1865)
- William Grimshaw, Incumbent of Haworth 1720 (October 13,1860)
- Willie Heath and the House-Rent 1856 (May 23,1863)
- Willy Reilly and his dear Colleen Bawn 1436 (May 5,1855)
- The Wilmot Family 1932 (November 5,1864)
- The Winborough Boys 2304 (December 23,1871)
- Wings and Stings 1477 (February 16,1856)
- Winifred Bertram and the World She Lived in 2001 (March 3,1866)
- Winnie and I 1493 (June 7,1856)
- A Winter Journey to Rome and Back 2229 (July 16,1870)
- Wise as a Serpent 2175 (July 3,1869)
- The Wolf-Boy of China 1562 (October 3,1857)
- Wolfsden 1502 (August 9,1856)
- Woman against Woman 1999 (February 17,1866)
- Woman and Her Wants: Four Lectures to Ladies on the Female Body and its Clothing 1729 (December 15,1860)
- Woman, her Mission and her Life 1612 (September 18,1858)
- Woman: what she has been, what she is, what she will be, or what she ought to be 1814 (August 2,1862)
- Woman's Right to Labour 1694 (April 14,1860)
- Woman's Rights under the Law 1783 (December 28,1861)
- A Woman's Romance 1450 (August 11,1855)
- A Woman's Story 1553 (August 1,1857)
- A Woman's Thoughts about Women 1580 (February 6,1858)
- A Woman's Way; or, the Chelsea Sisterhood 1967 (July 8,1865)
- Woman's Work and Woman's Culture 2179 (July 31,1869)
- Women as they Are 1417 (December 23,1854)
- Women in the Nineteenth Century 1446 (July 14,1855)
- Women in the Provinces 1842 (February 14,1863)
- Women, Past and Present 1659 (August 13,1859)
- Won by Beauty 1965 (June 24,1865)
- The Wonderful Adventures of Tuflongbo and his Elfin Company 1781 (December 14,1861)
- Wonders of the Deep 2210 (March 5,1870)
- Woodburn Grange 2057 (March 30,1867)
- Woodleigh 1647 (May 21,1859)
- The Word. The House of Israel 2061 (April 27,1867)
- The World in Light and Shade 1447 (July 21,1855)
- World-Worship 1376 (March 11,1854)
- The World's Furniture 1731 (December 29,1860)
- The World's Verdict 1735 (January 26,1861)
- The Wortlebank Diary 1725 (November 17,1860)
- Wreck and Ruin 1668 (October 15,1859)
- The Wreckers 1543 (May 23,1857)
- Wrong Roads 1843 (February 21,1863)
- Wylder's Hand 1898 (March 12,1864)

- The Year Nine 1580 (February 6,1858)
- Years Ago: a Tale of West Indian Domestic Life of the Eighteenth Century 1981 (October 14,1865)
- Yeast. A Problem 1225 (April 19,1851)
- The Yellow Frigate 1469 (December 22,1855)
- Yes and No; or, Glimpses of the Great Conflict 1688 (March 3,1860)
- Yesterday 1633 (February 12,1859)
- Yorke House 1808 (June 21,1862)
- The Young Artist 2268 (April 15,1871)
- The Young Child's Lesson Book 1417 (December 23,1854)
- The Young Franc-Tireurs 2302 (December 9,1871)
- The Young Husband 1411 (November 11,1854)
- Young Life 1865 (July 25,1863)
- The Young Man's Setting Out in Life 2070 (June 29,1867)
- The Young Mountaineer 2225 (June 18,1870)
- Young Singleton 1507 (September 13,1856)
- Youthful Impulse and Mature Reflection 2139 (October 24,1868)
- The Youth's Companion 1575 (January 2,1858)
- Zaidee: a Romance 1471 (January 5,1856)
- Zana 1410 (November 4,1854)
- Zoe 1502 (August 9,1856)
- Zoe's Brand 1924 (September 10,1864)
- Zuriel'a Grandchild 1506 (September 6,1856)



**Appendix F**

- i) Photograph of Geraldine Jewsbury and Jane Carlyle (standing) dated April 1855, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Columbia University.



- ii) Photograph of Geraldine Jewsbury wearing Jane Carlyle's shawl, dated April 1855, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Columbia University.



- iii) Two photographs of Geraldine Jewsbury at her writing desk, dated 1860s, National Library of Scotland, MS 16443ff 7v, 5v.





### Appendix G



These are examples of some of the sketches Mantell included in many of his letters to Jewsbury and are copied from the Mantell Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand.



(b)



to go away when I see anything new  
soil alone - I've been weary of this  
solong that I begin to feel sorry -  
So good night.

Saturday night - Yet you see I have ma-  
naged to live on till now in spite of  
these wondrous difficulties. Last  
night I expected + but he did not  
come so I took grandly & compla-  
cently by myself considering me with  
the notion that he was gladdening the  
hearts at home - but instead of that  
I learned today that he stayed till all  
sorts of hours at his office & came home  
dead beat - and there he is again  
tonight - He came in to Elph's while  
I was feeding & sat at the same table.  
I watched him - his breakfast consisted  
of a cup of coffee & 2 rusks - then was  
the dinner - 1 ~~pot~~ big bread 1 ~~pot~~ potato  
He do him justice - all of the last item  
which was not lost in an undesired form -  
then he drank - of the beef he ate  
a piece this size  & of the bread  
a mass as big  as fig 2. both  
life size -



I returned with  
him to his office  
at party gave  
him a bit of ad-  
vice - either to  
see a doctor or to make a sporting offer

with the "Conquerors" - but I have  
 the bad taste to prefer that  
 my progenitors should have  
 been kind to women from  
 Adam downward - so that  
 I have better health -

But it is a subject on which  
 I have some certain opinions  
 though not in accordance  
 in the prescriptions which  
 we which you have had to  
 endure from the State

I will sketch the photographs.

Miss  
 DeBolt  
 Miss  
 DeBolt  
 Miss  
 DeBolt

No. 1

No. 2

No. 3 (d)



Inscription -  
 "Et hae olim  
 meminisse juvabit"

Inscription  
 Informes huius  
 redunt desipite, idem  
 summoet - Non  
 si mali nunc et  
 in se erit.

(Loreie W)



## **Manuscripts**

### ***Athenaeum***

2,300 reviews in *Athenaeum* (PP.5639) all volumes from 1849-80 Appendix E.

### **Birmingham University Library**

1 Letter from Geraldine Jewsbury to 1861 and signed photograph MS135.

### **Bodleian Library, Oxford University**

Letters from Jewsbury to Arthur Hugh Clough 1848-56. MS Autographs. B.3c, folder .86b and MSS.Eng.lett.c.190, d.176 & e.74.

### **British Library, Bentley Manuscripts (BM)**

Jewsbury's reader reports to Bentley 1860-80 BM Add MS 46, 656, 46, 656, 46,657, 46, 658, 46, 659, 46, 660.

50 letters to Richard Bentley, 3 to George Bentley 1860-71 BM Add MS 46653 correspondence.

Letter to Mrs Bentley from Jewsbury BL Add MS 46, 655, dated 1873.

Letters from Jewsbury as a sponsor of the Royal Literary Fund 1856-76 BL M1077 Add Ms Loan No 96.

Braddon Manuscripts to Bentley 44,513, (222), 44, 524, and 58, 786.

Broughton and Bentley, 46 618-22, 59, 633, 59, 635 and Macmillan 54, 970.

Wood Manuscripts to Bentley 46, 605, 46,674 (214) and 71,922.

Macmillan Manuscripts 55931-4, 55935 and 55936.

Dinah Mulock Craik and Macmillan 28, 511.

Macmillan and Oliphant 54,919 and 46, 616.

### **University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)**

52 Letters to William Hepworth Dixon dated 1856-74 about her *Athenaeum* Reviews. Collection 762/Box 1.

### **University of Columbia,**

Photograph of Jewsbury 1855.

Photograph of Jane Carlyle and Jewsbury 1855.

Ms Carlyle Collection 01/04

### **University of Edinburgh**

Letters to Miss Jones 8<sup>th</sup> November 1846, (MS Gen. 2127/13)

Letter to Mrs Dickens, 29<sup>th</sup> December 1879, (MS FO91 524/109)

Letter to Lady Helen Faucit (MS 16443, ff5v & 7v)

2 signed photographs of Jewsbury in a bound volume MS 16437. ff2

5 letters from Mrs Hall to Jewsbury dated 1835 (MS 966, ff 138-144)

MSS 4001-4940 Blackwood and Oliphant correspondence.

### **Gasmere, Dove Cottage and the Wordsworth Museum**

*A Parting Hour* sonnet by Geraldine Jewsbury dated 18<sup>th</sup> 1843 In Autographs Volume II.

### **Ireland Letters**

Mrs Annie Ireland, (Ed.) *Letters of G.E. Jewsbury to Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. Referenced as *Ireland Letters*.

### **John Rylands University Library**

53 letters from Maria Jane Jewsbury to her sister Geraldine Jewsbury.  
Letters from Geraldine Jewsbury to Elizabeth Gaskell MS 730/52 and 379/1088.  
Letters from Jewsbury to John Ruskin dated 1866 MS 1258/36.

### **Mantell Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand**

Over 500 letters to Mantell from Jewsbury folder 309-329.  
Outward correspondence from Mantell Folders 236, 327, 328, 339 and 340 in full.  
Reel 31 (Folders 451-475) Autograph Books containing letters from Dickens, Elizabeth Barrett-Browning, Oliphant, Giuseppe Mazinni and Prosper Merimee  
Referenced as MP.

### **New York University Library (Berg Collection)**

Letters to Mrs Redgrave, 1856 Constance Marchioness of Lothian, 1866. Berg Collection.  
4 letters from Oliphant to George Bentley 1877. Berg Collection.  
Letter to T.S Eliot to Virginia Woolf April 26<sup>th</sup> 1934 relating to Jewsbury, Berg Collection.

### **University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, (UIUC)**

Reader's reports and letters to Bentley dated 1860-80.

### ***Publisher's Circular***

Ten years consulted all volumes for 1860-1870.

### **National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth Department of Manuscripts and Records Dolaucothi Collection, (DC)**

78 letters from Geraldine Jewsbury 1861-80 to Betha Jones and others: Lady Hills Johnes, Georgina Hogarth John Ruskin Mrs Oliphant Thomas Woolner.  
Dolaucothi Correspondence, Nos: 4727-14515.  
2 letters to Mrs Roebuck from Geraldine Jewsbury dated 1870.  
(NLW MSS 19979A & 21557D).

Novels

- Balzac, Honoré De      *Cousin Bette*, Transl: Marion Ayton Crawford, Penguin, 1965
- Barrett-Browning  
Elizabeth      To George Sand : A Recognition and To George Sand: A Desire,  
in Poems in Edina Edinburgh, (ed) *The Poetical Works of  
Elizabeth Barrett-Browning*, Hay & Mitchell, 1903, pp435-6
- Braddon, Mary  
Elizabeth      *Aurora Floyd* O.U.P.,1999  
*Lady Audley's Secret* O.U.P.1998  
*John Marchmont's Legacy* O.U.P.1999  
*The Doctor's Wife*, O.U.P 1998
- Brontë, Charlotte      *Jane Eyre*, Norton, 2001  
*Shirley*, Wordsworth Classics, 1993  
*Villette*, O.U.P, 1990
- Brontë, Emily      *Wuthering Heights*, O.U.P. 1998
- Broughton, Rhoda      *A Beginner*, Bentley, 1894  
*Cometh Up as a Flower, An Autobiography* Leipzig, 1867  
*Not Too Wisely But Well*, Leipzig, 1867
- Carlyle, Thomas      *Sartor Resartus, The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdrökh*,  
Champan & Hall 1894  
*Past and Present* Champan & Hall, 1888  
*On Hero Worship*, Champan & Hall, 1897
- Craik, Dinah  
Mulock,      *Olive* , Champan and Hall, 1850  
*John Halifax, A Gentleman*, Nicholson, 1875
- De Stael, Madame      *Corinne, or Italy*, Oxford World's Classics, transl; Sylvia Raphael  
1998
- Dickens, Charles,      *Hard Times*, Penguin, 1994  
*Little Dorrit*, Penguin, 1994  
*The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit*, Penguin,1999  
*The Pickwick Papers*, Dent Ruthland,1998
- Disraeli, Benjamin,      *Sybil, or the Two Nations*, Penguin,1980  
*Coningsby*, O.U.P., 1982  
*Tancred; or the New Crusade*, Leipzig, 1847
- Eliot, George,      *Scenes of Clerical Life*, O.U.P, 1988  
*Adam Bede*, Claredon, 2000  
*Mill on the Floss*, Norton, 1994  
*Felix Holt the Radical*, Penguin 1995  
*Middlemarch A Study of Provincial Life*, Blackwoods.1875  
*Daniel Deronda*

- Froude, James  
Anthony *The Nemesis of the Faith*, Garland, 1975  
*Spirit's Trials: Shadows of the Clouds, The Lieutenant's Daughter*, Garland, 1975
- Gaskell, Elizabeth, *Mary Barton*, Penguin, 1994  
*North and South*, O.U.P., 1982  
*Sylvia's Lovers* Penguin, 1996  
*The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Penguin 1997  
*Ruth* Penguin 1997
- Inchbald, Elizabeth, *A Simple Story*, O.U.P., 1988
- James, Henry *Wings of a Dove*, Penguin, 2001
- Kingsley, Charles *Yeast: A Problem*, Macmillan 1888  
*Alton Locke: Tailor and Poet, An Autobiography*, Macmillan, 1876  
*Hypatia: or, Foes with an Old Face*, Leipzig, 1857
- Lewis, Matthew, *The Monk* O.U.P., 1995
- Martineau, Harriet *A Manchester Strike, A Tale*, in *Illustrations of Political Economy*, vol. 7, 1832  
*The Rioters*, Wellington, Salop, Houlston 1827
- Newman, John  
Henry *Loss and Gain the Story of a Convert*, Longmans, 1848  
*Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, Everyman, 1993  
*Callista, A Sketch of the Third Century*, Burns & Lambert, 1856
- Oliphant Margaret *Salem Chapel*, Blackwoods, 1863  
*The Rector and the Doctor's Family*, Blackwoods, 1863  
*Miss Majoribanks*, Blackwoods, 1866  
*The Perpetual Curate*, Zodiac Press, 1865  
*The Beleaguered City and Other Tales of the Seen and Unseen*, Canongate, 2000
- Paulet, Elizabeth *Dharma; or, Three Phases of Love*, 3 vols, London Smith Elder & Co. 1865
- Reade, Charles, *Hard Cash, A Matter of Fact Romance* Chatto & Windus 1922  
*The Cloister and the Hearth*, Leipzig Tauchnitz, 1864
- Ruskin, John *Seesame and Lilies*, Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1865
- Sand, George *Indiana*, trans: Sylvia Raphael, O.U.P. 1994  
*Consuelo Romance*, trans: F.G Shaw, Boston 1847

- Stone, Elizabeth      *William Langshawe: The Cotton Lord*, Bentley, 1842  
*The Young Milliner Cunningham & Mortimer*, 1843
- Tonna, Charlotte  
Elizabeth      *Helen Fleetwood* in *The Works of Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna*,  
New York, vol 1, 1849  
*The Wrongs of Woman in Works*, vol 2, 1849
- Thackeray, William      *Vanity Fair*, Leipzig, 1848  
*The Newcomes: Memories of a Most Respectable Family*,  
Bradbury & Evans 1854-5
- Trollope, Anthony      *The Way We Live Now*, Leipzig, 1875
- Trollope, Francis      *Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy*, Colburn, 1840
- Ward, Mary  
Augusta, [Mrs  
Humphrey]      *Robert Elsmere*, Smith & Elder, 1888
- Wood, Mrs Henry      *East Lynne*, Leipzig, 1861
- Yonge, Charlotte      *The Clever Woman of the Family*, Leipzig, 1865  
*The Heir of Redclyffe*, Leipzig, 1855

### Bibliography: Primary Sources

- Anon 'Mr Mudies' Library,' *Athenaeum*, 6th October 1860, p451
- Anon 'The Perils of Sensation,' *Saturday Review*, November 5<sup>th</sup> 1864, p558-9
- Anon 'Novel-Reading' *Saturday Review* February 16<sup>th</sup> 1867, p196-7
- Anon 'Novels Past and Present,' *Saturday Review*, April 14<sup>th</sup> 1866 p438-9
- Anon 'What is Women's Work,' *Saturday Review*, 15th February 1868, p197-8
- Anon 'The Effect of Novel Reading on Girls, *Spectator*, 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1864, p1208-9
- Anon 'What is Women's Work?' *Saturday Review*, 15<sup>th</sup> February 1868, p197-8
- Anon 'Literary Women,' *London Review*, 8, (1864) p328
- Anon 'Sensation Novels,' *The Medical Critical and Psychological Journal*, 3, (1863), p513-9
- Anon 'The Popular Novels of the Year,' *Fraser's Magazine*, 68, (1863), p253-69
- Anon [Review] Lady Audley's Secret, *The Times*, 18<sup>th</sup> December 1862, p4
- Anon 'Our Female Novelist,' *Christian Remembrancer* ,38, (1859), p305-39
- Anon 'Youth as Depicted in Modern Fiction,' *Christian Remembrancer*, 52, (1866), p184-211
- Anon 'The Enigma Novel,' *Saturday Review*, 28<sup>th</sup> December 1861, p1428
- Anon 'Employment of Women,' *London Review* 20<sup>th</sup> February 1864, p192
- Anon 'Literary Careers,' *Saturday Review*, 3, (1867), p139-40
- Anon 'Geraldine Jewsbury: Her Life and Errors by Susanne Howe,' *Times Literary Supplement*, July 18<sup>th</sup> 1935, p461
- Anon Review of *William Langshawe*, *Athenaeum* 1<sup>st</sup> October 1842, p846
- Anon 'Advice to Authors,' *Athenaeum*, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1860, p474-5

- Anon 'Dressing Rooms of Actresses,' *The Literary Gazette* 5<sup>th</sup> May 1832, p284
- Anon 'Literature,' *John Bull*, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1845, p119
- Anon 'New Novels', (Review of *Right and Wrong*) *Spectator*, 32, (1859) p105-6
- Anon (Review of *Right or Wrong*) *The Examiner* 19<sup>th</sup> February 1859 p116-7
- Anon (Review of Constance Herbert) *The Examiner* 7<sup>th</sup> April 1855, p212-3
- Anon (Review of *Constance Herbert*) *Athenaeum*, 24<sup>th</sup> March 1855, p343-5
- Anon 'Sea-side reading,' (Review of *Zoe*) *Fraser's Magazine*, 32, (1845) p559-571
- Anon (Review of *Zoe*) *The Literary Gazette*, 8<sup>th</sup> February 1845, p81-2
- Anon (Review of *Zoe*) *Spectator*, 8<sup>th</sup> February 1848 p135-7
- Anon (Review of *Zoe*) *The Examiner*, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1845 p324
- Anon (Review of *Marian Withers*) *Literary Gazette* 13<sup>th</sup> September 1851 p626
- Anon (Review of *Marian Withers*) *The Examiner* 6<sup>th</sup> September 1851, p564-5
- Anon (Review of *Half Sisters*) *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, 7, (1848), p367-74
- Anon (Review of *Half Sisters*), *Spectator*, 18<sup>th</sup> March 1848 p278-9
- Anon (Review of *Sorrows* ), *The Literary Gazette*, 7<sup>th</sup> June 1856, p349-50
- Anon 'Book of the Week,' ( *Sorrows of Gentility*), *The Examiner*, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1856, p325
- Anon 'Geraldine Jewsbury,' (Obituary), *Athenaeum* 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1880, p434
- Anon 'Cheap Literature,' *London Review*, March, (1850)b , p67-8
- Anon 'Genius and Matrimony,' *The British Medical Journal*, June, (1903), p1388-9

- Austin, Alfred 'Our Novels. The Sensation School,' *Temple Bar*, 29, (1870), p410-24  
'The Vice of Novel Reading,' *Temple Bar*, 42, (1874), p251-57
- Bennett, E. A *Journalism For Women A Practical Guide*, Bodley Head, 1898  
*Fame and Fiction: An Enquiry into Certain Popularities*, Grant Richards, 1901
- Bentley , Richard II, & F.E.Williams. *A list of the Principle Publications Issued from New Burlington Street, 1829-1898*, Bentley & Son, (separate publications) 1883-1920
- Bessant, Walter 'Writers and Reviewers,' *Temple Bar*, 42, (1874), p100-10  
*The Pen and the Book*, Thomas Burleigh ,1899
- Black, Helen C *Notable Women Authors of the Day*, David Bryce & Son, Glasgow, 1893
- Blakey, Dorothy *The Minerva Press, 1790-1820*, Oxford, 1935
- Braddon, Mary Elizabeth 'The Sensation Novel,' *Agrosy*, 18 (1974), p137-143
- Buchanan , Robert. W, 'Society's Looking Glass,' *Temple Bar*, 6 (1862) p129-37
- Buckle, Henry Thomas 'The Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge,' *Fraser's Magazine*, 57, (1858), p395-407
- Byerley Thomas, *The Choice of the Professional A Concise Account and Comparative Review of the English Profession*, Champan & Hall, 1857
- Carlyle, Thomas *Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Treufelsdröckh*, Boston, 3 vols., 1836  
*On Heroes and Hero Worship and the Heroic in History*, Harrap, 1840  
*Past and Present*, Chapman & Hall, 1897  
*Characteristics in The Works of Thomas Carlyle* Vol 28, Champan & Hall, 1896-1899  
*Chartism in Works*, Vol 29  
*Reminiscences*, Vol I & II Longmans, Green & Co., 1881  
*Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, 3 Vols. Longmans, Green &Co., 1883
- Champan, John *Cheap Books and How to Get them*, Champan & Hall, 1852
- Chorley H.F 'Zoe: A History of Two Lives' *Athenaeum*, February 1<sup>st</sup> 1845, p114  
'The Half Sisters by Geraldine Jewsbury,' *Athenaeum*, 18<sup>th</sup> March 1848, p288-290



- Cobbe, Frances Power 'Celibacy vs Marriage,' *Fraser's Magazine* 65, (1862), p232-3
- Coghill, Mrs Harry (Ed) *Autobiography and Letters of Mrs Oliphant*, Blackwoods, 1899
- Coleman, D.C *The British Paper Industry 1495-1860 A Study in Industrial Growth* Claredon 1858
- Colles, William Morris *Literature and the Pension List*, Incorporated Society of Authors, London, 1889
- Collins, Wilkie [unsigned] 'The Unknown Public,' *Household Words*, August 21<sup>st</sup> 1858, p217-222
- Collins, W. Lucas 'Mrs Oliphant's Novels,' *Blackwood's*, 113, (1873), p722-39
- Craik, Dinah, Mulloch *A Woman's Thoughts About Women*, Hurst & Blackett, 1858  
'To Novels and a Novelist,' *Macmillan's Magazine* 3, (1861) p441-8  
*About Money and Other Things*, Macmillan, 1886
- Critchon-Browne, James 'Froude and Carlyle The Imputation Considered Medically', *British Medical Journal*, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1903, p1498-1502
- Critchon-Browne, James & Carlyle, Alexander *The Nemesis of Froude: A Rejoinder to J. A. Froude's 'My Relations with Carlyle'*, Bodley Head, 1903
- Crowther, Geoffrey, & Layton, Water T *An Introduction to the Study of Prices*, Macmillan 1938
- Dallas, Eneas Sweetland *The Gay Science*, 2 vols, Chapman & Hall, 1866  
'Popular Literature - The Periodical Press,' *Blackwoods Magazine*, 85, (1859), part I p96-112,  
'Popular Literature - The Periodical Press,' *Blackwoods Magazine*, 85, (1859), part II, p180-95
- Darwin, Charles *Origin of the Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Presentation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, John Murray, 1859

- Decem, [Edward Dowden] 'Fiction and its Uses,' *Fraser's Magazine*, 72, (1865), p743-70
- Dixon W.H 'The Sorrows of Gentility,' *Athenaeum*, May 31<sup>st</sup> 1856, p675  
 'Marian Withers by Geraldine Jewsbury,' *Athenaeum* August 30<sup>th</sup> 1851, p920-1  
 'Right or Wrong by Geraldine Jewsbury,' *Athenaeum* January 29<sup>th</sup> 1859 p148-9
- Doubleday [Alfred Alinger] 'Books and their Uses,' *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1, (1859),p110-113
- Duffy, Charles 'Correspondence and Conversations with Thomas Carlyle,' *Contemporary Review*, 61, (1892), Part 1 p120-152, Part 2 p279-304, Part 3 p430-456, Part 4 p576-608  
 'The Real Carlyle,' *Contemporary Review* 84, (1903), p337-348
- Eliot, George 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists,' *Westminster Review* 10, (1856), p442-462  
 'Belles Lettres,' *Westminster Review*, 30, (1866), p268-80
- Eliza Lynn Linton 'Miss Broughton's Novels,' *Temple Bar* , 80 (1887), p196-209
- Ellis, S. M 'Rhoda Broughton ,' *The Bookman* July ,(1920), p133-4
- Ellis, Sarah Stickney *The Young Ladies Reader, with Observation on Reading Aloud and Remarks Prefixed to the Division of the Work*, London, 1845  
*The Women of England, Their Social Duties, and Domestic Habits*, Fisher , Son & Co, 1839
- Espinasse, Francis *Lancashire Worthies*, London, 1877  
*Literary Recollections and Sketches*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1893
- Evans, John *Lancashire Authors and Orators: A Series of Literary Sketches of Some of the Principal Authors, Divines, Members of Parliament, &c., Connected with the Country of Lancashire*, Houlston & Stoneman 1850
- Friswell, Hain 'Circulating Libraries their Contents and their readers,' *London Society*, 20, (1871), p515-24
- Froude, J.A *Thomas Carlyle: A History Of The First Forty Years Of His Life 1795-1835* , Longmans, Green & Co. 1882  
*New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Longmans Green & Co., 3 vols, 1883  
*Thomas Carlyle: A History Of His Life In London 1834-1881*, Longmans, Green & Co. 1884  
*My Relations with Carlyle*, London,1903

- Fuller, Margaret *Women in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1845
- Gardiner, Maynard Jones 'Contagious Diseases and Public Libraries,' *Library Journal*, 16, (1891), p35-8
- Gaskell, Peter *The Manufacturing Population of England*, Baldwin & Craddock, 1833
- Gilder, J & Cone, H *Pen Portraits of Literary Women By Themselves and Others*, 2 vols, Cassell & Co., 1887
- Grey, Percy 'Mr Trollope's Novels,' *National Review* , 7, (1858) p416-35
- Greg, W.R 'False Morality of Lady Novelists,' *National Review*, 8, (1859), p144-67  
'Why are Women Redundant?' *National Review*, 14, (1862), p434-60
- Hall, S.C *Retrospect of a Long Life 1815-1883*, Bentley, 2,vols, 1883
- Hatton, Joseph 'Miss Braddon at Home a Sketch and an Interview,' *London Society*, 53, (1888), p22-9
- Hutton, R.H 'Novels by the Authoress of "John Halifax,"' *North British Review*, 29, (1858), p466-81
- Hewlett, G.H. *Henry Fothergill Chorley: An Autobiography, Memories and Letters*, Bentley, 1873
- Horace Greenly 'The Sphere of Woman,' *The Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, 2, (1848), p270-3
- Horn Richard. H *Exposition of the False Medium and Barriers Excluding Men of Genius from the Public* , London 1883
- Button, Hot 'Sensation Novels,' *Spectator*, 8<sup>th</sup> August 1868, p931-2  
'The Empire of Novels,' *Spectator*, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1869, p43-4
- Ireland , Annie, E *Letters of G.E. Jewsbury to Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1892  
*The Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Chat & Winds 1891
- James, Henry 'Miss Braddon,' *Nation*, 1 (1865), p593
- Jay, James *The Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, London, 1832

- Jefferson, John  
Corrode *A Book of Recollections*, Vol 1., Hurst & Blackett, 1894  
*Novels and Novelists from Elizabeth to Victoria*, 2 Vols, London, 1858
- Jerrold, William *The Life and Remains of Douglas Jerrold*, London, 1859
- Jewsbury, Maria  
Jane *Letters to the Young*, J. Hatchard & Son, 1829  
*Phantasmagoria; or Sketches of Life and Literature* 1825, 2 vols,  
*Lays of Leisure Hours*, 1829  
*The Three Histories*, 1832
- Kaye, J. W 'The Employment of Women,' *North British Review*, 26, (1857), p291-338
- Kay-  
Shuttleworth,  
James, Phillip *The Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, James and Ridgway, 1832
- Kinnear, A.S 'The Lady Novelist of Britain,' *Gentleman's Magazine* 40, (1853), p18-25  
'Mr Trollope's Novels,' *North British Review*, 40, (1864), p369-401
- Kirkland, Mrs  
C.M 'The Novel Reader,' *The Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, 1, (1847), p231
- Lalor, John *Money and Morals, A Book for the Times*, John Chapman, 1852
- Larkin, Henry *Carlyle and the open Secret of his Life*, Kegan Paul, 1886
- Lawrance,  
Hannah 'Novels and Novelists,' *British Quarterly Review*, 30, (1859), p443-65
- Lewes, G.H.  
[Vivian] 'Balzac and George Sand,' *Foreign Quarterly Review*, 32, (1844), p149-60  
'A Gentle Hint to Writing Women,' *Leader*, 1, (1850), p189  
'A Flight of Authoresses,' *Leader*, June 15<sup>th</sup> 1850, p284  
(Review of Marian Withers) *Leader* 30<sup>th</sup> August 1851, p825-6  
'The Lady Novelist,' *Westminster Review*, 2, (1852) p129-41  
'The Heart and the Brain', *Fortnightly Review*, 1, (1865), p66-74  
'Criticism in Relation to Novels,' *Fortnightly Review*, 3, (1865), p332-61  
'Farewell Causerie,' *Fortnightly Review*, 1, (1866), p890-96
- Lewes, G. H &  
Herschel, J.F.W 'Our Survey of Literature and Science,' *Cornhill Magazine*, 7, (1863), p132-144
- Lewes G. H. &  
Stephenson,  
Thomas, S 'Money and Manners,' *Cornhill Magazine*, 9, (1864), p566-75

- Lilly, W. S           ‘The New Spirit of History,’ *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 38 (1895), p619-633  
‘New Light on the Carlyle Controversy,’ *Fortnightly Review* 73, (1903), p1000-9
- Lorimer, James       ‘Noteworthy Novels,’ *North British Review*, 11, (1849), p475-93
- MacCarthy, Justin   ‘Novels with a Purpose,’ *Westminster Review*, 26, (1864), p24-49  
‘Richard Fernal,’ *Westminster Review*, July (1864) p25-49
- Mallock, W.H       ‘The Secret of Carlyle's Life,’ *Fortnightly Review*, 74, (1903) p180-192
- Mansel, Henry L     ‘Sensation Novels,’ *Quarterly Review*, 113, (1863), p481-514
- Masson, David       *British Novelists and their Styles* Macmillan, 1859
- Martineau Harriet   *Autobiography*, Smith & Elder, 3vols, 1877  
‘Female Industry,’ *The Edinburgh Review* 109, (1859), p293-336  
*History of the Thirty Years Peace A.D 1816-1846*, 4 vols, London, 1877-8
- Matz, B.W           ‘George Meredith,’ *Fortnightly Review*, 86, (1909) p282-98
- Mazzini, G,  
Tranls Jewsbury,  
Geraldine           ‘Dante Allighieri,’ *The Foreign Quarterly review*, 33, (1844), p1-30  
‘The Works of Thomas Carlyle,’ *British and Foreign Review: or European Quarterly Journal*, 16, (1844), p262-293
- McNeill, Ronald     ‘The Real Froude,’ *Contemporary Review* 84, (1903), p224-232  
‘The New Carlyle Letters: A Vindication of Froude,’ *Contemporary Review*, 83, (1903), p761-778
- Mercer, Edmund     “Geraldine Jewsbury,” *Manchester Quarterly*, 17, (1898), p301-20
- Mill, John Stuart    *Subjection of Women*, Longman & Green, 1869  
*Principles of Political Economy* London, 1848
- Mitford, Mary  
Russell               *Recollections of a Literary Life*, Bentley, 1851
- Mozley Anne        ‘Clever Women,’ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Review*, 104, (1868), p410-27  
‘English Converts to Romanism,’ *Blackwood's* 100, (1866), p327-44
- Noel , R.            ‘Recollections of the Stage,’ *Frasers*, 11, (1875), p326-37

- Oliphant,  
Margaret
- ‘Modern Novelists Great and Small,’ *Blackwoods*, 77, (1855), p554-68
- ‘Mr Thackeray and his Novels,’ *Blackwood’s*, 77, (1855), p86-96
- ‘Charles Dickens,’ *Blackwood’s*, 77, (1855), p451-66
- ‘Modern Light Literature,’ *Blackwood’s*, 78 (1855), p72-86
- ‘Religion in Common Life,’ *Blackwood’s*, 79,(1856), p243-46
- ‘Laws Concerning Women,’ *Blackwood’s*, 79, (1856), p379-87
- ‘The Condition of Women,’ *Blackwood’s*, 83, (1858), p139-54
- ‘The Byways of Literature: Reading for the Million,’ *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 84, (1858), p200-16
- ‘Sensation Novels,’ *Blackwood’s*, 91 (1862), p564-84
- The Life of Edward Irving*, Hurst & Blackett, London, 2 Vols, 1862
- ‘Novel,’ *Blackwoods*, 94, (1863), p168-83
- ‘The Great Unrepresented [Woman]’ *Blackwood’s*, 100, (1866) p367-79
- ‘Novels,’ *Blackwoods*, 102, (1867), p257-80
- ‘Charles’ Reade’s Novels,’ *Blackwood’s* 106, (1869), p488-514
- ‘Historical Sketches of the Reign of George II: No. X Novelists,’ *Blackwood’s*, 105 (1869) p253
- ‘Thomas Carlyle,’ *Macmillan’s Magazine*, 43, (1881), p482-96
- ‘Mrs Carlyle,’ *Contemporary Review*, 43, (1883) p609-29
- ‘Mill’s Subjection of Women,’ *Edinburgh Review*, 130, (1869), p 572-602
- ‘The Correspondence of M. de Balzac,’ *Edinburgh Review*, 148, (1878),p528-58
- ‘Mrs Craik [Dinah Mullock],’ *Macmillan’s Magazine*, 57, (1887), p81-5
- Annals of a Publishing House William Blackwood and His Sons, their Magazine and Friends*, Blackwoods, 1897
- Oliphant  
Lawrence,
- ‘The Autobiography of a Joint Stock Company (Limited)’ *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, July, (1876), p96-122
- Palgrave, F.T
- ‘Readers in 1760 and 1860,’ *Macmillan’s Magazine*, 1, (1860), p487-9
- Poole, W.F
- ‘The Spread of Contagious Disease by Library Books,’ *Library Journal*, 4, (1879), p258-62
- Rae, W. Fraser
- ‘Sensation Novelist: Miss Braddon,’ *North British Review*, 43, (1865), p180-205
- Ritchie, David
- Early letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle: Together with a few of Later Years and Some of Thomas Carlyle*, London ,1889

- Roscoe, William  
Caldeua 'Woman,' *National Review*, 7, (1858), p333-361
- 'S' 'What is the Harm in Novel Reading?,' *Wesleyan Magazine*, 78, (1851), p932-4
- Sergeant,  
Adeline, et al *Women Novelists of Queen Victoria's Reign; A Book of Appreciation* Hurst & Blackett, 1897 (Mrs Lynn Linton, Mrs Oliphant Mrs Alexander, Mrs Macquold, Mrs Parr, Mrs Marshall, Charlotte.M. Yonge, and Edna Lyall)
- Seller, W.Y 'Religious Novels,' *North British Review*, 26, (1856), p209-27
- Skelton, John *The Table Talk of Shirley: Reminiscences of Letters from Froude, Thackeray, Disraeli, Browning, Rossetti, Kingsley, Baynes, Huxley, Tyndall and Others*, Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1895
- Smiles, Samuel *Self Help, A Guide with Illustrations of Character and Conduct*, John Murray, 1859
- Sprigge, S.  
Squire *The Methods of Publishing*, London ,1890
- Stand, A. Innes 'Contemporary Literature: Journalists,' *Blackwoods Magazine*, 124 (1878), p646-62
- Stodart *Female Writers* , London, 1842
- Strahan ,  
Alexander 'Bad Literature for the Young,' *Contemporary Review*, 26, (1875), p981-91
- Swinnerton,  
Frank *Authors and the Book Trade*, Gerald Howe 1932
- Tapping, Thomas *Joint Stock Companies and How to Form Them*, London, 1866
- Taylor, Mary 'Enfranchisement of Women,' *Westminster Review*, 55, (1851),p289-311
- Taylor, William  
Cooke *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing District*, Duncan & Malcolm, 1842
- Thackeray,  
William  
Makepece 'De Finibus,' *Cornhill*, 6, (1862), p285

- Tinsley, William *Random Recollections of a Publisher*, Hamilton Kent & co., 1900
- Traill, H.D.  
(Ed) *The Collected Works of Thomas Carlyle*, vol., 27, Chapman & Hall, 1896-99
- Trollope, Anthony  
‘Novel Reading,’ *Nineteenth Century* 5, 26 (1879)  
*An Autobiography*, John Lovell Company, 1883  
‘On Anonymous Literature,’ *Fortnightly Review*, 1, (1865), p491-98
- Trollope, Thomas  
Adolphus *What I Remember*, Bentley, 3 vols, 1887-9
- Unwin, Stanley *The Truth About Publishing*, George Allen & Unwin, 1926
- Venables, G. S  
‘Carlyle in Society and at Home,’ *Fortnightly Review*, 39,(1883), p622-42
- Walbank, Alan *Queens of the Circulating Libraries: Selections form Victorian Novelists 1850-1900's*, Van Eaves Bros, 1950
- Ward, Mary  
Augusta [Mrs  
Humphrey] *A Writers Recollections, 1856-1900*, London ,1918
- Waugh, Arthur *A Hundred Years of Publishing , Being the Story of Chapman and Hall*, Chapman & Hall, 1930
- Whipple E.D  
‘Novels of the Season,’ *North American Review* (1848) p354 -369
- Wichsteed, Philip  
‘Robert Browning,’ *Contemporary Review*, 83, (1903), p86-99
- Williams, Jane *Literary Women of England*, London, 1861
- Wilmott, R. A  
‘Book- love,’ *Fraser's* 36, (1847), p199-204
- Wilson, David *Mr Froude and Carlyle*, Heinemann, 1898
- Yonge, Miss  
Charlotte  
‘Children’s Literature, Part III, Class Literature of the Last thirty Years,’ *Macmillan’s Magazine*, 20, (1869), p448-56
- Zola, Emilè  
‘Anonymity in Journalism,’ *Times*, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1893, p6-9



## Jewsbury's Writings

- Jewsbury, Geraldine 'A Sonnet,' *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 61(1843), 61, p47
- 'Dante Allighieri,' *Foreign Quarterly Review*, 33, (1844), p1-30 (transl from Mazzini)
- 'The Works of Thomas Carlyle,' *British and Foreign Review*, 16, (1844), p262-93 (transl from Mazzini)
- 'Social Barbarisms: Hiring a Servant,' *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, 4, (1846) p464 -471
- 'To-day,' *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, 3, (1846) p223-225
- 'Things of Importance,' *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, 3 (1846) p349-54
- 'The Present and the Future,' *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling's Magazine*, 3, (1846) p543-548
- 'How Agnes Worrall was Taught to be Respectable,' *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, 5, (1847) p16-24 , p246-266
- 'Civilisation of the "lower orders", *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine* Vol 6 1847 p443-452
- 'The Lower Orders,' *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, 5 (1847) p462-7
- 'Religious Faith and Modern Scepticism,' *Westminster Review*, 52, (1850), p379-406
- 'The Story of Angelique (A True Incident.)' *Ladies Companion and Monthly Magazine*, 4, (1852), p225-31
- 'The Days of Chivalry; or the Elm Tree of Vaurus,' *Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion*, 3, (1854), p28-30
- 'The Maori King; or, the Story of our Quarrel with the Natives of New Zealand, by J.E Gorst,' *Athenaeum* October 1<sup>st</sup> 1864, p432-5
- 'The Greville Memoirs,' *Fraser's Magazine*, 10, (1874), p777-88
- 'Prince Albert: A review of the life of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort by Theodore Martine,' *Fraser's Magazine*, 11, (1875), p209-222

'The Young Jew of Tunis,' *Household Words*, 27<sup>th</sup> April 1850, p118-20

'A Curious Page of Family History,' *Household Words*, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1851, p246-49

'A Forgotten Celebrity,' *Household Words*, 28<sup>th</sup> February 1852, p534-38

'A Page from a Sad Book,' *Household Words*, 31<sup>st</sup> July 1852, p 474-76

'The Black Lad,' *Household Words*, 30<sup>th</sup> April 1853, p206-8

'The Great Saddleworth Exhibition,' *Household Words*, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1853, p109-112

'Specimen of the Alchemists,' *Household Words*, 16<sup>th</sup> June 1855, p457-65

'Specimen of the Alchemists,' *Household Words*, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1855, p488-92

'More Alchemy,' *Household Words*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1855, p540-3

'Instructive Companions,' *Household Words*, 29<sup>th</sup> September 1855, p211-14

'Tardy Justice,' *Household Words*, 27<sup>th</sup> October 1855, p298-301

'Disputed Identity,' *Household Words*, 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1855, p481-87

'Gold Mines at Home,' *Household Words*, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1856, p203-4

'The Seven Victims of Mittlebron,' *Household Words*, 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1856, p226-8

'Two Difficult Cases. Case the First,' *Household Words*, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1856, p385-91

'The Frenchman of Two Wives,' *Household Words*, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1856, p 485-90

'Agnes Lee,' *Household Words*, 11<sup>th</sup> July 1857, p36- 46

'Nicholas the Rope Dancer,' *Household Words*, 21<sup>st</sup> May 1859, p 588-59

*Zoe: A History of Two Lives*, Chapman and Hall, 3 vols, 1845, (repr. Virago 1979)

*The Half Sisters*, Chapman and Hall, 3 vols, 1848, (repr 1854 cheap edition with *Olive* and *The Head of the Family*, new edition 1861, and World's Classics 1992).

*Marian Withers*, Colburn, London, 3 vols 1851, (repr. Chapman & Hall 1864)

*An Adopted Child*, Grant & Griffith, 1852, (repr. 1853 and 1856 by Griffith & Farran)

*Angelo; or the Pine Forest in the Alps*, Grant & Griffith, 1855, (repr. 1864 & 1877 Griffith & Farran)

*Constance Herbert*, Hurst and Blackett, 3 vols, 1855, (repr. Chapman & Hall 1865, Ward & Lock 1882).

*The Sorrows of Gentility*, Hurst and Blackett, London, 2 vols, 1856, (repr. Chapman & Hall 1864, Ward & Lock 1882).

*Right and Wrong*, Hurst & Blackett, 2 vols, 1859

Dixon, William  
Hepworth &  
Jewsbury Geraldine,  
(Eds)

'Caroline Herschel,' *Temple Bar*, 46, (1876), p237-243

Herschel, Mary  
Cornwallis, &  
Jewsbury Geraldine  
(Eds)

*Memoir and Correspondence of Caroline Herschel*, John Murray, 1876

Llanover, Lady, &  
Jewsbury  
Geraldine, (Eds)

*The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, Bentley, 1860

Moragn, Lady &  
Jewsbury Geraldine  
(Eds)

*Passages in my Autobiography*, Bentley, 1859

## Bibliography: Secondary Sources

- Ahston, Rosemary      *George Eliot: A Life*, Hamilton, 1996  
*Thomas and Jane Carlyle, Portrait of a Marriage*, Chatto & Windus, 2002
- Alborn, Timothy L      *Conceiving Companies, Joint Stock Politics in Victorian England*, Routledge, 1998
- Allen, Emily            *Stage Fright: British Fiction and the Figuration of Theatre, 1778-1892*, Ph.D., University of California Santa Barbara, 1996
- Allot, Miriam (ed)      *The Bronte's :The Critical Heritage*, Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1974
- Altick, Richard        *The English Common Reader, a Social History of the Main Reading Public, 1800-1900*, University of Chicago Press, 1963  
*Writers, Readers and Occasions*, Ohio State University Press, 1989
- Alyssa, Kaye Hedi      *The Split Female Self and Social Change as Represented in Some Novels of Catherine Gore, Geraldine Jewsbury and Mary Braddon*, DPhil Oxford, 1992
- Arbuckle, Sanders, (ed)      *Harriett Martineau's Letters to Fanny Wedgwood*, Stanford University Press California, 1983
- Aries, Phillippe        *Centuries of Childhood*, Penguin, 1873
- Armstrong, Nancy      *Domestic Desire and Fiction; A Political History of the Novel* Oxford University Press, 1987  
*Fiction in the Age of Photography: The Legacy of British Realism*, Harvard University Press, 2000
- Auerbach, Nina        *Women and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth*, C.U.P. 1982
- Auerbach, Nina & Ulrich Camilus Knoepflmacher      *Forbidden Journeys. Fairy Tales and Fantasies by Victorian Women Writers*, Chicago Press, 1992
- Avery, Gillian        *Nineteenth Century Children, Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction, 1770-1950*, Hodder & Stoughton , 1965  
*Childhood Patterns, A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Stories, 1770-1950*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1975

- Bagehot, Walter *Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market*, 1870 New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999
- Barnes, John *Other Dickens: Pickwick to Chuzzlewit*, O.U.P., 2000
- Barnes, James *Free Trade in Books. A Study of the London Book Trade Since 1800*, Claredon, 1967
- Basch, Franciose, *Relative Creatures: Victorian Women in Society and the Novel* Allen Lane, 1974
- Beer, Gillian *Darwin's Plots, Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot & Nineteenth Century Fiction*, Ark Paperbacks, 1983  
*George Eliot*, Harvester, 1986
- Best, George *Mid - Victorian Britain 1851-75*, Fontana 1971
- Bewley, Victor E.A 'George Sand and Geraldine Jewsbury,' *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 30, (1956), p396-98
- Bigland, Eileen *Ouida: The Passionate Victorian*, Jarrolds, 1950
- Bill, Bell 'Victorian Paratexts,' *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 27, (1999), p327-35
- Black, Helen *Notable Women Authors of the Day*, David Bryce and Son, Glasgow, 1893
- Blake, Andrew *Reading Victorian Fiction: The Cultural Context and Ideological Content of the Nineteenth Century Novel*, Macmillan, 1989
- Blakey, Dorothy *The Minerva Press 1790-1820*, O.U.P, 1939
- Bliss, Trudy Ed. *Jane Welsh Carlyle Letters*, Arrow Books, 1959
- Bloom, Abigail Burnham, (ed) *Nineteenth Century British Women Writers A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Source*, Aldwych Press, 2000
- Brancar, Patricia *Silent Sisterhood*, Croom Helm 1975
- Brantlinger, Patrick What is "Sensational" about the "Sensation Novel?", *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, 37, (1982), p1-28  
'The Case Against Trade Unions in Early Victorian Fiction,' *Victorian Studies*, 13, (1969), p37-52

- Bratton, J.S *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*, Croom Helm, 1981
- Briggs ,Asa *Victorian Cities*, Penguin ,1990
- Broughton Trev  
Lynn & Anderson  
Linda (eds.) *Women's Lives Writing Times New Essays on Autobiography*,  
New York Press, 1997
- Broughton, Trev 'The Froude- Carlyle Embroilment: Married Life as a Literary Problem,' *Victorian Studies*, 38, (1995) p551-85  
*Men of letters Writing lives, masculinity and literary Auto/Biography in the Late Victorian period*, Routledge 1999
- Brownstein, Rachel *Becoming a Heroine Reading About Women in Novels*, Penguin, 1982
- Butts, Denis, (ed), *Stories and Society: Children's Literature in its Social Context*, Macmillans, 1992
- Burns, Arthur *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England c. 1800-1870*, O.U.P., 1999
- Burn, W *The Age of Equipoise*, Unwin, 1964
- Cadogan Mary &  
Craig, Patricia *You're a Brick Angela! The Girls' Story 1839-1985*, Gollancz, 1976
- Campbell, Ian 'Letters form Home: The Carlyle Family Correspondence,' *Prose Studies*, 10, (1987), p305-16  
*Thomas Carlyle*, Saltire Society, 1993
- Carlyle, Alexander,  
Ed. *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Bodley Head London 2 vols,1903  
*The Carlyle Myth Refuted*, For Private Circulation, British Library 1930,  
'Eight New Love Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle', *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 75, (1903), p86-113  
'More New Love Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle', *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 76, (1914), p317-349  
*The Love Letters of Thomas and Jane Carlyle* , Bodley Head, London, Vol. 1, 1909

- Carpenter, Humphrey *Secret Gardens: The Golden Age of Children's Literature*, Allen & Unwin, 1985
- Carpenter, Humphrey & Mari Pritcher, (Eds) *An Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, O.U.P, 1999
- Carnell, Jeniffer *Literary Lives of Mary Elizabeth Braddon A Study of her Life and Work*, Sensation Press, 2000
- Carney, Karen, M 'The Publisher's Reader as Feminist: The Career of Geraldine Endorsor Jewsbury, *Victorian Periodical Review*, 29, (1996), p146-58  
*Coming to Terms: Nineteenth Century British Women Writers and Their Publishers*, Ph.D., University of Illinois, 1999
- Cary, Meredith 'Geraldine Jewsbury and the Women's Question,' *Research studies* , 42, (1974) p201-14
- Cassey, Ellen Miller "Edging Women Out?" Reviews of Women Novelists in the Athenaeum, 1860-1900,' *Victorian Studies*, 39, (1996), p151-165  
'Weekly Reviews of Fiction the *Athenaeum* –v- the *Spectator* and the *Saturday Review*,' *Victorian Periodical Review*, 23, (1990), p8-11
- Cazamian, Louis, *The Social Novel in England 1830-50*, (1903; trans. Martin Fido; Routledge, London, 1973)
- Chadwick, Owen *The Victorian Church 1829-59*, Part I & II, SCM Press, 1961
- Chapple ,John *Elizabeth Gaskell: The Early Years*, Manchester University Press, 1997
- Chapple, J.A.V & Pollard, Arthur (Eds) *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, Manchester 1966
- Chambers, Adian *Booktalk. Occasional Writing on Literature and Children*, Bodley Head, 1985
- Chese, Malcolm *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour*, Aldershot & Brookfield, Ashgate, 2000
- Christianson, A 'Jane Welsh Carlyle and her Friendships with Women in the 1840's,' *Prose Studies*, 10: Dec, (1987) p283-95
- Clader, Jenni *Women and Marriage in Victorian Fiction*, Thames & Hudson, 1976

- Clarke, Norma *Ambitious Heights Writing Friendship, Love, The Jewsbury Sisters, Felicia Hemans and Jane Carlyle*, Routledge, 1990
- Clifton, Michael *A Victorian Convert Quintet. Studies in Faith of Five Leading Victorian Converts to Catholicism from the Oxford Movement*, Saint Aiustin Press, 1998
- Cohen, Monica .F *Professional Domesticity in the Victorian Novel, Women Work and Home*, C.U.P, 1998
- Colby, Vineta *The Singular Anomaly; Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1970
- Colby, Vineta & Robert *The Equivocal Virtue: Mrs Oliphant and the Literary Market Place*, Archon, 1966
- Crichton -Browne, James 'Thomas Carlyle and Froude', *Contemporary Review*, 84, (1903)  
'Froude and Carlyle: The Imputation Considered Medically', *The British Medical Journal*, June, (1903), p1498-1502
- Crichton-Browne, James & Alexander Carlyle *The nemesis of Froude: A Rejoinder to James Anthony Froude's "My relations with Carlyle"*, Bodley Head, 1903
- Cross, Nigel *Royal Literary Fund 1790-1918, An Introduction to the Fund's History and Archives with An Index of Applicants*, London 1984  
*The Common Writer Life in Nineteenth Century Grub Street*, C.U.P, 1988
- Crowther Geoffrey & Layton, Walter T *An Introduction to the Study of Prices*, Macmillan, 1938
- Cruikshank, Margaret 'Geraldine Jewsbury and Jane Carlyle,' *Frontiers*, 4, (1979) p60-4
- Cruse, Amy *The Victorian and Their Books*, Allen & Unwin, 1935
- Cunningham, Valerie *Everywhere Spoken Against: Dissent in the Victorian Novel*, Claredon, Oxford, 1975
- Currie, Gilbert, A &, R & Horsley *Church and Church Goers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, Claredon, Oxford, 1977
- Cvetkovich, Ann *Mixed Feelings: feminism, Mass Culture and Victorian Sensationalism*, Rurgers University Press, 1992
- Darton, F.T.Harvey *Children's Books In England, Five Centuries of Social Life*, C.U.P 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed, 1958



- Davidoff, Leonore, & Hall, Catherine *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, Hutchinson, 1987
- Davie, D *A Gathered Church: The Literature of England Dissenting 1700-1930*, Routledge, 1978
- Davis, R.W. & Helmstadtler, R.J. (Eds) *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society. Essays in Honour of R. K. Webb*, Routledge, 1992
- Demoor, Marysa *Their Fair Share: Women, Power and Criticism in the Athenaeum, from Millicent Garrett Fawcett to Katherine Mansfield, 1870-1920*, Ashgate, 2000
- Dixon, Ella Hepworth *"As I Knew Them"; Sketches of People I have Met on the Way* Hutchinson & Co., 1930
- Don Vann, J & Vanarsdel, Rosemary, T *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research*, New York, 1989  
*Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Aldershot, 1995  
*Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration*, Toronto Press, 1996
- Drazin, Yaffa Claire *Victorian London's Middle-class Housewife: What did she do all Day*, Greenwood Press, 2001
- Drotner, Kristen *English Children and their Magazines 1751-1945*, Yale University Press, 1988
- Dunn Waldo H *James Anthony Froude: A Biography 1818-1856*, Claredon, Oxford 1961  
*James Anthony Froude: A Biography 1857-94*, Claredon, Oxford 1963  
*Froude and Carlyle: A Study of the Froude-Carlyle Controversy*, Longmans green & Co. 1930
- Easson, Angus (Ed) *Elizabeth Gaskell: The Critical Heritage*, Routledge, 1991  
'Dickens, Household Words, and a Double Standard,' *Dickensian*, 60, (1964), p104-114
- Edmond, Rod *Affairs of the Hearth, Victorian Poetry and Domestic Narrative*, Routledge, 1988
- Edwards, P.D *Some Mid-Victorian Thrillers: The Sensation Novel, its Friends and Foes*, University of Queensland Press, 1971
- Edwin, M. Eigner & Worth, George, J (Ed.) *Victorian Criticism of the Novel*, C.U.P, 1985

- Ellegård, Alvar "The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain," *Victorian Periodical Newsletter*, 13, (1971), p3-22
- Elliott, Darice Williams *The Angel Out of the House. Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth Century England*, University of Virginia Press, 2002
- Erickson, Lee *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing 1800-1850*, John Hopkins University Press, 1996
- Evans, Mary *The Woman Question*, Sage Publications, 1994
- Ewbank, Inga Stina *Their Proper Sphere A Study of the Brontë Sisters as Early Victorian Female Novelists*, , London, 1966
- Faderman, Lillian *Surpassing the love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present*, London 1982
- Fahnestock, Jeanne 'Geraldine Jewsbury: The Power of the Publisher's Reader,' *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, 28, (1973) p253-72  
'Bigamy: The Rise and Fall of a Convention,' *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, 36, (1981), p47-71
- Faulkner, Peter Ed. *A Victorian Reader*, Batsford, 1989
- Feather, John *A History of British Publishing* Croom Helm, 1988
- Feltes, Norman, N *Literary Capital and the Late Victorian Novel*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1993  
*Modes of Production of Victorian Novels*, University of Chicago Press, 1986
- Ferris, Ina *The Achievements of Literary Authority, Gender, History and the Waverly Novels*, Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1991
- Fielding, K *My Relations with Carlyle By James Anthony Froude*, Longmans Green & Co. 1903
- Fielding, K,  
Ian Campbell &  
Aileen Christianson *Jane Welsh Carlyle: "The Simple Story of my Own First Love,"* Edinburgh University 2001
- Finklestein, David 'The Secret: British Publishers and Mudie's Struggle for economic Survival 1861-64,' *Publishing History*, 34, (1993), p21-50
- Flint, Kate *The Woman Reader 1837-1914* ,Oxford, Claredon,1999

- Ford, George, H *Dickens and His Readers: Aspects of Novel- Criticism Since 1836*, New York, 1965
- Foster, Shirley *Victorian Women's Fiction, Marriage, Freedom and the Individual*, Croom Helm, 1985
- Fritschner, Lynne Marie "Publishers' Readers, Publishers, and their Authors," *Publishing History*, 7, (1980), p45-100
- Fryckstedt, Monica Correa 'The Early Industrial Novel: *Mary Barton* and its Predecessors,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*, 63, (1980), p11-30  
 'New Sources on Geraldine Jewsbury and the Woman Question,' *Research Studies*, 51, (1983), p51-63  
 'The Hidden Rill: The Life and Career of Maria Jane Jewsbury,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 66, (1984), pp450-73, part II, (1984) p450 – 73  
 'Geraldine Jewsbury and Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine,' *English Studies*, 66, (1985) p326-337  
*Geraldine Jewsbury 's Athenaeum Reviews: A Mirror to Mid-Victorian Attitudes to Fiction* , Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Uppsala: Sweeden, 1986  
 'Geraldine Jewsbury 's Athenaeum Reviews: A Mirror to Mid-Victorian Attitudes to Fiction ,' *Victorian Periodical Review*, Spring (1990)  
 'Compiling A Guide to English Fiction of the 1860's,' *Publishing History*, 39, (1996), p55-86
- Gallagher, Catherine *The Industrial Reformation of English Fiction: Social Discourse and Narrative Form 1832-1867*, Chicago University press,1985  
*Nobody's Story the Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820*, University of California Press, 1994
- Gardiner, Juliet (ed) *The New Woman*, Collins & Brown, 1993
- Gamer, Michael 'Authors in Effect: Lewis, Scott and the Gothic Drama,' *ELH*, 66, (1999),p831-61
- Gettman, A. Royal *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers*, C.U.P., 1960
- Gilbert, A *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, Longman 1976
- Gilbert, Sandra. M. & Gubar, Susan *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination*, Yale University Press, 1979

- Gilmour, Robin, *The Victorian Period: The intellectual and cultural context of English Literature*, Longman, 1993  
*The Novel in the Victorian Age*, Arnold, 1989
- Glunn, Jenifer *Prince of Publishers: A Biography of George Smith*, Allison & Busby, 1986
- Goode, John 'Minor Nineteenth -Century Fiction,' *Victorian Studies*, 11, (1968), p534-8
- Gorham, D *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*, Indiana University Press, 1982
- Graham, Kenneth *English Criticism of the Novel 1865-1900*, Claredon, 1965
- Green, Laura Morgan *Educated Women: Cultural Conflict and Victorian Criticism*, Ohio University Press, 2001
- Griest, Guinevere. L. *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel*, Indiana University Press, 1970
- Guy, Josephine, M *The Victorian Social-Problem Novel, The Market, the Individual and Communal Life*, Macmillan 1996
- Haight, Gordon *George Eliot: A Biography*, Penguin 1992
- Haikett, Samuel & Laing, John (Eds) *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publications in the English Language*, Harlow, Longman, 1980
- Haldane, Elizabeth *Mrs Gaskell and her Friends*, Hodder & Stoughton 1930
- Harman, Barbara, Leah, (Ed) *The New Nineteenth Century: Feminist Readings of Underread Victorian Fiction*, Garland, 1996
- Hartley, J M 'Geraldine Jewsbury and the Problem of Women Novelists,' *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, 2, (1979) p137-53
- Haythornthwaite, J.A 'The Wages of Success: 'Miss Majoribanks,' Margaret Oliphant and the House of Blackwood, *Publishing History*, 15, (1984), p91-105  
'Friendly Encounters: A Study of the Relationship Between the House of Blackwood and Margaret Oliphant in her Role as Literary Critic,' *Publishing History*, 28, (1990), p79-88

- Heilmann, Ann *New Woman Fiction, Women Writing First Wave Feminism*, Macmillan, 2000
- Henkin, Leo, J *Darwinism in the English Novel, 1860-1910: The Impact of Evolution on Victorian Fiction*, Russell & Russell 1963
- Herbert, Paul *The Life of Froude*, Pitman, 1906
- Hirsch, Pam *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon: Feminist Artist and Rebel* Chatto & Windus, 1998
- Hobsbawn, Eric *The Age of Capital 1848-1875*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1962
- Hogan, Anne, & Bradstock (Eds) *Women of Faith in Victorian Culture: Reassessing the Angel of the House*, St. Martin Press, 1998
- Holcombe, Lee 'Victorian Wives and Property,' in Martha Vicinus (ed) *A Widening Sphere, Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, Meuthen, 1980
- Holme, Thea *The Carlyles at Home*, O.U.P, 1965
- Hoppen, K *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-86*, Claredon, 1998
- Horsman, Alan *The Victorian Novel*, Oxford, 1990
- Honig, Edith  
Lazaros *Breaking the Angelic Image: Women's Power in Victorian Children's Fantasy*, Greenwood Press, 1988
- Houghton, Walter E. *The Victorian Frame of mind 1830-1870*, University of Yale Press, 1975  
(ed) *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*, 5 vols., Routledge, 1972
- Howe, Susanne  
Nobbe *Geraldine Jewsbury: Her Life and Errors* London, Unwin , 1935  
'Four Unpublished Letters of Thomas Carlyle,' *PMLA*, 4, (1955)
- Hughes, Linda K &  
Lund, Michael *The Victorian Serial*, University Press of Virginia, 1991  
*Victorian Publishers and Mrs Gaskell's Work*, University Press Virginia, 1999
- Hughes, Winifred *The Maniac in the Cellar: Sensation Novels of the 1860's*, Princeton University Press, 1980
- Hunt, Peter. L. (ed.) *Children's Literature. The Development of Criticism*, Routledge, 1990  
*Criticism, Theory and Children's Literature*, Blackwell, 1991  
*Literature for Children. Contemporary Criticism*, Routledge, 1992

- An Introduction to Children's Literature*, O.U.P, 1994  
*International Companion Encyclopaedia of Children's Literature*,  
 Routledge, 1996  
 (ed) *Understanding Children's Literature*, Routledge, 1999  
 (ed) *Children's Literature. An Anthology 1801-1902*, Blackwell,  
 2001
- Hunt, Peter L. &  
 Lenz, Millicent      *Alternative Worlds in Fantasy Fiction*, Continuum, 2001
- Huxley, Leonard      *Jane Welsh Carlyle Letters to her Family London*, John Murray,  
 1924  
 'A sheaf of letters from Jane Welsh Carlyle,' *Cornhill Magazine*  
 Nov, (1926), p469-635
- Ithmann, Karl      *Work, Gender and Family in Victorian England*, Macmillan, 1995
- Ingram, Alison      *Index of the Archives of Richard Bentley & Sons 1829-98*,  
 Cambridge, 1977
- Ingham, Patricia      *The Language of Gender and Class Transformation in the*  
*Victorian Novel*, Routledge, 1996
- Jacobus, Mary      *Reading Women Essays in Feminist Criticism*, Meuthen, 1986
- Jack, Belinda      *George Sand, A Woman's Life Writ Large*, Vintage, 2001
- Jamieson, Ian      *Capitalism and Culture a Comparative Analysis of Britain and*  
*American Manufacturing Organisations*, Gower Publishing 1980
- Jay, Elisabeth      *The Religion of the Heart: Anglicanism, Evangelism and the*  
*Nineteenth Century Novel*, Claredon, 1979  
*Mrs Oliphant: A Fiction to Herself, A Literary Life*, Claredon,  
 1995  
*The Autobiography of Mrs Oliphant: The Complete Text*, O.U.P,  
 1990
- Jones, Aled      *Powers of the Press, Newspapers Power, and the Public in*  
*Nineteenth Century England*, Scholar Press, 1996
- Jump, Harriet  
 Devine      'Weekly Reviewing in the Eighteen Fifties,' *Review of English*  
*Studies*, 24, (1948), p42-57  
 'Weekly Reviewing in the Eighteen Sixties,' *Review of English*  
*Studies*, 3, (1952), p244-62  
*Women's Writing of the Victorian Period, 1837-1901: An*  
*Anthology*, Edinburgh University Press, 1999  
 'My Dearest Geraldine:' Maria Jane Jewsbury's Letters, *Bulletin*  
*of John Rylands University Library*, 81, (1999), p63-72

- King, Steven,  
Trimmins, Geoffrey, *Making Sense of the Industrial Revolution. English Economy and Society 1700-1850*, M.U.P, 2001
- King, Ursula (ed) *Religion and Gender*, Blackwell, 1995
- Keith, Sara *Mudies Select Library: Principal works of Fiction in Circulation in 1848, 1859, 1869*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1935
- Kelly, Gary *Women, Writing and Revolution, 1790-1927*, O.U.P, 1993
- Kelly, Richards *Douglas Jerrold*, New York, 1972
- Kendrick, Walter 'Balzac and British Realism Mid Victorian Theories of the Novel', *Victorian Studies*, 20, (1976), p5-24
- Kestner, Joseph *Protest and Reform, The British Social Narrative by Women, 1827-1867*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1985
- Kijinsku, John L 'Professionalism, Authority, and the Late Victorian Man of Letters: A View From the Macmillan Archive,' *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 24, (1996), p229-247
- Langland, Elisabeth *Nobody's Angels, Middle Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1995
- Larkin, Henry 'Carlyle and Mrs Carlyle: A ten Year Reminiscence,' *British Quarterly Review*, 79, (1981) p28-84  
*Carlyle and the Open Secret of his Life*, Paul Kegan, 1986
- Leach, Joseph *Bright Particular Star: The Life and Times of Charlotte Cushman*, Yale University Press, 1970
- Leavis, Q.D *Fiction and the Reading Public*, Chatto & Windus, 1965
- Lechie, Barbara *Culture and Adultery: The Novel, the Newspaper and the Law 1857-1914*, University of Pennsylvanian Press, 1999
- Leclaire, Lucien *A General Analytical Bibliography of the Regional Novelists of the British Isles, 1800-1900*, Paris, 1954
- Ledger, Sally *New Woman: Fiction, Feminism, and the Fin de Siecle*, M.U.P. 1997
- Lehmbeck, Bettina  
Susanne, *Studies in Geraldine Jewsbury's Fiction with particular Attention to the Woman's Question*, M.Lit University of Edinburgh, 1988  
'Elizabeth Paulet and the Carlyles,' *Carlyle Newsletter*, 8, (1987), p23-8

- Lester, Marham *Victorian Insolvency Bankruptcy, Imprisonment for Debt, and Company Winding-up in Nineteenth Century England*, Claredon, 1995
- Levine, Phillipa "The Humanising Influences of Five O' Clock Tea:" Victorian Feminist Periodicals,' *Victorian Studies*, 33, (1990), p293-306
- Lesnik-Oberstein, Karin *Children's Literature. Criticism and the Fictional Child*, Claredon, 1994  
*Children in Culture. Approaches to Childhood*, Macmillan, 1998
- Levy, Anita *Reproductive Urges: Popular Novel Reading: Sexuality, and the English Nation*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999
- Lewnhak, Shelia *Women and Trade Unions: An Outline History of Women in the British Trade Union Movement*, Ernest & Benn, 1977
- Liggins, Emma & Duffy, Daniel (eds.) *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts: Divergent Femininities* (The Nineteenth Century Series), Ashgate, 2001
- Lofts, W.O.G & D.J Adley *Men Behind Boys' Fiction*, Baker, 1970
- Loftus, Donna *Social Economy. Culture of Work and Community in Mid-Victorian England*, Ph.D. University of Southampton, 1998
- Lohrli, Anne *Household Words A Weekly Journal 1850-59*, University of Toronto 1973
- Lubin George *Correspondence de George Sand*, 25 vols. Paris, 1864-85
- Lucas, Caroline *Writing for Women The Example of Women as Readers in Elizabethan Romance*, O.U.P, 1989
- Maison, M *Search your Soul Eustace*, Sheed & Ward, 1961
- Mahood, Linda *Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century*, Routledge, 1990
- Marchand, Leslie *The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture*, University of Carolina Press, 1941
- Martin, Sir Theodore *Helen Faucit, (Lady Martin) 1817-1898*, 1900
- Mc Neill, Ronald 'The Real Froude,' *Contemporary Review*, July (1930), p224-32  
'The New Carlyle Letters: A Vindication of Froude,' *Contemporary Review*, 83, (1903), p761-78



- McDowell, Paula *Women of Grub Street Press Politics and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678-1730*, Claredon, 1998
- MacLeod , Roy M. *The "Creed of Science" in Victorian England*, Variorum, 2000
- Melda, Ivan *The Captains of Industry in English Fiction 1821-71*, University of New Mexico Press, 1970
- Millett, Kate *Sexual Politics*, University of Illinois Press, 2000
- Mitch, David F *The Rise of Popular Literacy in Victorian England,: The Influence of Private Choice and Public Policy*, University of Pennsylvania, 1992
- Mitchie, Elsie, B. 'Buying Brains: Trollope, Oliphant, and Vulgar Victorian Commerce,' *Victorian Studies*, 44, (2001), p77-97
- Mitchell, Sally *Sentiment and Suffering: Women's Recreational Reading in the 1860's*, *Victorian Studies*, 21, (1977), p29-45  
*The Fallen Angel Chastity, Class and Women's Reading, 1835-1880*, Bowling Green, University Popular Press, 1981  
*Dinah Mullock Craik*, Boston Twayne, 1983
- Moers, Ellen *Literary Women The Great Writers*, O.U.P., 1977
- Monk, W *The Journals of Caroline Fox* , 1972
- Morgan, Sue *A Passion for Purity: Ellen Hopkins and the Politics of Gender in the Late Victorian Church*, CCSRG Monograph Series 2, University of Bristol, 1999
- Mumby, A & Norrie, Ian *Publishing and Bookselling*, Johnathon Cape, London, 1974
- Mumby. F.A *Publishing and Book-selling in the Twentieth Century*, Bell & Hyman, 1982
- Mumm, S. D 'Writing For their Lives Women Applicants to the Royal Literary Fund, 1840-80,' *Publishing History*, 27, (1990)
- Murray, J.H. *Strong Minded Women and Other Lost Voices form Nineteenth Century England*, Penguin 1984
- Muir, Percy *Children's Books 1600-1900*, Batsford, 1954
- Mulhauser, Frederick L *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*, 2 vols. Claredon, 1957
- Myers, Sylvie Harstack *The Bluestocking Circle; Women, Friendship and the Life of the Mind in Nineteenth Century England* , Oxford 1990

- Myers, Robin & Harris Michael, *Author/Publisher Relations During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Publishing Pathways, Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1983  
*Economics of the British Publishing Booktrade 1605-1939*, Chadwyck-Healey Cambridge, 1985  
*Serials and their Readers 1620-1914*, Oak Knoll Press, Newcastle Delaware, 1993
- Nead, Lynda *Myths of Sexuality. Representations of Women in Victorian Britain*, Blackwell 1988
- Nelson, Claudia *Boys Will be Girls, The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917*, Rutgers University Press, 1991
- Nestor, Pauline *Female Friendships and Communities*, Oxford 1985
- Neville- Sington, Pamela *Frances Trollope The Life and Adventures of a Clever Woman*, Penguin 1997
- Niklojeva, Maria, (ed) *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children's Literature*, Greenwood Press, 1995
- O'Farrell, Mary *Telling Complexions the Nineteenth-Century English Novel and the Blush*, Duke University Press Durham, 1997
- Patten , Robert, L *Charles Dickens and his Publishers*, Claredon, 1978
- Patten, Robert & Jordan, John *Literature in the Market Place Nineteenth Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, C.U.P 1995
- Paul, Lissa 'Enigma Variations: What Feminist Theory Knows about Children's Literature,' *Signal*, 54 (1987), p186-201
- Paz, D.G , Denis G *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, Stanford University Press, 1992
- Pearson, Jacqueline *Women's Reading in Britain 1750-1835, A Dangerous Recreation*, C.U.P. 1999
- Perkin, Harold *The Rise of Professional Society*, Routledge, 1990
- Phillips, Celia *Under Two Flags: The Publishing History of a Best-Seller, 1867-1967*, *Publishing History*, 3, (1978), p67-69
- Phyllis, Rose *Parallel Lives: Five Victorian Marriages*, Penguin, 1985
- Pidduck, W (ed) *The Collected Writings of Geraldine Jewsbury 1812-1880: A Listing and Guide to the Microfilm collection*, Adam Mathew Publications 1994

- Poovey, Mary *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*, Virago, 1989
- Poole, W.F *Index to Periodical Literature*, London, 1883
- Powell, Kerry *Women and Victorian Theatre*, C.U.P, 1997
- Pykett, Lyn *The 'Improper' Feminine: The Woman's Sensation Novel and the Novelist Woman Writing*, Routledge, 1992  
*The Sensation Novel from the Woman in White to the Moonstone*, Northcote House, 1994
- Pye, Deborah Kelso *Irreproachable Women and Patient Workers: Representations of the Actress in Victorian Prose*, University of Kansas, Ph.D., 2000
- Pym, Horace, (ed) *Memories of Old Friends, being extracts from the Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox 1835 to 1871*, 1882
- Rabine Leslie 'George Sand and the Myth of Femininity,' in Janet Todd (ed) *Be Good Sweet Maid* Smith & Elder, 1981
- Rainey, Lawrence *Institutes of Modernism Literary Elites and Public Culture*, Yale University Press, 1998
- Rance, Nicholas *Wilkie Collins and Other Sensational Novelists, Waking the Moral Hospital*, Macmillan, 1991
- Ransom, Teresa *Fanny Trollope: A Remarkable Life*, St. Martin's Press, 1995
- Raven, James *Judging New Wealth, Popular Publishing Responses to Commerce in England, 1750-1800*, O.U.P 1992
- Ray, Gordon N "The Bentley Papers," *Library*, 7, (1952), p178-200
- Raymond, Meredith & Sullivan Rose *The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Mary Russell Mitford*, Wedgestone Press, 1983
- Reader, W.J *Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth Century England*, Weiden field Nicolson, 1966
- Rendall, Jane *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States 1780-1860*, Macmillan, 1985
- Reynolds, Kimberly *Girl's Only? Gender and Popular Fiction in Britain, 1880-1910*, Wheatsheaf, 1990
- Richards, Jeffrey *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, M.U.P, 1996
- Rivers, Isabel (ed) *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth Century England*, Leicester University Press, 1982

- Robbins, Ruth & Wolfreys, Julian, (Eds) *Victorian Identities and Cultural Formations in Nineteenth Century Literature*, Macmillan Press, 1996
- Roberts, Lewis Charles *Regulating the Floods of Literature: Literate and Material Practices in Valuing the Victorian Novel*, PhD, Indiana University, 1999
- Robinson, Solveig, C *Defining the Nature of Good Literature: Victorian Women of Letters*, University of Chicago, Ph D. 1994  
 'Editing Belgravia: M. E. Braddon's Defence of "Light Literature," *Victorian Periodical Review*, 28, (1995), p109-123
- Roberts, Stephen & Dorothy Thompson *Images of Chartism*, Woodbridge Merlin, 1998
- Rose, Jacqueline *The Case of Peter Pan, or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction*, Macmillan, 1984
- Rosenmayer, Jeanne *Geraldine Jewsbury: Novelist, Publisher's Reader*, Ph.D. London University 1970  
 'Bigamy: The Rise and Fall of a Convention,' *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, 36, (1981), p45- 69
- Roper, Michael & Tosh, John *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1880*, Routledge, 1991
- Rowbotham, Judith *Good Girls make Good Wives. Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction*, Blackwell, 1989
- Rubinstein, W.D. *Capitalism Culture and Decline in Britain, 1750-1900*, Routledge, 1993
- Rusk, Ralph *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, New York, 1939
- Sadlier, Michael *Things Past*, Constable London, 1944  
 'Aspects of the Victorian Novel,' *Publishing History*, 5, (1979), p7-21  
*Nineteenth Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Record*, Constable, 2 vols., 1951
- Sanders, Andrew *Dickens and the Spirit of the Age*, O.U.P, 1999
- Sanders, Valerie *Eve's Renegades, Victorian Anti-Feminist Women Novelists*, Macmillan, 1996
- Sanders, R & Fielding K *The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle* 15 Vols., Durham Duke University Press, 1970

- Sanders, Max *Ford Maddox Ford A Dual Life*, O.U.P 1996
- Sanders, Max & Stang, Richard, (Eds) *Ford Maddox Ford, 1873-1939, Critical Essays*, Carcanet, 2002
- Sandners, David *The Fantastic Sublime: Romanticism and Transcendence in Nineteenth Century Fantasy Literature*, Greenwood Press, 1997
- Schad, John (ed) *Writing the Bodies of Christ the Church from Carlyle to Derrida*, Ashgate, 2001
- Scudder, Townsend, (ed) *Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Macmillan & Co., 1939
- Searle, G.R *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain*, Clarendon, 1998
- Seigel, Jules Paul *Thomas Carlyle: The Critical Heritage*, Routledge 1971
- Seville, Catherine *Literary Copyright Reform in Early Victorian England. The Framing of the 1842 Copyright Act*, C.U.P, 1999
- Shanley, Mary Lyndon "One Must Ride Behind" Married Women's Rights and the Divorce Act of 1857,' *Victorian Studies*, 25, (1982), p355-76
- Showalter, Elaine *A Literature of their own British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing*, Virago, 1979  
*The Female Malady Women, Madness and English Culture 1830-80*, Virago, 1987  
 'Desperate Remedies: Sensation Novels if the 1860's,' *The Victorian Newsletter*, 49, (1976), p1-5  
 'Dinah Mulock Craik, and the Tactics of Sentiment: A Case Study in Victorian Female Authorship' *Feminist Studies*, 2, (1975), p5-23
- Skilton, David *The Early and Mid Victorian Novel*, Routledge, London, 1993
- Smith, Shelia *The Other Nation*, O.U.P, 1980
- Snell, K.M.D. & Ell, Paul S. *Rival Jerusalem: The Geography of Victorian Religion*, C.U.P, 2000  
*The Bibliography of Regional Fiction in Britain and Ireland 1800-2000*, Ashgate. 2002
- Spencer, Jane *The Rise of the Woman Novelist from Aphra Behn to Jane Austen*, Basil Blackwell, 1986

- Spender, Dale *Mothers of the Novel, A Hundred Good Women Writers Before Jane Austen*, Pandora, 1986
- Stang, Richard *The Theory of the Novel in England 1850-70*, Routledge, 1959
- Stebbins, Emma (ed) *Charlotte Cushman: Her Letters and Memories of her Life* Boston Cambridge 1979
- Stephens, John *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction*, Longmans, 1992
- Story, Graham & Fielding K.J (ed.,) *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, Oxford Clarendon 1981
- Strachey, Ray *The Cause: A Short history of the women's movement in Britain*, Vigarro 1978
- Styles, Morag, Drummond, Mary Jane (Eds), *The Politics of Reading*, Cambridge Institute of Education and Homerton College, 1993
- Styles, Morag, Bearne, Eve Watson Victor, (Eds) *After Alice: Exploring Children's Literature*, Cassell 1992  
*The Prose and the Passion: Children and their Reading*, Cassell, 1994
- Storey, Graham, House, Madelin, Tillotson, Kathleen (Eds) *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, Clarendon, 12 vol. 1965-2002
- Stone, Harry (ed) *The Uncollected Writings of Charles Dickens' Household Words 1850-9*, Allen Lane, 1969
- Surtees, Virginia *Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Michael Russell, 1986
- Susan, M. Levin 'Romantic Prose and Feminine Romanticism,' *Prose Studies*, 10, (1987), p178 -195
- Sutherland, J.A *Victorian Fiction: Writing, Publishers, Readers*, Macmillan 1995
- Sutton, Charles, William, ed *A List of Lancashire Authors, with Brief Biographical and Bibliographical Notes*, Manchester 1876
- Surridge, Lisa 'Madame de Stael meets Mrs Ellis: Geraldine Jewsbury's *The Half Sisters*,' *Carlyle Studies Annual* ,15 (1995), p81-95
- Swindells, Julia *Victorian Writing and Working Women*, Polity Press, 1985
- Symington *The Brontës: Their Lives, Friendships and Correspondence*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford ,1993

- Symondson, A (ed) *The Victorian Crisis of Faith*, SPCK, London, 1970
- Taylor, Jenny  
Bourne *The Secret Theatre of the Home, Wilkie Collins, Sensation Narrative and Nineteenth Century Psychology*, Routledge, 1988
- Thompson, Nicola  
Diane *Reviewing Sex: Gender and the Reception of Victorian Novels*, Macmillan, 1996  
*Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question*, C.U.P, 1999
- Thomson, Patricia *George Sand and the Victorians: Her influence and Reputation in Nineteenth Century England*, Columbia University Press, 1977  
*The Victorian Heroine: A Changing Ideal 1837-73*, Oxford University Press, 1978
- Tillotson, Kathleen *Novels of the Eighteen Forties*, Claredon, 1954
- Tillotson, Kathleen  
& Geoffrey *Mid-Victorian Studies*, Athlone Press, 1965
- Tod, R *Caroline Fox 1819-71: Quaker Blue-Stocking*, York, 1980
- Tosh, John *Man's Place: Masculinity an the Middle-class Home in Victorian England*, Yale University Press, 1999
- Trefor, Thomas 'Representation of the Manchester Working Class in Fiction, 1850-1900,' in Alan J. Kidd & K.W. Roberts (Eds) *City Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester*, M.U.P, 1985
- Trela, D 'Margaret Oliphant, James Anthony Froude, and the Carlyles: Defending the Dead,' *Victorian Periodical Review*, 29, (1996), p199-215
- Tromp, Marlene,  
Gilbert ,Pamela,  
Haynie, A. (Eds) *Beyond Sensation Mary Elizabeth Braddon in Context*, University of New York Press, 2000
- Trudgill, Eric *Madonnas and Magdalens. The Origins of Development of Victorian Sexual Attitudes*, Heinemann, 1976
- Tuchman ,Gaye 'When the Prevalent Don't Prevail: Male Hegemony and the Victorian Novel,' in Walter W Powell, and Richard Robbins, *Conflict and Consensus. A Festschrift in Honour of Lewis A. Coser*, Macmillian, 1984
- Tuchman, Gaye &  
Nina Fortin *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers , and Social Change*, Yale University Press, 1989

- Turner, Mark. W *Trollope and the Magazines: Gendered Issues in Mid-Victorian Britain*, Macmillan, 2000
- Uglow, Jenny *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Habit of Stories*, Faber & Faber, 1993
- Vallone, Lynne *Disciplines of Virtue: Girls' Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Yale University Press, 1995
- VanEsveld Adams, Kimberly *Our Lady of Victorian Feminism, the Madonna on the Work of Anna Jameson, Margaret Fuller and George Eliot*, Ohio University Press 2001
- Vicinus, Martha *Suffer and be Still Women in the Victorian Age*, Indiana Press, 1972  
*A Widening Sphere Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, Meuthen, 1977  
*Independent Women, Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920*, Virago, 1985
- Walkowitz, Judith *Prostitution and Victorian Society, Women, Class and the State*, C.U.P. 1980
- Wall, Jackie *Duty and Desire Reflections of Victorian Womanhood through the Character and Career of Geraldine Endsor Jewsbury 1812-80*, MA, University of York, 1988
- Watt, Ian *The Rise of the Novel Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*, Chatto & Windus, 1957
- Waugh, Arthur *One Hundred Years of Publishing being the Story of Champan & Hall*, Champan & Hall, 1930
- Weedon, Alexis *Victorian Publishing: The Economy of Book Production for the Mass Market*, Continuum, 2002
- Weiss, Barbara *The Hell of the English: Bankruptcy and the Victorian Novel*, Lewisburg Bucknell University Press, 1986
- Werner, Mary & Womack, Kenneth 'Forbidden Love and Victorian Restraint in Geraldine Jewsbury's *Zoe*,' *Cahiers Victoriens and Edouardiens*, 46, (1997) p15-25



- Wheeler, Michael, *English Fiction of the Victorian Period 1830-1890*, Longman, 1985  
 'The Writer as Reader in Mary Barton,' *Durham University Journal*, ixvii, 1974, 50, p93-4
- Wiener, Martin, J *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850 1980*, Penguin, 1985
- Wilkes, Joan 'Walter Mantell, Geraldine Jewsbury, and Race Relations in New Zealand,' *New Zealand Journal* 22, (1988) p105-115
- Williams, Raymond *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*, Penguin 1963
- Wilson, D *The Truth about Carlyle*, Alston Rivers, 1913
- Winnifrith, Tom *Fallen Women in the Nineteenth Century Novel*, St. Martin's Press, 1994
- Wolff, Michael, Appleton, Philip (Eds) *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis*, Indiana University Press, 1959
- Wolff, Robert ,Lee 'Devoted Disciple: The Letters of Mary Elizabeth Braddon to Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 1862-1873,' *Harvard Literary Bulletin*, 22, (1974), p5-35, and part II p129-61  
*Gains and Losses: Novels of Faith and Doubt in Victorian England*, J Murray, Garland, 1977  
*Sensational Victorian: The Life and Fiction of Mary Elizabeth Braddon*, Garland, 1979
- Wolffe, J *The Protestant Crusade in Britain 1829-50*, Claredon, Oxford, 1991
- Wood, Marilyn *Rhoda Broughton Profile of a Novelist*, Paul Watkins Stamford, 1993
- Woods, Robert *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales*, C.U.P, 2000
- Woodmansee, Martha *The Author , Art and the Market Rereading the History of Aesthetics*, Columbia University Press, 1994
- Woodring, Carl Ray *Victorian Samplers: William and Mary Howitt*, University of Kansas Press, 1952
- Woolf, Virginia *A Room of One's Own*, Hogarth Press, 1935  
 'Geraldine and Jane,' in *Collected Essays, The Common Reader*. Hogarth Press London, Vol. 4, 1967.  
*Three Guineas*, Blackwell, 2001