

INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book. These are also available as one exposure on a standard 35mm slide or as a 17" x 23" black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9009731

Mrs. Trollope's American novels

Ellis, Linda Abess, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1989

Copyright ©1989 by Ellis, Linda Abess. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

A

MRS. TROLLOPE'S AMERICAN NOVELS

by

LINDA ABESS ELLIS

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in English in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

1989

© 1989

LINDA ABESS ELLIS

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Sept 27, 1987
Date

H. John Hoee
Chair of Examining Committee

Sept. 28, 1989
Date

Martin Stevens
Executive Officer

N. John Hall

Michael Timko

Wendell Stacy Johnson
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Mrs. Trollope's American Novels

Preface

Frances Trollope, known to today's readers only as Anthony's mother or as the author of Domestic Manners of the Americans, was one of the most widely read novelists and travel writers of her generation. In 1839, only seven years after the publication of her first book, her contemporary Laman Blanchard testified to the unique appeal of her works, saying: "Certainly no other author of the present day has been at once so much read, so much admired, and so much abused" (417). Although one now wonders at his hyperbole, Mrs. Trollope's works are still of value as a cultural record of contemporary issues, both political and aesthetic; as another installment in the ongoing "discovery" of forgotten novelists; or, in their own right, as productions of a witty and determined woman who reveals her impatience with human foibles and injustices. Her novels were often sensationalist, and while the controversies surrounding their alleged vulgarities no longer apply to critical judgments, their spiciness compares favorably with the more sedate works of her contemporaries. In addition, her bold opinions and unconventional deportment show a way of life seldom associated with early nineteenth-century women.

From 1827 (her departure for America) to 1848 (when she settled on Italy for her home), Mrs. Trollope spent much of her time travelling. In addition to America and Italy, she visited Belgium, Germany, France, and Austria, and she managed to publish thirteen novels and six travel books during those fifteen years. Although she belonged to a generation of prolific writers, her production is nonetheless astonishing, with a total output that includes thirty-four novels, six travel books, and one book of verse, in addition to unpublished poetry and drama. Thomas Adolphus, her eldest son, recalls that

five o'clock of every morning saw her at her desk; and the production of the series of novels, which was not brought to a conclusion till it had reached the hundred and fifteenth volume, though it was not begun till she was past fifty, never ceased. (TAT 1: 300)

Mrs. Trollope's first and most famous book, still in print (in at least four editions), is Domestic Manners of the Americans (1832), studied today as a social history of the Jacksonian Era. Interest in her other work has recently expanded: Helen Heineman's books and articles revising earlier accounts of Mrs. Trollope's life and work on the evidence of a previously unavailable collection of letters, combined not only with the current interest in Anthony's work but also with numerous studies of out-of-favor novels, have served to make her better known in recent years.

Although Mrs. Trollope's son Anthony and subsequent biographers claim that financial pressure was the primary impetus for the forty-one books she published between 1832 and 1856, I shall emphasize her artistic concerns, focusing on the four novels following Domestic Manners that are set in America (The Refugee in America, 1832; Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, 1836; The Barnabys in America, 1842; and The Old World and the New, 1849), comparing them with Domestic Manners and with other accounts of the United States to show how she fictionalized her experiences, partly in an attempt to conform to the political and aesthetic values of her contemporaries and partly to reflect her own, less conventional, outlook. While the resemblances between Domestic Manners and the travel narratives of her day are quite strong, her American novels frequently display different features. Traumatized by poverty and rejection, she often takes a far dimmer view of the American system in Domestic Manners than she does in her fiction. As the years pass, her treatment of America becomes softer. Although the connections between her travel account and her American fiction are sufficiently strong to justify treating them together, I have tried, where necessary, to preserve the distinction between this first work and the subsequent ones.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

AT	Anthony Trollope, <u>An Autobiography</u> .
Barn	<u>The Barnabys in America</u> [<u>The Widow Wedded</u>].
DM	<u>Domestic Manners of the Americans</u> , ed. and introd. Donald Smalley (1949).
FET	Frances Eleanor Trollope, <u>Frances Trollope</u> .
JJW	<u>The Life and Adventures of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw</u> .
MC	<u>Martin Chuzzlewit</u> (Oxford-Clarendon).
<u>Mrs. T</u>	Helen Heineman, <u>Mrs. Trollope</u> .
OW	<u>The Old World and the New</u> .
Ref	<u>The Refugee in America</u> .
TAT	Thomas Adolphus Trollope (Tom), <u>What I Remember</u> .

I am indebted to those who provided supportive help, both intellectual and emotional, over the many years since I began this project. I wish to express special gratitude to Professor Hall for generously sharing the fruits of his painstaking research on the Trollope family and for correcting some of my factual errors; to Professor Timko for his advice, moral support, and above all, patience; and to Professor Johnson for reading the manuscript and for making it read a little better. Without them, and without the helpfulness of librarians, especially Lewis Parascandola; of family members, especially Jim, who always knew this work would someday be completed; and of friends too numerous to enumerate, this dissertation would not have been possible.

CONTENTS

Chapter 1	Dauntless Energy	1
Chapter 2	Travel Literature	25
Chapter 3	The Value of Fiction	51
Chapter 4	The Natural World	68
Chapter 5	Characters	91
Chapter 6	American Institutions	121
Chapter 7	Artistic Considerations	146
Chapter 8	Conclusion	170
	Selected List of Works Consulted	174

Chapter 1
Dauntless Energy

Frances Milton was born near Bristol on March 10, 1779. In 1803 she moved to London, where she met and married Thomas Anthony Trollope, a promising young barrister. As the years passed, however, that early promise proved illusory; Mr. Trollope, plagued by illnesses and ill-temper, was unable to maintain either a law practice or good terms with his family. Mrs. Trollope's sons, Anthony and Tom, have both left accounts of their early years in which they describe their mother's cheerfulness, enthusiasm, and resourcefulness in the face of persistent financial problems and Mr. Trollope's recurring bouts of headaches and depression. Despite attempts to understand his father's bitter moods, Tom later admitted that "for many years no person came into my father's presence who did not forthwith desire to escape from it." As for his mother, "her mind refused to remain crushed, any more than the grass is permanently crushed by the storm wind that blows over it" (TAT 1: 296, 299). Outliving her

husband and all of her children except Tom and Anthony, she died on October 6, 1863, in Florence, where she was living with Tom and his wife.

Mrs. Trollope's early married years in London were busy and happy. She supervised a household of active children while finding time and energy for a hectic social life. Her warm hospitality attracted many guests, among them Frances Wright, the young Scottish radical (Eckhardt 63). The comforts of their London home, however, seemed insufficient for their growing family. Just before their fourth child's birth in 1813, the Trollopes rented a farm and cottage at Harrow, which they planned to use at first as a summer home. Two years later, shortly after Anthony was born, they gave up the London house and moved to Harrow permanently. Mr. Trollope arranged to build a larger house on the property, into which they moved in 1818.

The Trollopes continued to entertain frequently at Harrow, as they had in London, often with charades or satiric plays Mrs. Trollope had written. Among their guests was Auguste Hervieu, a young French artist and political exile living in England and supporting himself by giving art lessons. Originally hired to teach drawing and painting to the Trollope children, he eventually became "an established member of the Harrow household" (Mrs. T 39). Another regular was their old friend

Frances Wright, who had recently returned to England from her first visit to America. Except for slavery, Wright was delighted with what she had observed and enthusiastically described the glories of the New World to the Trollopes.

Although Mr. Trollope was a failure both as a barrister and as a farmer, he expected a large inheritance from an elderly childless uncle. Soon after the family's move, however, Mr. Trollope's uncle married and unexpectedly began to produce heirs. With their hopes for an inheritance ended, the need to curb expenses became urgent. The Trollopes rented the large house to a neighbor and moved back to their original cottage, which they named "Julians Hill" and which Anthony would later use as the model for "Orley Farm" (AT 3). Despite their continuing financial worries, the Trollopes lived happily at Julians Hill. Small economies gave them the means to travel abroad, and they visited France at least twice between 1823 and 1826. On their first trip to Paris, Mrs. Trollope was reunited with childhood friends, the Garnett sisters, who were living there with their widowed mother. Frances Wright was also in Paris that year, dividing her time between the Garnett family and the Lafayettes. Through Wright, the Trollopes met General Lafayette, who graciously invited them to visit his country estate, La Grange. Mrs. Trollope's

daughter-in-law Frances Eleanor gives excerpts from Mrs. Trollope's letters and journal which describe La Grange and the luxurious, aristocratic life of the Lafayette family (FET 1: 67-74). In these personal records, she shows her admiration, not for Lafayette's political views but for his social graces (FET 1: 68). Both the letters and the journal show her value on "refinement," the lack of which, in America, would particularly trouble her. They also show her as not particularly engaged by his (or Wright's) politics.

Frances Wright made another trip to America in 1823 (Heineman, "Starving" 645) or 1824 (Eckhardt 78) and, impressed by Robert Owen's socialist colony New Harmony, resolved to establish her own cooperative community where she hoped to succeed in educating and improving the condition of slaves. In 1825 she bought several hundred acres of land in a swampy area near Memphis, a few slaves, and named her colony "Nashoba." By the fall of 1826 the Garnetts and Trollopes were reading glowing letters from Wright on the success of the enterprise. Wright returned to Europe in May 1827, partly to recuperate from the fever she contracted in the States and partly to interest Europeans in joining Nashoba. In her zeal for recruits, she represented Nashoba not only as a farm where slaves could work towards freedom but also, according to Donald Smalley, as

the seat of a white co-operative community, an improved and more daring New Harmony, where European settlers of good will and advanced thinking could live in communal harmony amid the charms of rustic scenery in a brave new country. (DM, intro. xiv)

She was rejected by each person she contacted: her theories of sexual freedom and atheism, in addition to her public endorsement of interracial love and her inordinately close relationship with the fatherly General Lafayette, offended potential members. Mrs. Trollope, however, excused her friend for violating conventional rules of behavior, saying: "The very acts that in all other women we should deem wrong--are in her a great, or overpowering duty" (letter to Julia Garnett, qtd. in Mrs. T 38). Mrs. Trollope seems unaware, at this point, of the American attitude toward education for slaves. Not until after her arrival in America did she learn that in the United States "it is penal to teach any slave to read, and it is penal to be aiding and abetting in the act of instructing them" (DM 246). More than a decade later, Charles Dickens expressed his outrage at such prohibitions in much stronger terms, mentioning "those free and equal laws" in America "which render it incalculably more criminal and dangerous to teach a negro to read and write, than to roast him alive in a public city" (MC 362; ch. 21).

Frances Wright's recruiting mission coincided with the Trollopes' unavoidable recognition that further economizing was necessary if they were to remain solvent. As a first step, they arranged to give up Julians Hill at the end of the year. Of their five children, only Cecilia and Emily were at home. Tom and Anthony were at school, and Henry was living unhappily in Paris, working as an apprentice in a counting-house. When Mrs. Trollope went to Paris to visit Henry, she spent some time with Frances Wright at La Grange, and Wright, still unsuccessful in recruiting for Nashoba, offered the unhappy Henry a position as a teacher' (Mrs. T 41-42, 45). By September, Wright was visiting the Trollopes at Harrow (FET 1: 101-02); during this visit Mrs. Trollope agreed to accompany Frances Wright to Nashoba. Despite Mrs. Trollope's close friendship with and allegiance to Frances Wright, the immediate threat of bankruptcy was probably the primary motivation for this decision.

On November 4, 1827, Mrs. Trollope left for Tennessee with her two daughters, Emily and Cecilia, her son Henry, and Auguste Hervieu (who was to be the drawing master at Nashoba). Their departure was sudden, taking even her closest friends by surprise (Mrs. T 47-48). Only after their arrival in the United States did she write to Julia Garnett about the family's plans. She avoided a direct explanation, telling Julia only that

they had left England to escape "some pecuniary claims which came upon us quite unexpectedly" (qtd. in Heineman, "Starving" 649). While they were away Mr. Trollope left Julians Hill and moved to a farmhouse at Harrow Weald, which Anthony later described as

one of those farmhouses which seem always to be in danger of falling into the neighbouring horse-pond. As it crept downwards from house to stables, from stables to barns, from barns to cowsheds, and from cowsheds to dung-heaps, one could hardly tell where one began and the other ended! (AT 10)

The living conditions at Nashoba, however, were worse. Mrs. Trollope, Hervieu, and the children found the colony far more primitive and desolate than they had expected. In Domestic Manners, Mrs. Trollope had observed, without undue emphasis, that the community lacked "any of those minor comforts which ordinary minds class among the necessities of life" (DM 28). Her private notes are harsher: those "minor comforts" included food and shelter. Her notebook reveals that she found the Wright sisters

without milk, without beverage of any kind, except rain water . . . no vegetables but rice and a few potatoes we brought with us; no meat but pork; no butter; no cheese. . . . The rain had access through the wooden roof. . . . (qtd. in FET 1: 105-06)

In addition, she had not realized how radical Frances Wright's plan was. The principles of atheism and free love, seen in England as foolishness, were seen by

prudish Americans as signs of evil. Even worse, for the Americans, was Wright's plan to educate slaves, the primary mission of Nashoba. Later, recalling her distress, Mrs. Trollope used Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw to show such activity as suicidal. In this novel, the narrator tells of Edward Bligh's vows to "share their [the slaves'] bonds . . . partake their stripes . . . follow and exhort them . . . till the bloody death that threatened him should close his lips for ever" (2: 41-42).

Hervieu, shocked at his new surroundings, left Nashoba almost immediately. He went directly to Memphis, where he earned some money painting portraits. Mrs. Trollope and the children joined him there a few days later, then they all travelled to Cincinnati and began to look for a way to support themselves until Mr. Trollope could send them money. She repeatedly wrote to her husband asking for help, but received no reply. After three months of waiting, she wrote to Tom:

Is your father ill? Is he dead? . . . Our situation here would be dreadful, were it not for M. Hervieu's grateful, and generous kindness. It is more than a month that we have not had a mouthful of food that he has not paid for. (qtd. in FET 1: 112-13)

Hervieu worked diligently, painting and teaching, but there were five mouths to feed. His efforts barely sufficed for their daily needs. Mrs. Trollope's

daughter-in-law comments: "The situation was truly dreadful. She was in a strange country, separated by thousands of miles from husband, home, and friends, and with three helpless young creatures depending on her prudence and energy" (FET 1: 113).

Mrs. Trollope soon began to look for ways to supplement Hervieu's earnings while they waited to hear from Mr. Trollope. She decided to use the imaginative powers which had successfully entertained her neighbors and guests at home, and she began to take notes for a book about Cincinnati. Upon finding a more immediate opportunity to use her talents, she put the project aside and began to create exhibitions for Cincinnati's Western Museum. The shows she designed eventually turned the nearly-bankrupt institution into a successful enterprise and made her the "anonymous dictator of the town's amusement" (DM, intro. xxv). For her first effort, she enlisted Henry to pose as the "Invisible Girl," an oracle who answered questions in several languages. A later, more elaborate exhibit, was the "Infernal Regions," a recreation of scenes from Dante consisting of wax figures, murals, sound effects, and electric shocks. This spectacle "saved the museum and was still packing them in fifty years later" (Heineman, Restless 186).

Long before finding her voice as a novelist, Mrs. Trollope learned to exploit the popular appeal of the exotic and sensational.

After the unprecedented success of these displays, Mrs. Trollope began to plan her own project to entertain the residents of "this triste little town" (DM 74) with exhibits, lectures, concerts, and refreshments. When Mr. Trollope and Tom finally arrived in the fall of 1828, she described her idea to them. Since there was a small sum remaining from the money left her by her father, her husband "reluctantly agreed" to permit the use of her own funds for the project (Mrs. T 62). She later wrote to Julia Garnett Pertz, saying that Mr. Trollope had insisted on adding "a Bazaar the letting the stands of which, he calculated would be very profitable." In this letter she tells Julia of her reservations about "buying and selling," then goes on to say he had returned home and taken it upon himself to send them "the most trumpery goods that probably ever were shipped" (qtd. in Mrs. T 66).

The public had flocked to her museum exhibits, but her own business venture was quite another matter. Although the construction costs greatly exceeded her expectations, probably because of cheating workmen, social rejection seems the deciding factor in her

failure. Timothy Flint, the only resident of Cincinnati Mrs. Trollope admired (see DM 90-91), later described her:

a short, plump figure, with a ruddy, round Saxon face of bright complexion, forty-five, though not showing older than thirty-seven [she was, in fact, closer to forty-nine], of appearance singularly unladylike, a misfortune heightened by her want of taste and female intelligence in regard to dress, or her holding herself utterly above such considerations.
 . . . Robust and masculine in her habits. . . .
 Voluble as a French woman . . . piquant, and sarcastic in the tenor of her conversation
 . . . perfectly au fait in regard to every thing that concerned theatricals. . . .
 (T. Flint 286-87)

Flint goes on to defend her moral character, parenthetically mentioning "the residence of Hervieu" which had "naturally furnished much tea table conversation." The people of Cincinnati snubbed her; "[n]one would welcome or receive her" (T. Flint 288-89). They were scandalized not only by her previous connection with Frances Wright, "the great Red Harlot of Infidelity" (Ferrall 333), but also by the notion of a married woman travelling with a young artist; thus, her morals had been suspect since her arrival in the city. Her business activities, considered unfeminine, added to their grievances. Frederick Marryat, who visited Cincinnati after her departure, was told,

when Mrs. Trollope came here, she was quite unknown, except inasmuch as that she was a married woman, travelling without her husband. In a small society . . . it was not surprising, therefore, that we should be cautious about

receiving a lady who, in our opinion, was offending against les bienséances. (Marryat 225)

The residents of Cincinnati, in righteous indignation, refused either to attend her entertainments or to buy her merchandise. In the end, she was in a worse position than she had been when she left Harrow two years earlier in search of a better life. When the bazaar failed in November 1829, she found herself destitute, with even her personal possessions confiscated by creditors. Her normally robust constitution failed her, and she "fell low before the monster [malaria] that is for ever stalking through that land of lakes and rivers, breathing fever and death around" (DM 177-78). After a long recuperation, she attempted to settle her remaining debts. In March 1830, with Hervieu's earnings, the group was able to leave Cincinnati and travel east. Hervieu continued to support them by painting while Mrs. Trollope resumed work on the book she had begun in 1828, adding information about the new places they were visiting to her notes on Cincinnati. She later described the bazaar failure in a letter to Tom, telling him:

every bed had been seized and that we--your sisters and myself--were sleeping together in one small bed [at a neighbor's] . . . and boarding there, as well as Henry and Hervieu who both lay on the floor in the kitchen, for the value of my parlour carpet! (August 1830, qtd. in FET 1: 128)

The letter, written from Maryland, shows that, despite Hervieu's unceasing work, they are still in dire straits: "Poor Cecilia is literally without shoes, and I mean to sell one or two small articles tomorrow to procure some for her and for Emily. I sit still and write, write, write,--so old shoes last me a long time" (qtd. in FET 1: 130).

Finally, in the summer of 1831, Mr. Trollope sent eighty pounds for their return voyage (Mrs. T 74). After a hurried trip to Niagara Falls to gather material for the book, Mrs. Trollope, Hervieu, and the children sailed from New York for England. Included in Mrs. Trollope's personal effects was her nearly-completed manuscript of Domestic Manners. Immediately on their arrival in England, she simultaneously set about arranging for its publication and began The Refugee in America. In this, her first American novel, she tells the story of Mr. Gordon, his daughter Caroline, and the unjustly accused murderer, Lord Darcy. They take refuge in the United States, where Darcy narrowly escapes several retaliatory attempts on his life by his supposed victim, Richard Dally. In the third volume, they return to England, closely followed by Emily Williams, the American heroine. Emily is responsible for Darcy's eventual acquittal, and the novel ends with their marriage.

According to Heineman, financial pressure outweighed any artistic impulse for writing this first novel: "There was no time to wait for acceptances or reviews. If her family were to survive, survival would depend upon the productivity and skill of her pen" (Restless 190).

Heineman's conjecture seems plausible; however, Mrs. Trollope returned, again and again, to writing fiction based on her travels, both in America and on the continent, long after the need for basic survival had passed. At first, she confronted a dire situation with a desperate burst of creative energy. In later years, when her family no longer needed her financial support, that energy remained with her: she continued to publish one or two books each year. Her need for artistic expression, as her writing career progressed, outweighed her need for money.

Mrs. Trollope had travelled to the United States to escape the embarrassment of impending financial ruin; she returned to England destitute, with only her manuscript as a potential financial resource. Her instincts in this case, as with her museum exhibits, were well-grounded. Such studies of America were extremely popular in the early nineteenth century, and her sharp observations and witty style brought instant success to Domestic Manners. It was published in March 1832 and by September had earned enough money for Mrs. Trollope to move her family

from the squalor of Harrow Weald back to the solid comfort of Julians Hill (DM, intro. lxiii). In addition to this immediate financial reward, Domestic Manners provided her with confidence in herself both as a writer and as a contributor to the welfare of her family. When the time came for her to assume the burden of sole breadwinner for her household, she would be ready.

She resumed entertaining, and life became cheerful again for her children, if not for her husband (TAT 1: 235-40). Her son Tom called Domestic Manners "the book of the season. . . . Edition after edition was sold, and the pecuniary results were large enough to avert from the family of the successful authoress the results of her husband's ruined fortunes" (TAT 1: 233). A few months later the first edition of The Refugee in America sold out, and by year's end went to a second edition, published with the fourth edition of Domestic Manners. Both continued to sell, earning about one thousand pounds that first year (DM, intro. lxiii) and enabling her to repay Hervieu for his generosity (FET 1: 156).

Having found the means to support her family, Mrs. Trollope continued to write, bringing extraordinary energy to the task. By the end of 1833, in addition to Domestic Manners and The Refugee in America, she had published The Abbess (a successful Gothic novel) and The Mother's Manual (a verse satire), then visited Belgium

and Germany with Henry and Hervieu to gather material for another travel book, which was published in early 1834 (FET 1: 189). Despite her success, her husband's debts far exceeded her income, and on her return from Belgium she learned that the rent on Julians Hill had long gone unpaid (Mrs. T 112). Realizing that they must again drastically reduce their standard of living, she began to plan a move to Bruges, where they could live more cheaply (FET 1: 195). Their landlord's foreclosure hastened her decision, and Mr. Trollope fled to Belgium while she tried to save a few household items from the bailiff's men before packing up the children and joining him.

At Bruges, Mrs. Trollope's life again became a wretched burden. Henry and Emily both developed consumption, and Mr. Trollope's health, never good, deteriorated further. To protect the other children from contagion, she sent Cecilia to visit family members in England and helped Anthony secure an appointment as a clerk in the London Post Office. Although the success of Belgium and Western Germany eased their financial situation temporarily (Mrs. T 118), the inordinate physical demands on the fifty-six year old Mrs. Trollope increased. From the winter of 1834 to February of 1836, she served as nurse to Henry, Emily, and Mr. Trollope, writing while sitting by their beds; during this period she also completed two novels, Tremordyn Cliff and

Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw; a travel book, Paris and the Parisians; and began planning her next novel, The Vicar of Wrexhill. Anthony, many years later, told of his admiration for his mother's extraordinary efforts:

The doctor's vials and the ink-bottle held equal places in my mother's rooms. I have written many novels under many circumstances; but I doubt much whether I could write one when my whole heart was by the bedside of a dying son. Her power of dividing herself into two parts, and keeping her intellect by itself clear from the troubles of the world, and fit for the duty it had to do, I never saw equalled. . . . My mother went through it unscathed in strength, though she performed all the work of day-nurse and night-nurse to a sick household. . . .

They were all dying; except my mother, who would sit up night after night nursing the dying ones and writing novels the while,--so that there might be a decent roof for them to die under. Had she failed to write the novels, I do not know where the roof would have been found. (AT 24-25, 29)

Henry died on December 23, 1834. After his death, with the need for money again pressing, Mrs. Trollope took her husband to Paris for a few weeks, where she not only consulted with doctors about his deteriorating condition but also collected material for Paris and the Parisians, her third travel book. Bentley, her publisher, advanced her five hundred pounds for Paris (Mrs. T 133); she was now an established travel writer whose sales were dependable. His confidence was well-placed. Although Mrs. Trollope was disappointed by "very abusive" reviews, she reassured Tom: "But what is

much more to the purpose than this, the book sells well" (qtd. in FET 1: 250). Bentley soon came out with a second edition of Paris.

On Mrs. Trollope's return to Bruges, she resumed work on Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, a grim, dismal story centering on a sadistic plantation overseer and the pathetic situation of mistreated slaves, especially the young and beautiful Phebe. Whitlaw, like Paris, proved popular despite mixed reviews; it went through three editions the first year. Meanwhile, Mr. Trollope's condition continued to deteriorate. He died on October 23, 1835. After his funeral Mrs. Trollope and Emily returned to England and rented a house at Hadley. There Emily quickly worsened and died in February 1836.

After Emily's death, Mrs. Trollope completed The Vicar of Wrexhill, her fifth novel. The stress of the past two years is apparent in this bitter satire. The Vicar is about a hypocritical clergyman who preys on rich, ignorant, helpless women. He marries a foolish widow, persuades her to turn her children's money over to him, and makes improper advances towards her daughter, while simultaneously seducing several other women of his congregation. Mrs. Trollope delivered the manuscript to Bentley, then, in July, set off for Austria with Tom, Cecilia, and Hervieu to gather material for yet another travel book. Despite "very considerable privations and

discomforts" on the road to Vienna, she good-naturedly "was ready to climb and scramble with the youngest of the party." Her good humor seldom failed her: "The moment the sun showed himself from behind a cloud, she would wring out her dripping cloak and begin to enjoy the landscape" (FET 1: 265-66). While they were in Vienna, Tom received a long-awaited appointment to teach in Birmingham and returned home. Mrs. Trollope, Cecilia, and Hervieu remained, enjoying the Viennese social season, until May. Since Anthony was now on his own, employed--although somewhat precariously--at the Post Office, Mrs. Trollope had only herself and Cecilia to support. Nevertheless, she continued working with her usual energy. After their return to Hadley, she completed Vienna and the Austrians and began A Romance of Vienna (a three volume novel based on the trip). In addition, she filled her house with guests for the Christmas holidays (FET 1: 287).

Cecilia married John Tilley (a post office employee and friend of Anthony) on February 11, 1839. After the wedding, Mrs. Trollope completed two more novels, prepared some additional notes for the fifth edition of Domestic Manners, then, accompanied by Tom, travelled to Manchester to research Michael Armstrong, one of the earliest factory novels. The two stayed in Manchester for several weeks, interviewing reform leaders and

visiting factories and slums. For Michael Armstrong, Mrs. Trollope used the techniques that had brought her success with travel books: carefully observing people, places, and social conditions, then fictionalizing the world that distressed her, using her observations to create powerful, realistic, solid details of everyday life.

The following year, Mrs. Trollope decided to build a house near the Tilleys at Penrith, in the Lake District. While her house was under construction, she travelled to Italy with Tom and wrote her fifth travel book, A Visit to Italy. She returned to Penrith early in 1842, and here in her new home, during an unusually carefree period of her life, she completed The Barnabys in America, her third American novel, pure comedy, centering on a middle-aged woman's dishonest manipulation of gullible Americans. Mrs. Barnaby, the English traveller, pretends to be interested in writing a "factual" book about America that will praise American institutions and correct previous derogatory accounts. The Americans she meets, especially Colonel and Mrs. Beauchamp, find this plan delightful and are happy to contribute generously to the Barnabys' support. Mrs. Barnaby had already appeared in two earlier novels, The Widow Barnaby (1839) and The Widow Married (1840) and, while unconventional, had been a popular character.

This second sequel was a huge success (Mrs. T 167). (Although Heineman indicates that the success of The Barnabys in America may have prompted Dickens to send Martin Chuzzlewit to America when sales were weak [Mrs. T 210], the scheme had occurred to him long before. In Pickwick Papers [1836, four years after Domestic Manners] Tony Weller suggests smuggling Mr. Pickwick out of prison and sending him to "'Merriker." When he returns, Weller says, he can "write a book about the 'Merrikins as'll pay all his expenses and more, if he blows 'em up enough" [Pickwick Papers 700; ch. 45].)

In the next year, Mrs. Trollope completed Hargrave and Jessie Phillips, her fifteenth and sixteenth novels, then impulsively gave her new house to her daughter and son-in-law and returned to Italy, planning to spend a year in Florence with Tom. She travelled through the Tyrol, Bohemia, and Silesia with Tom in 1846, gathering material for Travels and Travelers. This was a physically difficult journey for the sixty-seven year old woman; she insisted on waking early and climbing hills to watch the sun rise each day. Still vigorous, she spent the next few years travelling between Florence and Penrith and writing at least one novel each year, including the highly successful anti-Jesuit novel, Father Eustace (1847). In 1848, with Tom and his new wife, she decided on Italy as a permanent home. Her travels,

however, were not yet at an end. In March 1849, at the age of seventy, she returned to England to nurse Cecilia, who, like Emily and Henry before her, was dying of consumption. This time Mrs. Trollope's nursing duties were even more heartbreaking; her nine year old granddaughter was also near death. At their bedsides, she worked on The Old World and the New, her final novel about America. At this point, with two of the children who had accompanied her to America long dead and the third rapidly failing, she recalled those painful days in Cincinnati through the lens of the worse sufferings that followed. In The Old World and the New, Captain Stormont, his wife, Mary, along with their children, their servants, and Mary's cousin, Katherine, emigrate to America. They settle in Cincinnati where they find prosperity and happiness.

After Cecilia's death, Mrs. Trollope, still robust and active, went to Ireland to visit Anthony and his wife, Rose. There, with her usual energy intact, she accompanied her daughter-in-law on strenuous walking tours. Rose wrote to her brother-in-law, Tom, that Mrs. Trollope "walked through the gap of Dunlo as easily as if she had been twenty-nine" (qtd. in FET 2: 161). After this restorative visit, she returned to Italy and to her work. She published her thirty-fourth and final novel, Fashionable Life, in 1856, the year Anthony

published his first critically successful novel, The Warden. Pleased and proud, she wrote to Anthony, praising his industriousness:

the degree of activity of which I have been wont to boast, and on which I have so often been complimented might have been accounted in my very best days as positive idleness when compared to what you manifest. . . . you exceed in this respect any individual that we have ever known or heard of--and I am proud of being your mother. . . . (A. Trollope, Letters 1: 44)

Her own energy had finally exhausted itself. She lived on until October, 1863, but wrote no more.

Her works are characterized by strong opinions and direct observation of social and political conditions. She approaches both travel narratives and fiction realistically; thus, her eye-witness point of view gives her novels a sense of immediacy. Her American novels are written from a traveller's perspective: her narrator functions as a sightseer, reporting on the American landscape, character, and institutions. In addition, Mrs. Trollope uses her American setting to treat problems of special interest to her audience. For example, since the potential effect of extended suffrage in England is of immediate concern to those debating the merits of the recently enacted Reform Bill, she shows that in America, where the possibility exists for political office for anyone, the government is run by poorly qualified men. The issues of slavery, of women's rights, and of social

mobility, all widely discussed in this period, figure importantly in all four novels as well. I do not mean to suggest, however, that these are "political novels" in the tradition of Disraeli's or Godwin's, that is, novels in which plot and character serve chiefly as illustrations of the author's theories. Her works are more complex, less single-minded. Nevertheless, her audience, accustomed to novels of ideas, saw them in political terms, and, whether in agreement with her bold opinions or not, at least took notice. As a contemporary critic observes:

Endowed by nature with a remarkably quick perception of the ludicrous, and with considerable power of satire, Mrs. Trollope . . . burst upon us at once . . . a merciless crusader against all the follies and foibles of society; whether on this side the Atlantic, or on the other. Her works are a succession of satires on men, women, and manners . . . vigorous and biting--therefore popular. (Rev. of Charles Chesterfield 740)

Chapter 2

Travel Literature

Early nineteenth-century travel books, nearly as unknown today as Mrs. Trollope's novels, accounted for a large proportion of published works in their day. Almost half of the reviews in the Athenaeum for November 2, 1833, are for books giving information about foreign lands; seven books on America are advertised the week of November 9. The following week, a critic reviewing Calvin Colton's Tour of the American Lakes complains of being "a little weary of books on America" (767). Mrs. Trollope's American novels, centering on characters visiting the United States, share many of the characteristics of these travel accounts, including formulaic (as opposed to personal) experiences and observations. In order to examine the context of her work, some preliminary discussion of the features and conventions of travel literature will be helpful.

In an 1864 survey of books on America, Henry Tuckermann parodies the usual account of the United States. He discusses an unnamed professor who, having

spent some time in the United States, is now in Italy in need of money. To raise funds, the professor contracts with a London publisher for

a lively anti-democratic book on life and manners in America. . . . There were to be a vein of personal anecdote, a few original adventures, some exaggerated character painting, and a little enthusiasm about scenery; but all this was to be well spiced with ridicule; and the argument of the book was to demonstrate the inevitable depreciation of mind, manners, and enjoyment under the influence of democratic institutions. (260)

Tuckermann's description of this potential best-seller, most likely written with Domestic Manners in mind, could apply to almost any other travel narrative of Mrs. Trollope's generation. Although Tuckermann writes from an American's perspective, he is hardly oversensitive: one sees similar observations on both sides of the Atlantic. H. S. Chapman, for example, writing for the Dublin Review, echoes Tony Weller when he explains that to write on America, "even if you be too indolent or ease-loving to collect vulgar facts, you have only to take what is known, and add plenty of abuse of the Americans, and you may be sure of a good market for your labour" (Chapman 399). The traveller's "ridicule" and "abuse," however, have a more complex motivation than concern for sales; they are closely connected to the writer's position as an outsider and his need to validate his own culture. The conventional portrayal of Americans violating accepted

(English) social norms has roots in this feeling of foreignness. Virtually all travel accounts are marked by a sense of alienation or disorientation in a strange country, with an emphasis on unusual physical features of the wild land, primitive native customs, and barbaric social and political institutions.

In the process of experiencing an alien culture, the traveller often becomes an author simply from his need to communicate with his own society. As Janet Giltrow perceptively observes: "[the writer's] narration is the verbal signal of his reincorporation into his native milieu: it repairs the breach which occurs when one group member is estranged from his community . . ." (131). When he finds himself separated from his familiar social setting, the traveller tends to use the act of writing to reassure himself. Many, like James Flint (Letters from America, 1822) and Andrew Bell (Men and Things in America, 1838), used an epistolary form and an informal tone, as if to reinforce a close emotional connection with home. Mrs. Trollope herself used letters addressed to "My Dear Friend" in Paris and the Parisians, written during her exile in Bruges when her connection with England seemed broken. The touring actress Fanny Kemble (1835) wrote in her journal for an hour or more each day, with homesickness a constant theme. Even the most pleasing scenes, for Kemble, evoke longing for England. One night,

while watching the "surpassing sunset," she muses:

"I would have given it all--gold, and purple, and all--for a wreath of English fog stealing over the water" (Journal 1: 89). Dickens wrote from Washington to his friend Albany Fonblanque, saying, "I have a yearning after our English customs and english [sic] manners, such as you cannot conceive" (Letters 3: 120).

These travellers find England clearly superior to America; at the same time, however, most emphasize their objectivity in the face of earlier, supposedly more prejudiced, works. Basil Hall, in his preface to Travels to North America (1829), explains that he planned his trip "in order to ascertain, by personal inspection, how far the sentiments prevalent in England with respect to that country were correct or otherwise" (1: i). James Stuart (Three Years in North America, 1833) hopes his journal will "expose the mistakes of some late writers [most likely Hall and Mrs. Trollope], who seem to have visited these States under the influence of strong prejudices and preconceived opinions" (1: vii). Before his own trip, Dickens was critical of both Mrs. Trollope and Andrew Bell for being "rather hard on the Americans" in works that seem to "denote a foregone conclusion" (To Andrew Bell, Letters 2: 402). However, the discomforts Dickens experienced in America convinced his friends that no

"foregone conclusion" was necessary for a negative report. Mary Shelley saw him after his return and wrote to Claire Clairmont, saying,

Charles Dickens has just come home in a state of violent dislike of the Amerisans [sic] --& means to devour them in his next work--he says they are so frightfully dishonest. I am sorry for this--he has never travelled, & will write with all that irritation inexperienced travellers are apt to feel. . . . (qtd. in Heilman, Part One 30)

It is not until 1856 that a traveller, Isabella Bird, feels free to admit she "went to the States with that amount of prejudice which seems the birthright of every English person" (Bird 3).

Although each travel writer takes pains to characterize himself as detached, neither taking part in nor judging the scenes he describes, each includes explicit judgments. Dickens, in concluding American Notes (1842), claims his role is limited to that of an impartial observer:

There are many passages in this book where I have been at some pains to resist the temptation of troubling my readers with my own deductions and conclusions: preferring that they should judge for themselves, from such premises as I have laid before them. (223)

The bulk of his text, however, is made up of his "own deductions and conclusions." Charles Augustus Murray (Travels in North America, 1839) also takes pains to "conscientiously affirm, that I came to the United States without prejudice or predisposition of any kind" (2: 297).

Although Murray, like Dickens, claims he is restricting himself to presenting facts for the reader, he, too, cannot resist presenting his conclusions. For instance, when visiting a plantation in Virginia, he says, "I shall not interrupt this narrative . . . by any remarks on the general question of slavery, but shall confine myself to a simple record of the facts which came under my observation during this excursion. . . ." Only two pages later, however, he points out the "contrariety of slavery to the laws of nature" (1: 162-63, 165).

Each writer, striving for validation as an accurate observer, feels compelled to justify his own work and to dismiss previous accounts as biased. Since most travellers had presented a negative view of the United States, and since subsequent accounts generally repeated earlier observations, a claim of impartiality often served as an attempt to distinguish each new work from its predecessors. James Silk Buckingham (America, 1841) hopes to correct the "defects, or omissions" of other accounts by "more patient, more diligent, and more impartial examination" (1: 2). He takes care to include excerpts from the American press as accurate representation of "public affairs, and private morals" in order that his observations (just as harsh as those those of his predecessors) will not be called "the libels of a prejudiced Englishman" (1: 170). Frederick Marryat

(A Diary in America, 1839) accuses earlier writers of "indiscretion and injustice" and "a sarcastic ill-natured severity" (6), but his conventional assertions of detachment and impartiality are conventionally meaningless. He is as prone to sarcasm as any previous observer, including Mrs. Trollope.

As the travel writers struggle for an appearance of impartiality, they turn to the physical features of America for factual description based on first-hand observation. Their descriptions, however, are generally neither factual nor impartial. Most find the strange physical environment unsettling, and they often substitute conventionally sublime nature descriptions for a more personal rendering of the disturbing scenes. In other cases, when they allow their feelings to intrude, they use images of disease and burial to convey their discomfort. They often see the natural environment in America as wild, inhospitable, and dangerous, infecting man with exotic diseases, and they feel physically threatened by a wilderness that makes no concessions to either human comfort or pleasure. One typical reaction is claustrophobia. Basil Hall feels trapped in "dreary" villages by the "black sort of gigantic wall formed of the abrupt edge of the forest" (Travels 1: 128). Marryat, in his revulsion at travel on the Mississippi, thinks of burial. He says:

[A]s I look down upon its wild and filthy waters, boiling and eddying . . . I cannot help feeling a disgust at the idea of perishing in such a vile sewer, to be buried in mud, and perhaps to be rooted out again by some pig-nosed alligator. (220)

In the same vein, Dickens calls the "hateful" river "a slimy monster hideous to behold; a hotbed of disease, an ugly sepulchre, a grave uncheered by any gleam of promise" (American Notes 156).

In other instances, the travellers glorify the primeval landscape, treating it as a natural preserve. Travel writers, although partial to domesticated gardens in England, are offended by the Americans' interference with the natural world. They are as disturbed by nature corrupted by the hand of man as they are by untamed, uncultivated, "natural" nature. Since the conflicting views--nature as dangerous and disturbing, and nature as innocent and picturesque--cannot be reconciled, none try. In their enthusiasm for the virgin woodland, they deplore the American custom of cutting trees for agriculture or pasture; thus, they tend to use images of violence and death when describing the results of clearing forests. Hall observes that New Yorkers clear forests by "girdling" or cutting a ring several inches deep into the trunk so that the tree dies: "An American settler can hardly conceive the horror with which a foreigner beholds such numbers of magnificent trees standing round him with their

throats cut, the very Banquos of the murdered forest!"

(Travels 1: 129). Dickens uses similar images of violence and war when describing stumps

thickly strewn in every field of wheat. . . .
their wounded bodies lay about like those of
murdered creatures, while here and there some
charred and blackened giant reared aloft two
withered arms, and seemed to call down curses on
his foes. (American Notes 139)

This murderous imagery contrasts sharply with the American perception, which, with similarly violent images, glorifies such manly acts. Americans see the taming of the forest in sexual terms. A writer for the American Quarterly Review praises those settlers

who have taken the axe upon the shoulder, and
. . . have gone, singing cheerily . . . striking
their resolute shafts deep in wilderness and
mountain, and tearing from the bosom of the
earth the countless spoils of manly and
honourable industry.

This American reviewer complains that Mrs. Trollope, like her fellow British subjects, "can see nothing in the bold daring--the firm courage--the strong nerve--the cheerful industry--the perseverance and tenacity" that enables the American settler to conquer the wilderness ("Mrs. Trollope and the Americans" 114)

Although landscape descriptions, whether literal or metaphoric, were necessary to establish the writer as an observer, a more important interest for readers was information about the people found in America. The titles chosen for travel books reveal an eye for the market:

besides Domestic Manners, other popular works were named Views of Society and Manners (Frances Wright, 1820), Men and Manners (Thomas Hamilton, 1833), Society in America (Harriet Martineau, 1837), and Men and Things (Andrew Bell, 1838). Most travellers came to the States prepared to dislike the people they would find. Edgar Johnson vividly illustrates the prevailing stereotypes when he quotes discouraging friends of Dickens asking such questions as: "Aren't there disagreeable enough people to describe in Blackburn and Leeds?" or "Why cannot you go down to Bristol and see some of the third and fourth class people there and they'll do just as well?" (199). Dickens's friends believed in the stereotypic American because of travel books which noted the Americans' vulgar use of language, their inordinate pride, their all-consuming love of money, their ruthless inquisitiveness, and their bad table manners. Conversely, these were the traits travellers described because, to preserve the pose of truthfulness, one had to present stereotypes in which the reading public could believe.

To make the narratives seem realistic, writers include samples of local speech, generally choosing expressions with connotations strange to English ears. Janet Giltrow interprets the kind of misunderstood idiom described by these writers as a sign of foreignness, of not belonging. The difficulty of communication in

a foreign culture intensifies the distance between the traveller and the society he observes (Giltrow 132, 141), and many travellers, like Hall, found it nearly impossible to make themselves understood in America (see Travels 2: 48). In order to validate one's own culture, the foreign language must be shown as inferior, and most writers take pains to comment on the American's abuse of his mother tongue. James Flint, for instance, explains that American expressions have roots in "provincialisms" of Great Britain (263). Hamilton writes to his uncle that even the president "makes sad mistakes . . . in grammar," and the Secretary of War "cannot write English" (qtd. in Men and Manners xv). Fanny Kemble complains in a footnote that the "language used in society generally is unrefined, inelegant, and often ungrammatically vulgar" (Journal 1: 164). Marryat, when discussing idiomatic usage, refers to the "common expression" an American uses when saying his position is worth "six hundred dollars, besides stealings." (He notes that "in England the word would have been softened down to 'perquisites'" [107]. Rather than take offense, however, he is amused by the frankness of the Americans.)

Another commonly observed trait is the inordinate pride Americans take in their country and in their system. Hall finds "the most striking circumstance in the American character . . . was the constant habit of praising

themselves, their institutions, and their country" (Travels 1: 109). Hamilton notes that the American "restless and insatiable appetite for praise . . . defies all restraint of reason or common sense" (Men and Manners 2: 378). Although this tendency of Americans is seen by English travellers as offensive ethnocentrism, the observers are clearly no less ethnocentric; they sincerely believe themselves "the greatest and most highly civilised people that ever the world saw . . . the acknowledged leaders of the human race" (Macaulay 168). Accordingly, they find it ridiculous that Americans should think the same about themselves. Only Murray recognizes a similarity between the "national vanity" of the Americans and the Englishman's belief in his own "unequalled superiority over every other people" (2: 327), and he applauds the pride Americans take in themselves and in their country.

Travellers writing about America insist on questioning as many subjects as possible in order to ascertain data on the personal habits of the inhabitants. There is no sense of embarrassment on the visitors' side at this curiosity, but intrusiveness on the part of Americans is taken for a vulgar disregard for social amenities. Hamilton, like other British observers, notes that the unmannerly Americans, set apart from other national groups by "the besetting sin of curiosity," ask

personal questions which seem "startling at first to a sophisticated European" (Men and Manners 1: 343, 122). Dickens is disturbed by fellow passengers on the train to Washington who "came (according to custom) . . . and fell to comparing notes on the subject of my personal appearance, with as much indifference as if I were a stuffed figure" (American Notes 104). The celebrated actress Fanny Kemble, accustomed to public notice in England, nonetheless finds the "impertinence" of Americans "intolerable." "The people here," she says, "have no conscience about the questions they ask . . ." (Journal 1: 61, 255, 311).

The Americans' rudeness is best seen, however, in their legendary ability to finish a meal before a well-bred European can even begin. Americans refuse to waste time eating, reading, listening to music, or socializing: table manners, as defined by most Britons, hardly exist. Hall says, "We were not in the [restaurant] above twenty minutes, but we sat out two sets of company at least" (Travels 1: 33-34). Describing American eating habits to his English readers, Hall is reluctant to use the words "meal" and "dinner." He explains that in America the "business" of eating takes precedence over social relations. His fellow lodgers eat in "imperturbable silence and gravity," with each person

"intent exclusively on the professed business of the meeting" (Travels 1: 10). At a chop-house, he notes that the

sole object of the company evidently was to get through a certain quantum of victuals with as much dispatch as possible; and as all the world knows that talking interferes with eating, every art was used . . . to utter as few words as might be, and only those absolutely essential to the ceremony. (Travels 1: 32)

Other travellers describe the meals in stronger terms, showing outright disgust. Hamilton tells about a breakfast on a Hudson River steamboat, where the company is subject to "the uncontrollable impulse of some sudden hurricane of appetite, to which it would be difficult to find any parallel beyond the limits of the Zoological Gardens." Later, he notes travellers being fed "in droves like cattle" (Men and Manners 1: 77, 157). Dickens, in American Notes, also sees the feeding habits of Americans in animal terms. He dreads

sitting down with so many fellow-animals to ward off thirst and hunger as a business; to empty each creature his Yahoo's trough as quickly as he can, and then slink sullenly away; to have these social sacraments [meals] stripped of everything but the mere greedy satisfaction of the natural cravings. . . . the recollection of these funeral feasts will be a waking nightmare to me all my life. (155)

These rude, almost savage Americans, studied as products of another culture, were distinguished from the more interesting and more worthy subjects, the native American Indians. The daily life of the Indians, as

reported by such careful and qualified observers as Charles Augustus Murray and George Catlin (an American, but widely read in England, 1841), are a perpetual source of delight for British subjects. The Examiner, reviewing Catlin's richly illustrated Letters, notes that while the American Indian ways of life are rapidly vanishing, Catlin's book "will be a complete, a generous, and a sufficient record, of all that was worth preserving of them" (645). The picturesque record is valued, rather than the people.

The value placed on recording Indian culture is consistent with the popularity in the early nineteenth century of works dealing with the "noble savage." Traditionally, dating back to at least the seventeenth century and Oronooko (1688), both native Indians and enslaved Africans tended to be shown as morally superior to their oppressors. This convention of the noble savage colors travellers' observations so that, in most accounts, the "goodness" of the Indians becomes an unquestioned premise. Travel writers, seldom in direct contact with Indians, nonetheless express great sympathy for these oppressed peoples. Hamilton, for instance, on the basis of three mornings' observation of an Indian settlement, finds the "nobly submissive" tribe retains its "original grace and spirit" (Men and Manners 2: 241). Dickens bases his account of Indian culture on even less evidence,

a chance meeting with a Choctaw chief. The chief, a "stately and complete . . . gentleman of Nature's making," who reads English poetry and dreams of visiting England some day, is saddened by "the gradual fading away" of Indian culture. However, as he explains to Dickens, his tribe "had been obliged to become civilised . . . for it was their only chance of existence. . . . unless they tried to assimilate themselves to their conquerors, they must be swept away before the strides of civilised society" (American Notes 152, 151). Murray, who lived with the Pawnees for several months, has far more information but arrives at similar conclusions. While he sees the "extinction" of the tribes as inevitable, the "natural result of savage force opposed by science and discipline," he dramatically compares the Indian tribes to

the race who bled at Marathon and Thermopylae, and who immortalised their land by the faultless proportions of the Parthenon, the breathing marbles of Phidias, and the yet more glorious efforts of Homer, Plato, and Aristotle.
(2: 333-34)

Murray's comparison to classical civilization seems fairly usual. The reviewer of Simon Ferrall's Rambles (1832) for Gentleman's Magazine prints an excerpt from a speech by Wandering Pawnee, a speech the reviewer calls "the very counterpart of the celebrated speech of the Scythian Ambassadors to Alexander" (Rev. of Rambles 237).

A society that does not value these brave and gentle creatures is immediately suspect. However, the deficiencies of the American system reach far deeper than the treatment of Indians. Democracy, the founding principle of the nation, is seen as the cause of the disorderly and disconcerting society these travellers observe. Those who ventured further comment beyond straightforward reportage on the unpleasant manners of the Americans connected those manners to a political system which encourages such behavior.

American politics, of course, were of great interest to the British during their struggle with reform. In 1832, the year Domestic Manners was published, many English readers looked at democracy "with the dread of some wild outbreak of the masses that would overthrow the established order and confiscate private property" (Houghton 55). Most accounts of life in America tended to reinforce that dread; conversely, it is likely that, in some cases, the British traveller's findings of disorder and danger were prompted by his anxiety about reform at home. In a rather rare acknowledgement of a political motive, Hamilton clearly states he has no wish to present an impartial view but instead hopes to warn Englishmen of the dangers of democracy. He explains he had not planned to publish a travel book; however, upon learning that "the institutions and experience of the United States [were]

deliberately quoted in the reformed Parliament, as affording safe precedent for British legislation," he realized it was necessary to speak out against such ignorance (1: iv). He uses Men and Manners as a platform for a strong condemnation of the democratic system. If factory workers should gain political power, Hamilton warns, "there can be no military force to maintain civil order, and protect property." He predicts that, if permitted to continue with its demands, the working class in America will "like a rolling snowball . . . gather strength and volume as it proceeds, until at length it comes down thundering with the force and desolation of an avalanche." Thus, Americans can look forward to a "great struggle between property and numbers; on the one side hunger, rapacity, and physical power; reason, justice, and helplessness on the other" (Men and Manners 1: 306, 302, 310). Echoing contemporary English fears, he implies that the property and safety of reasonable citizens are in jeopardy. William Ouseley (Remarks on the Statistics and Political Institutions of the United States, 1832), who diplomatically finds much to admire in the theoretical basis of the American system, qualifies his praise by insisting that democracy is totally unsuitable for England. His concerns duplicate those of the more conservative travellers.

Most British subjects realized some degree of reform was inevitable; debate centered on prudent limits. Travel reports such as Hamilton's and Ouseley's served as warnings that firm restrictions were necessary. Other travellers, less dramatic but equally sincere, pointed out that in America, where power has been extended too far down the scale, the practice of democracy tends to pervert its ends. As Godfrey Vigne (Six Months in America, 1832) observes, the Americans' "political independence is oftentimes imperceptibly identified with independence of behaviour" (1: 16). Such mild statements nevertheless hinted that disorder and democracy were inseparable.

The hypocrisy of a country embracing freedom and institutionalizing slavery was another obligatory topic for travel writers. "Is not this [slavery] extraordinary," Marryat asks, "in a land which professes universal liberty, equality, and the rights of man?" (150). Although the English did not abolish slavery in colonial territories until 1834 (and then somewhat gradually), all British travellers, including those like Frances Wright who enthusiastically approved of everything else, are horrified at their encounters with the "plague spot [which] so soils the beauty of the robe of American liberty" (Frances Wright to Julia and Harriet Garnett, qtd. in Payne-Gaposchkin 232). James Stuart, whose Three Years generally avoided controversy, nonetheless documents

the cruelty of the slave system, to the applause of the usually pro-American Edinburgh Review. The anonymous reviewer (J. R. McCulloch) first praises Stuart's "impartiality," then recommends that readers learn more about "this tremendous evil." He endorses Stuart's condemnation of slavery: "it is right that such barbarity should be held up to the execration of the world" (472-73).

Tuckermann claims that accounts attacking the American system are conventional, prompted by Tory prejudice and written primarily to gratify public taste. He notes the remarkable similarity of their "monotonous protests against the imperfect civilization" (253). However, he is not entirely correct. Many travellers, noticing the opportunity for advancement in America, encouraged those not sensitive to the barbarities of American manners to try a new life in America. Fanny Kemble is astounded to find an almost total absence of poverty (Journal 1: 213-14). Dickens, also surprised, reports to Forster: "There is no man . . . who has not . . . a meat dinner every day of his life" (Letters 3: 50-51). Only Marryat notices beggars on the streets (149). Most travellers describe the extraordinarily comfortable circumstances of working people in America, and their accounts "revealed to early Victorian England a clear view of the strange new society beyond the

Atlantic, highly repugnant and reciprocating the dislike it inspired, but singularly open, and free for the acquisition of fortune" (Woodruff 2: 364). These writers, generally sensitive to domestic problems such as abuses of the Poor Law, reported that, despite the rudeness generally encountered, one could live in America and live well.

Travel writers, as Tuckermann says, generally have an "inveterate tendency to look at things exclusively from the point of view suggested by [their own] national prejudices" (263); however, many travellers proclaim their openness to new ideas. Hamilton, one of America's harshest critics, claims that only after his arrival in the States was he aware of the evils of democracy: "I only wish every Radical in England could be condemned to spend a year in America; and if he is not, in less than that time, utterly cured, he may be set down as hopeless" (letter to Dugald Bannatyne, qtd. in Men and Manners 1: xix). Mrs. Trollope anticipates this pretense in Domestic Manners, where she says,

were I an English legislator, instead of sending sedition to the Tower, I would send her to make a tour of the United States. I had a little leaning towards sedition myself when I set out, but before I had half completed my tour I was quite cured. (43-44)

Hall, too, claims he purposely did not read earlier accounts, so that his own would not be biased. He went to America with the intention of finding a favorable situation, hoping to improve relations between the two countries. Only after careful observation did he change his mind (Travels 1: 3-5, 16).

In their judgments of these books, both liberal and conservative critics are influenced by their own British notions of the value of democracy. According to Tom Trollope, books about America were "looked at from a political party point of view. America and the Americans were understood to be anti-everything that was dear to Conservatives. They were accordingly the pets of the Whigs . . ." (TAT 1: 232). Liberal reviewers, sympathetic to America and to democracy, tended to question the accuracy and fairness of negative accounts, and the pervasive insistence on one's impartiality was often an attempt to gain critical acceptance in cases where the work was clearly unfavorable to America. Reviewers, however, were seldom fooled. William Empson, writing for the liberal Edinburgh Review, notes that Marryat's introductory statements are meaningless, that the Diary is filled with "coarse and rash" generalizations revealing Marryat's selective "bias":

There is such a want of range and precision in his personal observations--so little of sceptical sagacity in his scrutiny of the information of others--so wide a departure in

his statements . . . from the severity of historical narrative, that a cloud of uncertainty is necessarily thrown over the whole. (Rev. of Diary 125, 136)

On the other hand, conservative reviewers praise the "unbiased" nature of harshly drawn accounts and use their reviews to warn British subjects against allowing democratic institutions to penetrate the English system. For example, when reviewing Hamilton's Men and Manners, Archibald Alison issues his own warnings against the American system, a system which threatens "the old bulwarks of England." Since, according to Alison, Hamilton's work is a "cool and dispassionate survey" from one who "neither views America with the jaundiced eye of a bigoted Tory, nor the frantic partiality of an enthusiastic democrat," Hamilton's conclusions showing democracy failing its citizens must be correct. Alluding to earlier, "prejudiced" accounts, Alison recommends less partisan works, like Hamilton's, written

by able and impartial observers; men who, without being guided by party feeling or national animosity, see things as they really are, and judge of their application to this country [England] from the dictates of an extended experience. ("America I" 308, 288, 307, 288)

John Wilson, the author of the second part of the review, also finds Hamilton impartial, dispassionate, candid--and accurate ("America II" 552-53).

J. R. McCulloch, in the liberal Edinburgh Review, uses almost the same language as Alison and Wilson in his praise of Stuart's Three Years. McCulloch characterizes Stuart as "an honest, dispassionate, and competent observer," as opposed to the frank partisanship (both for and against the American system) of Basil Hall, Mrs. Trollope, and Frances Wright. Three Years has "neither been written in a spirit of detraction nor of eulogy; but with a sincere desire to depict things as they really are" (McCulloch 460, 461, 480). McCulloch is less blinded by his agreement with Stuart than were Alison and Wilson in their assessment of Hamilton's work as "impartial." Stuart does, in fact, remain more detached than most other travellers. His book, except for the routine denunciation of slavery, is designed as informational and has far less discussion of politics than the others. However, the Edinburgh Review tends to find any work favorable to America unbiased. Another reviewer recommends Harriet Martineau's positive works on America because she "came neither as a supercilious Tory, nor as a disappointed republican; she had no prejudices to surmount on the one hand, no exaggerated expectations to correct on the other" (Rev. of Retrospect 181). She also had difficulty seeing and hearing, but the reviewer, pleased with her findings, sees no need to mention these handicaps.

While Mrs. Trollope's condemnation of the democratic system is partially prompted by her own trials, that condemnation is nonetheless quite similar to the portrayal of the American system in many accounts of her contemporaries. Her letters and notebooks show that Domestic Manners, when conventional, is a deliberate effort to imitate popular travel narratives. In a letter to Tom, written in the summer of 1830, she tells about her illness and her fear she will be unable to visit Niagara Falls; she is afraid that her projected book "will seem very imperfect without it" (qtd. in FET 1: 130). Donald Smalley, who studied Mrs. Trollope's notebooks, finds evidence of her awareness that English readers expect, not only landscape, but also exotic customs: "'Describe the Shakers,' she jotted down in the midst of a passage on Philadelphia, 'because omitted by Capt. Hall'" (DM, intro. lviii). When she turns to fiction, however, she writes with a different set of conventions in mind. She dispenses with authorial comment and uses her settings and characters to convey her disappointment with the United States. The reception of her novels, like the reception of travel books, depended on whether or not individual critics were in sympathy or at odds with the notion of America as a disorderly, disreputable, dangerous land, where democracy threatened the well-being of its residents. At the same time, they were read as fiction,

and considerations of plot, character, style, and structure were of equal concern. Although the expected conventions of fiction were not always the same as those of travel literature, Mrs. Trollope attempted to deal with both.

Chapter 3

The Value of Fiction

A careful study of reviews, both of Mrs. Trollope's works and of the works of her contemporaries, provides insight into critical concerns of the early nineteenth century, making it possible to assess the degree to which her novels can be seen as accommodating the expectations of readers and reviewers. Reviewers' concerns centered on questions of value: critics were primarily intent on elevating the importance of fiction as a genre. They stress fiction's informational and realistic aspects, its moral values, and its potential for effecting social change as they attempt to counter earlier views of novels as merely frivolous entertainment, damaging to the minds and morals of readers. While readers' concerns are more difficult to document, the success of Mrs. Trollope's novels in the face of harsh reviews indicates that entertainment remained of positive value to her original audience.

In their attempts to dignify fiction, critics claimed that novels reached a higher level of truth than that of non-fiction. In September 1833, for instance, the Athenaeum author of "Common Novel Readers" places fiction

in the same class as informative travel narratives, saying he finds no "substantial difference in point of mental nutriment between a book of travels and a novel." For this critic, novels are often as factual as "solid reading": "A traveller may lie and we cannot find him out . . . but the novel writer must stick to truth, or he sinks into neglect and oblivion . . ." ("Common Novel Readers" 618). One month later, another Athenaeum reviewer takes up the same cause. Still trying to assert fiction's truth (that is, its inherent value), he asks that the novel not "be regarded with contempt or spoken of with disrespect":

Novel writing has been considered by many as a low pursuit . . . and a writer of a great big book of travels, half lies and nine-tenths nonsense, has the arrogance to look down with contempt upon a mere novel writer; but where has a traveller half the exercise for skill and philosophy that a novel writer has? ("Novel Writing" 752-53)

In a similar statement, the reviewer of Recollections of a Chaperon for the Edinburgh Review (also 1833) finds fiction better suited to "illustrate those general truths which experience teaches, than the bare relation of partial facts" (404). By 1844, however, novel reading was becoming more respectable and reviewers apologize less frequently. R. H. Horne notes that "grave people, who set up to be thought wiser than their neighbors, are no longer ashamed to be caught reading a novel." He explains that

fiction's new "respectable status" has come about because novelists use their work as "a channel for conveying actual information, the direct result of observation and research . . . always keeping in view the responsibility due to the living humanity from which it professes to be drawn" (Horne 127-28).

On the other hand, despite such attempts to confer legitimacy and value, many prejudices against fiction remained. Other critics, still unconvinced of the novel's literary worth, preferred the distinction between fiction and serious works be maintained. T. H. Lister, for one, sees fiction's role merely as mindless entertainment: "Every sensible person will look elsewhere for solid information" (Rev. of Women as They Are 444). As late as 1847, George Henry Lewes acknowledges such prejudices and finds himself compelled to assert that "novel reading, so far from being frivolous or injurious, is really a fine thing . . ." ("Recent Novels" 686). To promote sales to a suspicious audience, it was standard practice for authors to disguise their fiction, especially if improbable, as "annals," "chronicles," "diaries," or "memoirs" (R. Colby 11). Mrs. Trollope's American novels, although undisguised fiction, imitate travel diaries and memoirs with the narrator providing information about America and the American system. This narrator seems

a conscious attempt to conform to the values of early nineteenth-century critics who insist on veracity and usefulness.

Mrs. Trollope's contemporaries generally approve of fiction when they find fidelity to life, not only in the form of surface details, such as factual landscapes and dialogue, but also in the psychological accuracy of character portrayal. The beauty of Jane Austen's novels, for one Athenaeum reviewer, lies in the "perfect likenesses" of her characters: "the reader breakfasts, dines, walks, and gossips, with the various worthies, till . . . he absolutely fancies himself one of the company" ("Jane Austen" 553). The reviewer of Deerbrook for the Edinburgh Review digresses to praise Tales of Political Economy, recalling Harriet Martineau's "deep sound knowledge of human character" and her "power of analysing the springs of action--of unfolding the diversities of character, and marking, as it were, each wave of the tide of human thought and feeling." In Deerbrook, however, she "sins, occasionally, against probability;" thus, "it is not such a novel as is likely to be popular" (494-95).

This "power of analysing the springs of action" was considered especially worthy in works which connected visual images to the emotions of the observer. G. H. Lewes has unqualified praise for Jane Eyre, especially for the author's ability to portray realistically, not only

"characters and incidents," but also "the various aspects of Nature." The accurate depiction of surface details is less important to Lewes than "subjective representation." In this task, the "psychological interpretation of material phenomena," the author of Jane Eyre (still anonymous) powerfully connects "external appearances with internal effects," thus giving the novel a sense of psychological reality ("Recent Novels" 692-93). For many contemporary readers, these realistic "internal effects" were prized more highly than a realistic depiction of the outside world. Thus, a mention of the overpowering emotions felt in the face of God's creation, a standard element of Romantic poetry, was noted and admired both in fiction and in travel accounts. America, blessed with mountains, forests, and waterfalls in their original, unsullied state, the stock elements of the sublime tradition, especially lent itself to such stock descriptions. Reviewers tend to equate a setting described in emotional terms with a factual and informative description. For instance, William Empson, one of Mrs. Trollope's harshest critics, nevertheless praises her descriptions of scenery mainly because they resemble the scenery he imagines in America ("The Americans and Their Detractors" 485).

In addition to evaluations of characters based on those characters' response to the natural world, almost all evaluations of plausibility included an evaluation of the social world in which characters live. As the reviewer of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw for the Spectator observed,

It is one thing to tell what one sees . . . it is another . . . to have acquired such a knowledge of a people as to be able to illustrate their social condition by a story . . . and by characters such as are likely to be produced in the given state of society . . . in such a manner as to form a natural, probable, and consistent whole. . . . (634)

When that "social condition" seemed realistic, critics found merit, no matter how insignificant the novel. Thus, the anonymous reviewer of Recollections of a Chaperon defends the work from attack as frivolous and praises this "faithful portrait of the manners of the day" (404).

The "manners" of the Americans, of course, are Mrs. Trollope's primary focus. The political bias of each reviewer determined whether her account of those manners seemed realistic. Conservative reviewers, sympathetic to her views, praised her portrait of a crude and disorderly society. An anonymous writer for Gentleman's Magazine, for instance, finds her characters' "vulgar dialogue" in The Refugee in America a "superb" portrayal of the "rich genuine Yankee in unsophisticated purity" (443). Others used their reviews to make their own political statements.

A few weeks after Basil Hall's extensive praise for Domestic Manners as a "truthful" account of the dangers of democracy, William Jacob used the conservative Quarterly Review to criticize The Refugee in America for its "untruthful" portrayal of good characters living under such a system. Jacob finds it unlikely that a sympathetic character like Emily could exist "amidst the brutally gross state of society which is described around her" (511). He accepts without question Mrs. Trollope's picture of the backwards social scene; nevertheless, he dismisses The Refugee in America on the grounds that it violates his sense of reality. The Refugee resembles earlier romances, where improbable heroines preserve their virtue in the face of even more improbable difficulties. By 1832, however, such heroines cannot always serve as an acceptable fictional convention.

The reviewer of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw for the more liberal Spectator, taking his own notions of American society into account, also questions Mrs. Trollope's characterization. Rather than quarrel with the portrayal of a virtuous American, as Jacob had done, this reviewer finds the Americans drawn too harshly. The sadistic plantation owner, Colonel Dart, and his "confidential clerk," Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, seem unbelievable because they are inconsistent with what the reviewer calls the "national characteristics" of Americans; he takes it

as an unquestioned fact that southern planters are "the gentlemen of the States" (635). His perception of southerners, based on the Spectator's editorial principles, is more generous than travellers' observations would lead readers to expect. Hamilton, for instance, was "glad indeed" on his return to New York, to be "out of the country of these southern barbarians" (Letter to Lady Hamilton, qtd. in Men and Manners xxviii). And Dickens dwells at length on the savagery of southern society. Mr. Chollop, the heavily armed "worshipper of Freedom" in Martin Chuzzlewit, "was the consistent advocate of Lynch law, and slavery; and invariably recommended . . . the 'tarring and feathering' of any unpopular person who differed from himself" (520-21; ch. 33). In the following chapter, Martin encounters The Honorable Elijah Pogram, "a disciple of that other school of republican philosophy, whose noble sentiments are carved with knives upon a pupil's body, and written, not with pen and ink, but tar and feathers" (535; ch. 34). The success of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw indicates that readers, their notions of America formed by popular travel accounts, found Mrs. Trollope's portrayal of southern Americans' brutality perfectly accurate.

The social world had to be plausible if that world were familiar to readers, but exotic peoples were thought interesting no matter how far-fetched the portrayal.

Although this interest in other cultures is hardly unique to the early nineteenth century, as the wide appeal of Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver's Travels in the eighteenth century demonstrates, it seems that works treating primitive peoples not yet corrupted by civilization had fresh appeal in this period. Robert Colby attributes this popularity to "the public's newly aroused appetite for picturesque ethnography" in his discussion of the extraordinary reception of Waverley (30). Reviewers, recognizing their readers' interest, frequently chose passages from travel narratives which mentioned slaves or Indians to print as excerpts, especially when the reviewer wanted to praise the work as either "instructive" or "heart-touching" (see, for example, Rev. of Rambles through North America 237). In some cases, the subject matter alone confers value. Thus, James Fenimore Cooper's Deerslayer is seen by a critic for the Examiner as an extraordinarily valuable "vigorous descriptive tale" which will preserve the vanishing Indians' "hardy truth and rude generosity" for posterity (Rev. of Deerslayer 579).

Novels praised for realistic surface details, psychological accuracy, and a truthful social scene all conformed to a notion that the novel, to the extent that it provided information, was valuable. By mid-century, however, critical standards begin to change. In 1852, three years after The Old World and the New, one reviewer

at least is more interested in artistic effects than in facts. Francis Jacox, looking back on Mrs. Trollope's work, mentions without censure her "farfetched" characters. His overall judgement is enthusiastic: he finds himself

en rapport with a clear-seeing and clever woman, who surprises us with the extent, the variety, and the lucidity of her visions . . . the clairvoyance is a skilful delusion, the performance a make-believe, the performer a professional artiste. (21)

Praise for a "skilful delusion" would have been unthinkable only a few years earlier.

In addition to artistry, many reviewers began to look for "refinement" and "gentility." By mid-century, novels were praised when they portrayed a refined, genteel, and virtuous life. In a comprehensive study of the reception of Dickens's work, George Ford finds critics "virtually unanimous" in their demands for "purity of tone and language" (28). Many reviewers elevate the status of novels deemed morally uplifting, such as when the reviewer of Attila for the Edinburgh Review finds the work praiseworthy because it is "controlled by a strong feeling of the high standard of morality which all literature that aspires permanently to please demands" ("Recent English Romances" 188). Other works "offend the tastes and dispositions we should wish them to promote," and are pronounced "useless" and "distasteful" (Taylor 189).

Reviewers, in their insistence on refinement, are offended by vulgar or immoral characters. Allan Cunningham, for example, judges William Godwin's "unnatural creations" harshly because they illustrate "villany [sic] and crime" (774). More than a decade later, the Athenaeum reviewer of Wuthering Heights fastidiously points out that "true taste rejects" Heathcliff's cruelty, even though he may be "pictured from life" (1324). Mrs. Trollope herself, while writing Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, sharply criticized Victor Hugo's "corrupt creations" of "vulgar vice." "Why," she asks, "should the lowest passions of our nature be forever brought out in parade before us?" (Paris 104). For America, however, she finds such a "parade" appropriate. Her central character, Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, identified by a contemporary as "an unmitigated scoundrel of the A 1 force--one of those male excrescences of human nature," seems designed specifically to illustrate "the lowest passions." After Whitlaw's success, Mrs. Trollope found other "unmitigated" villains sold equally well, especially the "exaggerated piece of moral deformity," the rector in The Vicar of Wrexhill, and the "brute of incomparable coarseness," the "atrocious scoundrel" Sir Matthew Dowling of Michael Armstrong (Jacox 22, 24).

It is not surprising that Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, an example of viciousness surpassing any other of the period, outraged Mrs. Trollope's critics. The reviewer for the Literary Gazette, with typical disgust, labels him "sunk below the vilest level of humanity," and he strongly objects to Mrs. Trollope's "exaggeration" and "illiberal prejudice" (420). Her evil protagonist provoked such responses mainly because he was so unusual at this time. Readers see little of the brutality of Arthur Huntingdon in The Tenant of Wildfell Hall; Helen's ordeal is the focus of the novel. Similarly, in Oliver Twist, Fagin, Sikes, and Monks are secondary characters who exist only in opposition to Oliver's goodness. Thus, they provoke little censure. The fastidious T. H. Lister finds "no coarseness [in Dickens's novels] . . . no passage which ought to cause pain to the most sensitive delicacy, if read aloud in female society." "We find," Lister continues, "no monsters of unmitigated and unredeemable villany [sic] . . . but very natural and unattractive combinations of human qualities, in which the bad is found to predominate in such a proportion as the position of the party would render probable" ("Dickens's Tales" 77-78). Whitlaw's depravity stands almost alone in the early nineteenth century: his function is the function of the novel, to show the moral corruption of the American slave system through this sadistic overseer.

As reviewers began to stress the virtues of gentility in fiction, they applied more stringent standards of proper subject matter for women writers than for men. A critic for the Westminster Review, speaking of characters in The Refugee in America, complains that the "scoundrel of the lady-novelist, is always ten times as infernal as the creation of an author of his own sex" ("Mrs. Trollope's Refugee" 209). Women who held themselves above the sullied, corrupted world found their works praised. In a condescending article (written, however, long before the publication of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, Wuthering Heights, or The Tenant of Wildfell Hall), T. H. Lister professes to prefer novels by women because "we are seldom offended by those moral monstrosities, those fantastic perversions of principle, which are too often to be met with in the fictions which have been written by men" (Rev. of Women as They Are 446). Accordingly, the reviewer of Domestic Manners for Gentleman's Magazine charges Mrs. Trollope with unladylike behavior, pointing out that she "saw many things which no refined Englishwoman would have seen, or seeing would have understood--still less have written and published" (346). He never questions the veracity of her observations; he only complains that a lady would not have noticed. One of Mrs. Trollope's most perverse characters, the Vicar of Wrexhill, prompted another critic to a personal attack on

the author: "There is perhaps no writer of the day so universally obnoxious as Mrs. Trollope . . ." (Bagshawe 244). Her contemporary Laman Blanchard explains that these unfavorable reviews are based solely on disagreement with her bold opinions. He points out that the reading public is less fastidious and that her novels "have won for her an undisputed place amid the principal favourites of the public." Critical abuse "has in no degree availed to check [their] success" (417). Had Mrs. Trollope taken the time from her writing to notice the personal attacks, she might have been flattered. George Eliot, writing about sexual bias in reviewing practices, observes,

By a peculiar thermometric adjustment, when a woman's talent is at zero, journalistic approbation is at the boiling pitch; when she attains mediocrity, it is already at no more than summer heat; and if ever she reaches excellence, critical enthusiasm drops to the freezing point. (322).

Connected with insistence on virtue and refinement was widespread agreement that, if fiction could be of any value, it must go beyond a reflection of people and their world and become an instrument for the improvement of society. Works which took sides and impelled readers to share an author's feelings and convictions were seen as praiseworthy. Political propaganda was valued in novels such as Sybil (1845), Mary Barton (1848), and Yeast (1848), all characterized by sympathy for the ills of society and outrage at the corruption of government (see

Buckley, The Victorian Temper 27-28). Lister, along with his contemporaries, sees little value in light popular fiction which often "shall only amuse, without awakening one generous thought, one feeling of sympathy with virtue, and abhorrence of vice" (Rev. of Women as They Are 445). He praises Dickens for his ability "to excite our sympathy in behalf of the aggrieved and suffering . . . the helpless victims of untoward circumstances, or a vicious system" ("Dickens's Tales" 77).

For travel fiction, however, this notion of fiction as propaganda becomes a complex issue because the conventions of fiction and the conventions of travel are at odds. Since authors of travel narratives had been careful to characterize their accounts as unprejudiced, readers and reviewers expected impartial description of American life in fictional accounts. When judged by the standard of impartiality, the propagandist elements in Mrs. Trollope's earlier American novels generally seem inappropriate to critics. The reviewer for Gentleman's, despite his enjoyment of The Refugee in America, sees it as potentially contributing to ill-feeling between America and Britain, thus, a mistake. His final judgement is that

it is the duty, as it should be the pleasure of all those who have so fair an opportunity as Mrs. Trollope, to sacrifice at least something of the ludicrous from their books, lest they should fan that international flame which all must wish to see extinguished. (443)

The reviewer of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw for the Spectator objects to Mrs. Trollope's "aim at inculcating political philosophy, and at changing the institutions, habits, and sentiments of a people, by showing their deformity" (634). The Athenaeum reviewer of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw also finds Mrs. Trollope's didacticism objectionable, saying,

we do doubt the expediency of making the abominations of slavery, and their consequences, the theme of a novel. If we are to read of cruel overseers, and licentious clerks, and a brutalized race of human creatures degraded into property, let it be in the grave and calm pages of the advocate or the historian; but do not let them disfigure the fairyland of fiction, already too much narrowed and desecrated by the resolute determination of the age to teach, not by the indirect and humanizing influences of beautiful thoughts and graceful images, but by straight-forward didactic exhortation. (463)

Mrs. Trollope's warning to English subjects of democracy's shortcomings, however, was less outrageous than these reviews indicate. Critics sympathetic to her work and to her views accepted such propaganda set across the ocean, often noticing the application of her satire to domestic problems. William Jacob, for one, says that serious Englishmen need to learn more about America, especially as a warning against "the miasma of democracy,--which blights and withers everything most enlightened in the society over which it sweeps . . . the curse,--the plague-mark--of the United States" (513). Twenty years later, Francis Jacox recommends

Mrs. Trollope's work because she "indoctrinates us with her principles, until the force of hating can no further go, and the sense of our incapacity to wreak summary vengeance on the objects of it becomes intolerable" (22). Certainly her popularity among her contemporaries shows that the reading public not only accepted but also enjoyed her harsh portrayal of America.

Chapter 4

The Natural World

Unlike the theoretically factual environments common to most travel narratives, including Domestic Manners, the landscapes Mrs. Trollope designs for her American novels provide an atmosphere that both reflects and controls the actions of characters. At the same time, however, her treatment of the natural world in America seemed realistic to readers because it conformed to their assumptions and suspicions about this strange land. These fictional environments somewhat resemble both the actual world she observed and the world described in other travel narratives, but they are equally metaphoric, deliberately manipulated to portray a threatening physical environment, barren, diseased, and hostile.

Travellers' descriptions of the American countryside, with its vast stretches of uninhabited territory, contrast sharply with descriptions of the familiar domestic landscape of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English fiction, which depict a cultivated world of rolling meadows and babbling brooks. Although such a pastoral fantasy was not an exact likeness of the country life experienced by nineteenth-century British

readers, it did reflect the physical world in which they believed. They tended not to question the traditional solid comforts of rural England; the countryside of their imaginations was both familiar and reassuring. Any departure from that rural haven, whether to a foreign land or to a remote part of England (as in Frankenstein or Wuthering Heights) traditionally stood for violence, disorder, and a lack of control. George Levine explains these "geographical pockets of excess" as "places in which community is no longer implicit" (205). Mrs. Trollope's contemporaries testify to the truth of Levine's premise. For example, the Athenaeum reviewer of Wuthering Heights objects to Heathcliff's brutality, but finds the "master of the lonely house" perfectly plausible. Heathcliff "has doubtless had his prototype in those ungenial and remote districts where human beings, like the trees, grow gnarled and dwarfed and distorted" (1324). Thus, the "remote district" determines his behavior. Similarly, many other novels set in far-away lands, where raw nature takes precedence over the civilized workings of a familiar social system, establish a sense of danger. Mrs. Trollope follows this tradition in her portrayal of America. She shows a land both unlimited and disorderly: enclosures are represented by wild forests, not neat hedgerows, and are frightening rather than reassuring. The forest represents crude brutal nature in a raw, uncivilized state rather

than a preserve of primeval innocence. The untouched, innocent scene loved by travel writers gives way in her American novels to a menacing environment which resists human efforts at domestication. While many of the physical dangers portrayed in these novels are factual, reflecting the actual situation, the emphasis she places on disease and discomfort serves as a metaphor for the political dangers of democracy.

In addition to outright physical dangers, Mrs. Trollope's American environment presents an unformed, disorderly, barbarian affront to English taste. Only a few scenes, those associated with good characters, resemble neat, cultivated English gardens. The difference between the gardens of the English imagination and the wilderness of these novels is a source of tension and a commentary on the state of affairs in America, where things are not as they should be. Her pictorial vision of America emphasizes the difference between "culture and anarchy," civilization and barbarism. This should not suggest, however, that she blindly followed tradition in a mechanical reproduction of conventional visual images. Her treatment of the American landscape was dictated, at least in part, by the actual disparity between the familiar, comfortable countryside of Harrow and the primitive environment she found in the United States. Earlier novels with exotic settings, such as The Mysteries

of Udolpho, used totally imaginary settings to convey atmosphere; the frightening aspects of Mrs. Trollope's American novels come directly from her own traumas, especially her shock at conditions at Nashoba.

Domestic Manners is far more conventional in its landscape description than is Mrs. Trollope's fiction. As do many other travellers, she responds to the seemingly boundless natural world of America with stock Romantic sentiments. She fills Domestic Manners with pleasing scenes, including majestic waterfalls, fertile farms, and lush foliage. She reports experiencing "wonder and delight" while watching a "grand" and "glorious" thunderstorm (DM 88). Donald Smalley has discovered that many of her notes were used in Domestic Manners "with only minor changes" (DM, intro. lvi), but one can see considerable alteration of her observations in her fictional treatment, where she emphasizes the dangers lurking in waterfalls and swamps, the unbearable monotony of vast expanses, the sense of confinement felt in the forests, and the lack of social amenities, both in rural areas and in cities. For example, in Domestic Manners she reports that the autumn forest is "delightful," the Allegheny Mountains "perfectly enchanting," and the New York harbor "bright and glorious." The travelling party sails into New York on "waves of liquid gold," while the "the setting sun stretched his horizontal beams . . . as

if to point out to us some new glory in the landscape" (DM 194, 103, 336). Such spectacularly painted scenes are virtually absent from her fictionalized accounts of America. Instead, she accentuates the differences between the American scene and the familiar landscapes of England, stressing the disconcerting effects of the strangeness.

Aware of the conventional and repetitive landscape descriptions in travel narratives, Mrs. Trollope makes a point, in her fiction, of passing over background details. Her narrator refuses to describe well-known features of the American landscape unless they have an artistic purpose:

The time has been when a scribbler might feel the gratifying assurance that he was conveying information to an English reader, when he described the route from New York to the banks of the Ohio. But those days are gone and over: it must be a rarely precious reader indeed who does not know all about it. (OW 1: 275)

However, she reverts to the travelogue when she has something strange to describe. For example, the wooden mansion the Stormonts build near Cincinnati, Bloomfield Knoll, is a novelty to Europeans; thus, she gives a detailed description of the home and its setting, with precise measurements and a thorough inventory of its contents (OW 2: 246-50).

The most striking difference between the environment of the conventional travel narrative and that of Mrs. Trollope's fiction can be seen in descriptions of

waterfalls. Travel writers see the waterfalls of America in a stereotypic majesty, and every travel book, including Domestic Manners, includes sections of rapture at the sight of Niagara. The grandeur of the falls, however, is seldom accompanied by any actual description. The traveller generally finds himself unable to articulate the magnificence of the sublime. In Domestic Manners, Mrs. Trollope says: "It is not for me to attempt a description of Niagara; I feel I have no powers for it" (380). Marryat, attempting to describe his first reaction to Niagara, can only say: "language fails" (87). Hamilton, too, is overcome by the "overwhelming sublimity" of the sight which he finds impossible "to embody in words." His narrative changes from first to third person: he is out of himself, beside himself, speaking of the reactions of "the spectator" (Men and Manners 2: 316). Many years later, Mrs. Trollope's son Anthony acknowledges the difficulties inherent in a description of the falls. Despite his reservations, however, he goes on to give a factual account which includes specific details such as colors and measurements of distance, absent from earlier visitors' works (North America 95-105). His predecessors, after mentioning the customary speechlessness, go on to describe, not the falls, but their own states of mind. Many of their descriptions take on a religious tone in the face of God's work, as when Marryat muses, "what can

inspire more awe of him [God], more reverence, and more love, than the contemplation of thy falling waters, great Niagara!" (90), or when Dickens refers to the falls as "Nature's greatest altar" (American Notes 185). The beauty of Trenton Falls stirs Marryat to "awe--an inward acknowledgment of the tremendous power of nature," sending a religious impulse "through every sense and at every pulsation of the heart" (80-81).

Mrs. Trollope's first description of Niagara Falls in her earliest American novel, The Refugee in America, is conventionally rapturous. Emily Wilson, the American heroine, finds herself inspired with "sublime and animated piety;" the narrator uses trite expressions, such as "eternal canopy of spray," "mighty flood," "vast expanse of snow-white foam," and "astounding spectacle." In the tradition of silence in the face of the sublime, she describes Table Rock overlooking the "unspeakable majesty" of a scene "awful beyond the power of description" (2: 274, 308). Although the narrator gives a slightly fuller description on Emily's second visit, this scene is equally dictated by the conventional profound reverence, with Emily imagining "herself before the altar of the living God! She trembled and adored" (3: 9).

The religious sense of God's presence at his creation, however, is accompanied by a sense of evil forces at work: the rapture of the tourist coexists with

premonitions of violence and physical danger. Nixon Oglander, next in line to inherit Lord Darcy's estate and anxious to seize the property, writes to his accomplice the reverend Mr. Wilson, hinting that it will be easy in America to get rid of Darcy. He says, "Accidents sometimes happen, you know, in your wild country. . . . more than one life has been lost by falling over rocks, while looking at waterfalls . . ." (Ref 2: 235). Not long afterwards, Emily sees Wilson prepare a trap for Darcy at the edge of Table Rock (Ref 3: 9-11), and the tension mounts as the reader wonders whether Darcy will actually fall over the precipice. The waterfall has become threatening and terrifying, rather than majestic and magnificent, a symbol of the uncontrolled society Mrs. Trollope had found in America. Later, in The Old World and the New, the danger of the precipice again becomes an important plot element, serving to uncover Warburton's disguise as the Indian, Oranego, and reunite him with his former love, Katherine.

Wild animals in this underpopulated land present another form of danger, sometimes real, sometimes only in the minds of English travellers. Zadoc Tomkins, an experienced guide, reassures Lord Darcy: "No, no, my man, never you fear beasts; but 'tis natural to the English to feel a little fearsomeness in America" (Ref 3: 222). In the opening pages of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw,

Mrs. Trollope's narrator describes the senior Whitlaw's arrival at Mohanna Creek along an uninhabited shore of the Mississippi River, then discusses the dangers of clearing land for settlement. She tells how pioneer settlers face bears, alligators, wolves, and panthers among the "eternal gloom" and "melancholy dreariness" surrounding the river. The narrator's view of the American wilderness is both sad and sinister:

the very air seems tinged with grey, and Nature looks as if she had put on a suit of morning [sic] to do honour to some sad solemnity. Nor can one look long upon the scene without fancying that Nature has indeed some cause to mourn; for at one moment an uprooted forest is seen borne along by the rapid flood, its leafy honours half concealed beneath the untransparent wave, while its faithless roots mock the air by rearing their unsightly branches in their stead. At another, the sullen stillness is interrupted by a blast that will rend from the earth her verdant mantle . . . and leave the groaning forest crushed, prostrate, unbarked and unboughed, the very emblem of ruin, desolation, and despair. (JJW 1: 2-3)

The self-destroying natural world of the United States is unsuitable for human habitation; even a personified Nature cannot find it congenial. Fearful creatures alone find comfort: "The drowsy alligator, luxuriating on its slimy banks, or the unsocial bear, happy in the undisputed possession of its tangled thickets, alone seem formed to find prolonged enjoyment there" (JJW 1: 4). This blighted locale, where the reader first encounters the senior Whitlaw, gives one a sense of his character. He

deliberately chooses this desolate, miserable spot which "possesses no single feature of the sweet, heart-cheering beauty which a lover of Nature would select for the embellishment of his familiar home," and he seems pleased with what he calls a "right-down elegant location" (JJW 1: 1, 8).

The dangers of the forest come from untamed humans as well as from disease and wild animals. Among the slaves on Dart's plantation is the young and beautiful Phebe, who had formerly belonged to Mr. Bligh, and to whom Edward Bligh's missionary efforts are primarily directed. Her warning to Edward to beware of the hateful overseer, Whitlaw, foreshadows her own danger: "the soft, quiet moonlight that seems full of God's own goodness . . . may light the wicked ones to look for you--and to find you." A few pages later, Whitlaw crouches beneath a palmetto to ambush and rape the young slave (JJW 1: 193, 201-05).

However, Mrs. Trollope reverts to the tradition of "God's own goodness" when good characters are present. In these instances, the forest is Edenic, a place of innocence. Frederick Steinmark, the German immigrant who refuses to use slave labor on his farm, lives "enshrined in the forest" (JJW 1: 310). Mrs. Trollope places Lucy and Edward Bligh in the same shrine when she describes them walking "hand-in-hand through the primeval forest" in the moonlight. They seem to be "spirits of some purer and

holier race, permitted to revisit the land their kindred had lost" (JJW 1: 226). The forest also serves as a refuge, a place of safety, where Lucy and Edward can meet Phebe without being observed by Dart's overseers. When visiting slave cabins on the plantation, Edward and Lucy choose only huts near the woods, to which they can escape should Whitlaw approach the area (JJW 1: 183-200).

The sense of danger felt in the American wilderness is reinforced by prevalent images--and instances--of disease. However, the unhealthy climate also reflects the perceived state of affairs in America and would seem realistic to most readers. As Hamilton says, "New Orleans and yellow fever are as inseparably connected as ham and chicken, and the writer who records his impressions of the one, is expected to say something of the other" (Men and Manners 2: 212). In Domestic Manners, Mrs. Trollope had complained of the "danger of rural excursions." She says, "whenever we found out a picturesque nook . . . we invariably found that that spot lay under the imputation of malaria" (DM 176-77). Earlier in the book, Mrs. Trollope had interrupted her descriptions of forests and mountains to underscore the reputation of the Mississippi River, "that murky stream . . . called 'the deadly;' and well does it seem to merit the title; the air of its shores is mephitic" (DM 32). Her fictional narrator also speaks of the "dismal and unhealthy banks"

of the Mississippi (JJW 1: 22), but then goes further, illustrating the dangers in descriptions of physical suffering. The frail Portia Whitlaw, Jonathan's mother, succumbs to "the foul fiend that haunts the western world in the shape of ague," and she blames life in the backwoods for her chronic chills and fever (JJW 1: 30, 61). Most characters accept the deadly climate as a necessary evil, another obstacle they must face in their attempt to survive. Mrs. Beauchamp faces the danger of fever in New Orleans matter-of-factly and is surprised at the alarm of the English party (Barn 42). The Stormont family of The Old World and the New has suddenly learned that their income will be drastically reduced, and Captain Stormont, despite his knowledge that America's climate "is the scourge of the bold pioneers who seek for wealth, by putting themselves in the van of civilization," decides to risk his family's health for the greater good of financial survival (OW 1: 255).

The worst diseases lurk in the South--the slave states--and it was traditional for travel writers to equate the two. Many, like Murray, use disease metaphors for their discussion of slavery:

This foul stain upon the honour, humanity, and justice of the United States cannot long continue; the disease is deeply rooted, its ramifications extend even to the vitals of the body-politic, and the remedies to be applied are proportionably difficult and dangerous; but they

must be applied . . . or the gangrene will have spread beyond the reach of medicine. (Murray 2: 303)

Hamilton, in similar language, calls slavery "the foulest stain which has ever polluted . . . humanity . . . a noxious exhalation by which their whole atmosphere is poisoned" (Men and Manners 2: 225). Mrs. Trollope uses the same metaphors to comment both on individual locations and on society. Her narrator points out that the state of Louisiana is "infected with the mildew of slavery." The slave trade has turned the white inhabitants of New Orleans into unproductive citizens, "and then, as if their own unholy deeds brought not sufficient punishment, nature sends forth the monster Fever, to stalk through the land, breathing avenging curses with his poisonous breath" (JJW 1: 241; 2: 172). Slave-trading, a crime against nature, must be punished; Nature, with a will for vengeance, orders retribution. Characters, too, speak of disease when describing their surroundings. Edward Bligh tells Lucy his dream of missionary work among slaves, "journeying through the regions where this plague-spot of our country is the darkest" (JJW 1: 172). The metaphor of disease, especially plague, used for the slave states was common: reviewers of travel works use language that echoes the narratives themselves. McCulloch, for example,

reviewing Stuart's Three Years for the Edinburgh Review (a periodical generally sympathetic to America), condemns slavery as "the plague spot in American society" (478).

As the disease imagery serves as a commentary on the slave system, other imagery demonstrates the shortcomings of democracy. Most travel writers deplore the sameness they see in the American landscape. For instance, Hamilton reports that Louisiana is "dreary and monotonous . . . A more wretched place it is impossible to conceive" (Men and Manners 2: 237). When a particular scene seems pleasing, the traveller is prone to use the word "variety" to express approval. The sameness Mrs. Trollope observes generally represents the leveling effects of democracy; like other travellers longing for England and her eccentricities, she values variety (see Hall, Travels 1: 80). She finds America barren, desert-like. New Orleans seems pleasant at first, "a great city rising on the banks of a majestic river," but "penetrate a very little beyond the surface, and where is the barren rock or desert moor that does not show a spectacle more cheering?" (JJW 2: 171-72). The traditional image of the desert as a place of spiritual emptiness seems strange for the lush forests and busy rivers of America, but Mrs. Trollope finds the juxtaposition suits her purpose.

When the land agent Mr. Evans shows Robert Stormont an unimproved lot in Hamilton County, Stormont is disappointed. Although Evans, the tasteless American, calls it an "elegant lot," echoing the senior Whitlaw's satisfaction with Mohanna Creek, Stormont finds it "hideous." He muses, "Where was the dear variety which the human heart so loved? It was all briars and brakes! Tall grass and tall trees! North, south, east and west--all, all, all the same" (OW 1: 235). The repetitions underscore the sameness. Many of Mrs. Trollope's other English characters experience a similar overwhelming sense of monotony, and such wearisome sameness eventually becomes a conventional aspect of the American scene. Dickens uses it to portray the oppressive atmosphere of America in Martin Chuzzlewit where Martin and Mark, as they approach Eden, find "monotonous desolation." By combining this sense of monotony with disease imagery, Dickens shows this land unfit for human habitation:

A flat morass . . . a marsh on which the good growth of the earth seemed to have been wrecked and cast away, that from its decomposing ashes vile and ugly things might rise; where the very trees took the aspect of huge weeds, begotten of the slime from which they sprung . . . where fatal maladies . . . came forth . . . where even the blessed sun, shining down on festering elements of corruption and disease, became a horror. . . . (375; ch. 23)

Many travel writers had experienced a sense of claustrophobia in America. Like them, Mrs. Trollope suggests that the monotony of the forest resembles a prison, and she shows her English characters feeling confined in this seemingly boundless land. The narrator, also uncomfortable, describes Whitlaw's settlement on the river as surrounded by "innumerable tall, slender trees, between whose stems the eye could not penetrate two hundred yards in any direction" (JJW 1: 10). Ironically, the sense of imprisonment is strongest in The Old World and the New, the one novel where English characters come to settle permanently in the States. As the Stormonts inspect property for their proposed farm, knowing they will not return to England, they experience a sense of hopelessness. When looking at Mr. Evans's "elegant lot," they see only an "endless world of middling-sized tall trees . . . [whose] uncomely stems reared themselves like poles in a gigantic nop-ground, amidst the pale, brown, lanky grass that surrounded them." This potential settlement is cut off from "the light and air of heaven . . . by the thousands of lanky trees which, having nearly stifled one another, seem to have formed a conspiracy to prevent the wholesome vegetation of everything else." Katherine worries that Robert Stormont will buy this

unimproved property, which she regards as a "hateful wilderness in which she presumed it was his intention to bury them" (OW 1: 248, 271, 250).

It was unnecessary for Katherine to inspect the land Robert was considering before she could imagine being buried in the "hateful wilderness." Her reaction conforms to the English stereotype of a wild and fearful America. This view is reflected in the attitude of Clementina Maitland, a minor (and foolish) character in The Old World and the New, who believes Robert is insane to emigrate. Convinced that life in America would tear Mary "from all that can make life desirable" (OW 1: 121), Clementina fears her cousins will find a land totally at odds with the social world to which they are accustomed. As the novel progresses, Clementina's fears seem justified. Mrs. Trollope, however, is careful to show that any departure from the comforts of home presents perils, and, in fact, that by 1849 America represented less danger than other countries actively experiencing revolution. Clementina emigrates to Paris, rather than to America, and the chaos she finds there is far worse than the backwoods culture experienced by the Stormonts.

Mrs. Trollope makes all the usual connections between the American system and the physical environment, such as those between the American slave system and disease, between democracy and the sameness of landscape features,

and between a brutal natural world and the uncivilized impulses of its inhabitants. Her emphasis is on the inhospitable environment exerting control over the actions of characters. With neither domestication nor civilization, the inhabitants of the United States have little moral sense; the absence of society in thinly populated parts of America destroys whatever decent impulses may exist. For example, the narrator of The Refugee in America explains Colonel Smith's apathy by referring to "that habitual selfishness, which characterises a thinly-peopled country" (3: 173). All four novels are notable for the absence of the wholesome rural scene of most early nineteenth-century English novels. The hypocritical Reverend Wilson, his son Robert, and the depraved Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw are all products of country life. Mrs. Trollope's narrator, speaking of the young Wilson, explains that "a very confined sphere of action, and a very limited circle of associates, will suffice for the complete corruption of a genuine Atheist" (Ref 2: 91). The refined and intelligent Steinmarks find material fortune and physical comfort in America, but no companions for either intellectual or emotional satisfaction. Mary Steinmark, uncomplaining, enters "into frequent and familiar intercourse with neighbors whose minds she knew could not comprehend the language of hers, and to whom therefore her mind never

spoke" (JJW 1: 96). In The Refugee in America, the Gordon party leaves the unsocial town of Rochester, "where the men spit, and chew tobacco, and the women talk of nothing but 'helps' and the 'last sermon'" (2: 108). After a detour to view the wild and dangerous Niagara, they visit Washington, where they are finally able to stay at a hotel (as opposed to inns, boarding houses, and rented rooms) and hire a carriage. The hardships of their stay in the United States up to this point have been more social than physical; at last they feel they have encountered a semblance of civilized life. However, American society, even at the highest level, disappoints them. When the President has a reception, English visitors expect him to be selective in his invitations. Thus, the Gordons are surprised at their fellow guests at the White House who "were of a class that in other countries would have been excluded from such a presence . . . the exterior circle of all looked very much as if they had entered by accident, from having missed the door of the whiskey shop" (Ref 3: 106-07).

The primitive physical environment produces characters who, to the British mind, have more in common with wild animals than with human beings. The narrator of The Refugee in America finds Robert Wilson "a noxious reptile" (2: 90). Americans from the southern states, customarily known in England as physically and

intellectually lethargic, are epitomized in The Barnabys in America by Colonel Beauchamp who has interest only in his cigar and piquet game; his "mental energies" approximate "the condition of those of a dormouse" (80). Only exceptionally admirable characters, like Emily Williams, have domesticated traits. Caroline, referring to Emily, asks: "Are we not fortunate to have found such a singing bird in the wilderness?" Lord Darcy, in love, sees "the young republican" in more passive terms, comparing her to "a delicate flower that they had found in the forest, transplanted and cherished, till it had become fairer than any the garden could offer" (Ref 2: 100, 293). Secure in his belief that Emily flourishes only because of them, he sees the English party improving on nature; his garden imagery has the sense that cultivation brings beauty, happiness, and domestication to wild America. The American characters in The Old World and the New, who are designed as less threatening and more amusing than those in earlier works, are compared to tame animals. For instance, at his first meeting with Robert Stormont, the Ohio land agent Colonel Sykes kicks the hotel door closed with "his right foot, which he raised in the manner of an obedient horse who knows himself about to be shod" (1: 278-79).

Mrs. Trollope also shows her approval of virtuous characters by removing some of the threats the wilderness places in the way of other Americans. The environment of the admirable characters tends to resemble the idealized country life of English settings. The Kentucky farm of Henry Bligh, a good man, is "a fine arable and pasture farm, the neat and careful cultivation of which might have reminded a European of the fertile fields of England" (JJW 1: 162). When the Stormonts first encounter a view that pleases them, they compare it with Europe: it "would have been hailed as beautiful either on the Danube, or the Rhine, or any other of the most richly storied rivers of Europe" (OW 2: 9). Americans, however, destroy their beautiful environment with tasteless, utilitarian "improvements." Mrs. Trollope had lamented this destruction of natural beauty in Domestic Manners, where, in describing the scene of a new factory, she had used the battlefield imagery traditional for the clash between man and nature:

It looks as if the demon of machinery, having invaded the peaceful realms of nature, had fixed on Lockport as the battleground on which they should strive for mastery. . . . Nature is fairly routed and driven from the field, and the rattling, crackling, hissing, splitting demon has taken possession. . . . (DM 378)

She returns to the Americans' invasion of "the peaceful realms of nature" in The Refugee in America when the tasteful Frenchwoman, Madame de Clairville, urges Caroline

to visit Niagara before a mill is built on the falls. "If the Americans were to invade Italy," Mme. de Clairville tells her young friend, "we should soon hear of their melting lead, or softening iron, over the crater of Vesuvius" (2: 200).

However, the later novels show none of the conventional traveller's distress at interference with Nature's realm. When tasteful, civilized Europeans improve, there is cultivation rather than destruction. These Europeans cooperate with Nature, and Nature responds by treating them well. For example, Steinmark's farm is self-sufficient, operating outside American political and social institutions. The estate is "the best cultivated and most productive in the neighborhood," prospering in response to the loving labor of Steinmark's family, unassisted by slaves. Steinmark had come to the United States a poor man, but in less than ten years "was now in a very fair way of becoming a very rich one" (JJW 1: 88, 80). His exemplary family domesticates the landscape and transforms it, with Nature's enthusiastic assistance, into a habitable, comfortable, human, civilized place. They dine on wild strawberries, salad from their kitchen garden, and cream from their daughter Lotte's dairy. Similarly, the first spring at Bloomfield Knoll, the

Stormonts' new home, is marked by extraordinary fecundity: "The cows calved, the ewes lambed; the geese, the ducks, and the hens all laid eggs, and all hatched . . ." (OW 2: 169).

In general, however, America has few such pleasant comforts. Shaped partly by its tasteless inhabitants and partly by a vengeful Nature, the environment in turn produces disagreeable citizens. While Mrs. Trollope's treatment of the American character, like her treatment of their environment, draws heavily on convention and stereotype, it also reflects her need for retaliation for her experiences in America and her characteristic need to expose the "follies and foibles of society" (Rev. of Charles Chesterfield 740). Yet, except for the unmitigated cruelty of the plantation owner Colonel Dart and his overseer, her American characters are less harshly drawn than her sinister portrayal of the natural world would lead one to expect.

Chapter 5

Characters

Although the American character traits Mrs. Trollope emphasizes in her novels are generally commonplace, noted by many travel writers and believed in by most English readers, her narrator often pauses to interpret them as if her audience were still unfamiliar with Americans. The narrator explains that "this experiment of looking on upon a state of society so greatly unlike our own, gives an excellent opportunity for studying the elasticity of the human mind" (OW 2: 32). Studying Americans with an explorer's eye, as specimens of another form of life, she attributes their coarseness to the primitive, backwoods atmosphere in which they live. She generally places them in a lower category than Europeans in the chain of being; these barbarians are often childlike, always undisciplined, sometimes comic, always (unless willing to assimilate to English standards) disagreeable. Her explanations emphasize the more unpleasant traits and extend acceptance of the stereotypically backwards American. When compared with the Americans portrayed in travel accounts, however, they seem more amusing than

depraved. Mrs. Trollope generally treats them with more good-nature and humor than does the conventional travel writer, who finds these creatures bordering on the savage.

English readers of Mrs. Trollope's works had a vague notion that Americans were somehow rude and unsociable; she showed these readers concrete instances of such behavior. Her American characters, in their primitive, sometimes childlike way, reveal a full range of stereotypic faults. They speak a debased form of English, are excessively proud of a dangerous form of government, are obsessed with making money (to the exclusion of more refined activities), eat in a disorderly way, and take excessive interest in affairs that by English standards should be private. Martin Chuzzlewit's observation of Americans "stubbornly neglecting little social observances" (536; ch. 34) probably stems from the same widespread notions Mrs. Trollope's readers found validated in her American novels, rather than from any particular incident Dickens witnessed on his trip. Mrs. Trollope's own deportment, however, was an ongoing target of contemporary reviewers. For example, the New Monthly Magazine reviewer of Domestic Manners accuses her of being "indecent and revolting," "pert, coarse, and prurient," and "inconsistent with delicacy" ("Americans and Mrs. Trollope" 452). Reviewing The Vicar of Wrexhill, Mrs. Trollope's attack on evangelical clergymen, Thackeray

says that he wishes she had "remained at home, pudding-making or stocking-mending, than have meddled with matters which she understands so ill" ("Our Batch of Novels" 79). William Empson is more specific. He opens his review of Domestic Manners with sarcastic comments on an indecorous woman and her children travelling without a husband and father, but with "her friend, a Mr. H." He mentions her "contempt for household cares" and her "absentee and migratory state," then pronounces her unfit to judge "healthy domestic life" (480, 521). Each of these reviewers implies that her behavior is inconsistent with a woman's place in the world.

In a very limited sense, they are correct. Mrs. Trollope's private life truly was unconventional, at odds with accepted standards for a woman. At the same time, however, she assumed a pose of social superiority, finding the Americans' greatest failing "the want of refinement" (DM 47) which pervades all aspects of their conduct, from their obsession with money and their invasion of privacy to their crude taste in literature and their barbarian table manners. In the tradition of earlier novelists such as Ann Radcliffe and Jane Austen, Mrs. Trollope uses levels of "taste" and "refinement" as moral judgments. The fictional society in her America embodies and encourages a "universal deficiency in good

manners" (DM 156), and her judgment of character includes an implicit judgment of the society that formed such a character.

On the other hand, Mrs. Trollope's British characters tend to be refined and intelligent, sharing her readers' values. These British characters have reached a level of sophistication unmatched in America. In The Refugee in America, however, they are not necessarily more virtuous than vulgar Americans, who seem merely naughty, selfish, rude, gullible children whose limited social graces make social interaction an ordeal. The conniving Nixon Oglander, the hypocritical and murderous Reverend Mr. Wilson, and the vicious Dally are all English. In addition, the English heroine, Caroline Gordon, generally acts like a spoiled child, and for most of the first volume readers believe that Lord Darcy is an escaped murderer. Although the attempts on Darcy's life take place in lawless America, the perpetrators are English. Unsophisticated Americans serve as comic characters, excused because of their poor breeding; they resemble the Americans of Domestic Manners who had provided Mrs. Trollope with "an almost inexhaustible source of amusement" (DM 157).

Four years later, however, in Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, Mrs. Trollope shows total depravity in American characters, without a trace of "amusement," and explicitly

connects cruel, sadistic actions to the untamed environment. Her narrator explains that Whitlaw's evil traits exceed any generally known on either side of the Atlantic. As a young man, he "had already acquired as general a character for dissolute libertinism as it would have required at least twice his age to collect round any one name amidst the more slowly developed vices of Europe." His cruelty to the slaves of Colonel Dart's Paradise Plantation is excessive even by Mississippi standards and "was spoken of with loathing and abhorrence even at Natchez." Colonel Dart is no better. He "liked to watch the flogging of his slaves; and notice was regularly given him by the various overseers when anything of the kind worth looking at was going on" (JJW 1: 142; 2: 12). The only unequivocally good characters in Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw are the German, Frederick Steinmark, and his family. The Steinmarks, refusing to own slaves, have no social contact with their American neighbors except for Clio, Whitlaw's submissive, hard working aunt, and Lucy and Edward Bligh. These three are virtuous, but they all lack the intelligence needed to cope with the barbaric institutions of their own land.

In the two later novels Mrs. Trollope uses a more complex treatment of character. It becomes difficult not only to generalize about characters on the basis of nationality but also to predict the visitors' reactions to

American society. Her judgment of the American people seems to have softened as her experiences in America are further behind her and as the idea of America and Americans has become more acceptable to English readers. She passes over the sadism and depravity of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, returning instead to a portrayal of Americans as rude, gullible comics, treating them even more kindly than she had in The Refugee in America. Her European characters are no longer divided between schemers and paragons of virtue but are designed to evoke mixed feelings from readers.

In The Barnabys in America, the most successful of the four novels, Mrs. Trollope's British heroine, Martha Barnaby, is vulgar and untruthful, but intelligent and someone readers are meant to enjoy, if not admire. The Times reviewer, like many of Mrs. Trollope's readers, finds Martha Barnaby "amiably disagreeable" and "delightfully disgusting" (5). The English are the scoundrels in this novel, as they were in The Refugee in America, but now they are merely conniving and selfish, not murderous. Major Barnaby is his wife's equal partner in every scheme; their daughter Patty is silly and self-centered; and their son-in-law Don Tornorino is characterized only by "a love of ease, and, indeed, of indulgence of all kinds." Their companion Matilda Perkins is a classic spinster who imagines America as a land "of

abounding husbands," and she is obsessed with finding one for herself. Minor characters with limited moral sensibilities, such as Patty and Matilda, have a wonderful time in America, while the sensitive and intelligent Louisa Perkins, who had resisted accompanying the group, is unhappy and homesick (Barn 30, 32, 35). In contrast to the unrelenting dark view of Americans she had presented in Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, Mrs. Trollope uses light comedy for The Barnabys in America; the worst Americans here are guilty only of gullibility and inordinate pride. At first, Martha Barnaby and her husband, who have come to America believing in a stereotype of simple folk, worry that they have been mistaken. It's much easier to cheat at cards in London, the Major tells Martha, because "there's a population of flats, with just a respectable sprinkling of sharps. . . . But [in America] the whole population . . . strikes me as being sharps. . . ."

Later, when Mrs. Barnaby's own schemes prove more successful than his, the Major feels secure. He enthusiastically tells her: "I think I am more heartily in love with you than ever. . . . We shall be living upon roses here. . . . in this blessed land . . . we shall make money and spend none" (Barn 82, 157-58). The comedy is based on the Barnabys' accomplishment of their schemes despite the well-known American propensity for minute scrutiny of visitors' daily habits. This "great blemish

in the popular mind," Dickens says, should be restated as "Universal Distrust" (American Notes 224). As Hamilton had observed,

I know of no country in which an impostor would have a more difficult game to play in the prosecution of his craft, and should consider him an accomplished deceiver, were he able to escape detection amid observation so vigilant and acute. (Men and Manners 1: 125)

In Mrs. Trollope's final American novel, The Old World and the New, the pattern becomes even more complex. The admirable English emigrants meet Americans who share their values, and the Stormont family is able to settle happily in Ohio and find a social world which approximates the one they left behind. Although they also meet the usual offensive characters, they are able to develop a close relationship with their neighbors, the Wainwright family. In addition, Katherine finds a congenial companion in the young Geraldine Reynolds. The portrayal of Americans has radically changed since The Refugee in America, where only Emily was socially acceptable; in The Old World and the New, offenders are merely curiosities. The land agent Colonel Sykes, for example, is as inquisitive and avaricious as Americans portrayed in earlier works, yet he is by no means unpleasant, and the Stormonts learn to like and trust him (OW 1: 291-96).

While one cannot easily correlate the virtues of Mrs. Trollope's characters with their nationalities, the narrator of each novel is clearly British and unequivocally represents English standards of proper behavior. When telling of the experiences of European visitors to America, she mimics the note-taking foreigner of the popular travel narrative. Since travel narratives had customarily stressed the importance of information about America for a presumably uninformed English public, Mrs. Trollope had justified Domestic Manners (and emphasized the barbarity of the American people and customs) by saying, "the American character has not been much more deeply studied than that of the Anthropophagi" (DM 99). After the success of Domestic Manners, she continued in her fiction to study "the American character," presenting the natives as curiosities. Her narrators function as sightseers, observing Americans through the refined English eye and conveying information about their boorish deportment to English readers. As outsiders, these narrators maintain the reportorial, detached tone of the travel writer when describing American character traits and customs. Mrs. Trollope's emphasis is as much on the exotic aspects of these primitive people as it is on their crude behavior; thus, at times, the novels resemble a cultural or anthropological study. For example, her narrator's

introduction of Jonathan Whitlaw describes him as settling "himself in his ill-fitting attire with sundry of those jerks and tugs incomprehensible to all who have not looked at the natives of the New World face to face" (JJW 1: 8). By characterizing him as a "native," she makes him an object of study, a tourist attraction. Later, the narrator observes that Americans are "haunted" by an "instinctive fear of 'getting into trouble.'" This instinct, she continues, may be "one of the kind provisions of nature, which is often found to furnish those creatures with the power of defence who are peculiarly exposed to danger" (JJW 1: 68). At this point, Mrs. Trollope is treating "those creatures" as another order of life, somewhere lower than civilized humans in the chain of being. They even speak a different language.

Mrs. Trollope's rendering of American dialect emphasizes its crudeness, in accordance with the common perception among English readers that the American language is a corruption of their native tongue. Her examples of unusual words or idiom highlight misunderstandings between the Americans and the British, especially when American characters use expressions designed to show American culture as not only foreign but also barbaric. A few of these expressions are based on direct observation noted in Domestic Manners; others are created for effect. Emily's mother, Mrs. Williams, uses

speech patterns that approximate standard English syntax, but her vocabulary seems strange to English ears. When Mr. Wilson gives Emily permission to travel with the Gordons, Mrs. Williams tells him, "Why, brother, I am downright consternated to hear you. . . . You should retrospect, brother Wilson. . . . Her going after these suspected people would never be obliviaded" (Ref 2: 257). Miss Duncomb, the religious spinster, has a similar facility for unusual verbs. She says the young Robert Wilson is "prayerfully disposed . . . and were we advanced enough to missionize from this, I cannot realize that there is any one more fit to promote christianization among the heathen, and to happify his converts" (Ref 2: 84). Jonathan Whitlaw is even less correct, reflecting his more primitive origins. In an attempt to appropriate part of the Steinmark estate, he says to Frederick, "I expect maybe that you arn't much of a cultivator after all; but what I comed for, neighbour, was to ask which side of the hollow that lies in the bush between your lands and mine I should run my zig-zag?" Steinmark, the German, replies with perfect English diction: "I believe, sir, I shall be able to show you where your fence should be placed" (JJW 1: 99-100).

Although travel writers complained only of being annoyed at hearing ungrammatical expressions or nasal accents, Mrs. Trollope goes further and uses the speeches

in her novels to show American thought as unrefined. She often uses American expressions with connotations that will give British readers a sense of the moral depravity of those who speak American English, then has her narrator "translate" those expressions to accentuate their foreignness. For instance, in The Refugee in America a coachman refers to the Gordon party luggage as the "plunder of the English folks." The narrator explains that "plunder" is "the usual expression when speaking of luggage" (Ref 1: 31). The connotations of "plunder" for English readers stimulate both the Gordon party and Mrs. Trollope's readers to take offense. By calling it "the usual expression" and generalizing so that it might apply to all rude Americans, she makes her point. She further offends the squeamish among her audience when, in Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, her rendering of American dialect borders on the scatological. Her narrator explains that for Americans "the taking possession of any heretofore unappropriated land" is called "squat in the bush" (JJW 1: 5).

Although exceptionally good American characters, like Emily Williams, Annie Beauchamp, and Geraldine Reynolds, speak standard English, admire British culture, and feel inferior to British characters, the less admirable Americans take excessive and unwarranted pride in their own customs and government, thus reinforcing another

stereotype familiar to readers of travel literature.

While English characters, secure in the knowledge of their own superiority, seem reasonable, Mrs. Trollope makes fun of most Americans' sense that each one is

"a representative of the very greatest nation upon earth"

(Ref 1: 154). Again and again the visitors meet foolish

Americans like Mr. Gabriel Monkton who finds it "very

pleasant and agreeable, to be first and foremost of all

the people of the earth" (Barn 290). This sense of

superiority is linked with the Americans' well-known

gullibility and provide Major and Mrs. Barnaby with an

opportunity for swindling that is unprecedented in their

scheming British career. Mrs. Beauchamp tells Martha

Barnaby,

there is still one way in which an English gentlemen [sic], or lady either, might put everybody of all countries in the world behind them in the point of fame; and that is by writing an out-and-out good book of travels upon the United States. . . . There would be no end to the dollars as would be made by it. (Barn 46)

Of course, Mrs. Beauchamp makes it clear that such a book must contradict earlier, unflattering accounts.

Mrs. Barnaby takes the cue, and her scheme begins to take shape. The Barnabys' fellow guests at Judge Johnson's party are delighted to meet a potential travel writer who will correct the "vile abominable lies and slanders" of previous "travelling authors" (Barn 101). In a direct

allusion to the reception of her own work, Mrs. Trollope has Mrs. Beauchamp tell Annie that patriotic Americans like themselves should assist Martha Barnaby in order to rectify the "national calamity":

I'll give any one leave to judge what it must be to the feelings of a free people, who know themselves to be the finest nation in the wor'd, to have one atrocious, unprincipled monster after another, come and write volumes upon volumes, in order to persuade the rest of the world that we are lots behind-hand with everybody, instead of being, as we really are, first and foremost of the whole world. (Barn 66)

Each person they meet tries to help them, and the Barnabys explain that financial assistance will ensure speedy publication.

The interest in being "first and foremost," however, applies more frequently to material possessions than to democratic ideals. In Domestic Manners, Mrs. Trollope had noted, with typical animal imagery, that all Americans are obsessed with making money: "every bee in the hive is actively employed in search of that honey of Hybla, vulgarly called money; neither art, science, learning, nor pleasure can seduce them [Americans] from its pursuit." Later, she explains that "this universal pursuit of money" leads to "a sordid tone of mind, and, worse still, it produces a seared and blunted conscience on all questions

of probity" (DM 43, 301). Perhaps remembering her own disaster at the hands of cheating workmen when constructing the bazaar, she notes,

where every class is occupied in getting money, and no class in spending it, there will neither be leisure for worshipping the theory of honesty, nor motive strong enough to put its restrictive doctrines in practice. Where every man is engaged in driving hard bargains with his fellows, where is the honoured class to be found. . . ? (DM 359)

One wonders if her observations would have been different had her own scheme succeeded.

Mrs. Trollope treats the mercenary instincts of the Americans as inborn characteristics. For example, when Mr. Gordon is bargaining with Mrs. Oaks, the narrator explains the landlady's behavior: "Mrs. Oaks bit her thumb nail, hesitated, and almost gave herself up to a fair bargain; but . . . her national genius prevailed" (Ref 1: 192). Major and Mrs. Barnaby's success in swindling Americans is remarkable, says the narrator, because American "soil [is] rather more famed for acquiring money than for yielding it" (Barn 271). American characters openly acknowledge this obsession with money. When Major Barnaby praises republican government, in an attempt to ingratiate himself with New Yorkers, the Americans are bored. One gentleman explains, "We don't care a cent about principles, having quite enough to do, looking after

principal" (Barn 268). "Looking after principal" is indeed their chief occupation, to the point where, as the narrator of The Old World and the New explains,

the divorce between a dollar and the hand of the person who actually possesses it, so very rarely happens gratuitously beneath the shadow of the Stars and the Stripes, that it is not very readily that any freeborn republican can be brought to believe that such an event is really going to occur. (1: 304-05)

Another native characteristic appears in the stereotype of inquisitive Americans. Their intrusive curiosity stems partly from distrust, but mostly from congenital rudeness. In Domestic Manners, Mrs. Trollope had complained of "perpetual, and most vexatious" invasions of her privacy (DM 100). Other travellers were equally distressed to find the customary British distinction between public and private behavior absent in the United States. Dickens wrote at length to John Forster about curious Americans who constantly watched his movements (Letters 3: 87). When fictionalizing this curiosity, he frames incidents which show the intrusion not only on privacy and sensibilities, but also on hygiene. In Martin Chuzzlewit, when Mr. Chollop makes himself comfortable in Martin's cabin, Dickens describes the intruder as "labouring under the not uncommon delusion, that for a free and enlightened citizen of the United States to convert another man's house into a spittoon for two or three hours together, was a delicate

attention, full of interest and politeness" (522; ch. 33). Such invasions also plague the characters in Mrs. Trollope's novels, especially the Stormonts at Bloomfield Knoll. Although their mansion is not particularly luxurious by European standards, the Ohio natives are fascinated with it. The narrator points out that, "unlike the generality of [the Americans'] forest edifices, [the house] was designed with taste, arranged with judgement." After their new home is complete, the Stormonts are inundated with sightseers (OW 2: 170, 252-53).

The American custom of "constant living in public" deplored by Fanny Kemble (Journal 1: 256) has been institutionalized. Even Andrew Jackson travels in a public steamboat, "the decent dignity of a private conveyance not being deemed necessary for the President of the United States" (DM 142). One cannot have meals in one's room at a boarding house because the Americans have "stringent prohibitions against private eating." When Katherine asks that Robert have supper upstairs, the cook bluntly tells her, "All men are free and equal in this country, and my boss don't approbate Britishers coming here and giving themselves airs as if the rightful holders of the country wern't the best people in it" (OW 1: 300-01, 1: 303-04).

The visitors in each novel are subjected not only to physical intrusions, but also to the same kind of unrelenting personal questions documented by travel writers. The Americans' "insatiable curiosity" (OW 1: 220), seen by readers as an integral part of the native culture, is highlighted by Mrs. Trollope's narrator, who calls it the "usual transatlantic process of interrogation" (Barn 48), the "national catechism" (JJW 2: 29; Barn 319), the "inquisitorial examination" (OW 1: 221), "the national cross-examination, to which all strangers are subjected" (Barn 292), or the "national peculiarity" (OW 1: 220). The narrator of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw characterizes America as "a country where one half of the intercourse between man and man consists in asking questions" (JJW 1: 68). When Arthur refuses to cooperate with the prying Mrs. Scraggs, she proudly tells him, "you will not be that long in the Union before you find out that a lady what wishes for information never gives up the point till she has got it: and the gents neither. . . . We consider this as a proof of moral courage, my dear . . ." (OW 1: 183).

Mrs. Trollope also studies the feeding habits of these American creatures. The rapid eating and lack of conversation at meals are but symptoms of the lack of order, or decorum, that offends British sensibilities. Over and over, her narrators describe "the national

rapidity" of meals (Ref 3: 176), treating this speed as a native custom. A breakfast in The Refugee in America "occupied twenty minutes, [but] it was at least double its ordinary duration" (Ref 1: 174). At first, the speed with which his fellow boarders finish their meal astonishes Major Barnaby, but he soon learns to accommodate himself to eating at "the usual American pace" (Barn 54-55, 238). Mrs. Trollope's characters find the speed strange, but are not repulsed: the narrator discusses American eating habits merely as a concession to verisimilitude. In contrast to Dickens's "decidedly dirty feeders" (MC 535; ch. 34), Mrs. Trollope's harshest image is in The Old World and the New, where Robert Stormont, intending humor, calls the boarding house meal a "monster meeting" (1: 300).

The mildly boorish behavior of these "native" (white) Americans seems worse, however, when contrasted with the gentleness and instinctive dignity of blacks and Indians, studied as specimens of a sub-culture in America. Such studies appealed to early Victorian curiosity: George Catlin's Indian Gallery and James Fenimore Cooper's novels were both greatly successful in England at this time (Catlin, intro. 61). The Athenaeum reviewer of Catlin's Letters pronounces the Indian Gallery "the most interesting Exhibition which, in our recollection, had been opened in London" (755). Acknowledging the public

appetite for information about exotic peoples, Mrs. Trollope details their customs. Her Indians possess an innocent version of English taste and sensibility, while the slaves follow ancient rituals which have primitive powers.

Mrs. Trollope attributes mysterious powers of intuition to the slaves, who use their magic only for good purposes. A cooperative slave, speaking "like an oracle from its shrine," gives Caroline Gordon information about Dally's movements (Ref 3: 203). Nina, Annie's slave in The Barnabys in America, warns Annie about the impending slave rebellion and saves Annie's life. Colonel Dart's slave Juno, the most fully developed of Mrs. Trollope's black characters, is fully in touch with primitive emotions and uses her knowledge to exert a measure of control over Dart and Whitlaw "by playing upon the terrors which ever lie crouching in the mind of a bad man." Her tactics succeed. Whitlaw

loathed her . . . he scorned her . . . he hated her . . . but stronger than all was, nevertheless, the sentiment which made him shrink from her mockings and mysteries, and yet bend and servilely crawl before them.

He believes himself "in the power of a hateful sorceress, leagued with the devil, and in some sort his vicegerent here on earth" (JJW 2: 1-2, 17). The powers attributed to the slaves, however, are more psychological than practical. In The Refugee in America, the runaway slave

Billy Johnson leads Mr. Gordon to "Sambo's den," a hut unknown to white characters, where Dally is preparing to torture and kill Lord Darcy (3: 247). With the aid of four blacks, Gordon is able to rescue Darcy, but he fails to secure Dally; thus, the threat remains. Juno's power is rendered more dramatically than that of these runaway slaves, but she, too, is only partially successful. Her psychological manipulation of Whitlaw saves Phebe's life, but the old slave cannot help Edward. When Juno convinces Steinmark, in spite of his firm refusal to participate in the slave system, to buy Caesar so the lovers can be near one another (JJW 2: 161-70), readers are only momentarily relieved. Both Caesar and Phebe are still subject to the miseries of the slave system.

While the blacks are mysterious and primitive, the Indians are romanticized into gentle, loving, wise, and noble creatures. Mrs. Trollope's narrator describes Watawanga, the Stormont's neighbor, as possessing "that touching look of gentleness so remarkable in the Red Indian" (OW 3: 301). Most of Mrs. Trollope's English characters, repelled by boorish Americans, find the Indians fascinating, though more as artifacts than as persons. Egerton, the other English traveller in The Barnabys in America, attempts to make conversation with Annie Beauchamp. When she ignores him, he says to himself, "The negroes and Indians are the only interesting

part of the population . . ." (Barn 65). Captain Stormont is delighted with Oranego as an object of study, a "remarkable specimen of a savage man" (OW 2: 240). The Indians in Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw are merely "picturesque" stereotypes who "may be seen sadly and silently gazing upon the wide expanse that was once their own" (JJW 2: 28-29). Except for Watawanga (assimilated) and Oranego (an English country gentleman in disguise), Mrs. Trollope's Indians are quaint relics of the romantic tradition. Like the Indians of travel accounts, they are neither dirty nor rude, but merely gentle creatures whose claims to their own lands have been lost due to their naive, good-natured trust in the white man. Their culture is charming, representing a simple but admirable civilization, sharply contrasting with the barbaric culture that surrounds them. Lucy Bligh, running away from Whitlaw, finds herself between the overseer and four Choctaw Indians. Through the juxtaposition of the gentle savages and the sadistic overseer, Mrs. Trollope emphasizes the innocence and simplicity of the Choctaws. Lucy chooses to rely on their protection because "the general appearance of the civilized man [Whitlaw] . . . terrified her even more than the painted and scarred features of the Indians." The "hospitable savages" not only protect her, but also share their dinner. Their tasteful dining service is formed "by twisting the bright

leaves of a tulip-tree together, till such a pretty pattern of a basket-plate was formed as Mr. Wedgwood might have purchased at high cost" (JJW 3: 132, 136).

Even the more fully developed Indian characters conform to models in the minds of Mrs. Trollope's readers. The Indians of these novels are inferior to whites only because they lack sophistication; their understanding of nature surpasses that of their supposedly civilized conquerors. Watawanga wears European clothing and speaks faultless English; nevertheless, his behavior resembles that of the noble savage. His ape-like ability to swing from branches enables him to rescue Arthur Stormont and Oranego after their fall over the cliff. When the other rescuers arrive, it seems as if both Oranego and the child are dead; however, Watawanga knows what to do and revives the victims (OW 3: 101-04). During Oranego's convalescence, readers learn that he is the Englishman, Warburton, who has assumed this role to be near Katherine. His disguise is based on an Englishman's stereotype of an American Indian. He plays the expected submissive role: he encourages Katherine to treat him condescendingly; stays close to Bloomfield Knoll, anticipating her wishes; and relates better to women and children than to men. He eats dinner with Mary, Katherine, and the children while Robert is away buying sheep, and seems "disposed to domesticate himself" (OW 2: 224). When he brings a forest

of bushes to Bloomfield Knoll, complete with laborers for installation, Katherine is momentarily astonished; however, she easily accepts his explanation that red men have secret powers, "sacred" powers, that he cannot divulge. Her belief in the Indians' communion with the natural world makes it easy for her to be satisfied with his answer. In her approximation of appropriate archaic language for this primitive being, she tells him, "whoever has conveyed yonder moving forest hither, must possess more power or influence, of some sort, than any of the white race with whom we have made acquaintance here" (OW 2: 198, 192).

On the other hand, despite the Indians' virtues, the language used by Mrs. Trollope's characters shows a condescending, patronizing attitude towards these exotic people. Katherine's lecture to her servant Jack Parish, urging kindness and gratitude to Oranego, is based on her sense of noblesse oblige:

He has done us a great service, and we ought to be very grateful. I, myself, do feel very grateful, and I should be very sorry if Oranego, for that is his name, Jack, I should be very sorry, I say, if every body here was not kind and grateful to him also. He knows quite well that he belongs to a savage nation, and that the white people are greatly superior to them in all things, and this, I think, makes him very shy, and apt to take offence too, poor fellow, which I dare say is very natural, though it is what we can't feel, because our situation is so very different. Remember all this, Jack, and be very civil and respectful to him. (OW 2: 223)

The incipient love between Katherine and Oranego serves as a source of tension in The Old World and the New. Mrs. Trollope postpones revealing Oranego's true identity until late in the third volume; thus, readers wonder whether or not Katherine will continue to allow the attentions of this gentle and helpful Indian. Aspasia Wainwright and Watawanga have declared their love for each other, with Katherine's approval (OW 3: 71); nevertheless Katherine, seeing herself as superior to the American girl, is ambivalent about what is proper for herself. Mary, noticing Oranego's attention to Katherine, "felt almost terrified at the idea of an Indian falling desperately in love with her unsuspecting cousin." She has no need to be alarmed, however, because Katherine finds it "utterly . . . revoltingly preposterous" that a "red Indian savage" could be in love with her (OW 2: 225-26, 242). Katherine cannot bear to admit, even to herself, such a possibility.

She felt that there was something almost amounting to the ludicrous in her having thus found an adorer in one whom her European friends would decidedly have described as a wild man of the forest. . . . it was beyond her power to fall in love with a red Indian. . . . (OW 3: 51)

Although Katherine finally forces herself to recognize "the nature of Oranego's devotion," she hopes "the same species of natural repugnance that she felt to the idea of being his wife, would inevitably be experienced on his

side, also." She notes that he is "only too acutely sensible of the gulf which the opinions of the world had placed between her race and his" (OW 2: 253, 243).

As the novel continues, Katherine finds herself more and more attracted to Oranego, finally accepting and enjoying his attentions. When he sets off for a picnic with little Arthur Stormont, without waiting for her, she is disconcerted by "so sudden a transition from unbounded devotion to apparent indifference in one, who despite his colour and his race, she had condescended to consider and to treat as a friend" (OW 3: 89). Her relief when she learns he is her former love Warburton paves the way for wedding bells and the conventional subsequent happiness shared by all characters.

The same kind of condescension shown to Indians is seen in attitudes toward slaves. Although Mrs. Trollope speaks out against the ill treatment of slaves and Indians, she never questions white superiority. The angelic Lucy and Edward Bligh abhor slavery, and Edward's sincere love for the slaves on Paradise Plantation leads him to his death. Despite their goodwill, however, both Lucy and Edward maintain an assumption of their own superiority which they unconsciously reveal by their patronizing language. Edward speaks of Phebe as if he were petting a domestic animal: "Her docility, her gentleness, her intelligence, her piety, and her warm

gratitude, made the office of her instructor perfectly delightful." Lucy refers to Phebe and Caesar as "poor faithful creatures" (JJW 1: 169). There is no evidence that Mrs. Trollope is deliberately ironic; she concurs with Edward and with the Americans that whites are superior to blacks and Indians.

Despite the general portrayal of crude Americans, there are few stereotypic American traits in Mrs. Trollope's American heroines. Emily Wilson, Lucy Bligh, and Annie Beauchamp are all exemplary women. In The Refugee in America, Emily sings after dinner in an astoundingly moving manner, better than "Mrs. Sheridan herself" (2: 100). She is a paragon of womanhood: accomplished, pure, intelligent, and practical. Caroline "had fully intended to have taught Emily music, French, and Italian . . . but unfortunately she could not try the experiment, for she found the little trans-atlantic too far advanced to give her much to do." By the end of the novel, Mr. Gordon is referring to her as "the heroic Emily" (Ref 2: 105; 3: 298). Annie Beauchamp is equally intelligent and witty and well-informed. Lucy Bligh, a bit less clever, is equally virtuous. Edward, on the verge of madness, sees his sister as "the one bright spirit that God had given to cheer and sustain him in his

thorny path" (JJW 2: 40). By the end of each novel, all of these American heroines find life in the United States impossible and settle in Europe.

Nevertheless, some degree of cross-cultural understanding is possible. Louisa Perkins has warm feelings for the "American foreigner," Annie Beauchamp, although Louisa's instinctive British prejudice causes her to wonder whether such admiration were not "almost wrong and unnatural" (Barn 106). In The Old World and the New, the barriers between Americans and British subjects have almost completely faded. The narrator points out that

the social intercourse between the old country and the new, has been rapidly increased, and is still rapidly increasing . . . and the natural and inevitable effect of this has been the formation of many warm and cordial friendships . . . (OW 2: 258)

These "warm and cordial friendships," however, are generally love stories in which a particularly deserving American woman can find her reward across the sea; true understanding still remains difficult. Mr. Gordon, despite his genuine affection for Emily, retains his English sense of hierarchy and questions the propriety of a marriage between Emily and Lord Darcy. Although not revolted, as Mary Stormont was at the idea of love between Katherine and Oranego, neither is he particularly pleased to discover their affection for each other: "He feared that the little republican, notwithstanding her beauty,

her sweetness, and her talents, was hardly such a bride as Lady Darcy would have chosen for her son" (Ref 2: 295).

Emily, unimpressed by Darcy's title, is unable to understand that their marriage poses a problem. She

was quite unconscious of the extreme awkwardness of an English Earl marrying a little creature, picked up in the wilds of America, and had not the slightest notion of the embarrassment likely to arrive, when the coach-maker's heraldic artist should ask, what arms were to be added to the noble shield of Darcy. (Ref 3: 101-02)

Despite these exemplary women, the characteristics Mrs. Trollope ascribes to Americans convey a sense that she, like the typical travel writer, is studying an alien society. Most Americans represent types easily recognized by British readers, and they serve as a reminder of British superiority to the backwards children across the ocean. They also serve as a reminder of the dangers, for Britain, of the democratic system as practiced in the United States. Mrs. Trollope excuses lapses in propriety by placing the blame on a barbarian society which shapes the behavior of its citizens. The Americans' disorderly conduct, more apparent in the earlier novels, represents the dangers inherent in an egalitarian society where individuals have no respect for rank or position. On the other hand, this disorderliness is generally merely annoying; only in her treatment of slavery in Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw does Mrs. Trollope present it as evil. Her more gentle treatment of the Americans than that of

the usual travel account reveals a less vengeful attitude towards the Americans than a superficial reading of these novels would suggest. She places the blame, not on the unfortunates condemned to live under democratic institutions, but on the institutions themselves which have made life unbearable, both for the visitors and for the virtuous natives. In the first three American novels, admirable American characters either die or leave the country. The slave system, or, to be precise, the Lynch Law, is literally responsible for Edward's death. Although Emily successfully challenges her Uncle Wilson's authority and exposes his murderous plot, she finds her true home in England. Lucy, Phebe, Caesar, Annie Beauchamp, and Geraldine Reynolds settle in Europe as well. The American system cannot accommodate virtue.

Chapter 6

American Institutions

Mrs. Trollope, like the typical travel writer, finds American institutions strange and unsettling. In Domestic Manners, she had blamed the American system for her disastrous experiences in the United States: "All this I think could only have happened in America. I am not quite sure that it was desirable it should have happened any where" (DM 153). In her fiction, however, she moves away from explicit condemnation of democracy to a more subtle form of protest. Her indignation at the pernicious influence of the democratic system is shown through dramatized incidents, rather than through outright judgments or commentary, but this indirect approach carries the same message. Her American novels reveal a nation populated by unprincipled individuals whose institutions reflect their moral values in the same way that those individuals reflect the institutions of their backwards land. In other words, the American system she shows is just what her Americans deserve. The merits of those born to power and leisure are meaningless in a land where anyone can become rich and powerful; misplaced power in the hands of sadistic slaveholders perpetuates an

unconscionable system; and women, contrary to assertions of equality for all, have no role in social, intellectual, or political matters. The notion of freedom, in principle a good idea, has been perverted.

In Domestic Manners Mrs. Trollope acknowledges the concern her English contemporaries have for improving the situation of the lower classes, and she warns "the best, the most pious, the most benevolent of my countrymen . . . who conscientiously believe that a greater degree of political and religious liberty . . . would be beneficial" that they are mistaken. Living in the United States would show them their folly, would "teach these mistaken philanthropists to tremble at every symptom of democratic power among us" (DM 358-59). Each novel, by giving concrete instances of crude and ignorant Americans in domineering roles, serves to warn an already somewhat fearful audience that one should indeed "tremble at every symptom of democratic power." Other instances, where particularly wise and capable Americans are defeated by their own system, also reinforce her audience's fears. She suggests that if the democratic system were to extend authority to those--women, for example--who possess the requisite intelligence and refinement to exercise power wisely, the system could work. Unfortunately, however, democracy favors the strong rather than the capable.

In all of these novels, one sees a tension between the British subjects' over-sensitivity to the perceived failings of Americans and the Americans' consistent devaluation of British values. Mrs. Trollope frequently refers to the American notion of British institutions as oppressive. Annie Beauchamp, for example, gets carried away with her patriotic emotions and, referring to emigrants from England, declares,

we know that it pleased the Almighty Mover of nations to cause the estimable remnant of the community to forsake the falling country, when they perceived that it was become unworthy of them, and to seek refuge here . . . those they left . . . [are] the objects of very sincere compassion. (Barn 64)

Like many other Americans, Annie believes English subjects suffer from a cruel and despotic government, soon to be overthrown. A similar prejudice against a hereditary system of government pervades the thinking of other Americans. Colonel Sykes, for one, asks Stormont if he is "one of the fine brave spirits who have made the poor tumble-down old country too hot to hold 'em . . . [because of] rebellion to that unfortunate young woman, your queen, and her brutal, tyrannical government" (OW 1: 292). This widespread American belief in the oppressive institutions of the old world exists simultaneously with another, equally widespread, American belief that visitors to America must be escaped criminals. In The Old World and the New, the Stormonts' fellow boarders speculate about

the English party. Both Mrs. Fish and Mrs. Scraggs are convinced that Robert Stormont must be either an escaped felon or "a king, or a cardinal, running away from the miserable country that he has made too hot to hold him" (OW 1: 195-96).

The British visitors, on the other hand, are equally convinced that their own institutions are superior. Thus, political prejudices on both sides make social gatherings troublesome. When Annie Beauchamp and Egerton first meet, their suspicion of each other is based entirely on stereotypic misconceptions. The "patriot" Annie has "carefully nourished" a "pretty considerable strong prejudice and dislike . . . to the whole English nation in general." Egerton's prejudices against Americans are detailed more precisely; his complaints are designed to echo the prejudices of Mrs. Trollope's English audience.

Egerton

felt too deep-rooted a reverence for the monarchical institutions of his own country, to tolerate the antagonist principles so loudly vaunted. . . . Moreover . . . slavery was abhorrent to every feeling and faculty of his head, heart, and soul. . . . Moreover again, he exceedingly disliked listening to the human voice, when it came to him through the nose of the speaker. (Barn 58-59)

In full agreement with Egerton's "reverence for the monarchical institutions of his own country," where hereditary position results in experienced leadership, Mrs. Trollope deplores the fluid class system and the lack

of continuity of political power in America. She illustrates the effects of a continually changing government by Mr. Gordon's sad discovery that Emily, whose father had recently been a Secretary of State, now knows few people in Washington. The narrator calls attention to this unstable, disorderly system: "A few years only had passed since [Emily's] father had been one of the first among the ephemeral great men of the shifting cabinet, and the short-lived court" (Ref 3: 39). On the other hand, Mrs. Trollope's narrator is more subtle than most travel writers. Basil Hall, for one, claims that the lack of stability in "public service, must of course lessen the motives to useful ambition amongst the persons . . . most competent to exercise power" (Travels 1: 103). Despite the difference in technique, however, both Hall and Mrs. Trollope urge English readers to believe that the democratic process excludes experienced, competent lawmakers and encourages the rise of those who can achieve position through strength rather than merit. Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, the woodcutter's son who rises to become an overseer, serves as a particularly dramatic illustration of the rise of the undeserving. Clio, uncritical of her nephew's sadism, even dreams he will be President some day (JJW 1: 38).

Other examples of the Americans' lack of respect for established avenues of power, combined with their stubborn preference for change over continuity, center on their emphasis on the "old" in "old country," as opposed to the "youthful" virtues of America. When Major Barnaby discusses politics in New York, his acquaintances tell him that the "old worn-out country" is backwards, that England is a "poor, tumble-down, old place" (Barn 267-68). In The Old World and the New, Sykes tells Robert Stormont that Americans occupy "first-rate rank as to courage, and commerce, and advancement in all ways before the other nations as are lagging behind us, like, on account of their not being quite so young as they have been" (1: 290). Mrs. Barnaby, a generation older than Mrs. Trollope's other heroines, encounters this preference for youth more frequently than other English visitors do. As she is pretending to be a writer, it is especially fitting that the American pride in youth should frequently refer to literature, as when Mrs. Beauchamp takes a patronizing attitude to European works, which come from "a soil that is close worked up and worn out" (Barn 46).

While making fun of the American insistence on the virtues of modernity, Mrs. Trollope upholds her own values of age and experience. Her good American characters, such as the wise and patriotic Mr. Conway, a minor character in The Refugee in America, have proper respect for tradition.

He sees his country with "unfledged wings, which shall one day raise her high enough to compete with the ripened strength and wisdom of older countries" (3: 45). However, since it may take some time for the American system to mature and mellow, Mrs. Trollope recommends an immediate increase in the power of women as the most desirable means to a more congenial system. As she had written in her American notebook, she is convinced "the American people will not equal the nations of Europe in refinement till women become of more importance among them" (DM 422).

Mrs. Trollope finds the American system unpleasant, but not hopeless: her novels show a power structure vulnerable to attack from especially wise and capable women. Caroline, searching for Lord Darcy "with her usual promptitude in doing what she liked, and her usual indifference as to what might be the effect on the standers-by" (Ref 3: 198), is able to get information about Dally's movements when the others have failed. The aged slave Juno presents a more serious challenge to the system. She "penetrated to the motives and feelings of those among whom she lived," and because she was able to influence their behavior she became "one of the most important persons at Paradise Plantation" (JJW 2: 13). Colonel Dart "never for an instant conceived the possibility of refusing to do what [Juno] desired," and Juno "never enjoyed herself more than when she saw the

savage, blood-thirsty Colonel Dart fawning upon her as gently as a lamb when bleating to its mother for food" (JJW 3: 3; 2: 85). Whitlaw, less sophisticated than Dart, is even more pliable in the old woman's hands. As he is about to strip and flog Phebe, Juno appears. The terror-stricken Whitlaw immediately releases his victim.

The moment previous to that at which the palsied and decrepit hag entered, Whitlaw stood fearless and undaunted before Heaven, ready to commit the most hideous crimes in defiance of its laws; but now he stood doubting and unnerved before her. . . . (JJW 1: 224)

The narrator later observes, "if all who undertook to rule their fellows studied the ins and outs of human feelings as patiently as old Juno, power as gigantic as Napoleon's might perhaps be seen to sweep over the earth oftener than once in half a dozen centuries" (JJW 2: 2-3). (Although one might assume Mrs. Trollope's comparison of Juno with Napoleon is a negative judgment, it is meant favorably. In Paris and the Parisians, written at almost the same time as Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, she urges the memory of "his [Napoleon's] good rather than his terrible actions" [29].)

At the end of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, Juno, in spite of her position as a slave, achieves revenge. She lures Whitlaw to her cabin with promises to tell him secrets about a potential slave rebellion. Then, when she interrogates him about his sadistic acts, he openly admits

his part both in her granddaughter's suicide and in Edward's lynching. On realizing his error, he starts to attack her, but Juno summons her fellow slaves who jump on him and beat him to death (JJW 3: 225-336). Juno's exceptional intelligence and powers of persuasion, combined with the profound desperation of their situation, have enabled these slaves to overthrow--at least partially--the hated system. They will face their new owner in The Barnabys in America, and since it is the kindly Aunt Clio, there will be no further need for such brutal retaliation.

Mrs. Trollope's sympathy for the oppressed and abused, both in America and (as seen in her other novels) in England, coincides with her preference for a more restrictive society which would control uncivilized, brutal forces such as Whitlaw represents. Throughout Domestic Manners she had pointed out American offenses against what she refers to as "decorum": "All the freedom enjoyed in America, beyond what is enjoyed in England, is enjoyed solely by the disorderly at the expense of the orderly. . . ." She advises "those who have lived in the repose of order . . . without their bawling and squalling, scratching and scrambling" to "bless the gods that they are not republicans" (DM 105-06, 406-07). These pronouncements are typical of the liberal traveller who becomes disillusioned when actually confronting life in

the United States. "Strong, indeed," Mrs. Trollope had written, "must be the love of equality in an English breast if it can survive a tour through the Union" (DM 121). When Mrs. Trollope moves on to fictional characters, she shows them equally disillusioned by America. Their fictional experiences, however, sufficiently demonstrate the evils of the system; authorial comment becomes unnecessary. In one instance after another they encounter Americans refusing to submit to external authority and becoming petty tyrants, perpetuating disorder and injustice.

These novels reveal the problems inherent in a society without the rule of an enlightened, intelligent, and, of course, "refined" class. The uncultured Americans have taken the notion of freedom to mean freedom to do as each one likes; their equation of freedom with license becomes a pattern. In The Refugee in America, when Dally arrives in the United States intent on murdering Darcy, he has no fear of the law. "This is a free country," he says, "and you can't have no prisons here . . ." (2: 246). Although Darcy immediately recognizes his adversary at the President's reception, the Gordons cannot apprehend the man because the Americans will not permit the doors of the White House to be locked. Later, the Gordon party discovers Dally in disguise at Colonel Smith's, but the patriotic Smith refuses to allow Gordon and Darcy to

infringe on Dally's "freedom," saying, "in our country, a man is at liberty to travel just as he likes . . ." (Ref 3: 110-18, 175). Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw uses his freedom to mistreat his property (slaves); and, in a lighter vein, Mrs. Barnaby finds that the land of liberty gives her the freedom to swindle and steal. Mrs. Beauchamp, like other minor characters, finds her freedom limitless. She tells Martha Barnaby that the President "might ask any one of us to do anything from July to eternity, and it would never come into our heads to do it unless indeed for some profitable object of our own" (Barn 78). When Mrs. Barnaby tries to insinuate herself into New Orleans society by hinting she has been presented at court, she learns that this affectation will not help her. Mrs. Beauchamp explains: "a court is a thing we would no more permit in this country than we would the putting of poison into our bread. . . ." Martha Barnaby quickly catches on and publicly denies any interest in "queens and kings, and those sort of people" (Barn 43-45, 133). This statement immediately endears her to Mrs. Carmichael's guests.

Travel writers invariably commented on sanctimonious American rhetoric which extolled the virtues of freedom while denouncing any interference with the freedom to perpetuate slavery. Fanny Kemble, for one, as a first-time visitor to her husband's plantation, deplores

the hypocrisy of slavery in a country "which boasts itself . . . the home of freedom, the one place in all the world where all men may find enfranchisement from all thraldoms . . . the land elect of liberty" (Georgia 10). Dickens uses images of imprisonment, war, and aggression, in a parody of the Declaration of Independence, to make his point. He has harsh words for

hunters engaged in the Pursuit of Happiness . . . [who] go variously armed. It is the Inalienable Right of some among them to take the field after their Happiness, equipped with cat and cart-whip, stocks, and iron collar, and to shout their view halloa (always in praise of Liberty) to the music of clanking chains and bloody stripes. (American Notes 109)

Earlier, Mrs. Trollope had used similar language in her condemnation of Americans who are "with one hand hoisting the cap of liberty, and with the other flogging their slaves" (DM 222). She fictionalizes this conventional pairing of slavery and freedom with a quasi-comic pro-slavery speech which appropriates and perverts the language of democracy:

The glorious principles of our immortal Republic decree, have decreed, and shall decree to the end of time, that the negro race belongs to us by indefeasible right. . . . [English subjects], being slaves themselves, they feel a brother's fondness for the race. . . . shall we . . . the only free-born people on the globe, shall we deign to follow, basely follow, mimic, imitate, and adopt the slavish feelings of such a country as Britain? (Ref 3: 86-87)

All slave owning characters, intent on preserving the system, insist on their own "freedom." "What's freedom for," Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw asks Colonel Dart, "if we can't do what we like with our own born slaves?" (JJW 1: 123). When Juno questions Whitlaw about a sadistic flogging and the possibility that he may have killed one of the slaves, he feels no guilt: "I expect I killed my own slave at any rate;--the loss is mine . . ." (JJW 3: 333). In their confidence that slaves are a form of property, to which they have inalienable rights, Mrs. Trollope's fictional southerners see their slaves as domestic animals. The British do not understand, according to the slave owners, that slaves are not people,

but let some newly-invented process be set in action that should cause the horse, the ox, and the ass of Briton [sic] to turn and reason with his master for making him toil, what would the fierce Islanders say then?--Would they not rise and tear to atoms the agents in such a plot? (JJW 1: 264)

Even Edward Bligh, the missionary, has absorbed this attitude. Worried that Whitlaw may have killed Phebe, he seeks reassurance. Peggy, Phebe's mother, tells him: "No, they will not kill her, no more than they would the finest horse in the colonel's stable." He accepts Peggy's analogy and makes plans to look for the missing young slave in Natchez, where he hopes to learn "the news

stirring about the sale of negroes . . . as interesting a theme there as the barter of horses among jockeys" (JJW 1: 235, 244).

Mrs. Trollope's genuine outrage at the slave system is expressed more subtly in The Barnabys in America than in Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw. In the later novel, she treats slave owners as stupid, insensitive, and self-indulgent, rather than purposefully sadistic. Judge Johnson, less crude than either Dart or Whitlaw, has a minor role in which he comically reflects Mrs. Trollope's condemnation through mock-devotional speeches, as when he calls slavery "the greatest blessing left to us by the mighty Washington, and sanctified . . . by the holy memory of the immortal Jefferson" (Barn 130). Slave owners equate this "blessing" with physical comfort. The narrator informs readers that "in the south . . . every exertion is considered as a positive evil," and the Barnabys soon find the narrator's statement to be correct. Major Barnaby observes that slave owners "do little or nothing but eat, drink, sleep, and spit for themselves" (Barn 40, 157). Mrs. Beauchamp tells her English guests that the ability to entertain lavishly "is one of the blessed advantages of having a gang of slaves at command." In the "unfortunate free states . . . they would be so fretted and troubled about where to get help . . . they

would not be able to invite you to their houses" (Barn 167). The planter's wife boasts to Martha Barnaby that they are of "a higher class of society" than northerners; instead of being forced to "scrub, and rub, and toil, and sweat . . . like so many downright savages," slave owners "make use of the creatures [slaves] . . . and make them do what it is quite positively necessary that ladies and gentlemen must have done for them" (Barn 96). Judge Blackenbridge of The Old World and the New would agree. He tells Katherine:

to the taste of gentlemen who like me have been used to be waited upon, and not to wait on themselves, it is agreeable to live in a country where there is a race of people born and bred on purpose for that business. (2: 269)

The system becomes crueler in proportion to the slave owners' fear of rebellion. Both Dart and Whitlaw are convinced that if they should discover any missionaries working among the slaves of Paradise Plantation they would be entitled to take punishment into their own hands in the name of "self-defence." As Whitlaw explains to Dart, "the man what has not got courage to do vengeance for himself, don't deserve the protection of the law in a free country." Dart is delighted with Whitlaw's sagacity and tells him, "Young as you are, you know how to utter the sentiments of a free people" (JJW 1: 122, 124). These "sentiments of a free people" resemble the reports in many travel accounts of slave owners expressing belief in the

inviolability of their system. One article in a contemporary American newspaper, quoted by Dickens, refers to "that abominable and hellish doctrine of abolition, which is repugnant to every law of God and nature" (qtd. in American Notes 213).

Mrs. Trollope had noted in Domestic Manners that, to protect themselves from the abolitionists, slave owners insisted their slaves "be kept in that state of profound ignorance which precludes reflection" (DM 245). Thus Edward's actions, teaching the slaves and leading them in prayer, violate a principal element of the southerners' code. The fear of such missionary activity is the impetus for Colonel Beauchamp to rely on a "confidential looker" (Barn 178) and for Dart to employ Whitlaw as his "confidential clerk." Whitlaw's sole task on Paradise Plantation is to watch for any contact between the slaves and the outside world (JJW 1: 150-61). Dart tells him,

'tis no joke now-a-days to own five hundred blacks. . . . While those infernal varment, the missionary hell-hounds, that the devil has taken it into his head to send on earth for the alone purpose of plaguing honest men--while they are creeping about like so many cursed copper-heads among the canes, 'tis no holiday to have five hundred slaves, and know that the best among 'em would eat your heart if they could catch it, and a missionary saying grace the while. (JJW 1: 120)

Another, less eloquent, slave owner echoes Dart's fear:
 "I'm positive certain that some of my black varment are
 being learned to read; and if that spreads, we'll have an
 insurrection and be murdered in our beds . . ." (JJW
 1: 253).

Although his missionary work among the slaves is
 a revolutionary activity, Edward remains oblivious to the
 dangers he faces. After many hints, which he ignores,
 Phebe finally gives him an explicit warning:

Do you not know that the planters have sworn
 together to take vengeance on any one who should
 only be caught teaching a negro to read? And
 how much more dreadful vengeance would they take
 on any who should dare to say that the soul of
 a black man is like the soul of a white man!
 . . . to teach a slave will bring down vengeance
 on Miss Lucy and you; I know it, and my blood
 runs cold.

Peggy, Phebe's mother, adds her own warning: nothing less
 than death "is now punishment enough for any white who
 dares openly to befriend a slave" (JJW 1: 187, 193, 231).
 Edward, obsessed with his self-imposed mission "to raise
 the poor crushed victims of an infernal tyranny from the
 state of grovelling ignorance to which they were chained"
 (JJW 1: 181), continues to hold prayer meetings. Despite
 the fears of the slave owners, however, he wants only to
 teach the word of God; he has no notion of literal
 emancipation. He tells Lucy:

The point on which my meditations turned by day
 and by night, was less the personal bondage of
 the negro race, than the brute ignorance in
 which their masters permit them to remain; an

ignorance which . . . prevents the wretched victims . . . from knowing good from evil. (JJW 1: 172)

His actions nonetheless represent a serious threat to the system. A missionary's religious instruction, teaching biblical morality, threatened slave owners who routinely assaulted female slaves and expected instant submission. Mrs. Trollope, like other visitors to America, is shocked at the sexual elements of the slave owners' sadism. The white men of New Orleans, her narrator observes, "revel in the caresses of the race they scorn" (JJW 2: 172).

Dickens, in order to preserve Martin Chuzzlewit for "family reading," expresses his own outrage in elliptical narrator's asides, such as: "oh noble patriot, with many followers!--who dreamed of Freedom in a slave's embrace, and waking sold her offspring and his own in public markets" (MC 341; ch. 21). (See also Hamilton, Men and Manners 1: 325 for an almost identical phrase referring to Thomas Jefferson, who "made money of his debaucheries.") Mrs. Trollope, however, is less interested in propriety than Dickens; she incorporates sexual abuse directly into her plot. Juno's "history" includes the story of her former owner, an English settler, who became her lover and the devoted father of her daughter. He returns to Europe, taking the child with him, and "gives" Juno to a friend. In subsequent years she was sold several times, each time giving birth to the owner's children, each time separated

from them by another sale, until she became too old to interest potential buyers. This, however, took place before the novel begins; Mrs. Trollope relates Phebe's predicament with specific, immediate instances. In one such scene, although Phebe is repelled by Whitlaw's advances, she chooses to listen to him in an effort to prevent him from going into the forest and finding Edward. After stalling long enough for Edward to escape, she bravely faces Whitlaw and refuses to submit. The overseer becomes violent. He orders her to relent, "and let me see you jump for joy into the bargain, [or] there shall no more skin be left on your back than might serve the tailor for a pattern" (JJW 1: 204). Juno fortunately interrupts the attempted rape and hides the frightened young woman, both from the overseers and from the other slaves, prompting Peggy to speculate that the young woman has been sold for sexual pleasure: "Black Phebe is counted such a handsome girl . . . she'd fetch double what her value would be if she was only kept for her work" (JJW 1: 237).

The attacks on slavery by all travel writers, even those, like Wright and Stuart who otherwise found little that displeased them, prompted Americans to attempt to justify the system. Many of the travellers had reported the arguments in favor of slavery they had heard; none were convinced. Mrs. Trollope fictionalizes these self-righteous arguments in The Barnabys in America, where

the slave owners are more sensitive to an outsider's view than the sadists of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw. These southerners justify the system by insisting their slaves are happy and well treated. The hypocrisy is blatant, but the foolish Americans believe in their ability to deceive. When Colonel Beauchamp takes Mrs. Barnaby to visit his slaves in their cabins and shows

them all dressed out in their best attire, and dancing away to the squeaking of one of their own fiddles, while all the teeth of all the tribe were displayed by one broad universal grin, he did not think it necessary to mention that this exhibition of excessive gaiety was got up for her especial benefit.

Mrs. Barnaby, perfectly aware of the ruse, writes about the "blissful scene" and the "unequalled moral felicity" of the slaves as part of her scheme to extort money from the gullible colonel (Barn 185). Mrs. Trollope, like Martha Barnaby, is unswayed by the argument of happiness among the slaves: the slave system cannot be justified by the fact that a few slave owners are decent. In Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, her narrator concedes that those who know a "well-authenticated history of the happiness of a virtuous negro under the protection of a virtuous master" might find something beneficial in an individual case, but that it would be wrong to reason from one such instance that the system itself can be beneficial (JJW 1: 160).

Mrs. Trollope extends her denunciation of the oppressive American system, which favors the strong over the weak, from the treatment of slaves to the treatment of women. In her fiction, that treatment often parallels the observations of Domestic Manners, where she had described women's "lamentable insignificance" (DM 285). Although reviewers found her observations biased, colored by her own treatment in Cincinnati, she was apparently perfectly accurate. Carroll Smith Rosenberg effectively documents the powerlessness of women in America during the period of Mrs. Trollope's visit (563-64). Even the few travellers who praised America, such as Frances Wright and Harriet Martineau, deplored the position of women. "Alas for the morals of a country," Wright had written, "when female dignity is confounded with helplessness . . ." (219). Harriet Martineau generally disagrees with Mrs. Trollope; nonetheless, she devotes an entire chapter of Society in America to the "political non-existence of women" (1: 148-54). Later, she observes that the Americans' "treatment of women, [has] fallen below . . . their own democratic principles." She finds "woman's intellect is confined, her morals crushed, her health ruined, her weaknesses encouraged, and her strength punished" (Society 2: 226).

Mrs. Trollope's novels highlight this "lamentable insignificance" with comic asides from the narrator. For example, when Mrs. Wilson attempts to discuss her daughter's behavior, she meets with the same response she generally receives when she tries to speak: no response at all. The narrator observes, "It was not the custom of the family to pay any very particular attention to the observations that fell from Mrs. Wilson" (Ref 2: 179). Neither was it the custom of male Americans outside the family to notice women: "Mr. Gabriel Monkton, like the majority of his countrymen (as long at least as they remain on their native soil), never addressed his conversation to a lady while there was one of the nobler sex near . . ." (Barn 290). Mrs. Trollope's narrator tells of many other cases demonstrating the Americans' habitual disregard of women. The landlady Mrs. Simcoe, "like all other Americans when doing business, [speaks with] the principal gentleman of the party, instead of the principal lady" (220); thus, she discusses boarding arrangements with Major Barnaby as if his wife were not present. Even the well known inquisitive treatment of visitors ceases if the visitor is a woman. When Robert, Mary, Katherine, and the New York land agent Mr. Evans are travelling north to look at property, they are joined in the stagecoach by two other American men. The Americans question Stormont "incessantly," but the women "might have

passed for two waxen figures, in the act of being conveyed from one show to another," so completely are they ignored (OW 1: 219).

Mr. Evans is totally insensitive to the physical and emotional needs of the women in the Stormont party (OW 1: 250-53, 262). Astonished that Stormont wants to consult the women before buying a farm, he tells the Englishman, "That comes of having a queen to reign over ye . . ." (OW 1: 253). Edward Bligh, despite his moral rectitude, has the same attitude toward women as other American males. He impresses on Lucy that it is her "first duty . . . to obey implicitly the brother to whose care it has pleased the Almighty to consign you" (JJW 1: 233). When women have influence, however, everyone benefits. Emily is responsible for Lord Darcy's acquittal and for Dally's rehabilitation. The prudent Robert Stormont relies on Katherine's helpful advice throughout The Old World and the New, and his eventual prosperity is directly related to her abilities.

American women habitually acquiesce: Lucy never questions her brother's authority; Emily listens to her uncle Mr. Wilson, even after his murderous intentions have been made public; and Annie refuses to leave America to marry Egerton until after her father's death. The English women, on the other hand, innocently but mistakenly believe the land of equality includes everyone. Katherine

joins the Stormonts in their venture because she is reluctant to marry for money at home. She views America as a land of opportunity where she may hope to live independently:

. . . I should consider it as a proof both of wisdom and virtue, could I, by courage, enterprise, and industry, so far increase my fortune as to enable me to command the comforts to which I have been accustomed, without compromising either my sincerity or my independence. I could not do this in England . . . but I might do it in the United States. . . . (OW 1: 98)

She is successful to the extent that her efforts comfortably establish the Stormonts in Ohio. However, she discovers that, for herself, a life back in England as the wife of Warburton is preferable to life in the States. Caroline Gordon also finds greater prejudice than she had expected. At one point in The Refugee in America, she asks her landlord Mr. Warner to "tell me how you manage to reconcile your theory of freedom, with the condition of your negroes? or your treatment of the Indians, with your doctrine of equal rights?" She is surprised to learn that her own situation is equally unrelated to the doctrines of freedom and equal rights. Warner tells her: "these subjects are considerable much beyond the scope of the female . . ." (1: 161).

Mrs. Trollope's emphasis on the disorderly, vulgar, and often cruel life resulting from the democratic system serves as a warning to her readers that extension of power

to the undeserving in England could lead to a similar state of affairs. This should not imply that she was opposed to social reform; her sympathy for the oppressed motivates these attacks on the practice of democracy in the United States. The American novels, designed as documentary evidence of the results of a system which victimizes the helpless, are at least partially designed to convince English readers that reform is necessary; on the other hand, specific reform measures must be examined carefully. England must invent her own measures, preferably including women in authoritative positions, that can provide social improvement without damage to the existing system. As sole financial supporter and decision maker for her own family under British, American, and several European governments, Mrs. Trollope was especially sensitive to the limitations of a system which subjected women to irrational external authority.

Chapter 7

Artistic Considerations

A comparison between the first-hand observations of Domestic Manners and the scenes and characters of the American novels shows Mrs. Trollope altering her experiences in two important ways. First, she softens the horrors she faced, as if she finds those experiences were too painful to recreate. Second, she adapts her material so that, in some ways, her novels conform to the works of her contemporaries, such as when she attempts to create scenes that correspond to the America of the English imagination. On the other hand, she refused to duplicate other conventions, particularly that of the passive heroine. Her own situation, as sole support both financially and emotionally for her family, made it impossible to create such women.

The parallels to Mrs. Trollope's stay in America are generally found in her novels with sufficient deliberate distancing to suggest that she saw fiction, even travel fiction, as requiring a set of technical and artistic decisions different from those of the conventional travel narrative. The truthful portrayal of a traveller's experience, supposedly the focus of Domestic Manners, is

replaced in the fiction by overdrawn characters and situations. However, when she exaggerates the hostility of the landscape, the rudeness of the characters, and the pernicious effects of the institutions, she softens the references to her own experiences, having her English characters avoid calamities and outwit the Americans. The comedy of The Barnabys in America, for instance, depends on Martha Barnaby's pretense of accepting Americans at face value while she privately revels in their gullibility in accepting her. Turning her own experiences upside down, Mrs. Trollope shows Americans entranced with the travel writer who praises their manners and institutions. Her satire here is directed, not only against rude and gullible Americans, but also against "the middle-aged English lady, who several years ago crossed the Atlantic and wrote a book about the Americans" (Mrs. T 163), in other words, herself. In the opening pages of the novel, Mrs. Trollope announces her declaration to send the widow on an "expedition" to a "land which all the world knows I cherish in my memory with peculiar delight" (Barn 2). The irony would not be lost on her readers.

However, not one of Mrs. Trollope's European characters has come to the States merely on an "expedition," that is, as a sightseer on a tour of inspection. Mr. Gordon in The Refugee in America brings Lord Darcy to America to escape arrest. Their travelling

party is viewed suspiciously in the United States because they are quick to spend money, because they travel with servants, and because their native good manners seem strange to the local population. Herr Steinmark, the German emigrant of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, comes to America to improve social prospects for his family because his English wife had been snubbed by Steinmark's sister-in-law, a pretentious minor aristocrat. His notions of democracy prove erroneous: the family finds itself equally unacceptable in Mississippi--not because of Mary's origins, but because of their humanitarian principles. The Barnabys have fled England, one step ahead of the authorities, and the narrator calls America "the land in which they had in fact taken refuge" (Barn 47). The Stormonts are also taking refuge--not as criminals, but as financially embarrassed upright citizens lured by America's reputation for granting immigrants a fresh start. By the time she wrote The Old World and the New, Mrs. Trollope was ready to admit the hardships attendant on emigration; the easy money found by the Barnabys and the Steinmarks no longer exists. The Stormonts are aware, before their departure, that many debtors leave England to live idle lives on very little money in Europe, in contrast to the United States where immigrants work hard (OW 1: 92-94). Their choice of the United States shows their industrious nature.

With the exception of the Stormonts, Mrs. Trollope's virtuous English characters are outsiders, rejected by American society and glad of it. Conversely, the scoundrels, Major and Mrs. Barnaby, enjoy their visit and are accepted by the Americans until they are found to be no better than their hosts. The unhappiness that worthy characters experience in the United States mimics the longing for English culture and society typical of travel narratives. The completion of their journey with a return home is accompanied, for the Gordons and Steinmarks, by a sense of relief. As the narrator of The Refugee in America explains, "it is necessary to cross the Atlantic before we can understand the delight which the single circumstance of being in England can inspire" (3: 261). At the end of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, the Steinmarks "confessed . . . that Europe was the soil for Europeans . . . there was some comfort in living in a land in which . . . there is no danger that on looking round they should see tears standing in every eye" (3: 348). All four novels have scene after scene populated with homesick European characters. Even the Stormonts, who adapt fairly well, feel a few pangs. Although Mrs. Trollope spends sufficient time convincing them of the wisdom of their relocation, when the ship leaves England the narrator describes Robert Stormont's uneasiness in strongly sentimental terms: "the splashing engine bore all that he

loved on earth far, far away from every dear familiar comfort . . ." (OW 1: 142). Later, Katherine recreates their "dear drawing-room at Bexley" in Cincinnati. She had secretly bought their household goods at auction and brought them to America. When the Stormont family finds themselves surrounded by the "familiar objects which had contributed to Mary's peculiar personal comfort," their joy knows no bounds (OW 2: 47, 49).

Many elements of plot and character in these novels have their origins in traumatic incidents in Mrs. Trollope's personal experience, and her reaction to America is partially based on her need to assimilate that experience in a positive way. In contrast to Dickens, who intensified the horrors of America in Martin Chuzzlewit (see Stone 466-472), she diminished her own disastrous experiences, such as the primitive living conditions she found at Nashoba, the rude treatment she received in Cincinnati, and finally, her total financial ruin, the collapse of her bazaar. The Barnabys, Steinmarks, and Stormonts all find America financially rewarding.

Most incidents which correspond to Mrs. Trollope's own experiences are muted, probably because she needed to maintain an emotional distance while writing these novels. When she does explicitly refer to a personal experience, she transfers her own difficulties onto those of minor characters with whom there is little emotional

identification. For example, her situation in Cincinnati, out of funds, with no response from her husband, is analogous to the predicament of the destitute Madame de Clairville, who is also attempting to survive in a strange land with only her intelligence as a potential resource. In a direct allusion to her own situation, Mrs. Trollope says of Madame de Clairville that "her history is very similar to what has occurred to more than one foreigner in America . . ." (Ref 1: 210). In other novels, Mrs. Trollope projects her experiences onto characters who do not even appear. She uses Mr. Bligh (who is dead before Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw even begins) and his financial failure to describe her own losses and pain, recalling the times when she was reduced to selling her personal possessions in order to survive. The Bligh family lost their "house, lands, stock, and furniture" in an ill-advised speculation, and "it was only by the sale of some articles of wearing apparel which they were permitted to retain, that their existence was for some time supported" (JJW 1: 164-65). Perhaps wishing for greater support from her own family, she goes on to detail the resourcefulness of Edward and Lucy rather than show pity for their father. In The Old World and the New, the original owner of Bloomfield Knoll, Herr Olmutz, was forced to give up the property when he lost all of his money. Mrs. Trollope blames his bankruptcy on

insufficient capital, one of her rationalizations for the failure of her bazaar. However, she tells his story quickly, unsympathetically, with the emphasis on the Stormonts' good fortune to buy his estate cheaply (OW 2: 16-20).

Mrs. Trollope's departure for America in 1827 is relatively undisguised in the fiction. Characters in each novel suddenly and secretly leave the old country to avoid some difficulty: Lord Darcy faces arrest for murder; the Steinmarks are embarrassed by snobbery; the Stormonts, like Mrs. Trollope herself, are faced with impending financial failure; and the Barnabys have just been discovered as cheats. As Matilda Perkins observes, "a gentleman who had the eye of all the state authorities fixed upon him . . . would not be permitted to linger long . . ." (Barn 26). The Barnabys' hasty departure ("in less than a week their passage was taken . . . their goods packed and on board . . . and one and all of them perfectly ready . . ." [Barn 27]), was almost as rapid as Mrs. Trollope's own. Her passage was not booked until the last minute because she "wished it therefore not known or talked about" (Letter from Frances Wright to Harriet Garnett, qtd. in Payne-Gaposchkin 446). Robert Stormont deliberates more carefully than Martha Barnaby, but he just as strongly insists his family go to "some

out-of-the-way place where we were never heard of before." He agrees to inform only Katherine, no one else, as he would not like to have his situation "proclaimed to the whole neighborhood" (OW 1: 9, 12).

Despite the urgency of each voyage, Mrs. Trollope alters her travellers' motivations, using criminal behavior as a metaphor for bankruptcy. She is only openly able to discuss financial ruin as a reason for emigration when the Stormonts of The Old World and the New state they are avoiding the embarrassment of disclosing their precarious financial situation. Even this, however, is somewhat softened. Unlike the Trollopes, the Stormonts settle their debts before leaving the country. And, unlike Mrs. Trollope, they succeed and remain. When writing The Old World and the New, her financial disaster in the United States was long behind her. In subsequent years she had survived the bankruptcy at Harrow, the flight to Bruges, and the deaths of her husband and two of her children. Now, keeping watch at Cecilia's deathbed, she thought back on her visit: America, it would seem, looks better in retrospect.

The primitive life that Mrs. Trollope found at Nashoba, making it uninhabitable for a sensitive, refined English subject, appears in the fiction as Whitlaw's wood station and as the settlement, "Perfect Bliss," in The Refugee in America. When the de Clairvilles arrived at

Perfect Bliss, M. de Clairville was astonished to be put to work at manual labor, since he had envisioned "scientific lectures, amateur concerts, private theatricals, and universal philanthropy." In a direct allusion to Nashoba and Frances Wright, Mrs. Trollope describes how the idealistic French couple had been duped into joining the communal settlement by "a crazy speculator" who persuaded this "man of education and good connections [M. de Clairville]" that "the moment approached when man would shake off for ever the degrading trammels of a rusty superstition . . ." (Ref 1: 212, 211). Mrs. Trollope had left Nashoba quickly and set out for other, unknown dangers; M. de Clairville, less vigorous, dies within a year, unable to cope. However, he is a peripheral character whose death is reported by his wife as having occurred long before The Refugee in America even begins. Dickens's Eden chapters in Martin Chuzzlewit present a far closer resemblance to Mrs. Trollope's Nashoba experience than any scenes in her own novels. Her characteristic sense of humor found better material in her social conflicts with the Cincinnati residents than in her physical confrontation with the Tennessee wilderness.

In Cincinnati, Mrs. Trollope's attempt to exploit the city's deficiencies by providing shopping and entertainment was a total failure. The residents of the city refused to give their patronage to a woman who

violated their notions of propriety, thus leaving her not only "socially demoralized" (Giltrow 142) but destitute. She alludes to this rejection in Domestic Manners, where she notes the Americans' "strong propensity to consider every thing as wrong to which they were not accustomed" (DM 138). Turning this rejection back on itself, she treats Americans as the socially unacceptable ones and makes fun of those who made her stay unpleasant. The comfortable living conditions she had observed in Domestic Manners ("meat, bread, butter, tea, and coffee . . . are within the reach of every sober, industrious, and healthy man . . ." [DM 116]), gives way in the fiction to a more primitive existence, unalleviated by any social amenities. Even the wealthy Gordons of The Refugee in America find their ready money brings them little comfort. Although the Steinmarks of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw improve their farm and provide themselves with physical necessities, they, too, find no companionship among their rude neighbors. Despite the exceptional abilities of English characters, they are ultimately, like Mrs. Trollope herself, defeated by the crude society they find in the United States; the resolution of each of the first three novels centers on the visitors' return to Europe. It is seventeen years after the family's ill-fated visit before she can show America (in The Old World and the New) as a place where decent people live comfortably and happily.

The novels are filled with scenes of English travellers, superior in social skills to Americans, watching crude Americans flaunt their own superiority. Mrs. Trollope validates her own behavior in America through the misunderstandings that arise. In the later novels, she turns to financial as well as social themes, and she shows her visitors' superiority in business matters. Heineman notes that while Mrs. Trollope's bazaar, an "honest and innovative business venture" had failed, Mrs. Barnaby is a triumphant fraud. Characterizing Mrs. Barnaby's success as "a vicarious revenge" (Mrs. T 162), Heineman sees the widow as a surrogate Frances Trollope and observes,

Unable to outdo the American sharpies in real life, Trollope turned them over to her alter-ego and clearly enjoyed watching their duping at the skilled hands of the powerless, landless Martha Barnaby, who achieves success . . . through the competence, resiliency, and energetic shrewdness of middle age. (Frances Trollope 94)

Shrewd Americans can no longer take advantage of honest, hardworking emigrants, as they had with Mrs. Trollope. When Whitlaw tries to appropriate part of the Steinmark estate, Reichland, Frederick Steinmark holds firm to the surveyed boundaries.

Mrs. Trollope's portrayal of refined British characters finding American conditions inferior to those they left behind in England, yet finding economic success, is most likely rooted in her need to shape her experiences

more positively. Additionally, however, these novels serve a more pragmatic need, a need to conform to the English reader's interest in and suspicion of America's democratic system. Mrs. Trollope's fictional world, her imaginary society, deliberately presents the elements she wishes to attack. The similarities between the landscapes of Domestic Manners and the novels reflect her desire for accuracy and realism, but her careful selection of detail in the fiction often serves as a harsh commentary on both character and society. For example, Domestic Manners had emphasized the pleasing and picturesque elements of American scenery; the same landscapes, when fictionalized, become hostile to human comfort. In addition, the digressions on American table manners in each novel can be read either as detail for verisimilitude or as a commentary on a primitive society. She deliberately emphasizes those details which readers, presumably in accord with her values, will find offensive.

In the years immediately preceeding the passage of the First Reform Bill, the period of Mrs. Trollope's visit to America, the relatively unregulated society of America stood for what British subjects could expect with the passage of the Bill. Thomas Hamilton, writing privately to his uncle, expresses the apprehensions of Mrs. Trollope's contemporaries. He uses strong language to describe the results of democracy in America: "It is

a mistake to call it a free government. It is a despotism of the most degrading kind--the despotism of a mob" (qtd. in Men and Manners xviii). Mrs. Trollope's early works reinforce these fears, but later, in The Old World and the New, the Stormonts look forward to prosperity and contentment in their new home. This seems a reflection of Mrs. Trollope's own accommodation to America, a result of fading memory or forgiveness, rather than a reflection of changing political attitudes in England, which never were single-minded. By 1852, three years after the publication of The Old World and the New, the editorial policy of the New Monthly Magazine (once sharply critical of negative accounts of democracy) has turned towards the conservatives. An anonymous reviewer of several travel works calls the American presidential election a "periodical political Saturnalia," a disruptive way to change government. American conduct, according to this reviewer, is characterized by rudeness and physical strength rather than by "the decencies of political intercourse" ("Latest Notes on America" 229).

Mrs. Trollope's political commentary is less apparent in her novels than in Domestic Manners. This is partly because of fictional conventions, which required her to dramatize the effects of the democratic system and to treat its deficiencies as a practical, rather than philosophic, issue. Another reason for abandoning overt

political judgments was a need to conform to the expected sphere of the woman writer. The acceptable form for women writers was light fiction, morally uplifting, mildly entertaining, treating only quiet domestic life. Many reviewers found Domestic Manners had overstepped these bounds: they believed it inappropriate for a woman to discuss political and social questions. The New Monthly Magazine reviewer, for example, questions Mrs. Trollope's political intention:

What, we may ask, is her whole work but a running commentary on the democratical form of the American government? . . . what is this but deciding the question of [the American government's] merits as compared with the governments of Europe?

He goes on to refer to her "utter incompetency" to discuss such matters. She has stepped out her "her own sphere" in writing this book ("Americans and Mrs. Trollope" 448, 453). William Empson is crueller, outspokenly attributing the faults of Domestic Manners to "the ordinary female mind." He blames the "inaccurate" observations in Domestic Manners on Mrs. Trollope's "incapacity" (498, 508).

These reviewers imply that "the ordinary female mind" is necessarily incapable of the disinterested, impartial report expected of travel writers. However, the issue remains one of agreement or disagreement with Mrs. Trollope's conclusions. Liberal reviewers,

attempting to disprove her unfavorable picture of America, often dismiss Domestic Manners as slanderous, using the word "libel" to discredit her. For example, the pro-American New Monthly Magazine accuses European writers who criticize "the national character, literature, and institutions of an enlightened, free, and prosperous people" of "a foul libel" ("Americans and Mrs. Trollope" 453, 447). Empson observes that other travellers' accounts contradict Mrs. Trollope's. He, too, uses the term "libel."

The least that a person intending to preserve for herself a character of fairness . . . ought to have done, would have been to revise her impressions as well as her notes;--carefully to compare her opinions with those of former travellers, examine her own character and behaviour as well as theirs . . . and suspect herself at last of bile or vapours . . . when she found that the view she had taken of America was even more unfavourable than any which had been yet conveyed in professed and wilful libels. (488-89)

Empson's concern here is with truthfulness, and he implies that she had no intention of preserving "a character of fairness."

Since Domestic Manners violated an idealistic view of American conditions, liberal reviewers often attribute Mrs. Trollope's alleged inaccuracies to a personal vendetta against America, discussing her expectations and disappointments without acknowledging the bias of their own position. H. S. Chapman, reviewing Murray and

Marryat, measures the two against Mrs. Trollope and finds her wanting: "Of all the travellers in America," Chapman says, "who have favoured the British public with their tortuous and flimsy views, Mrs. Trollope is assuredly the most prejudiced, the most jaundiced, the most ill-natured, the most unjust, and, we believe, the most dishonest" (414). On the other hand, conservative reviewers, several of whom were travellers to America themselves, were delighted to find that her portrayal of a disorderly system helped vindicate them. Hamilton, for instance, finds her facts perfectly accurate (Rev. of Domestic Manners 839). Basil Hall prints extensive excerpts along with unqualified praise, noting that Domestic Manners truthfully points out the evils of American political institutions which have, in recent times, been treated to "preposterous praises" (Rev. of DM 40).

Mrs. Trollope's own political and social attitudes were actually less rigid than those of reviewers who accused her of prejudice. According to her son Anthony, those attitudes depended on emotional reactions to people and circumstances, rather than on fixed principles. He says that his mother took "an emotional dislike to tyrants, which sprung from the wrongs of would-be regicides and the poverty of patriot exiles" (AT 18-19). Although her fiction generally seems anti-democratic, upholding class distinctions, she is wholeheartedly

compassionate towards those she sees as victimized by the system, as shown by her condemnation of the way Americans treat women, slaves, and Indians. Although many reviewers accused her of Tory prejudice, she has no patience with resistance to reform. She writes to her son Tom, referring to "high Tories," that "their apathy and despair provoke me beyond expression" (qtd. in FET 1: 166). Her sympathy is with the oppressed and against those undeserving of power, such as American politicians and slaveholders, the "free-born tyrants" in America who abuse their freedom. She consistently portrays powerful characters in America as vulgar and offensive, ridiculing the American notion of mobility, the idea of a log cabin president, senator, or congressman. While her sympathy for the poor and oppressed in England as well as in America (see her other novels, most notably Michael Armstrong) is sincere, she is confident that the situation of the oppressed classes cannot be improved under a democratic system. She attempts, in her illustrations of the trials of her characters, to influence her readers not only to compassion but also to condemnation of inappropriate remedies. Mrs. Trollope is clearly distressed that those not born to responsibility should take part in government, but her upper-class and aristocratic English characters are ineffectual. The narrator of The Refugee in America is sympathetic to Lady

Darcy, but Mrs. Trollope renders the countess powerless, unable to help her son; only Emily, "the young republican," can save him. On the other hand, despite Mrs. Trollope's compassion for the oppressed, there is no hint that an Indian or a slave (or a woman) should sit in Congress. Common humanity is one thing; equality, including political power for all, is another matter.

In her effort to conform to the popular travel account, Mrs. Trollope has her narrator fill the role of the travel writer, observing and commenting on American customs and characters, explaining them to an English audience. This detached narrator is able to describe the most outrageous incidents in a flat, matter-of-fact voice, sometimes giving a humorous touch to American traits, including the brutal sadism of slave owners. For example, she describes Colonel Smith's farm in The Refugee in America as "a sort of breeding farm," where the Smiths labored "to bring this profitable stock [slave children] into marketable condition" (3: 197). The narrator of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw observes that "the multiplication of this branch of produce [children] being one of the most profitable speculations," each plantation has many children "lying about in the homestead . . . all well fattened and fed" (2: 154). The contradiction between what the narrator says about a character and that character's actions, sometimes in the form of ironic

praise for boorish, if not savage action, provides a more comic effect than the more involved description of similar actions in Domestic Manners. Mrs. Trollope assumes her audience's value-system will allow readers to see the humor in these contradictions, as when the narrator of The Old World and the New calmly reports that "the celebrated" Judge Blackenbridge is

as much renowned for the burning enthusiasm with which he advocated the purest democracy throughout every species of political institution, as for the magnificent extent of his sugar plantations, and the first-rate discipline enforced among the slaves by which it was cultivated. (2: 266)

In the same vein, her narrator notes that classless ideals do not extend to the senior Whitlaw's family: "Whitlaw was by no means a particularly ill-tempered man: he was only a free-born tyrant" (JJW 1: 63).

However, there are notable differences between the conventional travel book and Mrs. Trollope's American novels. One important departure is the portrayal of the country left behind. Travel books, narrated by a voyager in an alien land, are characterized by homesickness and a sentimental treatment of the emotional and physical comforts of home. In these novels, despite the visitors' recurrent homesickness, Europe becomes frightening. In both The Refugee in America and The Old World and the New, the European experience is dreadful: Lady Darcy is manipulated into madness by her nephew Nixon Oglander;

Robert Stormont's cousins Clementina and Sophy Maitland are in serious danger during the Paris uprising. In The Barnabys in America, the Barnabys run away from England with the reader's sympathy, and in Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, the reader is constantly reminded that the Steinmarks came to America to protect Mary from the abuse of her aristocratic sister-in-law. Mrs. Trollope's refusal to idealize the old country suggests that her trials, both at Harrow and at Bruges, were as influential on her fictional world as were the disasters in America.

Mrs. Trollope attempts, with varying degrees of success, to mold her novels to the expectations of fiction readers. Although recent criticism tends to discount the referential aspects of fiction, in deference to subjective and conventional elements, there is still agreement that the nineteenth-century novel generally attempted an illusion of reality and that Victorian readers generally expected to find some correspondence between the world they knew and the world they read about. Since Mrs. Trollope's America was exotic, she adapted the observed details of everyday life in the United States to conform to her audience's presumptions of what that daily life must be. In many cases, when she departs from personal experience, she seems to be doing it in order to make the American scene more familiar, recognizable, and assimilable to her readers than the alien world of

Domestic Manners. Using locations she had visited and customs she had observed, she recreated them whenever and however necessary to make them seem plausible to her readers. For instance, the swindling Mrs. Barnaby's successful adventures are not only a transformation of Mrs. Trollope's own failure but also an attempt at verisimilitude. The traditional image of America as the land of plenty, combined with the lingering memory of transportation as punishment, led readers to view America as a refuge for those, like Wordsworth's Luke, who were "driven at last / To seek a hiding-place beyond the seas" ("Michael" 446-47). Thomas Carlyle echoes this notion in a letter to Robert Mitchell, where he calls America "that asylum or rather hiding-place for poverty and discontent" (1: 161). Those suffering from "embarrassment and difficulties" at home were often urged that a better life was possible in the States ("Pamphlets on Emigration" 239). Thus, readers were more likely to believe in gullible Americans swindled by a shrewd old woman than in the bankruptcy of an emigrant's business venture in the land of opportunity.

Early nineteenth-century readers expected not only verisimilitude in fiction but also a moral lesson. Here, however, Mrs. Trollope is blatantly unconventional, her lessons in personal conduct mixed. Only in The Old World and the New, written while nursing the dying Cecilia, is

there an straightforward, conventional lesson: hard work, careful planning, sacrifice, and loyalty pay off. The earlier works are ambiguous. In The Refugee in America, Mrs. Trollope seems to adhere to conventional poetic justice: if a girl is good, intelligent, resourceful, well-read, and musical (like Emily), she may be rewarded by marriage to an aristocrat. On the other hand, Dally is forgiven for rash, mean, vicious acts and lives happily ever after with his wife and child. Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, on the surface, also seems conventional: the depraved overseer is murdered by the slaves he has abused. But Edward Bligh, the innocent, is also killed; the power of the corrupt system is so strong that good characters cannot escape. Mrs. Trollope's moral lesson most seriously departs from convention in The Barnabys in America, where she shows that a cheating, swindling woman can achieve success, with the unqualified approval of the narrator.

The virtuous behavior of heroines was commonly regarded as praiseworthy, in that it could instruct readers to follow such exalted examples, but Mrs. Trollope refuses to show female characters conforming to expected behavior patterns. Mrs. Earnaby, a scheming woman, unrepentant to the end, living by her wits rather than by her looks, "is such a heroine as never before has figured in a romance" (Rev. of The Widow Barnaby 5). Although

there was supposedly "no place for the mature or sophisticated woman" in nineteenth-century popular fiction (Dalziel 94), Martha Barnaby was a huge success. Mrs. Trollope's other heroines are less blatantly deviant, but each novel features active, self-sufficient, never submissive women. For instance, Emily Williams, after hearing Caroline's explanation of the Gordon's predicament, tells Caroline what to do (Ref 2: 194). The Gordons, despite their superior intelligence and sophistication, are handicapped by their limited understanding of native customs and are indebted to Emily's practical guidance. Both Martha Barnaby and Katherine are the financial supporters of their respective families. And, most dramatically, Juno, refusing to allow Whitlaw to continue his sadistic treatment of his fellow humans, arranges his murder. Even minor female characters are stronger than their conventional British counterparts: Lucy, working as a teacher and a seamstress, is financially independent; Clio is responsible for the success of the senior Whitlaw's store; and Madame de Clairville feels "she might be able to manage for herself, better than [her husband] had done for her" (Ref 1: 215). English readers, although unaccustomed to aggressive heroines, seldom questioned such behavior when set in America, where the unconventional was somehow expected. The Vicar of Wrexhill (set in England), which portrays the

desperate situation of a wife unquestioningly submissive to her husband, met with harsh criticism because it threatened domestic and religious values. The reviewer for the Athenaeum declines to print "a single extract" because of the risk of "giving profitless, and, therefore, needless offence" (Rev. of Vicar 708).

Mrs. Trollope's softening and displacing of the emotional and financial problems she struggled with during her American visit, combined with her inflation of the power and importance of women, suggest either that her experiences were too disturbing to confront directly or that her spirit is too strong to be shattered. Her continuing energy, apparent in her refusal to let her experiences hinder the work she knew she must do, indicates a strength not generally attributed to women of her generation. Although she clearly enjoyed her popularity, she made few concessions to the tastes and prejudices of the marketplace. She insisted on continuing to write long after financial problems were no longer pressing, and she insisted just as strongly on writing her own books, in her own way, regardless of popular sentiment.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Mrs. Trollope's prolific output and incessant travels gave her the reputation of the "blue-stockings who travels in seven-leagued boots" (Jacox 19); both her writings and her personal life were considered unconventional. That impression remains with today's readers. Helen Heineman, with characteristic hyperbole, sees Mrs. Trollope's novels as "influential in shaping the literary landscape of the nineteenth century" (Frances Trollope preface). To a superficial extent, Heineman is correct: the anti-slavery novel Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw was published fifteen years before Uncle Tom's Cabin; the factory novel Michael Armstrong precedes Mrs. Gaskell's Mary Barton by eight years. A more comprehensive study of Mrs. Trollope's themes, however, shows that she more often reflected than shaped "the literary landscape," and a reconsideration of her works gives us some insight into other works of her period. Her writings, especially those novels set in America, share many features with other literature of her day. In addition to her deference to certain concerns of style and structure, such as her

reproduction of familiar features of the popular travel account, she calls attention to social and political issues that occupied her readers' minds.

Of course, one cannot ignore her departures from tradition. Many contemporary readers, accustomed to "fashionable novels," found her topics distasteful. R. H. Horne, for one, is sharply critical of her fictional characters: among the "defects" of her novels, he says, is her "strange delight in the hideous and revolting" and the "gusto" with which she treats the "sins of vulgarity" (142). Like the Americans she satirized, she insisted on her independence, her liberty to be "vulgar." As the Athenaeum reviewer of The Vicar of Wrexhill observes, she "scents out moral deformities with a sort of professional eagerness, and applies herself to their exposure, regardless of the uncleanness into which her task may lead her" (707). Although her subject matter was considered unsuitable for family reading, she continued, until The Old World and the New, to feature characters at odds with early nineteenth century notions of domestic virtue.

The success of these works in the face of unfavorable reviews testifies not only to the usual distance between the values of readers and critics but also to a complex relationship between artistic efforts and their context. Mrs. Trollope's personality colors each page of her work, often in opposition to the concerns of tradition and

propriety she professes to uphold. The critics of her time, when attacking her unconventional personal life, generally pass over the features her works share with other novels and travel books and focus instead on the unique personality shaping those works. Today's readers react more positively, but Mrs. Trollope's personal vision still seems the most interesting feature of her work. Nevertheless, the conventional elements of her novels cannot easily be dismissed. Although she often violated reviewers' notions of appropriate deportment, she never rejected her readers' notions of appropriate entertainment.

In the early nineteenth century, "the epoch of the novel's struggle for prestige" (R. Colby 10), Mrs. Trollope had to contend not only with adverse reactions to her personal life but also with doubts about the propriety of writing or reading fiction. While her serious subject matter satisfied critics intent on social and political reform, others, preferring lighter entertainment, especially in fiction written by women, were unimpressed. The latter group is unable to appreciate Mrs. Trollope's irrepressible good humor, which surfaces in even her most somber works. Although her novels seem at odds with the "silver-fork" tradition of escapist literature, they served in their own way to help her imaginatively overcome her immediate personal

situation. Realism, for her, meant a world in which both she and her readers could believe, as opposed to the world which actually affected them. Her happy endings, where the oppressed triumph over their oppressors, are a bow both to convention and to her belief in her ability to overcome her own trials. As successful storytellers have always done, Frances Trollope invents a world which satisfies both herself and her audience.

Selected List of Works Consulted

- [Alison, Archibald]. "America, No. I." Rev. of Men and Manners in America, by Thomas Hamilton. Blackwood's Sept. 1833: 285-308.
- "The Americans and Mrs. Trollope." Rev. of Domestic Manners of the Americans, by Frances Trollope. New Monthly Magazine 35 (1832): 446-53.
- [Bagshawe, J. R.]. "Modern English Novels." Dublin Review 7 (Aug. 1839): 225-49; (Nov. 1839): 499-518.
- Rev. of Barnaby Rudge and The Old Curiosity Shop, by Charles Dickens. Examiner 4 Dec. 1841: 772-74.
- Bell, Andrew. Men and Things in America London: Smith, 1838.
- Bird, Isabella Lucy. The Englishwoman in America. 1856. Foreword and notes Andrew Hill Clark. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1966.
- [Blanchard, Laman]. "Memoir of Mrs. Trollope." New Monthly Magazine 55 (1839): 416-17.
- [Brougham, Henry]. Rev. of Travels in North America, by Charles Augustus Murray. Edinburgh Review 73 (April 1841): 77-83.
- Buckingham, J[ames] S[ilk]. America: Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive. 3 vols. London: Fisher, [1841].
- Buckley, Jerome Hamilton. The Victorian Temper: A Study in Literary Culture. 1951. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981.
- Carlyle, Thomas. The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle. Durham: Duke-Edinburgh, 1970. Vol. 1: 1812-1821. Ed. Richard Sanders. 9 vols. 1970-81.
- Catlin, George. Letters and Notes on the North American Indians. 1841. Ed. and introd. Michael MacDonald Mooney. New York: Potter, 1975.

- [Chapman, H. S.]. "Transatlantic Travelling." Rev. of Travels in North America, by Charles Augustus Murray and A Diary in America, by Frederick Marryat. Dublin Review 7 (Nov. 1839): 399-429.
- Rev. of Charles Chesterfield, by Frances Trollope. Athenaeum 25 Sept. 1841: 740-41.
- Colby, Robert A. Fiction with a Purpose: Major and Minor Nineteenth-Century Novels. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1967.
- Colby, Vineta. Yesterday's Woman: Domestic Realism in the English Novel. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1974.
- Colton, C[alvin]. Tour of the American Lakes 2 vols. London: Westley, 1833.
- "Common Novel Readers." Athenaeum 14 Sept. 1833: 618.
- [Cooper, James Fenimore]. "America." New Monthly Magazine 32 (1831): 297-311.
- Cunningham, Allen. "British Novels and Romances." Athenaeum 16 Nov. 1833: 773-77; 30 Nov. 1833: 809-12.
- Dalziel, Margaret. Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History. London: Cohen, 1957.
- Rev. of Deerbrook by Harriet Martineau. Edinburgh Review 69 (July 1839): 494-502.
- Rev. of The Deerslayer, by James Fenimore Cooper. Examiner 11 Sept. 1841: 579-80.
- Dickens, Charles. American Notes. 1842. New York: St. Martin's, 1985.
- . The Letters of Charles Dickens. Eds. Madeline House, Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson. 6 vols. to date. Oxford: Clarendon-Pilgrim, 1965- .
- . Martin Chuzzlewit. 1844. Ed. Margaret Cardwell. Oxford: Clarendon-Oxford UP, 1982.
- . The Pickwick Papers. 1837. Ed. James Kinsley. Oxford: Clarendon-Oxford UP, 1986.

- Rev. of Domestic Manners of the Americans, by Frances Trollope. Athenaeum 24 March 1832: 187-88; 31 March 1832: 204-06.
- Rev. of Domestic Manners of the Americans, by Frances Trollope. Gentleman's Magazine Apr. 1832: 346-47.
- Rev. of Domestic Manners of the Americans, by Frances Trollope. New Monthly Magazine 36 (1832): 149-50.
- Eckhardt, Celia Morris. Fanny Wright: Rebel in America. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984.
- Eliot, George. "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists." Westminster Review 66 (Oct. 1856): 442-61. Rpt. in Essays of George Eliot. Ed. Thomas Pinney. New York: Columbia UP, 1963. 300-24.
- [Empson, William]. Rev. of A Diary in America, by Frederick Marryat. Edinburgh Review 70 (Oct. 1839): 123-49.
- [---]. "The Americans and Their Detractors." Rev. of Domestic Manners of the Americans, by Frances Trollope; Six Months in America, by Godfrey Vigne; Remarks . . ., by William Ouseley; et. al. Edinburgh Review 55 (July 1832): 479-526.
- Ferrall, Simon Ansley. A Ramble of Six Thousand Miles Through the United States of America. London: Effingham, 1832.
- Flint, James. Letters from America. 1822. Series in American Studies. New York: Johnson, 1970.
- [Flint, Timothy]. "Travellers in America." Rev. of Domestic Manners, by Frances Trollope; Three Years in North America, by James Stuart; Men and Manners, by Thomas Hamilton; et. al. Knickerbocker 2 (Oct. 1833): 283-302.
- Ford, George H. Dickens and His Readers: Aspects of Novel-Criticism since 1836. 1955. New York, Norton: 1965.
- Giltrow, Janet. "'Painful Experience in a Distant Land': Mrs. Moodie in Canada and Mrs. Trollope in America." Mosaic 14.2 (1981): 131-44.
- Griffin, Russell A. "Mrs. Trollope and the Queen City." Mississippi Valley Historical Review 37 (1950): 289-302.

- [Hall, Basil]. Rev. of Domestic Manners of the Americans, by Frances Trollope. Quarterly Review 47 (Mar. 1832): 39-80.
- . Travels in North America. 3 vols. 1829. Preface Ferdinand Anders. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965.
- Hall, N. John. Salmagundi: Byron, Allegra, and the Trollope Family. Beta Phi Mu Chapbook 11. Pittsburgh: Beta Phi Mu, 1975.
- [Hamilton, Thomas]. Rev. of Domestic Manners of the Americans, by Frances Trollope. Blackwood's 31 (May 1832): 829-47.
- . Men and Manners in America. 2 vols. 1833. 1 vol., with additions from 1843 ed. Reprints of Economic Classics. New York: Kelley, 1968.
- Heilman, Robert B. "The New World in Charles Dickens's Writings." Trollopian 1.3 (Sept. 1946): 25-43; 1.4 (Mar. 1947): 11-26.
- Heineman, Helen. Frances Trollope. Twayne's English Authors Series 370. Boston: Twayne, 1984.
- . "Frances Trollope in the New World: Domestic Manners of the Americans." American Quarterly 21 (1969): 544-59.
- . Mrs. Trollope: The Triumphant Feminine in the Nineteenth Century. Athens, OH: Ohio UP, 1979.
- . Restless Angels: The Friendship of Six Victorian Women. Athens, OH: Ohio UP, 1983.
- . "'Starving in that Land of Plenty': New Backgrounds to Frances Trollope's Domestic Manners of the Americans." American Quarterly 24 (1972): 643-60.
- Horne, R[ichard] H[enry], ed. A New Spirit of the Age. New York: Riker, 1844.
- Houghton, Walter E. The Victorian Frame of Mind: 1830-1870. New Haven: Yale UP, 1957.
- , ed. Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals: 1824-1900. 4 vols. to date. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1966- .

- [Jacob, William]. Rev. of Remarks, by William Ouseley and The Refugee in America, by Frances Trollope. Quarterly Review 48 (Dec. 1832): 507-23.
- [Jacox, Francis]. "Female Novelists: No. V.-Mrs. Trollope." New Monthly Magazine 96 (1852): 19-27.
- "Jane Austen." Athenaeum 27 Aug. 1831: 553-54.
- Johnson, Edgar. Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph. New York: Viking, 1977.
- Rev. of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, by Frances Trollope. Athenaeum 2 July 1836: 462-63.
- Rev. of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, by Frances Trollope. Literary Gazette 2 July 1836: 420-22.
- Rev. of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, by Frances Trollope. Spectator 2 July 1836: 634-35.
- Rev. of Journal, by Frances [Kemble] Butler. Edinburgh Review 61 (July 1835): 379-406.
- Kemble, Frances Anne [Butler]. Journal. 2 vols. 1835. New York: Blom, 1970.
- . Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-1839. New York: Harper, 1863.
- "Latest Notes on America." Rev. of Scenes Americaines, by Charles Oliffe and Atlantic and Transatlantic Sketches, by Lauchlan Mackinnon. New Monthly Magazine 96 (1852): 229-37.
- Rev. of Letters and Notes on the . . . North American Indians, by George Catlin. Athenaeum 2 Oct. 1841: 755-59; 16 Oct. 1841: 792-94.
- Rev. of Letters and Notes on the . . . North American Indians, by George Catlin. Examiner 9 Oct. 1841: 645-46; 16 Oct. 1841: 661.
- [Lewes, G. H.]. "The Lady Novelists." Westminster Review 58 (July, 1852): 129-41.
- [---]. "Recent Novels." Fraser's 36 (Dec. 1847): 686-95.
- Levine, George. The Realistic Imagination: English Fiction from Frankenstein to Lady Chatterly. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1981.

- [Lister, T. H.]. "Dickens's Tales." Rev. of Sketches by Boz, Pickwick Papers, Nicholas Nickleby, and Oliver Twist, by Charles Dickens. Edinburgh Review 68 (Oct. 1838): 75-97.
- [---]. Rev. of Women as They Are, by Mrs. Gore. Edinburgh Review 51 (July, 1830): 444-62.
- Macauley, Thomas Babington. "Sir James Mackintosh." 1835. Rpt. in Critical and Historical Essays. Selected and introd. Hugh Trevor-Roper. New York: McGraw, 1965. 145-212.
- Marryat, Frederick. A Diary in America: with Remarks on its Institutions. 1839. Ed., introd., and notes Sidney Jackman. New York: Knopf, 1962.
- Martineau, Harriet. Retrospect of Western Travel. 3 vols. London: Saunders, 1838.
- . Society in America. 2 vols. 3rd. ed. New York: Saunders, 1837.
- [McCulloch, J. R.]. Rev. of Three Years in North America, by James Stuart. Edinburgh Review 56 (Jan. 1833): 460-81.
- McDermott, John Francis. "Mrs. Trollope's Illustrator: Auguste Hervieu in America (1827-1831)." Extrait de la Gazette des Beaux Artes Mar. 1958: 169-90.
- "Mrs. Trollope and the Americans." Rev. of Domestic Manners of the Americans, by Frances Trollope. American Quarterly Review 12 (Sept. 1832): 109-33.
- "Mrs. Trollope's Refugee in America." Westminster Review 18 (Jan. 1833): 208-27.
- Murray, Charles Augustus. Travels in North America 2 vols. London: Bentley, 1839.
- "Novel Writing." Athenaeum 9 Nov. 1833: 752-53.
- [O'Connell, John]. "Recent Opinions upon America." Rev. of Democracy in America, by Alexis de Tocqueville and The Americans, by Francis Grund. Dublin Review 2 (Apr. 1837): 354-67.
- Rev. of Oliver Twist, by Charles Dickens. Examiner 25 Sept. 1841: 614.

- Ouseley, William G[ore]. Remarks on the Statistics and Political Institutions of the United States Philadelphia: Carey, 1832.
- "Pamphlets on Emigration." Gentleman's Magazine Mar. 1832: 239-40.
- Payne-Gaposchkin, Cecilia. "The Nashoba Plan for Removing the Evil of Slavery: Letters of Frances and Camilla Wright, 1820-1829." Harvard Library Bulletin 23 (1975): 221-51, 429-61.
- Rev. of Rambles through North America by Simon Ansley Ferrall. Gentleman's Magazine Sept. 1832: 236-38.
- "Recent English Romances." Rev. of Attila, by G. P. R. James; and Rookwood and Crichton, by W. Harrison Ainsworth. Edinburgh Review 65 (Apr. 1837): 180-204.
- Rev. of Recollections of a Chaperon, ed. Lady Dacre. Edinburgh Review 57 (July 1833): 403-11.
- Rev. of The Refugee in America, by Frances Trollope. Athenaeum 8 Sept. 1832: 577-79; 29 Sept. 1832: 629-31.
- Rev. of The Refugee in America by Frances Trollope. Gentleman's Magazine Nov. 1832: 443.
- Rev. of Retrospect of Western Travel, by Harriet Martineau. Edinburgh Review 67 (April 1838): 180-97.
- Rosenberg, Carroll Smith. "Beauty, the Beast and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America." American Quarterly 23 (1971): 562-84.
- Sadleir, Michael. Trollope: A Commentary. 1927. London: Constable, 1945.
- Scudder, Harold H. "Mrs. Trollope and Slavery in America." Notes and Queries 29 July, 1944: 46-48.
- Stone, Harry. "Dickens' Use of his American Experiences in Martin Chuzzlewit." PMLA 72 (1957): 464-78.
- Stuart, James. Three Years in North America. 2 vols. 1833. Foreign Travelers in America. New York: Arno, 1974.

- Surtees, W. E. "Recollections of North America, in 1849-50-51." New Monthly Magazine. 94 (1852): 1-11, 208-35.
- [Taylor, Henry]. "Novels of Fashionable Life." Rev. of Arlington and The Contrast. Quarterly Review 48 (Oct. 1832): 165-201.
- Thackeray, William Makepeace. Contributions to the "Morning Chronicle". Ed. Gordon N. Ray. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1955.
- [---]. "Our Batch of Novels for Christmas, 1837." Fraser's Jan. 1838: 79-103.
- Rev. of Tour of the American Lakes, by Calvin Colton. Athenaeum 16 Nov. 1833: 767-68.
- "Trollope and Paulding on America." Fraser's Apr. 1832: 336-50.
- Trollope, Anthony. An Autobiography. 1883. Introd. Michael Sadleir. World's Classics Series 239. London: Oxford UP, 1953.
- . The Letters of Anthony Trollope. Ed. N. John Hall. 2 vols. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1983.
- . North America. 1862. Ed., introd., and notes Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth. New York: Knopf, 1951.
- Trollope, Frances. Domestic Manners of the Americans. 1832. Ed. and introd. Donald Smalley. New York: Knopf, 1949.
- . The Life and Adventures of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw: Or, Scenes on the Mississippi. 3 vols. London: Bentley, 1836.
- . The Old World and the New: A Novel. 3 vols. London: Colburn, 1849.
- . Paris and the Parisians in 1835. New York: Harper, 1836.
- . The Refugee in America: A Novel. 3 vols. London: Whittaker, 1832.
- . The Widow Wedded: Or, Adventures of the Barnabys in America. 1843. London: Ward, n.d.

- Trollope, Frances Eleanor. Frances Trollope, Her Life and Literary Work From George III to Victoria. 2 vols. London: Bentley, 1895.
- Trollope, Thomas Adolphus. What I Remember. 2 vols. London: Bentley, 1887.
- Tuckermann, Henry T. America and Her Commentators: With a Critical Sketch of Travel in the United States. 1864. Reprints of Economic Classics. New York: Kelley, 1970.
- Rev. of The Vicar of Wrexhill, by Frances Trollope. Athenaeum 23 Sept. 1837: 707-08.
- Vigne, Godfrey T. Six Months in America. 2 vols. London: Whittaker, 1832.
- Rev. of The Widow Barnaby, by Frances Trollope. The Times [London] 24 Jan. 1839: 5.
- Williams, Raymond. Culture and Society: 1780-1950. London: Chatto, 1958.
- [Wilson, John]. "America, No. II." Rev. of Men and Manners in America, by Thomas Hamilton. Blackwood's 34 (Oct. 1833): 548-68.
- [---]. "Refutation of Aspersions on the British Army." Rev. of Three Years in North America, by James Stuart. Blackwood's 35 (March 1834): 405-33.
- [Wiseman, Nicholas]. "Superficial Travelling: Dickens, Mrs. Trollope." Rev. of American Notes, by Charles Dickens and A Visit to Italy, by Frances Trollope. Dublin Review 14 (Feb. 1843): 255-68.
- Woodruff, D. "Expansion and Emigration." Young, Early Victorian England 2: 349-410.
- Wordsworth, William. The Poetical Works of Wordsworth. Boston: Houghton-Cambridge, 1982.
- Wright, Frances. Views of Society and Manners in America. 1820. Ed. Paul R. Baker. Cambridge: Belknap-Harvard UP, 1963.
- Rev. of Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey. Athenaeum 25 Dec. 1847: 1324-25.
- Young, George Malcolm, ed. Early Victorian England: 1830-1865. 2 vols. London: Oxford UP, 1934.