

ESSENTIAL AND UBIQUITOUS: THE INNS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
BRITISH FICTION

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department

of English

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Michael Webster

May, 2018

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ABSTRACT

In eighteenth-century England, inns stand as transient spaces between traditional, feudal values and a progressive, commercial society. They at once represent inward domesticity and outward society, classical hospitality and commercial enterprise, and class stratification and class amalgamation. Writers throughout the century understood the inimitable role the inn plays in society as a functional and temporary home for travelers, a local hub for regionally isolated communities, and a convening space for all of England, and thus they exploit the space for its utility. Since the space of the inn simultaneously resides outside the class system and yet inside the English social framework, it provides writers a pivotal location in which people across the social spectrum interact. In part, the anonymity afforded at inns also provides a foreign, almost exotic, atmosphere that begs for romance, intrigue, and secrecy. Analyzing works by Penelope Aubin, Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, and Tobias Smollett, this work argues that the inn serves an essential function within eighteenth-century English fiction.

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Introduction

There can be little that inspires a reminiscent imagination more than the history of the old Inns of England, which, through centuries, have waved their signs of open welcome to all who passed their way; and wherein men of all classes have met to pass the time of day and to exchange views on matters of immediate interest: great names, perhaps, unwitting each of the other's identity. (v)

Sir Edwin Lutyens, R.A.

The inn is a generative topic in eighteenth-century literature. The space of the inn is essential to eighteenth-century writing. This dissertation seeks to explore the indispensable role of the inn in eighteenth-century fiction. The words of Sir Edwin Lutyens, R.A. speak directly to the space of the inn of the eighteenth-century where inns at once provide the vast spectrum of man spaces to congregate, rest, or entertain. The growth of inns across the country during the century reflects the increasing wave of travelers for tourism and commerce. Unique in growth within the eighteenth-century as compared to other centuries, inns stand as transient spaces between traditional, feudal values and a progressive, commercial society. Because of the distinctive function and space occupied, the inn simultaneously represents inward domesticity and outward society, classical hospitality and commercial enterprise, class stratification and class amalgamation. As such, writers exploit the ready-made confines of the inn as a space where social flux is understood. Because its space simultaneously troubles the class system reflecting longstanding features of the English social framework, the inn provides a pivotal location in which varying levels of social strata come into contact with one another. Writers throughout the century understand the inimitable role the inn plays in

society as a functional and temporary home for travelers, as a local hub for regionally isolated communities, and as a convening space for all of England. Moreover, as a commercial venture, the inn provides data for satire since, in essence, home and hospitality are up for sale and everyman becomes a lord. In addition to the transient nature of the inn, the anonymity of characters within the walls provides a foreign, almost exotic, atmosphere that begs for romance, intrigue, and secrecy. Under such confines then, this work argues that the inn throughout the eighteenth-century serves an essential, and perhaps chronologically evolving, function within eighteenth-century British fiction.

The four primary of Penelope Aubin, Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, and Tobias Smollett discussed in the following chapters, explicitly highlight the various functions served by the inn in the fiction of the eighteenth-century. Chapter one examines how the inn readily supplies the needed anonymity and disguise to carry out the clandestine activities of early century amatory fiction, specifically Aubin's *The Adventures of Lady Lucy*. Surveying Defoe's *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*, chapter two explores the rise of commercialism and how the emerging middle class finds a home in the inn where domesticity and marriage are bartered. Chapter three examines Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* to show how satire thrives in anonymous spaces that encourage affectation, vanity, and deceit. Lastly, in chapter four, Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* shows how travel, when dissociated from the inn, allows landed gentry to (re)establish a conservative ideal. While these texts merely scratch the surface, I argue that inns play an essential function in fiction throughout the eighteenth-century.

Nowhere in the literature of the time do characters come together in such a distinctive, shared space where the usual rules of engagement between varying degrees of social class or rank have been suspended. Nowhere in the literature of the time does the setting dictate the activity and movement of the plot like the inn does, and nowhere else in the literature of the time does history and future meet than at the inn—a liminal space between the agrarian past and commercial progress.

Long before the eighteenth-century, the inn has consistently served as a key social space in literature. Most obviously, the narrative frame of the *Canterbury Tales*, for example, stems from an innkeeper who, in the prologue, suggests that the pilgrims tell tales along their travels. Important enough to Chaucer's narrative, the innkeeper is described as "a large man he was, with eyen stepe; / A fairer burgeis was ther noon in Chepe. / Boold of his speche, and wis, and wel ytaught, / And of manhode him lakkede right naught" (31). A common theme within the literary inn surfaces even in Chaucer as old world hospitality meets commercialization. In this case, the innkeeper only praises the travelers after they "hadden made our rekeninges" (31). As the pilgrimage progresses, the social role of the inn encourages numerous characters to contribute tales. After the religious pilgrimage of Chaucer's tales, the inn begins to proliferate in literature because interest and participation in travel dramatically increase in the early modern era. Movements of people across England along trade routes become increasingly common, and innovations in travel methods both in vehicles and roadways extend the distance and shorten the time for travelers. Foreign trade and colonial production require travel of agents, fortune seekers, and, in general, the growing merchant class. Further, the rise in wealth among the gentry and merchant class led to a heightened interest in travel as a

recreation. As this dissertation shows in part, inns both within England and on the European continent become not only necessary stops along travel routes, but, specifically, centers of social gatherings frequented by multiple layers of social rank.

Similar to the *Canterbury Tales*, *The Ingenious Nobleman Mister Quixote of La Mancha* also develops the inn as an essential space for fiction that British writers in the eighteenth-century imitate. In Chapter 16 entitled “Of what happened to the ingenious gentleman in the inn, which he imagined to be a castle” and Chapter 17, “Wherein are continued the numberless hardships which the brave Don Quixote and his good squire Sancho Panza underwent in the inn, which he unhappily took for a castle,” Quixote transposes the inn into a castle as part of his adventure seeking. Of interest in the scene, the inn provides the space for a potential sexual intrigue with the servant, Maritones, a brawl amongst the innkeeper, the servant, the carrier, Quixote, and Sancho, and the further humiliation of Sancho by the several travelers at the inn including “four cloth-workers of Segovia, three needle-makers of the horse fountain of Córdoba, and two butchers of Seville” (Cervantes 170). An emblematic example of the significance of the inn within the emerging world of eighteenth-century fiction, this episode incorporates a variety of social classes, mistaken identities, hijinks of one sort or another, and the juxtaposition of old world and new. As a common thread among works within this study, the role of commercialism also surfaces in this episode. When Quixote seeks to leave the inn, he offers his services in return for the innkeeper’s hospitality; however, in response the innkeeper states “Sir knight, I have no need of your worship’s avenging any wrong for me; I know how to take the proper revenge when any injury is done me; I only desire your worship to pay me for what you have had in the inn, as well for the straw and barley

for your two beasts, as for your supper and lodging” (168). From Chaucer onward, writers begin to understand the space of the inn as a common meeting space worthy of exploration.

The Inn as an Industry in the Eighteenth-Century

While earlier writers such as Chaucer depict the more modest inns of their own era, eighteenth-century writers must contend with the vast expansion of commercial travel during the course of the century. This expansion reflects the fact that the eighteenth-century travel industry catered to a public caught in an increasingly commercial society within a widening economic base. Large scale increases in wealth and global commerce in the century led to several developments. Robert Giddings indicates “the tonnage figures of British shipping is striking evidence of the growth of Britain as a trading and commercial nation in this period” (56). Giddings finds that “in 1702 total British tonnage was 323,000, but by 1763 . . . total tonnage was 496,000. The tonnage engaged in foreign trade rose from 123,000 in 1702 to 304,000 in 1773” (56). Roy Porter agrees that increased commerce, and therefore wealth, led to higher standards and quality of living including personal tourism: “wealth was being converted into personal goods, raising many households from levels of subsistence to comfort and style . . . spare cash was often laid out on entertainment and enjoyment” (*English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 232). The rise of commercialism meant that “many forms of culture and enjoyment, once private and exclusive, were becoming more open” (*English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 244). Benjamin Colbert concurs: “modern home tourism (and arguably tourism in general) flowers in the mid-eighteenth century as a popular leisure pursuit with a developing infrastructure of roads, inns, attractions, guides, guidebooks, engravings,

narratives, and with the rise of the taste for picturesque landscape, its own vocabulary and aesthetics” (2-3). Simultaneous to the explosion in wealth, innovations in travel expanded the possibility of leaving home for business or pleasure. While “in 1800 as in 1700 (or 700) the fastest mode of locomotion” was a horse or horse-drawn carriage, advances in the technology of roadways and coaches also spurred an increase in travel (Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 233). One such innovation was “the invention of the leather suspension system” that allowed for “public coaches between certain towns in England as early as the 1620s” (Adams 214-215). Richard Schwartz finds that “in general, travel improved markedly as the century progressed. The turning point was approximately the middle of the century, for the Jacobite rising in 1745 had raised logistics problems which emphasized the necessity of improved roads” (118). Dorian Gerhold adds that “from the mid-18th century the carrying trade changed significantly, becoming both larger and more efficient. Increased efficiency resulted partly from better roads but also from better horses, larger firms and new ways of reducing journey times” (69). Thus, a heightened interest in entertainment, an expanding area to conduct commerce, and more efficient means of mobility led to increases in travel during the eighteenth-century.

In this regard, the immense increase in travel for both business and pleasure spurred the need for stopping points to rest and feed horses and oneself. Coachmen began to create wide-ranging networks and routes by which they would carry passengers. Such networks also saw an influx of travel guides that provided “distances, costs of the toll roads, and information about inns and customs” (Adams 215). This then made the inn and the innkeeper important in the commerce of coaching as carriers and coachmen

often “made agreements with particular innkeepers, rather than stopping where they happened to be at the end of the day . . . the description of waggons as ‘stage-waggons’ itself indicates regular stages, just as for stage-coaches” (Gerhold 25). As travel commerce matured, coachmen went beyond partnering with innkeepers and, in fact, became innkeepers as a means to monopolize the commerce with which they were involved. At the close of the seventeenth-century coach masters increasingly left London as a place of residence to some intermediary residence between large provincial estates or other larger towns and ports. In essence, these coachmen were setting up shop in smaller, middling towns and villages to gain access to both London travelers and commerce at inns and public houses. As a result, the increase in innkeepers and barkeepers as an occupation, thus, exponentially rises by the mid-eighteenth-century. The wealth and commerce associated with coaching and keeping an inn climbed to such an extent that Matthew Decker, a merchant and statesman, sought to impose a luxury tax that would generate capital for the state through inns and coaches. His plan, as Oscar Sherwin’s reproduction of Decker’s table details, includes taxes imposed on those keeping coaches, drinking wine and spirits, or providing lodging, services, and entertainment (405). Clearly then, travel in the eighteenth-century whether for business or pleasure had become a way of life for some and a part of life for many.

With the steep increase of travel during the eighteenth-century, the inn becomes a figurative and essential location for many across the English countryside. In *Travellers in Eighteenth-Century England*, Rosamond Bayne-Powell asserts that the inn “was one of the most important buildings in the town, with a wide archway leading to the yard where

there were often three tiers of galleries” (40). Additionally, as Bayne-Powell points out, the choice of inns spoke directly to class and wealth of the traveler:

There were, first the grand establishments, the Posting Houses which entertained the quality who posted their own carriages or in post-chaises. They might accommodate riding gentlemen if these were duly accompanied by their servants. Some of these inns accepted passengers from the mail-coach, some did not; but they never stooped so far as to take in the common stage. Those low people had to go to the inns which catered to them. (41-42)

Food, as well, played a key status and wealth marker where anonymity filled the room. Bayne-Powell notes that “dinner was a very large meal and was generally followed by tea at seven or eight. Supper was eaten by the middle classes and the poorer who dined at noon” (48). Because of the large commercial boom of inns during the century, historical documents abound. Periodicals from the century highlight good service and accommodations, tax and excise records indicate the commercial gains, and guest books, ticket sales, and cartography trace both the number of travelers and travel routes. H.D. Eberlein and A.E. Richardson’s *The English Inn: Past and Present* provides a thorough survey of the English inn including the historical development of the inn from the fifteenth-century forward. Both visually and in description, they catalog inns within and beyond London while citing specific inns that are still in operation. With meticulous effort, their work makes “a point of studying almost every tavern that showed pictorial as well as historical merit” (2). Richardson revisits much of the discussion of his previous work a decade later in *The Old Inns of England* which includes in this newly-visualized

version a chapter entitled “The Inn in Literature.” In this chapter, Richardson traces the inn in literature beginning with the *Canterbury Tales* not in order to reveal the inn as a literary trope, but rather to show how inns in literature relate to real life locations, events, or experiences. In speaking of Smollett’s *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, Richardson suggests that the novel in some way gives an “idea of the average reception accorded to the chance wayfarer arriving at any smaller inn of the better type during the mid-eighteenth-century” (79). More importantly, both works painstakingly labor to include imagery of exteriors and interiors of inns and relevant inn signs and signposts, as well as detailed maps and networks of stage routes and prints of specific inn designs. Richardson’s scholarship acknowledges and sustains the inn as an important space within English social history. Similarly, while reference has already been made to Percy G. Adams and his *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, his work details specifically the inn as a motif within the literature of the century. More than this though, Adams provides necessary research on the travel methodology at the time as well as innovations within the field. As such, Adams concludes that these innovations not only make travel easier, but more accessible. For this fact, the inn becomes paramount for the wide spectrum of man in need of a resting place during travel. More recently in his attempt to parse fact from fiction in Smollett’s *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, Thomas Preston traces the location of referenced towns to determine stopping points of the travelers since “some towns and villages had well-known coaching inns” (xxxix). He determines that since “Smollett’s travelers pass from place to place there is often a high probability that they have stopped in one of these” (xxxix). Namely, Preston suggests, “in Marlborough the inn of choice is either the Three Tuns (now the Ailesbury Arms) or the Castle and Ball,

still in operation; in York the Black Swan, still in operation; in Durham the Three Tuns . . . in Newcastle upon Tyne the Scotch Arms” (xxxix). Further, Preston notes that “in some towns, however, there were many inns. Hatfield, for example, had several excellent establishments” (xxxix). All of this history speaks to the pervasive growth of inns during the century that sprout up to accommodate the needs of travelers of all sorts. Such documentation of primary sources and locations affirms the important and prominent function of the inn in eighteenth-century England; moreover, the proliferation of the inn within the century speaks to the increased wealth and commerce of the century.

In many respects, the rise of the inn within the emerging eighteenth-century travel industry also signals the fall of traditional hospitality—a reflection of an increasingly commercial society. Neil McKendrick notes that “the later eighteenth-century saw such a convulsion of getting and spending, such an eruption of new prosperity, and such an explosion of new production and marketing techniques, that a greater proportion of the population than in any previous society in human history was able to enjoy the pleasure of buying consumer goods” (9). Leisure and luxury no longer remained within the confines of the elite class. Instead, as J. H. Plumb indicates, all forms of leisure “point to the growth of a middle-class audience—not a mass audience by our standards, but so large and so growing that its commercial exploitation was becoming an important industry, involving considerable capital” (284). Not surprisingly, the increase in spending on leisure cascaded into the emerging travel sector that found ways to capitalize on hospitality not as an unwritten law of courtesy, but, rather, as a commercial venture of entrepreneurship. This specific change, from hospitality as a social norm to hospitality as a social gain, directly influences moments in the fiction. In Fielding, innkeepers remain

under fire for their treatment of travelers. In Aubin, hermits provide old world hospitality where it cannot be found elsewhere in the emerging commercial society. Defoe's *Moll Flanders* uses inns as a cover because of their commercial nature, and in Smollett the inn serves as a commercial venture to be avoided by the genteel. Percy G. Adams reminds the reader that inns represented a fairly new innovation. While "public hostelrys for charge apparently were introduced in Europe only by the fourteenth century," the inns as part of a developed commercial sector, namely hospitality, do not necessarily materialize until the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century. Even throughout most of the eighteenth-century, "pilgrims in England and on the Continent were accustomed to asking for and receiving hospitality while well-to-do travelers often carried letters of introduction that procured them entrance to the homes of ambassadors, merchants, or city fathers as well as churches and hospices that honored St. Christopher, the patron of travelers" (Adams 226). Where such accommodations could not be found, the inn served as home away from home.

Nevertheless, one sees in both nonfiction and fiction of the period writers criticizing the inhospitable practices of innkeepers and the general lack of generosity pervasive in society. The inn, therefore, provides a perfect occasion for such critiques. Whether the commentary stems from a bloated reckoning requested by a landlord, a paltry excuse for a meal offered, or room accommodations that do not meet expectations, writers latched on to the space of the inn as a reflection of the changing culture in which they lived that, first, commercialized common goodness for the benefit of wealth formation and, secondly, manifested a seemingly uncivilized, wealthy class. In both circumstances, inns provided a readymade space to display this changing culture. The

shifting idea of hospitality thus becomes a singular, if not the major, movement in travel during the eighteenth-century. No longer did the rules of hospitality dictate; rather, the local inn or pub offered the standard creature comforts available in a very public forum, and, of course, for a specific price. Felicity Heal speaks to the change of lodging during the eighteenth-century by describing a change in the classical law of hospitality. Less and less frequently, travelers to and from London were calling on this law from peers, friends, and acquaintances. As well, foreigners traveling into England created greater need for the inn when an acquaintance could not be found. Yet, even under such general need, “the English tourist or traveler on business was not an automatic recipient of private hospitality” in his own land (Heal 204-205). While the old law expected the locals to accommodate the traveler as needed, “the scattering of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century evidence could perhaps be interpreted as an indication that travelers already expected to pay for their entertainment . . . even the greatest in the land resorted to inns on their travels: The Berkeleys, Howards, and Seymours” (Heal 202). This expectation points to the developing prominence of commerce in the role of travel within the economic framework of eighteenth-century England.

The shift from traditional hospitality to commercial hospitality comes to the fore in the eighteenth-century with the inn at the center of this shift. One byproduct of this shift is the very foreign, often anonymous menagerie of nightly visitors representing a composite collection of social classes found at the inn. Traveling by coach required that a mixed assortment of travelers spent large amounts of time together. Not unlike a nineteenth-century train ride or a modern airplane flight, stratification of class took a backseat to space availability. While the wealthiest traveled the best, much travel still

found a hodgepodge of passengers put together for the purpose of conveyance. Richard Schwartz indicates that “coaches were designed to carry four passengers in comfort inside. However, they usually took six inside and also allowed people to ride on top . . . no more than six were supposed to ride on top but sometimes as many as twelve to fifteen rode there” (120). Historical documents, diaries and records suggest that the standard coach carried for the most part a mixture of social classes including the gentry, the merchants and frankly, any other traveler that could afford to foot the bill:

Stage-coach passengers recorded between 1654 and 1728, mostly in diaries, include the Countess of Ardglass, many gentlemen (11 with knighthoods), several Members of Parliament, a sheriff of Yorkshire, the son of a Cheshire gentleman on his way to Westminster School, the Bishops of Carlisle, Chester and Kildare, the Archdeacon of Stafford and other Anglican and nonconformist clergymen, the wife of the Vicar of Bradford, a mayor of Yarmouth, an alderman of Worcester (in the custody of the King’s Messenger), the son of a York alderman, the Warden of Merton College, several lawyers, merchants, doctors, stewards, scholars and antiquaries, an employee of the Bishop of Durham, several captains or wives of captains, an apothecary selling garden seeds, the children of a goldsmith and a customs officer, an Irish lady with her seventh-month-old son and servants, a schoolteacher, a tanner’s wife, a cooper, a dry-salter, a bricklayer, a nurse and child, ‘an old serving-woman and a young fine mayd’ and two prostitutes. (Gerhold 91)

Those that could afford to purchase their own private coach or a trip in the more elite post-chaise still faced the possibility of broken wheels or suspension, a vehicle stuck in the mud, an overturned coach, or highwayman—all of which would require the conveyance of a passing public coach or at the least a short walk to the nearest village. For most of these travelers, the inn served a more convenient stop along the travel route that did not include an extra trip to the manor house or regional relative. Therefore, unlike rapping on the door of a distant relative for a night's lodging, the inn could and did take in a wide spectrum of society. From the locals that "often came [to the inn], to pass some hours over some Pint beers" (Malcolmson 72) to the gentry that spent nights in inns that had "rooms called the earl's or lord's chambers" (Heal 202), the inn served a significant, public role in amalgamating a collective body. Whether the posting houses reserved for the wealthiest or the general inn for the lower class, regardless of class and because of necessity, the same spaces often served a variety of social classes. Horses still needed mending and feeding, coaches needed broken wheels fixed, and bodies still needed necessary nourishment. That said, divisions within the inn still existed, as, for example, servants typically took meals in the kitchen. In such an environment, the inn straddles the line of commercialism and hospitality in the innkeeper's effort to serve guests hospitably yet profitably. In this regard, Daryl W. Palmer asserts "hospitality maintains chains of access," such access to power and "powerful men" (3), and if hospitality in the eighteenth-century leaves the private homes of those willingly taking in guests to a space more public where a large amount of anonymity exists, then access to power becomes a principally public enterprise at the inn. This is all to say, then, that the increase of travel and tourism in the eighteenth-century caused by increased wealth and

commerce fostered the rapid development of the hospitality industry as represented by and carried out at the roadside inn. As such, the inn fills an essential function within society—a function that similarly becomes essential to the literature of the period.

The Inn within the Public and Private Dialectic

The increasingly complex social functions of the inn in this period make it necessary to address its role in the public/private distinction. Much like the coffee houses in London, the inn or public house on the road served as both an emblem and a site for public discourse. The scale of these changes can be quantified; in speaking of suburban expansion in London, Roy Porter finds that “in central London there was a pub for every few hundred people” as opposed to twentieth-century developments in the new suburban area of Becontree where “just six pubs were provided—one per 20,000” (*London, a Social History*, 309). Porter’s comment suggests that the older notion of the public house or inn where ideas and opinions were shared helped shape the public during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century. He also notes that in London alone, “early in the century 11.2 million gallons of spirits were being drunk in London a year (about seven gallons per adult), sold from 207 inns, 447 taverns, 5,875 ale-houses, and 8,659 brandy shops” (*English Society in the Eighteenth Century* 235). In such environments discourse of consequence was inevitable. Additionally, Jurgen Habermas points out that “merchants organized the first mail routes, the so-called ordinary mail, departing on assigned days” (16). Business or political news that might have been passed privately between guest and host at an estate now had a public forum in written form: “private correspondence contained detailed and current news about Imperial Diets, wars, harvest, taxes, transports of precious metals, and of course, reports on foreign trade . . . the

recipients of private correspondence had no interest in their contents becoming public” (Habermas 20). The increasing movement of news across larger regions and to larger audiences helped expand the public. The inn situated itself to be the space in which such transactions of information occurred since postal routes required frequent stops for the purposes described above, but as well to provide necessary information to travelers in route for the conduct of business or political services. “The old home towns were thus replaced as bases of operations by the state territory” in much the same way coach masters assumed inns in more intermediary locations to service their trade (Habermas 17). The inn, then, served as a place where a large, public body temporarily met and discussed quite private matters publicly. Where once the inn served as an outpost between one nobleman’s property to the next large town or adjacent nobleman’s estate, the inn now became a center for discourse on social happenings, politics, religion, and commerce. Increasingly through the eighteenth-century, the inn served less as a private extension of a local land baron from the feudal tradition and more the commercial extension of the large, public state. Moreover, this social notion is physically manifested in the architecture of the inn as contrasted to that of the home. Just as private hospitality was giving way to public accommodations, the home was becoming more privatized: “the ‘public’ character of the extended family’s parlor in which the lady of the house at the side of its master performed the representative functions before the domestic servants and neighbors was replaced by the conjugal family’s living room into which the spouses and their smaller children retired from the personnel” (Habermas 45). Michael McKeon adds, “the impulse toward physical privacy was experienced as a universal human value rather than as proper to the socially elevated alone. What had begun as an elite withdrawal from

collective presence had become the architectural expression of an emergent individualist norm” (252). Great halls and yards were splintered into compartments by walls and hedges to increase the inner recesses of spaces for privacy. Contrary to these domestic developments, the inn maintained the ancient great room where people congregated. The kitchens were large and inviting; “in addition to sculleries, larders, and rooms for distilling” the kitchen might “also have adjoining dairies and bakehouses” as well as “large open fireplaces” (Schwartz 107). Commonly, one would find travelers huddled around a table in the kitchen discussing items pertinent of the day; moreover, common amongst travelers, inns held the expectation that guests would “share rooms, and in many cases, beds, with strangers” (Schwartz 124). The open, welcoming, and public atmosphere of the inn greatly contrasted with that of the private home.

To this extent, the inn of the eighteenth-century complicates the public/private dichotomy presented by Habermas as the inn by nature straddles the line of public and private. The nobler and wealthier a traveler, the far greater privacy was found in lodging; however, inns catered to those that entered the gate, and thus in many cases less than comfortable or even shared quarters would deprioritize privacy regardless of class status. McKeon notes “Habermas schematically represents the modern relationship of the public and the private as an opposition that is also an interpenetration. The public realm of state authority is opposed to a private realm that is composed of a market-driven civil society, an intimate sphere, and a public sphere that mediates between the private and the public realms” (48). The inn as a public space breaks down this opposition by way of the unavoidable happenstance of travel that remains subject to horse-drawn carriages, road conditions, weather, highwaymen, distance, and the sheer number of travelers. To some

extent then, the inn serves as a space both public and private—a liminal commons where society must navigate and negotiate the public and private realm. In this respect, the inn widens the public sphere to include a greater number of participants. Humphry Clinker finds himself able to sermonize in backdoors of the inns, Moll Flanders can be misidentified as nobility, or Parson Adams and the mariner-innkeeper can battle whoever stands in authority. The inn lacks the common signifiers of decorum and public distinctions that society relies upon. As McKeon notes, “another realm of public activity that critics have argued Habermas ignores in his concept of the public sphere is that of commoners and ‘plebeians’; and this criticism is at least theoretically justified by Habermas’s self-limitation not only to the ‘bourgeois’ public sphere but also to a ‘liberal model’ of it that explicitly excludes ‘the plebeian public sphere’” (74). To this point, the inn serves in a way as a plebian public sphere; one need only look to the heavy hand of a Tow-wouse who asserts her authority over the space. Yet again, the inn as a convening space of a wide swath of classes requires attention for the way in which it fluctuates from private and public spaces. The inn provides hospitality and privacy in a very public forum. Writers understood at the very least the ability of the inn to facilitate points of conflict related to public issues within a private setting. Bramble’s disdain for his surroundings when lodged surely speaks to the writer’s employment of the inn as do the several foot-in-the-mouth arguments of Parson Adams. The discussion that follows does not necessarily seek to articulate fully the role that the inn plays in public and private discourse. Throughout the following chapters, the flexible and evanescent space of the inn not only performs an essential function for the narratives surveyed but also informs the public/private discourse as it relates to the changing face of domestic life.

The Inn as Essential to Eighteenth-Century Fiction

The pervasive nature of the expanding global commercial market within the eighteenth-century undergirds much of the sociological discourse of the century. The developing wealth of the merchant class, the secularization of the public alongside the fragmentation of religion, and the slow advance towards industrialization all figure prominently in public discourse, literature, and arts of the century. As John Brewer points out “audiences and the public, their good and ill conduct, their approval and disorderliness, were constant subjects of artistic and literary comment” (97). “This attention,” Brewer further adds, “was part of the artists’ desire to establish an idea of a respectable public, a body whose support would secure their own status” (97). Writers and artists denounced a world less civilized in response to the widening class of wealth that commercial venture fostered, “for if wealth and commerce nurtured the fine arts, they were also the seed of their corruption, creating a world of appearances and false desires” (Brewer xxi).

Beyond literature, one need only to view the works of William Hogarth to see such social commentary on display. Both *A Harlot’s Progress* and *A Rake’s Progress*, for example, visualize the vice and luxury as social ills. Within the fiction of the time, and in similar fashion the drama, the inn falls squarely in the crux of these discussions. Because the inn provides a space that uniquely requires people of varying degrees of social rank to interact, following rules of engagement, using appropriate manners, and carrying a noble deportment all become key identifiers and thus areas of study under the microscope for writers. Amidst generally anonymous or ambiguous conditions among fellow travelers, servants, and innkeepers, all characters that cross through the inn door in the fiction of the time immediately require speculation from other characters and consideration by the

writer. Percy G. Adams finds that inns “provided a gathering place for players, lovers, picaros, sailors, outlaws, travelers of all kinds . . . when they need to stop not just for food and lodging but to tell their stories to each other, read books aloud, or offer disquisitions to captive audiences” (225). Moreover, the inn serves as a “planned excuse, for the novelist to insert an epic, ornamental story, a digression of any kind” (225). The inn arises in the eighteenth-century as a space appropriated by writers because of the distinctive ability of the space to reflect the social milieu.

With this in mind, this dissertation explicitly hones in on fiction as opposed to other forms of writing. First, as Susan Lamb points out “both fictional narrative and touring offered their readers and practitioners an experience of densely arrayed meaning, structured with the help of communally accepted conventions designed for especially intense interpretive activity” (16). Separating the fiction of travelogues from the fiction of novels, specifically those involving travel, creates difficulty and complication at best. Smollett’s *Humphry Clinker* or Sterne’s *Sentimental Journey* both serve as works that straddle the line of fiction and nonfiction. Lamb further adds fiction and travel writing “both provided participants with a self-conscious opportunity to construct realities,” and further, “these realities were fictional in the sense that they were at least partially convenient and believable untruths” (16). Writing about travel and touring differ, however, from fictional accounts as to how they engage with spaces such as inns.

For the most part, travel writing extends an authoritative will to describe the landscape, customs, and people from afar. Events, however fictional they may be, in travel writing do not typically reveal spaces such as inns as spaces of discourse; rather, they typically gloss the experience in the form of opinion waged against the space as a

whole. As for example, consider Fielding's description of an inn he frequents in *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* in which "there was no appearance of anything but poverty, want, and wretchedness about their house" (107). Further, he describes the accommodations, or lack thereof, stating, all that to be found is "but a few bottles of wine, and spirituous liquors, and some very bad ale, to drink; with rusty bacon and worse cheese to eat" (107). As with many travel accounts of inns, Fielding disdainfully summarizes the commercial exchange of the experience: "then it should be considered, on the other side, that whatever they received was almost as entirely clear profit as the blessing of a wreck itself; such an inn being very reverse of a coffeehouse: for here you neither sit for nothing, nor have anything for your money" (107). Travel writing by nature suggests an "us and them" principle. Tim Youngs in *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* explains of his text that "the guiding principal of this book is that travel writing consists of predominantly factual, first person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by an author-narrator" (3). This statement can be obviously be disputed, since *Gulliver's Travels* represents travel writing as much as does *Humphry Clinker*. Additionally, one could question the factual nature of some travel writing such as Boswell's own account in Scotland with Johnson. Nevertheless, spaces such as the inn operate differently in the fiction of the century than they do in the travelogue. Countless fictional examples utilize the inn for the essential functions of anonymity, privacy, and intrigue. Unlike inns in travelers' accounts, fictional inns specifically and essentially help advance the narrative, or introduce some development in character, theme, or plot. In the travelogue, though, the inn merely rounds out the landscape as part of the color of description the writer provides.

Moreover, while inns serve as settings for numerous dramatic works, the role differs little from that of fiction. For example, George Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem* occurs solely at an inn where mistaken identities among varying classes undergird the work. In some cases, the chapters that follow reference the stage as a point of amplification; nonetheless, unlike the fiction of the period, the works of the stage typically do not move beyond a singular inn. In other words, the stage representations of inns lack a sustained building of thematic references that collectively signal the effect of the inn on the work. The patterned behavior of anonymity developed in Aubin's *Lady Lucy*, for instance, surfaces through multiple scenes at multiple inns. Similarly, layered encounters of Parson Adams at several inns in Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* creates a nuanced argument of Fielding's satire. In this regard, while the role of inns on the stage mirror that of the fiction of the period, this dissertation seeks to focus on fiction because of the patterned activity developed in each work through multiple inns. Lastly, as an additional point of amplification, the following chapters, particularly that on Aubin's *Lady Lucy*, at times will draw attention to periodicals from the century as a means to contextualize travel and inns within the emerging hospitality industry.

While the following chapters do not necessarily attempt to represent the historical function of the inn as does the scholarship of A. E. Richardson or Percy G. Adams, they do seek to clarify the function of the inn within the fiction of the time. The four novels discussed herein serve only as a starting point in the larger discussion of the inn within eighteenth-century literature. While other novels could have been chosen, the four here surveyed represent specific points of departure both chronologically and generically. Aubin's *Lady Lucy* provides an early century example of amatory fiction that employs

the inn as a space of anonymity to carry out acts of intrigue. As a first person narrative, Defoe's *Moll Flanders* speaks to the rise of individualism within the commercial world. Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* here represents the large body of picaresque novels published during the middle of the century. While Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, or Smollett's *The Adventures of Roderick Random* could have sufficed, *Joseph Andrews*' intertextual response to Richardson's *Pamela* as well as the overlay of Parson Adams as a central character provides for a better survey. Lastly, Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* naturally emerges as an ideal text for this study given the interplay of the work between travelogue and novel. Furthermore, as representative of the epistolary novel, *Humphry Clinker* speaks to the larger body of work in this generic frame so popular at the time, though in some sense Smollett's novel finally detaches the inn from its hospitable, class-mixing function to argue for the reestablishment of an earlier form of social hierarchy. Taken as a group, these four works provide a fundamental basis for developing the space of the inn as a key device for the eighteenth-century novelist. As a line of development traced from Aubin's early century work to Smollett's mid to late century work, the four novels offer significant, prototypical representations of how writers of the century employed the inn in literature, making the inn a significant feature of both this era's literature and its social fabric.

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The Inn, Disguise, and Morality in Aubin's *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy*

Penelope Aubin's *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy* serves as a good starting point for discussing the nature of the inn in eighteenth-century British fiction because the inn serves as a device that provides her characters the secrecy and anonymity they need for their clandestine acts. The temporary secrecy afforded by the inn allows her fiction to pursue its moral agenda against lasciviousness, adultery, and immorality. In fact, anonymity will be a recurring theme throughout this dissertation's survey of the fiction of the century. Additionally, this chapter builds on McKeon's scholarship in the *Secret History of Domesticity* by suggesting that anonymity and disguise function critically in privatizing illicit behavior even within public spaces, or, as he states "the gradual shift of normative weight from the public referent to private reference" (621). Particular to Aubin, the inn serves as an anonymous space of intrigue where disguise conceals public representations, specifically of and for males. In this space, the illicit deeds can occur precisely because of the anonymity afforded characters at inns. As an extension of donned disguises, the inn allows the male characters an extended space, public yet anonymous, in which they can carry out illicit deeds unnoticed and distance themselves from their own wrongdoing. Additionally, not unlike the amatory fiction of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century, Aubin carries forward the clandestine intrigue made so popular in such works; however, the moral underpinnings of her writing suggest a departure from previous writers of amatory fiction. Although Aubin is able to capitalize on the inherent popularity of amatory fiction, she distances herself by speaking within a moral, didactic framework. In this regard, the inn fills a specific purpose for

Aubin's moral agenda of first publicizing and then censoring the clandestine, private, licentious behavior external to and yet extending from the reach of the estate.

Aubin also functions well as a point of departure because of the role she plays in bridging the gap between the amatory fiction popular at the turn of the century and the more conservative, domestic, often didactic, fiction that follows. Before Aubin published her first novel, amatory fiction of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century had dominated the market. As William B. Warner states, "the most successful English writers of novels between 1683 and 1740 were Aphra Behn, Delarivière Manley, and Eliza Haywood" (87). These writers found success, Warner states in "their development of a specific type of novel, the novel of amorous intrigue" (87). In agreement, Toni Bowers confirms "three women—Aphra Behn (c. 1640-1689), Delarivière Manley (c. 1670-1724), and Eliza Haywood (c. 1693-1756)—held undisputed preeminence during the eighteenth-century as authors of scandalous fiction" (51).¹ For Warner, "the enormous popularity of the novels of amorous intrigue may derive from their bold validation, within the space of fictional entertainment, of the attractions of erotic freedom"; thus, feasibly amatory fiction serves as a window into the private social lives of readers (91). To this end, amatory fiction fills a literary void at the time that satiates a public appetite for something beyond their own lives, and writers of amatory fiction capitalize on this craving in and around the turn of the century.

¹ Barbara M. Benedict adds "in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, however, Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley, and Eliza Haywood find a cultural space for . . . the publication of sexual novels, works vaunting empirical exploration, sensation, and novelty itself" (194).

Patricia Meyer Spacks suggests that this writing fits into a larger genre of "novels of adventure" where "fiction writers' implicit definition of adventure enlarged, no longer depending on knights, giants, lions, and tigers," and in response "some explored erotic implications of the love plot" (28-29).

Amatory fiction, nevertheless, cannot be boiled down to the inherent eroticism within the writing. In speaking of Manley and Haywood, Jean B. Kern suggests that “they seem to have their cake while eating it too in pointing out the plight of the ‘fallen’ woman but lingering over sensuous warm baths, filmy nightgowns, flower-scented gardens, and descriptions of smooth flesh; yet both these women had reason from personal experience to know the permanent disgrace of the ‘fallen’ woman” (464). Kern’s use of the term “personal” may speak directly to the documented lives of Manley or Haywood; however, the term could also extend further beyond their lives or the fiction itself. External to the general sexual escapades, works of amatory fiction from the time engage in secret histories, a body of writing critics find “reveal the seamy side of public life, exposing their rulers’ sexual appetites and lust for personal power” (Bullard 138). Bullard also notes that secret histories “suggest that real power resides not in the public world of masculine authority to which orthodox history addresses itself, but in the private spaces of the backstairs, inner closet, and bedchamber” (138). Adding to Bullard’s commentary, Michael McKeon sustains that secret histories “include not only the narratives of the Restoration and early eighteenth-century that explicitly call themselves ‘secret histories’ but also those (like *romans à clef*) that signal their secrecy through allegorical, amatory ‘romance’ plots that sanction techniques of close reading to uncover their deepest public meaning” (471). As a certain type of secret history, the body of amatory fiction produced by Behn, Manley, and Haywood, among others, tells the lurid tales of those in power through implication, anonymity, and allegory. In publication, then, secret histories disclose the private lives of the powerful however allegorical or anonymous the story seeks to be. In some cases, in fact, the inclusion of keys to

characterization allowed for public speculation that heightened the intense public interest and scrutiny of the private lives of public figures. Amatory fiction thus serves a very public, political imperative while at the same time delivering an entertaining glance into private affairs.

As a writer of fiction, Penelope Aubin (c. 1685-1731) enters this literary scene sometime after much of the groundwork had been laid by the writers of amatory fiction, specifically those of secret histories such as Behn, Manley, and Haywood; nevertheless, her works bridge the expanse between the domestic novels that arise by the midcentury and the amatory works from the turn of the century. While she had experimented in other forms of writing in the first decade of the century, not until 1721 with *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil and His Family* does she begin to publish novels. Ros Ballaster notes that the early part of the eighteenth-century “saw a split between female-authored pious and didactic love fiction, stressing the virtues of chastity or sentimental marriage, and erotic fiction by women” (33). This may in large part have to do with large sociopolitical changes afoot in the country whereby 1714 in some respects marks a “watershed in English public affairs” (McKeon 621). As McKeon notes the year saw “the end of the War of the Spanish Succession; the fall from power of the Tory Party; the death of the last of the Stuarts; the accession of the first Hanoverian, a foreigner whose English was broken but whose Protestantism was secure; and the (first) resounding defeat of those who sought to restore the Stuart pretender to the throne of England” (621). The reason for the decline in publication or public interest in secret (erotic) histories at the time is better suited for a separate discussion altogether; however, relevant to this immediate discourse clearly the increased interest in a less decadent, perhaps less public

referential, literary entertainment was taking shape. “Penelope Aubin, Elizabeth Singer Rowe, Jane Barker, and to a lesser extent, Mary Davys, seek to revive moral vigour in feminocentric representations of love” asserts Ros Ballaster (32). Furthermore, Ballaster finds that “the roots of their fiction lie in didactic prose, the conduct book, and the ‘chaste’ Platonic idealism of that early feminist, Mary Astell” (32). Sarah Prescott echoes Ballaster: “Aubin is viewed as a didactic moralist who was also responsible for helping to create a new model for women writers which sidestepped the disreputable influences of Manley and Haywood, already tainted by their perceived connections with Aphra Behn and Susanna Centlivre” (101). While Aubin moves fiction beyond the secret history of amatory fiction, her works still carry a vestige of them forward. Allegorical representation of private acts done by powerful, public figures may not necessarily fill the pages in Aubin’s novels, yet readers found in the new moralizing form “a looking glass that reflected their own images back to them, transforming the pleasing detachment of identification into the rueful self-knowledge of identity” (McKeon 622). April London understands that in Aubin “victimization is no longer tied to individual aggression, but has become a social reflex directed against the heroine as exemplar of piety and virginity” (112). To put it another way, Aubin, Barker, and Hearne among others “tell stories of private people whose relation to public events is one of tenuous evocation rather than tangible signification” (627). Essentially, the social mores permeate the work and therefore resonate with the reader as oppose to allegorically represent a singular set of public personalities. “Domestic events (thwarted love, familial conflicts, forced and chosen marriages, bigamy, spinsterhood) that in *romans à clef* might bear a determinate relationship to public events proliferate” the works of Aubin and others that are writing

more didactic narratives at the time; nonetheless, such domestic events only “diffuse a broadly affective climate of regret, loss, and melancholy” (McKeon 627). Moreover, as opposed to salacious tales that mask public characters, “actual particularity is dissolved in the virtuality of emotional atmosphere” (627). The essence of amatory fiction and the secret histories they impart still linger in the fiction that follows, yet the hidden or masked character becomes a societal referent of private acts as opposed to a singular description of a public figure. The emerging works beyond amatory fiction from writers like Aubin “demonstrate how things classified ‘private’ were in fact matters of public scrutiny and concern and how absolutely fluid and porous are the boundaries between spheres” (Backscheider 10). Of note then, the movement away from the secret histories of amatory fiction to texts more didactic and moralizing speaks to the changing role of privacy throughout society. For, private acts become publicized to a wide swath of society. Rather than entertaining reports, albeit allegorically, on the private activity of those in power, private, clandestine acts become modes of instruction within fiction. Such a shift required a more readily found, perhaps more common, space such as the inn to actuate the private deeds. To this end, Aubin’s works experiment with developing such spaces of activity for the emerging form of fiction to follow.² Hence, Aubin stands well as a starting point to discuss the inn in the fiction of the century primarily because she stands at the cusp of the emerging novelistic writing that commences with abundance. Amatory fiction does not disappear it is important to note; Haywood’s *Love in Excess*, for

² One such example of Aubin’s influence on fiction may be found in Richardson. Wolfgang Zach notes that Aubin may have had a direct influence on him: “her preoccupation with virtuous heroines in distress who are exposed to all kinds of sexual dangers (such as abduction, seduction or rape) only to be saved by a kind Providence and who receive their due reward in the end, as does Pamela, or who die peacefully and go to taste eternal happiness, as does Clarissa” (272).

example, was highly successful in 1719, and, similarly, as David Oakleaf observes of Manley, “the sixth edition of her decade-old *New Atalantis* in 1720 provides further evidence that the market for amatory fiction had been revitalized by Haywood’s novel” (175). However, as she begins publishing fiction, Aubin’s works straddle the line between amatory fiction’s private, backroom intrigue and the domestic novel’s public moralizing in such a way as to move fiction forward from that of amatory fiction.

Significant to this movement is the role anonymity plays within Aubin’s works, and for that matter within society as a whole, to mask and conceal iniquitous behavior. In utilizing disguise and anonymity, Aubin carries forward a noteworthy and common literary apparatus of amatory fiction that likewise becomes vital to subsequent fiction throughout the remainder of the century. As such, inns surface in her works as a means to provide anonymity for a variety of characters. As Paula Backscheider explains “impersonation and disguise, cross-sex ‘passing,’ manipulation of social and moral identity are everywhere in these fictions” (23). For Aubin and other writers of the period, Backscheider notes that “sex, gender, class, authority, ethnicity prove not to be natural or inevitable. The prevalent use of clothing and disguise by all the writers, including Defoe, suggests what a preoccupation the instability of categories often treated as natural was” (23). In outlining common elements of amatory fiction, William B. Warner comments on disguise and anonymity that “while embedded in intrigue, the protagonist cannot have the luxury of ‘deep’ identity: a shifting set of social masks allows him or her to manipulate the social as if from outside, as fixed and limited set of codes, conventions, or types” (90). Rightfully so, anonymity and secrecy are prerequisites to fictional works that seek to unveil the private activities of public figures. Aubin carries this trait forward as a

reflection of the literary market for which she writes while at the same time realizing the necessity of anonymity to carry out amorous intrigue and deviant activity. Aubin sets her writing apart from her predecessors, nonetheless, by utilizing such anonymity to amplify the dissolute behavior of the characters.

More than this fact, however, anonymity and disguise figure prominently across the large expanse of writing during the space and time for which Aubin writes her fiction. For example, the periodicals of the century abound with incidents of concealed identity. Most commonly found are masked robberies such as this one from the *St. James's Journal*, July 26, 1722: "Thomas Milksop, who lately return'd from Transportation, was taken by the Men that guard the Road to Bellsizes, in Figg-Lane on the Road to Hampstead, where he had robb'd a lady in her Chariot to a great Value, and was about to attack another Coach. His Mask and Pistols, which he threw away, were found next Morning in a Ditch." In addition to such petty thievery, periodicals also dealt regularly with topics of concealment. Disguised writers such as the *British Apollo*, *Spectator*, *Observer*, or *Prompter* provided self-titled daily and weekly periodicals. In many instances within text, names were held in secrecy, albeit minute at best, to avoid authorial scrutiny or libel such as the following from a *Country Journal or The Craftsman* in 1730: "They did not give them their *proper Names* and call them, without any Disguise, *D'Anvers*, *Fog*, *B ____ dg ____ ll* and *C ____ x ____ l*." Such examples of anonymity provided the space to take on different personas and at the same time editorialize without fear of backlash.

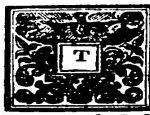
Masquerades and balls, as well as shops selling costumes for such events, also filled pages of periodicals in the form of advertisements. Figure 1 taken from the *Daily*

Post, Thursday, January 27, 1726, provides an affirming example in which five advertisements list places to purchase habits, or costumes, in direct correspondence to an advertised ball directly above these five advertisements. Interestingly enough, at the top of the same column, the first piece offers up a further example of disguise: “Whereas the Publick continues to be often impos’d upon, by a Person unknown, who hath pretended to come from several Coffee-Houses, with Flower of Mustard-seed, making Use of the Names of the Masters of such Houses, or the Gentlemen that use the same, in Order to extort Money.” To the same column is added an advertisement for the play, *The Double Gallant: Or, the Sick Lady’s Cure* by Colley Cibber—an example of a rather common variety of comedic drama of the time exploiting disguise, innuendo, and irony.

Within the same column, a brief address to the public in search of a recent home burglar provides a detailed description of the suspect presented as “a pale-fac’d middle fac’d Man, with a little Wart on the Right Side of the Nose, hazel’d Eyes, wears a Wig and a black Serge Wastecoat with black Horn Buttons, black Doe-skin Breeches with Buttons the same as on the Wastecoat, a dark colour’d Country Cloth Coat, a white Cloth great Coat; he has a little hard Nob upon the Knuckle of the little finger” (*Daily Post*, January 27, 1726). Such a description speaks to the complex nature of identification within eighteenth-century London that progressively grew more populated, more diverse, and therefore more anonymous. Not unlike Warner’s reflection above that “a shifting set of social masks allows him or her to manipulate the social as if from outside,” the periodical column herein, taken in its entirety, suggests the fluid motion of identity within the larger social context of London in which disguise represents the joyful absence of the

self in a large public space and, at the same time, the darker, misanthropic existence of the anonymous often seeking privacy.

THURSDAY, January 27, 1726.



London, January 27.
THE Corporation of Sandwich in the County of Kent have drawn up, and transmitted to Sir George Oxenden Bart. and Josiah Burcher Esq; their Representatives in Parliament, the following Address to his Majesty, which was presented by them on Wednesday the Nineteenth Instant.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
 The Humble Address of the Mayor, Jurats, Bailiff, Town-Clerk, Common-Council, Freeman, and other Inhabitants of Your Majesty's ancient Town and Port of Sandwich; one of the Cinque Ports.

Most Gracious Sovereign,
 I Permit us (having already render'd to Almighty God our most unfeigned Thanks for the Preservation of your most Sacred Person in the late dreadful Tempest) to offer unto your Majesty our most hearty Congratulations on your safe Arrival in these your Dominions.

As the Sense was very great which we (on the Sea-Coast in a particular Manner) have had of the imminent Danger to which your Majesty has been exposed, so is now our Joy inexpressible on your Majesty's happy Deliverance. That the Great God, who hath thus guarded your Majesty, may still continue his gracious Protection to you, defend you in all Dangers, and grant you a long, happy, and prosperous Reign over your People, are the hearty Prayers of your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects and Servants.

Given at Sandwich, under our Common Seal, the Fourteenth Day of January, Anno Domini 1725.

Yesterday arrived a Mail from France.

Warsaw, Jan. 12. The Great Chancellor and some Senators of the Kingdom have held a particular Council in the King's Presence, on the Heads of the Matters which the Court ought to propose to the General Council of the Senators; and in that Council its affair'd it was resolv'd to send forthwith a solemn Embassy to the Court of Russia, from whence a new Minister Plenipotentiary is likewise expected here. There is already arriv'd a great Number of the Nobility of Poland and Lithuania, and the Great Marshal of the Crown Army is shortly expected; so that we do not yet despair of the Holding of the Great Council on the 15th Instant. The King has received an anonymous Letter, which has given Occasion to various Discourses, and Orders are given to augment the Court-Guards.

Berlin, Jan. 12. On the 20th the new-born Prince, was baptized, and named Frederick-Henry-Lewis, by M. Nolentius, Preacher to the Court, in Presence of the King and the Royal Family, several Foreign Ministers, the General Officers, &c. The Prince Royal flood Godfather; the other Godfathers were the King of Denmark, the Dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon; and the Godmothers, the Queens of France and Poland.

Deal, Jan. 24. This Day fail'd his Majesty's Ship the Argyle Man of War for the River: Remains only Dorothy for Offend: Last Night came down and fail'd thro' the Loyal Jane for Jamaica; Caterfall for Barbadoes; Succession for New York; Hero for Lisbon; and Peach Blossoms for Maryland. Wind N. E.

London, Jan. 27.
 We hear that some more Men of War than were mention'd in our former, are order'd to be put in Commission, viz. The Grafton, Captain Hardy; Hampton, Captain Hughes; Preston, Capt. Reddith; Chatham, Capt. Whitney; Newcastle, Capt. Brown; Swallow, Capt. Dansey; Tyger, Capt. Davies; Winchester, Capt. Luck; Hampshire, Capt. Waller; Rochester, Capt. Atkins; Assistance, Capt. Eaton; Weymouth, Capt. Chamberlain; Poof and Griffin, Fireships. And

This said that 16 or 18 Guardships are order'd to get their Complement of Men.
 Capt. Cockburn and Capt. Martin are appointed Regulating Captains, on Occasion of the present Impriety of Seamen.

On Monday last died in the Rules of the King's Bench, in a very advanced Age, Sir Rowland Gwyn Bart. Member of Parliament in the late Reigns, and a Gentleman of great Note.

The Morocco Ambassador had his Audience of his Majesty last Tuesday, and yesterday of their Royal Highnesses, with the usual Ceremonies.

Yesterday South Sea-Stock was 111 5 8ths. 111 1 half 111 5 8ths. 110 5 8ths. 111 110 1 8th. 110 1 qr. South Sea Annuity 99 3 8ths. Bank 124 1 half. India 148 1 qr. African 14 1 qr. Royal Exchange Assurance 82. Royal Exchange Assurance Subscription 16 per Cent. Discount. London Assurance 12 1 8th. London Assurance Subscription 7 8th. Discount. York Buildings 14. English Copper 1 1 8th. Welsh Copper 1 1 8th. Prizes 1724. 3 8ths. per Cent. Premium. South Sea Bonds 11. Discount. India Bonds 16 s. Ditto.

Whereas the Publick continues to be often imposed upon, by a Person unknown, who hath pretended to come from several Coffee-Houses, with Flower of Mustard Seed, making Use of the Names of the Masters of such Houses or the Gentlemen that use the same, in Order to exact Money from their Servants. This is to give Notice, that if any Person will give Information of such Impostor or Cheat, either at John's Coffee-House in Swithen's-Alley in Cornhill, or at Ellford's Coffee-house in George-Yard, Lombard-street, or at Wall's Coffee-house in Scotland-Yard, Charing-Cross, or at Lloyd's Coffee-house in Lombard-street, 45, as the said Person be convicted thereof, he shall receive the Reward of five Guineas, to be paid at either of the Places aforesaid. A which Coffee-houses is to be told the true Flower of Mustard Seed.

AT the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market, this present Thursday being the 27th Day of January, will be a BALL, tickets will be deliver'd to the Subscribers this Day, at Mrs. White's Chocolate-House in St. James's-Place. A sufficient Guard is appointed within and without the House, to prevent all Disorders and Indecencies; and to oblige Persons guilty of 'em immediately to quit the Place. Strict Orders are given not to deliver any Boxes and Glasses from the Side-Boards, and to shut them up early. Whereas all the Apartments are to be entirely furnished New, besides the Set of New Furniture to be put up in the House, and the time being order'd from Thursday Night after the Opera to Thursday, no Person whatsoever can be admitted to see the House before the Ball begins. The Doors to be open'd at Half an Hour after Eight of the Clock. The Coaches are order'd to come to the Hay-Market, and the Chairs up Market-Lane from the Pall-Mall.

By his Majesty's Company of Comedians,
AT the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, this present Thursday, being the 27th Day of Jan. will be presented, a Comedy call'd, The DOUBLE GALLANT. Or, The Sick Lady's Cure. The Part of Lady Dunsby by Mrs. Oldfield; Sir Solomon Sadlee, Mr. Booth; Atal, Mr. Gibber; Careless, Mr. Wilks; Old Mr. Willful, Mr. Miller; Old Atal, Mr. Shepard; Lady Sadlee, Mrs. Horton; Clarinda, Mrs. Thurmond; Silvia, Mrs. Gibber; Younger, Mr. Harcourt; Mr. Sandham's Children, particularly a Boy; And a Dance in Comic Characters, call'd, La Folette. Compos'd by Monsieurs Regier, and Perform'd by him, Mr. Thurmond, Mr. Boval, Mr. Lally, Miss Tenoe, and Mrs. Brett.

By the Company of Comedians,
AT the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, this present Thursday, being the 27th Day of January, will be presented, a Comedy call'd, The Part of Apollo in the Character of Pierrot, by Mons. Salle; 1st Nymph, Mrs. Bullock; 2d Nymph, Mrs. Wall; 3d Nymph, Mrs. Ogden; 4th Nymph, Mrs. Anderson; 5th Nymph, Mrs. Linn; 6th Nymph, Mrs. Younger; 7th Nymph, Mrs. Leverage; Mr. Leguerrre, and Mr. Selway's Burgomaster; Mr. Boor-Servant, Mr. Spiller; Scaramouch, Mr. Newhouse; Columbine, Mrs. Younger; Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Linn; Peplanta, Mr. Newhouse; Mr. Pelling, Mr. Linton; Women, Peplanta, Mrs. Vincent, Mrs. Smythe, Mrs. Rides; Venus, Mrs. Barbier; Diana, Mrs. Chambers; Silenus, Mr. Leverage; Bacchus, Mr. Selway; Pan, Mr. Leguerrre; Baccanalia, Mr. Linn; Mr. De Freun, Baccanalia, Mrs. Ogden, Mrs. Anderson; Sayre, Mrs. Biverton; Mr. Newhouse; Zephyrus, Mons. Salle; Spaniard, Mr. Du Pre; Ponce de Leon, Mr. Pelling; French Man, Mr. Lally; Spanish Woman, Mrs. Bullock; Polish Woman, Mrs. Wall; French Woman, Mrs. Younger; Flora, representing an Inconstant, Mademoiselle Salle. With New Scenes, Machines, Cloaths and other Decorations. None to be admitted into the Boxes, which will be deliver'd at the Theatre at 5 s. each. Pit 3 s. First Gallery 2 s.

By PERMISSION,
 At the Crown Tavern, the Corner of Duck-Lane, in Smithfield,

This present Evening at Seven a-Clock, will be perform'd, an Entertainment by Mr. Clench of Barnet, who imitates the Horn, Huntsman, pack of Hounds, the Sham-Doctor, old Woman, drun- Clock, Mr. Tenor, Wash-Dish, Double Courrel, the Organ with three Voices; all Instruments are perform'd with his Natural Voice, also an Elix Song by Mr. Clench, after which Manner none but himself can Perform. Price of Children 1 s.

YOUNG'S Masquerade Habits,
 Is at the Corner of Pall-Mall, next Door to the Chymist's, with all Sorts of Masquerade Dresses, made by Signior Don Martezack, Monsieur Sebastian, and several other eminent Masters of Masquerade Habits, that came lately from France, where Ladies or Gentlemen may be compleatly furnish'd with any new Dress, they desire, for one or two Notices, at the usual Price of Letting, although they need all others that ever were made before.

All Sorts of Venetian and Silk Mask's to be had there.
MASQUERADE HABITS of all Sorts,
 For the BALL in the Hay-Market, with a Parcel of the best Venetian and Silk Mask's, to be Let and Sold at YOUNG'S WAREHOUSE, the Corner of Tavistock-street, Covent-Garden.

The Widow WHITE'S Masquerade Habits, to be Made, Sold, or Let, as usual, at her House in Little Wild-street, and at the Opera Coffee-house in the Hay-Market. With Variety of Italian, and Silk Mask's.

At LEE'S Rooms, at the Horse-Head on the Broad Stones, near the Little Gate of the Opera House, Gentlemen and Ladies may be accommodated with all Sorts of (entirely New or other) Masquerade Habits. Likewise all Sorts of Venetian and Silk Mask's, at reasonable Prices. N. B. There is great Variety, and Attendance will be given till the Ball begins.

Masquerade Habits to be Sold, as Cheap as they can be hired at any other Place, the Person desiring to leave off. They are all new, being most new, and compleat in all Particulars, and very great Variety, made of the best Silk, with Gold or Silver Trimmings, or Plain, and Comick, according to the Fashion of the Dress, at the Green Dragon, over-against the Opera House, in the Hay-Market.

Stolen out of the House of Mr. Spencer, near the Three Compasses, in Hand-Alley, Bishopsgate-street, out of a Box lock'd, one Gold Chain or seven Links, with a Locke Mark'd with two R's, Value nine Pounds; with Money and other Things to the Value of Twenty Pounds; by Robert Manley, Weaver, he is a pale-faced middle sized Man, with a little Wart on the Right side of the Nose, hazel'd Eyes, wears a Wig, and a black Serge Waistcoat with black Horn Buttons, black Doe-skin Breeches with Buttons the same as on the Waistcoat, a dark colour'd Country Cloth Coat, a white Cloth great Coat; he has a little hard Nub upon the Kneekle of his Right Hand occasion'd by his Trade, about Thirty Years old. Whoever gives Notice of the said Robert Manley or Goods, to the aforesaid Mr. Spencer in Hand Alley, shall have Three Pounds, if they are offer'd to Sale any Day, the Person, and you shall have the same Reward.

Kent, January 26, 1725-6.
 Notice is hereby given, That the Lords of several Manors, between Greenwich and Northfleet, have taken Care to secure such Timber as has been found in their several Manors, and that such Timber shall be deliver'd to such Persons as do prove their Property and pay Salvage for the same.

Fig. 1. Daily Post 27 Jan. 1726. Detailing of Advertisements and Commentary on Disguise.

Not surprisingly, inns populated the pages of the periodicals of the century because their anonymous nature provided a space in which clandestine activities were not uncommon. Naturally, such information became fodder for public consumption. For example, the October 5, 1723, edition of *The London Journal*, recounts a story of a “tempting Fruiteress that plies about the Exchange, and who, by her wanton Leers, has captivated many a Stock-Jobber, last Week insnar’d a Stationer’s Servant in that Neighbourhood: So complyable was the Damsel, that she agreed to pass a Night with him at a certain inn in Leaden-Hall-street” (5). Here, the inn serves as the site of an affair reported to the public. Throughout the century, inns play a significant role in the content of the periodicals. Commentary from October of 1792 of the *Country Spectator* suggests that the inn continued to play a prominent function throughout the century because of its ability to bring a variety of anonymous people together. In speaking of travel, the author states “the place of my resort on these occasions is the village inn; for I not only have a better title to admission into a public, than a private, house, but I expect to find amidst the motley company, who are used to assemble at the former, a much greater variety of characters, than I could hope to meet within a single family (22-23). As at the beginning of the century, inns serve as temporary lodging for anonymous travelers.

Additionally, anonymity created a certain level of public unrest and anxiety which Aubin builds upon in a way that distances herself from the writers of amatory fiction. As demonstrated by the letters and essays found in the periodicals, writers argued against the debauchery the masquerades afforded while others suggested their harmlessness. For example, the topic is taken up in the *Gentleman’s Magazine: Or, Monthly Intelligencer* in March of 1732: “the common Objection against *Masquerades* is, that People in Disguise

do Things which their Characters would not suffer them to do publicly. This is an unanswerable Argument in Defence of these *Diversions*. What is more amiable than *Truth*? And if the Depravity of the Age will not allow a Man to speak his real Sentiments, and *shew his Face*, sees no Reason against putting on a *Vizard*” (653). Here, the writer both acknowledges the miscreant behavior facilitated by masquerades and, as the same time, denounces the public acquiescence with such behavior—the disguise separates the public from truth.

The popularity of masquerades during the period signals a public desire to conceal untoward behavior. In her book on one of the commonest forms of disguise practiced in the period, the masquerade, Terry Castle argues that as masquerade “became more and more deeply lodged in eighteenth-century popular consciousness, so too its tremendous symbolic potential, for both good and bad, emerged. The masquerade entered the repertoire of cultural emblems . . . But the masquerade’s new visibility also led to its most significant literary manifestation: its representation in contemporary fiction” (113-114). Masquerade balls and masques in general, like other disguises, became part of the writer’s useful tools of literary function. The reading public directly understood the complex nature of disguise as concealment of private motives or behavior. The emphasis on concealment, disguise, and secrecy had become woven into the social fabric of eighteenth-century England, and in particular, the London community. Naturally then, such emphasis, and employment therefore, emerges in the literature of the time, perhaps as a reflective or recursive practice, and such use is readily noticeable in Aubin’s work.

Beyond social commentary in periodicals, disguise and anonymity permeated most parts of the social landscape during the period in such a way as to be essential. As

Efrat Tseëlon suggests, disguise such as masquerade “calls attention to fundamental issues as the nature of identity, the truth of identity, the stability of identity categories and the relationship between supposed identity and its outward manifestations” (3). Simply put, disguises destabilize identity. On the surface, this more than apparent observation would appear meaningless; nonetheless, disguise in varied forms prevails in eighteenth-century life and culture. Terry Castle comments that “the masquerade was an established and ubiquitous feature of urban public life in England from the 1720’s on . . . It is easy to forget the pervasiveness and magnitude of these events” (2). Similarly, John Brewer comments that such cultural performances were “linked in a social calendar that included balls and masquerades, gambling for high stakes and the tittle-tattle of polite conversation [and] were the occasion for courtship, seduction and the pleasures of the flesh” (70). Brewer includes on the accompanying page a facsimile of a ticket to a masquerade at Ranelagh Gardens that depicts masked cherubs beneath a nude female figure, suggestive of the goddess Venus to imply the sexual or erotic nature of the event. Masquerades provided opportunities for exclusivity as well as anonymity, as Tseëlon suggests:

It was no historical accident that the masquerade became so popular in the eighteenth-century. The growth in international trade and the resulting changes in urban life created a society of strangers, where people could be placed only by virtue of identifying sartorial codes. Clothes, and particularly make-up and face masks (which became popular for everyday use), did not attempt to enhance the individual character. Rather, they were made to blot out individuality. (28)

Ranelagh or Vauxhall Gardens, among the most prolific, provided large social spaces in which nooks could be propagated for clandestine activity. In addition to masquerades and the gardens, disguise was well-utilized in the theater, among local festivals, and as one would suspect, within criminal activity. As we see today, eighteenth-century disguises provided easy cover for criminals engaged in thievery from town merchants, in travel as highwaymen, or from large estates that housed a wealth of silver, china, and jewels.

The word *vizard*, a rather hackneyed word in both the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, becomes not only synonymously used in place of the word *mask* but also with illicit behavior. In addition to the word being used to represent mask, the OED offers another definition with usage examples from the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century in which the word represents a person wearing the mask, as opposed to the mask itself: “A person wearing a visor or mask; *spec.* a woman of loose character wearing a mask in public, a prostitute” (“Vizard” OED Online). In Issue 193, July 1-4, 1710, of the *Tatler*, this usage arises as insinuation pointed at “a few deluded Women, especially the Vizard Masks,” that populate the back stages of theaters (2). Not surprising, concealed identities became common representations of private, illicit activity.

This is all to say, then, that disguise figures prominently in Aubin’s works, and particularly in *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy*, as a visible link to the amatory fiction of the past but also to represent the necessary anonymity practiced in spaces like inns. Because her works often deal specifically with travel, both in England and across the known globe, anonymity plays a significant role. The very nature of travel, its means and ways, locations, dangers and outcomes, all figure prominently in Aubin’s work.

For sure, much of her fiction, including *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy*, often structurally situates characters in transitory, anonymous settings and plots in which one character, often disguised, or a set of characters, potentially disguised, enter and soon disappear only for another set to step in. Not unlike a tavern, pub, or inn, her fiction in itself invites weary travelers from the road to tell passing tales at which once complete they vacate the scene altogether, never to return or to return only briefly. To this point, disguises surface in most of Aubin's works where travelers hide from foreign leaders or escaped slaves hide from masters, but here, they emerge most conspicuously in and around the inn. In six different scenes involving an inn found in *Lady Lucy*, characters employ disguises. Village inns being extensions of neighboring estates implied the private nature of the inn as it connected to the manor house.

The inn represented the very public, open market, in which travelers frequented. The very display of public influence afforded to landed gentry at an inn separated classes; liveried servants, luxuriant coaches with emblems or clothing of the gentry themselves, all signaled to those at the inn the extended, public sphere of the local nobility. As Habermas suggests regarding such public display, "representation was wedded to personal attributes such as insignia (badges and arms), dress (clothing and coiffure), demeanor (form of greeting and poise) and rhetoric (form of address and formal discourse in general)" (8). However, the open space of an inn also welcomed traveling strangers, either noble or common, and, as such, a certain level of anonymity existed at the inn that rendered the clear lines of the public and the private space confused and liminal. Such an environment almost begged for disguises from those looking to either

hide themselves or their behavior from public view or for those seeking to position themselves better before the public.

Peripherally then, not unlike the notion of disguise represented above, the introductory content of *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy* establishes a space of dual intention for Aubin relevant to the discussion. While in the preface Aubin purports that “this is the fifth attempt that I have made of this nature, to entertain the public” (175), her Dedication to the Lord Colerain would suggest otherwise. For, with respect to entertaining as the first and foremost goal, she posits, “it has hitherto been my study to endeavour to discourage vice, and inculcate virtue, in the minds of those, who, either out of curiosity, or good nature, read my novels, the amusements of some melancholy hours” (173). She mirrors this sentiment in the preface that follows: “let me give this word of advice to the vicious woman; let her station be ever so great and high in the worlds nay, let her crimes be ever so well concealed from human eyes; yet, like Henrietta, she will be unfortunate in the end, and her death, like hers, will be accompanied with terrors, and a bitter repentance shall attend her to the grave” (175). Even with the intent at entertainment, in the preface Aubin magnifies the didactic nature of the text that follows.

As Elizabeth W. Harries notes, summarizing previous scholarship, “all prefaces, of course, are conventional or coded discursive practices,” and as such, prefaces, or “introductory ritual offerings” by their very nature, most specifically in the eighteenth-century, stem from the author’s need to validate or vindicate the writing that follows them to a reading public in the widespread field of public display specifically for the sake of public opinion (462). In examining the eighteenth-century’s newly, developing arena of public opinion, Michael McKeon agrees that “as print proliferated, texts responded to

other texts, compared and cross-referenced still other texts, addressed texts as though they represented communities of textual utterance or were themselves embodied speakers, creating a virtual but intricately realized network of speech acts” (68). For authors of fiction during the century, this network demanded rationale for new literature, for a new type of literature, and such a rationale the introductory space of the preface could provide—the narrow corridor where author converses to and with the public in a seemingly unguarded, first person dialogue.

In many ways, Aubin utilizes the prefatory content as an opportunity to develop and forward a public persona, her own form of disguise. In addition to the above admonition to women, Aubin’s preface continues by further sermonizing the role of the text in teaching proper behavior. To the virtuous that rely on “divine Providence,” she notes that they “shall be delivered, even by miraculous means; or dying with comfort, be freed from the miseries of this life, and go to taste eternal repose” (175). She calls to “all married men to consider, from Albertus’s story, the dangerous effects of jealousy, and not to give credit to appearances, but to examine well into the truth of things, before they treat a wife unkindly, or abandon her” (175). As author of the text, Aubin here promotes the moralistic agenda of the text, a move that lends to her own moral character and authorial credibility.

The didactic and moral nature of Aubin’s fiction has been well documented. Most recently, Aparna Gollapudi in 2005, “Virtuous Voyages in Penelope Aubin’s Fiction,” catalogs much of the history of scholarship in Aubin’s moral agenda. In so doing, she states that Aubin “incorporates a strident Christian morality” and then later, “she herself understandably preferred to highlight the other significant trait of her work—

a relentless commitment to Christian morality” (669-670). Gollapudi not only forwards the scholarship on Aubin’s moral didacticism but further suggests that perhaps this angle led to others, like Haywood, much less the moralizing writer, in gaining a longer stay in the public limelight during the century. In her exploration into Aubin’s reputation as a moralist, Sarah Prescott moves further than Gollapudi, however, by purporting that Aubin’s “fictional persona as moral commentator was carefully constructed in a bid not only to gain popularity but to avoid the notoriety” that others such as Manley or Haywood had come to know (101).

In analyzing Aubin’s prefatory writing, Prescott similarly concludes that Aubin cunningly understands the role of persona as “she repeatedly stresses the moral and social utility of her writings, and thus from the start safeguards herself against adverse criticism. Rather than viewing this as a natural consequence of Aubin’s personal morality and respectability, this approach can be viewed as a self-conscious and sophisticated ploy to be read and respected” (101). To what level of depth Aubin exemplifies Prescott’s calculating, manipulative writer with a larger commercial plan that “served her extremely well in financial terms” is hard to tell; nonetheless, as Prescott’s analysis articulates, Aubin appears to grasp rather skillfully the role of public persona as a tool of the writer, be it for commercial or moralistic reasons. Joel H. Baer in “Penelope Aubin and the Pirates of Madagascar: Biographical Notes and Documents” suggests that beyond Aubin’s moralizing tone, evidence exists in filed court documents to suggest Aubin’s actual moral character, one that extends beyond her public persona. Using a deposition filed in a court case involving real-life pirates and financial scheming, Baer asserts that the documents provide “indications of her reputation for good judgment and evidence, I

think, of her moral stature” (50). Baer’s speculation on whether Aubin does or does not exemplify the actual morality of her virtuous characters epitomizes the functionality of masquerade, disguise, falsity, or whatever names such goes by, in the public space of early eighteenth-century England. In an increasingly anonymous society in which foreign and domestic peoples progressively engaged, public persona, public identity and public knowledge could easily be concealed, contrived, or converted.

Collectively, discussion on Aubin’s public persona/private person offers a threefold entry into the text beyond the preface and dedication. First, the tone of Aubin’s works deals in didactic moralism, whatever the author’s motivation. From this lens, the reader, past or present, must begin. Secondly, as an analog to the contemporary society in which she writes, Aubin’s own public persona speaks to the vast employment of disguise, masquerade, or concealment increasingly rampant in society. And lastly, by establishing herself as a moral authority and thus elevating her own rhetorical position, Aubin better situates herself to work on her reading public’s emotions. She voices such intention in the Dedication by suggesting that the story will “move your compassion,” and “your admiration” (173). Moved as such, the reader will “be agreeably diverted for some hours” (173). Moreover, I would argue that Aubin works on the emotion of fear, a very public one, to assert her moral doctrine. She already sets forth such work above in her admonition in the Preface calling against the “vicious woman” whose death “will be accompanied with terrors, and a bitter repentance shall attend her to the grave” (175). This forceful preaching utilizes fear to arouse the moral compass of the reader. Her late career attempt at moral oration would also suggest her understanding of the use of fear to persuade an audience as well. To add to this, she appeals not to one’s personal, localized

or private fears, but rather to larger societal or public fears. Rather than honing in specifically on personal anxieties such as fears of the dark or of spiders, Aubin develops on large-scale public fear in the general sense. This being the case, the expansive scale of the public space of the text market, even within England, provided for wholesale application to systemic or societal trends, themes and emotions—in Aubin’s case, the emotion of fear.

Aubin addresses a fear of foreign influence prevalent in the century. Her fiction deals in large part with foreign travel and adventure. She relies on characters of foreign origin in many of her works to serve as villains that enslave, rape, or hold hostage English or European gentry. Aubin’s personal knowledge of travel, particularly in commerce, may have served as influence on her ability to play on fears. Joel Baer suggests that Aubin’s “connections within the London merchant and maritime communities” extended from her husband’s role as a merchant who traveled heavily outside of England for business purposes, so much so “that Penelope was required to carry on the family business for nearly a decade before his return” (55). As Baer determines, her own deposition against the pirates indicates a working knowledge of the rather negative implications that could arise from travel.³ Global expansion from the wide swath of European nations, the increase in travel related to this expansion, and the influx of foreign peoples to England, all led many to fear the more diverse future. Periodicals reported daily on foreign affairs including war, annexation, trade and culture.

³ Additionally, Aubin may have been responding in her works to commonly held opinions about the state of England and the disintegration of the loose social fibers holding it together at the time. As Jerry Beasley points out, “what people distrusted, really, was the habit of government by manipulation and fiat, the perceived disruption of proper constitutional balance of powers and the failure of their leaders to join morality and politics together . . . The public obsession with these matters inevitably found its way into the most widely forms of entertainment , the theater and prose fiction” (218).

Stories of foreign diplomats and their activities in and outside of England could be found as regular column pieces in periodicals. Descriptions of foreign peoples, generic stereotypes at best, could also be found. Travel narratives in plentiful volume like Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (1775) or Fielding's *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (1755) attempted to satisfy an ardent interest in foreign culture and locale. The fear of the unknown beyond the shoreline of England and the implications of the closer proximity of foreign culture, as well as the ease of immigration, filled the consciousness of the reading public in England. Edward Said comments upon Islamic representation:

Not for nothing did Islam come to symbolize terror, devastation, the demonic, hordes of hated barbarians. For Europe, Islam was a lasting trauma. Until the end of the seventeenth-century the "Ottoman peril" lurked alongside Europe to represent for the whole of Christian civilization a constant danger, and in time European civilization incorporated that peril and its lore, its great events, figures, virtues, and vices, as something woven into the fabric of life. (*Orientalism*, 59-60)

There is little wonder then as to the increase in nationalism and pride by the end of the eighteenth-century as a response to the changing, global commerce and expanding network of travel, both of which are detailed in public discourse and laced with public fear. In a separate instance, Said also suggests "In British culture, for instance, one may discover a consistency of concern in Spenser, Shakespeare, Defoe and Austen that fixes socially desirable, empowered space in metropolitan England or Europe and connects it by design, motive, and development to distant or peripheral worlds, (Ireland, Venice,

Africa, Jamaica), conceived of as desirable but subordinate” (*Culture and Imperialism*, 52). Not only does the external world symbolize “terror” and “devastation,” but something lesser than and subordinate. Said continues by discussing how the novel forwards the generalized notions of the world beyond England with some mention of the eighteenth-century, and surely writers such as Defoe, Aubin, and Swift capitalized on this cultural phenomenon.

Aubin utilizes the potential peril, the fear of the foreign, not simply to “entertain the public,” but to forward a traditional morality. As noted above, to engage the reader Aubin’s didacticism in some respects serves as a public performance of a potential persona that could be seen as inauthentic; nonetheless, her fiction delivers an unmistakable moral underpinning. In her own words in the Preface to *Lady Lucy*, she states, “I hope that my own nation, can furnish a great many women of all degrees, whose characters and virtues are unquestionable. And I intreat all married men to consider from Albertus’s story, the dangerous effects of jealousy, and not to give credit to appearances, but to examine well into the truth of things, before they treat a wife unkindly, or abandon her” (175). Similarly, in the Preface to *The Life of Charlotta Du Pont* (1723), Aubin carries forward her condemnation of contemporary society: “My booksellers say, my novels sell tolerably well. I had designed to employ my pen on something more serious and learned; but they tell me, I shall meet with no incouragement, and advise me to write rather more modishly, that is, less like a Christian, and in a style careless and loose, as the custom of the present age is to live” (13-14). As in the Preface to *Lady Lucy*, here Aubin forwards her moral authority while condemning the public for a life loosely lived. Nevertheless, in the preface to her first published novel, *The Strange Adventures of the*

Count de Vinevil and his Family (1721), she directly connects the moral agenda of her writing to a sense of national pride and a return to what once was:

Would Men trust in Providence, and act according to Reason and common Justice, they need not to fear any thing; but whilst they defy God, and wrong others, they must be Cowards, and their Ends such as they deserve, surprizing and infamous. I heartily wish Prosperity to my Country, and that the English would be again (as they were heretofore) remarkable for Virtue and Bravery, and our Nobility make themselves distinguish'd from the Crowd, by shining Qualities, for which their Ancestors became so honour'd, and for Reward of which obtain'd those Titles they inherit. (7)

The works themselves speak to something greater than simplistic sermonizing of a return to virtue, however. In fact, quite the opposite, each tells the story of characters confronted by conflict spurred by their own folly, and in many cases, this folly involves foreign people or travel. The juxtaposition of the English “defy[ing] God” in situations for which foreign influence predominates in the works forcefully provides Aubin the space to model descriptively a return to “Virtue and Bravery” and a need to once again comprehend the English “distinguished from the Crowd” not unlike the “Ancestors . . . so honoured”. The implicit association among sin, degradation and foreignness, then, serves to underpin Aubin’s move to instruct toward a moral, traditional, if not pastoral, England.

Structurally, the plot of *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy* demonstrates the rhetorical movement as well. The work begins in the bucolic countryside of Ulster in Northern Ireland. The peaceful scene bursts into turmoil from the outset of war with the noble family of Lady Lucy forced to evacuate to the home of a nearby farmer and friend.

As the story progresses, travel pushes the characters beyond the realm of the pastoral homeland and into foreign provinces and continental countries. Such travel leads to crimes of passion of varying degrees representative of the loss of innocence associated with the removal from the country and into foreign lands. The significance of the story beginning in the Ulster countryside cannot go unnoticed. With almost a century of war and political battles raging between Protestants and Catholics, as well as the ongoing plantation of colonists from England into Ulster throughout the seventeenth-century, the turmoil of modern politics resonated with Aubin's readers at the very mention of Ulster. Additionally, Aubin's French Catholic background suggests an alignment of values with the Irish. More than this, however, in "The Mass Distribution of Geographical Literature in Ulster 1750-1850," J. R. R. Adams provides research into the reading of geographical literature finding among those most popular, for both schools and the reading public, Aubin's *The Noble Slaves* (1722). Marina Filgueira Filgueira also finds potential connections between Ireland and Aubin as she catalogs the printed editions of *Lady Lucy* in which of the eight printed from 1726 to 1808 "at least five were printed in Dublin" (25). Aubin's success in Ireland may be attributed to her Catholicism in large part, and for sure this would add to her book sales. However, the outset of the novel also utilizes this setting to establish the restoration of traditional values and morality for which she associates with the pastoral Irish setting.

The novel begins, "In the reign of King Charles the Second, there lived in the most fertile kingdom of Hibernia, and in the province of Ulster, a noble lord, the last of a truly, antient and illustrious family" (177). Aubin invokes the classical moniker for Ireland, Hibernia, as a means to extend the "antient" tradition. She describes this region

as “fertile” with “noble,” and “illustrious” inhabitants. Rules of hospitality and gentility rule the home where “none went thence without admiring and loving them; nor were their gates ever shut against the poor, or relief denied to the hungry traveller. Their vassals and domestics so loved and respected them, that they performed their duties with alacrity and pleasure” (177). Here, the old mores and values, steeped in history and tradition deep within the heart of ancient families bound to the land and home, provide the antithesis to the modern world of war, corruption, and licentiousness. Only by the infiltration of the external world and the eventual removal of the characters from the Irish homeland does the moral family become corrupted. Fitting to this scene, the war brings a German captain, “a very fine gentleman, a man nobly born, and a Roman Catholic” to rescue young Lady Lucy and her mother (178).

The peaceful conclusion to the work in Heidelberg, a region of religious tolerance at the time, suggests a resolution aligned with the former pastoral state of Aubin’s nostalgic Ireland. In Heidelberg, the characters “were received as persons risen from the dead,” having emerged, resurrected as such, from the transitory, depraved time and space traveled between pastoral Ulster and Heidelberg. Here, the reformed family “lived many years after most happily together, admired for their virtues, and beloved by all for their bounty and liberality to their friends and the poor” (242). For Aubin, then, the movement of the plot and setting directly correspond to the motion toward this return to the values of old while at the same time instilling a fear of foreign travel. The work concludes by chastising the reader about modernity and morality: “But I forget the age I live in, where such things as religion and virtue are almost grown out of fashion, and many of both sexes live as if they had neither; when there is scarce any truth, honour, or conscience

amongst men, or modesty and sobriety amongst women” (242-243). The movement of the story from tranquil repose to chaotic travel and then back again indicates not only the didactic nature of the work but also the suspense and apprehension therein that Aubin seeks to deliver.

Having said all of this, the liminal space of the inn, as would be expected, particularly in *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy*, provides a space at once both familiar and foreign to the reading public: familiar in that inns as stage points were regularly frequented by the large spectrum of travelers, and foreign at the same time in that they were not home and there never was guarantee of the members of society present. The encroachment of foreign culture, people and customs surfaced rather overtly at the inn while at the same time the inn also served as a locale for the anonymous stranger or neighbor—such difference created fertile ground for the writer playing on fears. One finds in Aubin’s work, as such, a heavy-handed dose of corruption and unscrupulousness, lasciviousness and violence, and deceit and betrayal as a means for the discussion of the negative or punitive consequences of such activity; moreover, beyond the use of such acts for didactic purpose, these activities in her writing occur during, and many times as a consequence of, travel to and through inns.

The first such example of this activity in *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy* emerges with the story of Lady Lucy’s cousin, Lycidas, who, in effort to win over his old lover, the now married Henrietta, posts himself at an inn disguised as a peasant along with his disguised servants. Lycidas’ story unfolds in the traditional manner of the romance. The young lovers court one another before he, as a soldier, leaves for battle. They vow eternal love, but Henrietta’s father weds her instead to a wealthy knight. Upon

return, Lycidas seeks to save her from the clutches of the overbearing knight and win his lover back. The reader finds the noble Lycidas traveling with “only two servants,” and “mounted on horseback.” Here, he travels without coach and without the full battery of domestics. When he arrives at an inn within twenty miles of home, he and his servants now don disguises “which were the habits of peasants . . . clouted shoes, coarse coats, leather doublets and breeches, old hats, false hair, and coarse linen, made us look like the veriest country louts that ever man beheld” (184). Not unlike the description given above from the *Daily Post*, here Aubin meticulously describes the apparatus of disguise the character adopts for his illicit plans. The transformation of Lycidas from noble lord to peasant allows him in part to play out his actions for no greater reason other than what the commentator in the above excerpt from *The Gentleman’s Magazine* suggests, “People in Disguise do Things which their Characters would not suffer them to do publickly” (653). By discarding his own noble, public identity and adopting a private one as a disguised peasant, private one, Lycidas can move freely in the shadows, unrecognized, and able to choose his own route forward, in this case to reunite clandestinely with his now married amore. That such action begins at an inn not twenty miles from home suggests first that the village inn, at least in fiction, had already become a recognized space for a disguised, local gentlemen to assume anonymity.

Lycidas explains, “we were so dressed, that no person could have guessed us to be any other” than peasants (184). Later, when he and Henrietta flee in their disguises, he clarifies their status; they “had no reason to fear any thing, because we were all in men's habits, dressed like country fellows, and pretended to belong to an officer of the King's Army, who had ordered us to stay there with the horses till he came to us” (187). The

need for disguise specifically stems from the need to hide in seemingly public spaces. Lycidas utilizes disguise not only at the inn, but also to access entry into the home of his rival. Henrietta wears a disguise to escape her husband and travel unseen through neighboring villages. The inn, itself, serves as an extension of the physical disguise by providing a secret space to occupy and hide. Nevertheless, neither disguise nor respite provides escape from Aubin's moral tale as Henrietta and Lycidas eventually meet their fate with Henrietta's husband. Aubin quickly concludes the story with a moral teaching from Lady Lucy's mother—a reminder of the old traditions, Catholic morality, and ultimately, the noble way of life.

Lycidas and Henrietta's tale bleeds directly into the story of a dying hermit whose troubled past is marked by a significant event at a village inn. When first presented, the hermit seeking comfort at the farmhouse announces, "for God's sake give me shelter: I am a man of birth, and much advanced in years" (188). A description of the hermit soon follows: "a man of a venerable aspect, with a beard down to his waist, and a coarse grey coat tied with a cord about him; he had no stockings on, his face was meagre and pale, he was bloody, and seemed very faint" (189). The direct contrast of a "man of birth" with the hermit's description suggests a disguised appearance, which leaves the farmer "surprised" (188). In part, the hermit's appearance, as well as his withdrawal from public life, serves as a disguise to hide his shame and guilt and, perhaps, to stave off public scrutiny. The hermit functions as an emblematic character as the reader learns "he was born a gentleman, and that he had lived the life of a hermit for forty years past, in a

cottage in the adjacent wood” (189). For good reason, Aubin’s characterization of a hermit extends across several of her works, and, in fact, returns later in *Lady Lucy*.⁴ For Aubin the disguised noblemen as hermits play the crucial role of representing repentance, and yet such repentance still relies on secrecy, privacy, and anonymity; moreover, that such characters become popular within the commercial market of literature and luxury work within Aubin’s larger moralistic agenda in that the private acts of men found in the amatory fiction a century earlier do not seek to show meditation or repentance but rather lasciviousness and eroticism.

To this end, the prototypical, eighteenth-century hermit of *Lady Lucy* conveys a dark tale filled with intrigue, dissolution, and ultimately horror, while Aubin interlaces

⁴ On the role of hermits and hermitages in eighteenth-century England, Gordon Campbell notes that “the garden hermitage, with its attendant ideology of melancholy, is a phenomenon bound by place and time. The place is Britain and Ireland . . . The time is the Georgian period, which is the century from the accession of George I in 1714 to the death of King George IV in 1830” (96).

Writers capitalized on the hermit’s popularity as a moral figure. As example, Samuel Johnson evokes the hermit in *Rasselas*: “Having heard of a hermit that . . . filled the whole country with the fame of his sanctity, resolved to visit his retreat, and enquire whether that felicity which public life could not afford was to be found in solitude, and whether a man whose age and virtue made him venerable could teach any peculiar art of shunning evils or enduring them” (104). Elsewhere, Johnson uses the term to describe Thales in his poem *London*:

Yet still my calmer thoughts his choice commend,
I praise the hermit, but regret the friend,
Resolved at length, from vice and London far,
To breathe in distant fields a purer air (3-6).

Similarly, Pope references the life of a hermit in Epistle IV of “Essay on Man”:

There’s not a blessing Individuals find,
But some way leans and hearkens to the kind:
No Bandit fierce, no Tyrant mad with pride,
No cavern’d Hermit, rests self-satisfy’d. (39-42)

Lastly, the *Spectator* on August 2, 1714, opens with a discussion between “a lewd young fellow” and an “aged Hermit” in which the sagacious hermit provides philosophical commentary about the next life (1137).

Emblematically, the hermit in all cases represents opposition to vanity, wealth, and worldly goods, and at the same time withdrawal, anonymity, and disguise from public life. Yet, paradoxically the concept of hermitage became so en vogue in eighteenth-century England that wealthy landowners soon acquired ornamental hermits, quite literally providing a hermit his own hermitage, and in some cases payment, within the owner’s property. John Timbs in his book, *English Eccentrics and Eccentricities*, comments that “it is curious to find many instances of what are termed ‘Ornamental Hermits,’ set up by persons of fortune seeking to find men as eccentric as themselves to represent, as it were, the eremitical life in hermitages provided for them upon their estates” (150).

his tale with moralizing. The hermit opens his story with a guilty lament against immoral behavior: “When we once suffer unlawful desires and loose thoughts to vitiate our minds, and make one false step contrary to our duty, we insensibly fall into greater crimes, and soon become vassals to the Devil, and grow the most audacious of sinners” (190-191). He aims his commentary at Lycidas, “Take care young gentleman . . . tis to you I chiefly direct this discourse;” however, like most of the text, Aubin, here, sermonizes to the reading public (191). When still a married “man of birth,” the hermit falls in love with his wife’s younger sister, Emilia, and staves her off from suitors until one becomes too engaging, for which the hermit poisons the man to death with opium. He then finds opportunity to rape the sister and carry on the “criminal converse” for some time until Emilia turns up pregnant (192). The sordid tale comes to a peak with Emilia seeing an apparition of her dead suitor warning against the hermit’s deeds and, in turn, his poisoning her and her unborn child. He soon sees an apparition of the dead Emilia who chastises his wicked behavior and warns of his future condemnation at death. Fearful, he flees into a hermitage to repent.

Most significant to this discussion, however, the hermit’s tale twice features inns at noteworthy moments. First, when the hermit purchases the poison, he “rode out one morning to a village twenty miles off” (191). He leaves his “servant at an inn with the horses,” goes to get the opium at an apothecary, and then “back to the inn and dined, and so returned home well pleased with my journey” (191). Because he is able to steal away to a neighboring village and clandestinely purchase opium from an apothecary, the inn in this village also provides an opportunity for the hermit to dine without fear of recognition or wrongdoing. He leaves the inn “well pleased” with his journey. Here, the disguise

comes in the form of the village and the inn in which the man enters and exits as a stranger. The need for such anonymity suggests his future depravities.

The space of the inn emerges later in this tale when the murderous, guilt-stricken hermit en route to Dublin stops at an inn where the ghost of Emilia admonishes him for his “black deeds” (194). She then strikes him across the face asserting her anguish and loss at his hands. This rather small episode speaks quite pointedly to the relationship between the space of the inn, the role of disguise and the moral overtones of the novel. Whether remorse, guilt, or fear plague the man, he “resolved to make a journey to Dublin, with hopes to find better company, and to be diverted with seeing plays frequently” (194). His journey pauses, however, at the transitory void of the inn. Alone in his room, the man alienates himself with his morbid thoughts of wrongdoing before he is “waked by a person's opening the door, who had the form of a woman; she was in an undress, and her white sarsnet hood was pulled down over her face” (194). Of course, it is Emilia in some form, yet the description reads not unlike those referenced above from either the newspaper or that of the hermit himself in which specific, identifiable characteristics and articles suggest some common knowledge.

Still, the description lacks specificity. The man sees a “form” with a hood “pulled down over the face” (194). The apparition appears not as Emilia, but as a disguised version of Emilia.⁵ The earlier version of Emilia comes in the form of an innocent youth

⁵ For a discussion on female disguises, see Mary Anne Schofield's *Masking and Unmasking the Female Mind* (1990). She speaks to the role of disguise for eighteenth-century female writers stating “by hiding their essential selves (and telling a story, initially, that is not theirs), they find themselves. They tell a romance tale replete with male initiation, discovery, and union, and become an ‘other,’ a masked figure in order to determine and define the self that is truly female” (18). Disguise for the female writer of the time, according to Schofield, deals specifically with injecting the feminine into the male narrative of the romance quest. In the hands of the female writer, “the romantic quest is subverted” (18). Schofield asserts, “reading the romance in the eighteenth-century means learning to hear the feminine voice inscribed in the masculine, romance narrative and thus reading the female text of the feminine quest in place of the male” (20). Most

raped, victimized, and murdered by a masculine authority, but here in the liminal space of the inn, the disguised, “other” Emilia asserts power. Where he put the candle down, “she took up the Candle,” and where he before came to her beside, it is she that “came to my bedside” (194). Aggressive, authoritative, and admonishing, Emilia calls to him, “Villain . . . you think to fly the place where you committed the black deeds you have done, to get more ease elsewhere; remorse shall still pursue you” (194). Her voice is firm and powerful, more than this though, she strikes him leaving “blood streaming” from his nose. Here in the alien space of the inn, this disguised, other Emilia outlasts the romance narrative. She departs with a lasting reproach, “when you see me . . . again, remember you are called to judgment, and your dissolution is at hand” (194). The scene suggests both the importance of the feminine voice while also forwarding Aubin’s moral critique of the libertine hermit. The inn, itself, acts as a place beyond the walls of home, unaffected by the church or clergy, anonymous to travelers. For Emilia’s murderer, the inn serves as a transitory space between his own guilt at home and his own diversion to cast it off. In some sense, then, the inn is not just an opportune place for sinning, but also a place of potential redemption for him as he departs prepared to repent his evil doings.

As a final example, the story of Albertus and Lady Lucy fully articulates the setting of the inn as an apparatus for disguise, falsehood, and illicit behavior. The title character’s tale, like the others, explores the usefulness of the inn for both travel and disguise. Albertus is established early on as hero. Though of the opposing army, he is described as “a very fine gentleman, a man nobly born, and a Roman Catholic, as the

important to this scene, however, Schofield argues that by subverting the romance narrative, women writers of the time “study the pervasive ideology of female powerlessness by allowing the ‘other side’ of women, their aggressive natures to be displayed in the disguise” (20).

Lady Lucy and her mother also were” (178). Further, she writes, “his person was every way agreeable, his face was handsome, and had an air of majesty; he wanted no accomplishment to make him a complete gentleman” (178). As the romantic hero of the work, Albertus must fall from such lofty station and seek redemption and reconciliation. As mentioned previously, Aubin clearly admonishes men of such in her preface: “And I intreat all married men to consider, from Albertus’s story, the dangerous effects of jealousy, and not to give credit to appearances, but to examine well into the truth of things, before they treat a wife unkindly, or abandon her” (175). In this regard, Albertus serves as a prototypical role in the narrative to forward Aubin’s moralizing.

The story unfolds not unlike other tales in the narrative: Albertus and Lucy wed, move to his home in Heidelberg, and have two daughters. Much like the other tales in the work, complications arise from clandestine romances and intrigues. Albertus, in jealous rage, stabs through his cousin, Frederick, and attempts the murder of his wife, Lucy, only to abandon his home and children as a fugitive. Lucy, left for dead with unborn child, does not perish, but is, instead, saved by a friar from a nearby convent along with her unborn son. Morally bankrupt and lost, Albertus takes refuge in war and a mistress, Gertrude. He eventually reflects on his own wrongdoing and makes plans to redeem himself. In the end, Lucy and Albertus reunite at peace in Heidelberg.

The narrative of Lucy and Albertus emphasizes the ever-present apparatus of the inn as a transitory space to perform deceptive, violent, and illicit acts. Once Albertus decides to enact his murders, he instantly travels from home to hide his actions from family and neighbors. If the beginning of the work describes Albertus as “agreeable,” “very fine,” and “complete,” the Albertus plotting murder no longer holds these

characteristics. Aubin describes the changed Albertus as “enraged,” “far from repenting,” and “rash” (208). The now debased Albertus arranges a trip with Lady Lucy to a church devotional some twenty miles away—again a day’s trip, just as in the hermit’s tale. Here, they stop and stay at an inn overnight that serves as part of Albertus’s deceptive, murderous intentions. The inn offers an anonymous, yet public space yet again for characters engaging in secretive activity. In the morning, Albertus asks Lucy to walk from the inn toward what she assumes to be the church until “two men in vizards came behind and seized her; they clapped a gag in her mouth, blindfolded her eyes, and carried her into a coach, into which her cruel husband also entered, and there being six horses they drove swiftly” (209-210). Yet again, disguise and dissimulation prove major motifs.

Here, the disguise extends outward from the inn and manifests itself to include the means of travel itself. Albertus plans to abandon his coach at the inn for another hired coach and two coachmen who will deliver Lucy to her place of undoing and enable him to flee. After his attempted murder of Lucy, Albertus “made to the next town, where the coach inn’d, and set out early the next day. Soon reaching Ostend, he there leaves the “coach to be sent back to the town where the villains, who were two soldiers he had procured for this execrable deed, had hired it for him, he embarked with them, and arrived safely in England” (210). The utility of the inns as stage posts for travel easily masks his movements and keeps his actions hidden from those he may know. Ultimately, his journey to England, and back into King William’s army under a new name, confirms the fluidity of his identity. Albertus, albeit darkened by his actions, flees his own degraded reality into a disguise by joining the army “in Flanders under another name;

having pretended to King William, that he had unfortunately killed a gentleman of quality in a duel” (214). While serving in the army, he “strove to hide his crime from the world, and to hush the tortures of his troubled mind with company, wine, and women” (214). After harboring a mistress, Gertrude, and bearing three children, Albertus is taken prisoner and wounded “in three places” which causes him to recall his past deeds. He vows upon recovery to “quit his post . . . make a provision for the ruined Gertrude and her children, and return in disguise to Heidelberg, to once more behold his children, without discovering himself” (215). Hence, Aubin continues to use disguise to mask characters, and fittingly, after his trip to Heidelberg Albertus intends to seek refuge in a hermitage to reflect and repent on his past deeds.

Even after his vow of repentance, Albertus continues to use the inn and disguise as covers from the public world. First, while traveling with Gertrude to Heidelberg, Albertus “disguised himself as not to fear being known, having put a great patch upon one eye, wore a black wig, and had blacked his eyebrows, being naturally a man of a fair complexion” (217). This elaborate costume announces Albertus’s need to remain anonymous in public. Though his heroic rescue of another pair of lovers keeps him from needing an inn, he specifically intends the disguise to serve the purpose of staying at a space both public and anonymous. This intent more fully carries over later in “Heidelberg, where being arrived, he went and lodged in an inn, sent away the Berlin and servants, and then with his patch upon one eye, black wig, and officer's habit, which had been made in England, wrapped up in a cloak, he ventured to his own House” (223). Still deceptive, Albertus seeks to see his foregone family once more before going into hiding in yet another form of disguise, that of a hermit. Lodging at a nearby inn, he remains

hidden from public few. While his motivations change, his use of travel and its means still provide the duplicity he seeks to carry out his schemes. In short, Albertus functions in the text as the moral counterpart to the virtuous Lucy. Lucy's unblemished status throughout the work and her reliance on the providence of God stands in contrast to Albertus's deception and depravity that begins with his staunch jealousy and leads to enacting violence and debauchery. Furthermore, his inability until the very end to turn his life over to providence confirms Aubin's didactic message by suggesting his intent to chart his own path against the will of God.

The romance of Penelope Aubin delivers tales of intrigue, lasciviousness, and at times, violence, even while Aubin insists on arguing the importance of providence, redemption, and love. Within each of the interwoven tales in *Lady Lucy*, characters appear publicly in disguise in order to suppress immoral behavior, to denigrate another character, or to escape from acts of violence or intrigue. Mary Anne Schofield sees this behavior directly related to gender where women "don disguises to protect themselves from further injury and insult, whereas men adopt disguises to penetrate even further into the female world to tyrannize and terrorize it" (35). In all these cases, men disguise themselves to avoid recognition from public view, but more than this they disguise to distance themselves from their own wrongdoing. Not unlike the participants at the masquerade balls, the men in these tales use their personas to gain access to spaces otherwise blocked to them. The inn, as an extension of these disguises, allows the male characters an extended space, public yet anonymous, to carry out illicit deeds and remove themselves from the consequences of their actions. For Schofield, "Aubin unmask[s] the seemingly innocuous romance by showing the necessity of disguise; hers is not a world

where the woman moves from asexuality and isolation to womanhood and marriage. Instead, her plots present the negative side of the romance with its resultant dislocation, disorientation, fragmentation, and loss” (35). The kidnapping, the clandestine acts in inns at stage posts, the petty jealousies turned treacherous, and the ever-present motion of travel to and from spaces speaks directly to Schofield’s assertion; the romance of Aubin uncovers transgression in the homes of nobility as well as the inns of villagers for which characters are left remorseful, broken, and lost.

Aubin closes the work commenting directly to the reader, “the Vicious I do not strive to please, but to reform; may they rather be touched to the inmost Recesses of their Soul, at the reading of this History, and amend, that they may have Pardon, and God be glorified” (243). The violence, deception, and licentiousness of her romance she places before public view as a means to evoke the conversation of morality, honesty, and redemption. Ultimately, the tales respond to the growing fear that the world has become expansive, more ambiguous and anonymous, and less controllable and exclusive. Aubin uses travel, the means of travel, and the spaces inhabited by travelers to engage and terrorize her readers and ultimately to assert the importance of the piety so rarely found in her world. Where the writers of amatory fiction in some ways celebrate clandestine acts of intrigue and sensual pleasure, Aubin seeks to employ them as a means to teach to religious morality. Ultimately, providence and morality steer the tales toward a conclusion of repentance and redemption.

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Moll Flanders and the Commodification of the Home

When Moll Flanders wants to set a snare for husband-catching, she immediately travels to an inn where she will not be known: “I took the place in the coach not to its full extent, but to a place called *Stone*, in *Cheshire*, I think it is, where I not only had no manner of business, but not so much as the least acquaintance with any person in the town or near it: but I knew that with money in the pocket one is at home anywhere,” (Defoe 192). Here, she not only describes her predatory strategy but encapsulates her life story. For Moll Flanders has no home; she has no business, and for the most part, she has no real acquaintance, not just in Stone, but anywhere. In some respects, she exists as an alien within her own country, all the while occupying the spaces that others belong to, barely able to eke out a life. Moll’s home has no residency, no address, no permanence; instead, her home exists in a transient space—somewhere temporary, anonymous, and fluid. In several incidences, Moll Flanders takes up residence in others’ homes: a family, a husband, a midwife, an amour, or a friend. Yet, she never firmly finds a home. Even what would appear to be her last move to the colonies where her blood relatives plant roots ends with her eventual return to England. Given her nature, one wonders if she will ever rest.

Throughout the novel, when not sheltered by acquaintances, Moll takes up residency in the closest thing she knows as a home, an inn. The inn for Moll serves as a private space, a retreat within her own locus of control, even if briefly, and yet the inn, as discussed previously, serves a very public and commercial function during the century. Given this juxtaposition of the inn, a species of both the public marketplace and the private home (away from home), what role does the inn serve in *The Adventures of Moll*

Flanders? For the most part, the inn represents a commodification of the home, a home-like space continuously exploited by Moll as she pursues upward mobility. In the analysis that follows, I argue that the traditional site and occasion of domesticity, essentially home, marriage, and family, which serve as a norm for the period, receive a commercial reframing in *Moll Flanders* that relies in part on the inn. The inn emblemizes Defoe's larger vision of the commercial movement overtaking domesticity at this time.

In *Moll Flanders*, Defoe turns the conventional space of the home, the geography of the traditional marriage, about. In the first pages of the novel, the reader learns that as her earliest memory Moll "had wandered among a crew of those people they call Gypsies" (46). Defoe establishes the central character of Moll as homeless and nomadic from the very outset. She enters the world without a stable, hierarchical space to call home and so has no context for what the concept of home means. Her lack of knowledge about the domestic conventions of the home plays a significant role in the rest of her tale, particularly since the space of home carries forward longstanding traditions and customs built over time. Mark Wigley in "Untitled: The Housing of Gender" quotes the architect Alberti on this point: historically "women are to be confined deep within a sequence of spaces at the greatest distance from the outside world while men are to be exposed to that outside. The house is literally understood as a mechanism for the domestication of (delicately minded and pathologically embodied) women" (332). In addition, Wigley suggests that the notion of home, the inside, being a feminine space and contrastingly, the market, the outside, being that of a masculine space, does not suddenly emerge in society, but rather develops by subtle reimagining and molding over time.

For Moll, however, her first understanding of home comes in the form of an orphanage and workhouse as opposed to family home of wealth or of poverty. At a young age, Moll's concept of domesticity lacks the conventional content a typical upbringing would provide. Her fears of being placed in service because she "can't work house-work" and her naïve aspiration to be a gentlewoman because she would be "able to work for myself" not only suggest her misconception of domesticity but also that of the social strata that dictate home and family.¹ Her assertion that she would live like the gentlewoman that "mended lace, and wash'd the ladies lac'd-heads . . . and they call her madam" only compounds her misconception (50-51). That Moll conflates the concept of gentlewoman with work, working for herself, and unwittingly sexual work, depicts in brevity her internal constitution manifested later in the text where she is industrious and resourceful. Even so, soon enough her adolescent interaction with a genteel family and her subsequent weeklong visit at their home leads her to reconfigure her concept of a gentlewoman. Melissa Mowry adds that Moll "fall[s] prey to the other pitfall of servants—class ambition" (105). Moll now allows that "I had such a taste of the genteel living at the ladies house, that I was not so easie in my old quarters as I us'd to be, and I thought it was fine to be a gentlewoman indeed" (53). For Moll, the concept of home becomes directly attached to her own upward mobility, yet potentially without the attachment of family. Simultaneously, Moll relates her new "notions of a gentlewoman"

¹Regarding domestic spaces and gender, Michael McKeon adds that economics figured prominently:

The breakdown of the domestic economy, and the concomitant withdrawal of women from work deemed economically productive, was most immediately the result of agrarian capitalist innovation . . . The loss of commons rights—not only grazing but also gathering fuel and gleaning harvest leavings—deprived women in particular of customary labor. When farmers lost access to land, their wives lost the means to keep a cow and practice dairying, a common form of women's work. As a result, outside work traditionally available to women simply disappeared at the lower social strata. (170-171)

while she informs the reader that her nurse has died. This catalytic event destabilizes Moll's domestic situation yet again and catapults her life into the amorphous, unbound, and roving pursuit of wealth and self-sufficiency carried to the end of the work. Furthermore, Moll's lack of domestication in her childhood precisely leads her to devalue the traditional home that in turn allows her to find refuge in transient spaces such as inns, ports, and urban hovels.

Consequently, Moll's time with the Colchester family prior to marrying Robin, the younger son, underscores her initial use of the conventional home as a commodity for her own improvement. Her relationship with the elder son begins with a simple flirtation and the promise of marriage. The naïve assertion that she knew not "any kind of love, but that which tended to matrimony" does not fully excuse her willingness to engage in a clandestine affair with the son (60). Perhaps enamored by his affection, Moll also receives at each secret rendezvous some form of monetary payment. The consummation of their illicit contrivances directly sexualizes the exchange of goods and services for monetary gain. "My colour came, and went, at the sight of the purse," she muses as if the money itself impassions her sexual appetite (63). Additionally, "the fire of his proposal" leaves her fervent yet speechless, "so that I could not say a word, and he easily perceiv'd it" (63). The sensuality of the moment becomes dominant when she submits that "putting the purse into my bosom, I made no more resistance to him" (63). The preamble to their sexual act specifically reads transactional in which Moll negotiates with the elder son. The exchange hinges first on his ability to provide for Moll financially as well as in the case of pregnancy and secondly on Moll's belief that she, in fact, becomes the elder son's wife.

Moll quickly learns that love and affection exist in a market economy. The couple never officially wed, and yet continue the clandestine affair within the walls of the family home “when his mother and the young ladies went abroad a visiting” (64). Moll soon acknowledges that the elder brother “had never spoken a word of having me for a wife, after he had conquer’d me”; however, she continues the amour in exchange for financial reward (65-66). Nevertheless, in discussing with the elder brother her potential, and eventual, marriage to Robin, she exclaims, “I *told him*, he knew very well, I had no consent to give; that he had engag’d himself to marry me, and that my consent was at the same time engag’d to him; that he had all along told me, I was his wife, and I look’d upon my self as effectually so” (69). Further in the conversation, she adds gravitas to her conviction stating pointedly, “by telling him and them too, that I am married already to his elder brother” (70). She repeats this statement emphatically, “I may tell them, I am married already, and stop there” (70). Moll’s understanding of marriage differs greatly in this regard from accepted traditions.

The relationship with the elder brother at the Colchester home effectually renders Moll a prostitute in receipt of payment for sexual activity; however, Moll conceptualizes this experience as a marriage within the home of the family. She views the elder brother’s promise of marriage as contractual. Her misunderstanding may not necessarily be simplistic since she speaks of her own culpability; nonetheless, the relationship with the elder brother directly links the exchange of goods and services to marriage and domestic life. This, in fact, is carried forward after her marriage to Robin and his eventual death. In the same paragraph in which she recounts Robin’s death she coolly relates the wealth she amasses from the marriage, and, as part of this settlement, she

voices that her “two children were indeed taken happily off of my hands” (89). While marriage specifically played a commercial role that families entered into as a way to increase or maintain status and wealth,² here the two sons have motives unrelated to such improvement. The elder son’s promise of marriage at his coming into his estate to entice Moll promotes the commercial value of marriage, but he does not follow through on the promise and perhaps had never intended to do so. Robin’s subsequent marriage to Moll has no financial incentive. On the other hand, Moll stands to gain from either of these opportunities, and she clearly understands the commercial value in these transactions. Early in life Moll begins to associate domestic life directly with financial gain, and thus she exploits the home to a greater extent through the remainder of the text.

Following her first marriage, Moll’s further adventures into domestic life specifically deal in the pursuit of wealth. Having left off the Colchester family entirely, Moll avows “I was resolved now to be married, or nothing, and to be well married, or not at all” (90). The elder brother leaves Moll’s love unrequited while the younger brother’s love for Moll similarly goes unreciprocated. In both cases, Moll sees marriage not as a contract of love but rather as a business transaction.³ Nevertheless, critics often disregard

² On marriage customs at the time, Lawrence Stone, in *Family, Sex and Marriage*, observes that “in the early sixteenth-century, children were bought and sold like cattle for breeding, and no one thought that the parties concerned had any right to complain” (190), but the “stress on ‘holy matrimony’ slowly forced a modification of this extreme position” (190).

Chris Roulston states “examples from the late seventeenth-century reveal the extent to which representations of marriage were still dominated by the conventionally patriarchal model of the family, in which the husband and father was the reflection of the sovereign, the family being perceived as a miniature version of a monarchical state” (17).

³ Juliet McMaster concludes that “ageing and experience for Moll are matters of dealing more shrewdly with dwindling assets; friendship is a profitable business partnership; religion a property to be traded in when the market is right” (142). She views Moll’s adventures in economic terms: “courtship becomes a prolonged negotiation over settlements, lovemaking an exchange of coins and purses; tenderness manifests itself in the payment of a reckoning” (142).

Ann Louis Kibbie adds “the legacy of the analogies between biological and monetary generation is evident in Daniel Defoe’s *Moll Flanders* (1721) and *Roxana* (1724), novels in which biological reproduction is explicitly bound up with capital increase” (1024).

the treatment of the conventional home in Moll's capital exploits. While marriage in the work, and in the eighteenth-century generally, operates as a means to increase position and wealth, Moll's marriages never really end with settling into domestic life. In all of her marriages, home remains troubled.

Her second marriage to the "gentleman-tradesman" ends with her ransacking their home for anything of value and fleeing to the Mint. This experience specifically associates the home with the financial market. The home houses items of value but has no intrinsic value itself for Moll. Emblematic of domesticity, the home should serve as a space for the development of family, but at the same time the home also serves as a representation of feminine space in the eighteenth-century.⁴ However, here, in Moll's second marriage, home serves as a bank of sorts, a treasury, and to some extent, she robs this bank. As the second marriage unravels she collects what capital she can from the home and muses "I had no more business back again at the house" (93). Rather than settle into domestic life, Moll and her husband travel in opulence and spend extravagantly as when their "turn into the country" allows them to "look like Quality for a week" (91).

See also David Wallace Spielman's "The Value of Money in *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, and *Roxana*" which quantifies in today's dollars Moll's gains in wealth.

⁴ Public discourse on marriage roles, typically masculine leaning, abound during the century. As example, see the Saturday, May 5, 1711, edition of *The Spectator* where Addison in effort to dissuade females from political dialogue pens, "when the wife of Hector, in Homer's *Iliad*, discourses with her husband about the battle in which he was going to engage, the hero, desiring her to leave that matter to his care, bids her go to her maids and mind her spinning. By which the poet intimates, that men and women ought to busy themselves in their proper spheres, and on such matters only as are suitable to their respective sex (113).

Jonathan Swift in 1723 recommends the opposite of Addison stating, "it has sometimes moved me with pity to see the lady of the house forced to withdraw immediately after dinner . . . as if it were an established maxim, that women are incapable of all conversation" ("A Letter" 475). Swift suggests women partake in conversations of public discourse as opposed to "in a separate club entertain each other with the price and choice of lace and silk, and what dresses they liked or disapproved at the church or the playhouse" ("A Letter" 475).

See also Swift's pithy description of a clergyman in *The Intelligencer*: "He kept a miserable house, but the blame was laid wholly upon Madam; for the good Doctor was always at his books, or visiting the sick, or doing other offices of charity and piety in his parish" (5).

In this marriage, the home as well as the marriage have little if anything to do with domestic life, and as an added cruel, outward representation of Moll's failed attempt at domesticity here, regarding children she relates "I had had one by my gentleman Draper, but it was buried" (94). Moll clearly struggles to come to terms with her domestic livelihood.

Of further interest at the outset of this episode, the prospect of being the mistress to her landlord actually offers Moll a closer tie to domesticity than her subsequent marriage to the draper. At the lodging of her landlord she entertains guests, has a consistent home, and common acquaintances within. Yet, Moll asserts, "a woman should never be kept for a mistress, that had money to keep her self" (91). On this head, Moll "holds out for the money and the apparently gentlemanly status that she had admired in the elder brother, but neglects to make sure of their lasting qualities" (McMaster 135). Moll's second marriage demonstrates her willingness to shuck off the conventional domestic life and home for commercial venture however ill-fated. The marriage ends fittingly with her husband fleeing abroad and Moll at home at the Mint changing her name to avoid exposure to creditors. Here, Moll's new home and where she creates a new identity has all to do with commercial exploits, or as Ann Louise Kibbie comments "as a term for a place where money is coined, *mint* suggests Moll's identification with currency" (1024). With a new identity and sharpened focus, Moll's future adventures develop more fully her commercial intentions and at the same time solidify her inability to grasp with any real hope the traditional, domestic life. In this context, Moll finds the inn as a proxy for the traditional home.

Additionally, where Moll's second marriage represents the union as a financial transaction, albeit for the worse, both Moll's incestuous marriage to her brother and the subsequent marriage to Jemy further accentuate how her marital activities breach domestic conventions in effort to forward her financial agenda. Moll's acknowledgement prior to unknowingly marrying her brother "that marriages were here the consequences of politick schemes, for forming interests, and carrying on business" articulates her loss of naiveté and now hardened experience (96). That wealth and social status have been motivations for Moll in her exploits up to this point goes without saying, yet she closes the above statement with the disappointment that "LOVE had no share" (96). Further, she recognizes "being well bred, handsome, witty, modest and agreeable . . . is not to the purpose" of finding a suitor whereas an adequate fortune offers more persuasion (104). Thus, no longer a demonstration of affection, marriage, now for Moll, specifically and singularly represents financial gain. In courting Moll, her brother speaks in terms of love, while Moll, on the other hand, speaks in financial terms. The playful, back and forth, verse of the two pits love against money. He begins the exchange, "*You I love, and you alone,*" (106). Moll's verse, however, converts affection to finance as in "But money's vertue, gold is fate" (107). Apprehensive that her own financial situation will cause suitors to disengage, Moll speaks only of wealth. When the brother writes, "I scorn your gold, and yet I love," Moll responds "I'm poor: let's see how kind you'll prove" (107). As the courting continues the discussion moves well beyond coy innuendo and into direct dialogue on finances in which Moll pries out his situation to determine his marriage potential.

Similarly, her courtship with Jemy hinges on the prospect of greater fortune. Enamored by the hope that Jemy “would joynture me in 600 *l.* a year good land,” Moll entertains their marriage (162). She soon accepts Jemy’s proposal only after her “eyes were dazl’d” with the expectation of how she could have her “coaches painted, and how lin’d” as well as other promises of luxury (162). Harkening back to her first exploits with the elder brother in Colchester, Moll here mingles sexual conquest with wealth as she ends the discussion with the highly sensitized “I had now lost my power of saying no” (162). Moreover, in both of these marriages, Moll and her new husband immediately navigate the reality of their financial situation. In the marriage to her brother, Moll seeks to disclose her lack of wealth while at the same time continuing to ingratiate herself to her new husband, which she does successfully. In marrying Jemy, her fortune hunting backfires as he discloses his ill-guided plan. Additionally, in both marriages, the actual weddings receive little fanfare. With respect to that with her brother, Moll states “In short, we were married, and very happily” (109). Similarly, in marrying Jemy Moll comments, “to cut the story short, I consented to be married” (162). Moll does not explain to the reader any sort of ceremony for the nuptials; rather, her description is terse and abrupt as if to imply no more than an executed contract.

Moll flies into marriage in these cases with little regard for more than the commercial gain for which they yield. She fully omits in her narrative the ceremony of wedlock, the public spectacle so prominent at the time. In fact, in her marriage to Jemy she confirms her eagerness to “be the more private” in which the two “were carried farther into the country, and married by a Romish Clergyman” (162). Moll’s efforts to wed expressly deal in wealth building to the extent that she seeks to dispense with

common convention when faced with barriers to her fortune hunting. In this regard, Moll subverts the tradition of marriage and thus domestic conventions. She fails in part because she has no grounds of understanding the home as an institution of domestic happiness. In her story, home and marriage represents externalities easily manipulated in pursuit of social or financial gain. As such, finding homes in transient spaces becomes the norm for Moll—the Mint, the inn, or a new husband’s domicile. These transitional homes allow Moll to enact her commercial efforts since the home has no personal relevance, nothing requiring her to serve the traditional, domestic role.

At the same time, the character of Moll Flanders and her pursuit for a settled marriage speaks directly to why writers such as Defoe worked to clarify marriage as an institution in conduct manuals.⁵ Mary Astell’s work, *Some Reflections Upon Marriage* (1703), for example, provides a fervent plea for upholding the solemnity of marriage while at the same time recommending the cautious engagement in the institution by men and women alike. Not unlike Defoe in his social tracts, she advocates that “marriage in general is too sacred to be treated with Disrespect, too venerable to be the subject of Raillery and Buffonery. It is the institution of heaven, the only honourable way of continuing mankind” (9). Also, similar in thought to Defoe, Astell promotes marriage based on choice, and while this choice should extend from love she cautions against such

⁵ In *The Family Instructor* and *Conjugal Lewdness*, Defoe addresses the cultivation of the Christian family in the former and then the appropriate roles and behavior of men and women in a marriage in the latter. Both manuals exemplify the building tension with respect to marriage customs, gender roles, and ultimately, the tradition of marriage in general, of which Moll willingly dispenses with almost altogether. According to Defoe, for the husband and wife, “the end of both should be the well-ordering their family” (*Conjugal Lewdness* 26). A marriage built on love exemplifies the sacred union of God through “the good guiding their household and children, educating, instructing and managing them with a mutual endeavor, and giving respectively good examples to them” (26). For Defoe, a husband and wife subvert lewd behavior by “filling up life with an equal regard to those above them and those below them so as to be exemplar to all” (26). His instruction reflects an emphasis on a marriage that actuates the family unit through mutual compatibility, general affection, and sincere love.

without careful consideration.⁶ For Astell, “the soul be principally consider’d,” in nuptial decision making as well as “good understanding, virtuous mind, and in all other respects let there be as much equality as may be” (42). In this regard, Astell mirrors Defoe regarding marriage; however, she goes further than he to caution women not only of the many snares laid by hungry suitors but also the trappings of traditional, and for all intents and purposes, commercially-driven, marriages. In speaking of “a lover who comes upon what is call’d equal Terms,” she states “he wants one to manage his Family, an House-keeper, a necessary Evil, one whose Interest it will be not to wrong him, and in whom therefore he can put greater confidence than in any he can hire for Money” (36).⁷ Of note, here, Moll systematically inverts the snares of marriage by setting her own traps for financial gain. The institution of marriage in Moll’s hands becomes a commercial tool for wealth-building; hers is a marriage built not on the common male trappings Astell lists above, but rather Moll’s marriage almost wholly represents her own commercial endeavors for self-fulfillment. Yet again, Moll’s understanding of domesticity clashes against the traditional customs which allow her to continuously breach the role of wife in a conventional home.

⁶ In part, writers like Astell respond to the unsettled legalities of marriage. See Melissa Ganz’s “Moll Flanders and English Marriage Law.” While the church courts “decided all matters concerning matrimonial relations,” the common law courts “decided matters related to property” (Ganz 159, 160).

⁷ Equal terms do not reflect the equality recommended by Astell or Defoe. A marriage formed of spouses coming with equal terms, instead, leads to a husband in want of something specific, traditional, perhaps oppressive:

One who may breed his Children, taking all the care and trouble of their Education, to preserve his Name and Family. One whose Beauty, Wit, or good Humour and agreeable Conversation, will entertain him at Home when he has been contradicted and disappointed abroad . . . Who will not be Blind to his Merit nor contradict his Will and Pleasure, but make it her Business, her very Ambition to content him . . . whose Duty, Submission and Observance, will heal those Wounds other Peoples opposition or neglect have given him. In a word, one whom he can intirely Govern, and consequently may form her to his will and liking, who must be his for Life, and therefore cannot quit his Service let him treat her how he will. 36-37

In addition to the above with respect to these two marriages, the geographic space of the home significantly informs this discussion as well, for financial gain occurs both domestically and abroad, so to speak, in both cases. First, only after deliberations regarding the financial opportunity does Moll willingly remove to America with her brother. In their courtship when the brother relates to Moll that he has a plantation in Virginia, she responds to him that she “did not care to be transported” (108). However, as soon as he states that the “great part of his estate consisted of three plantations, which he had in *Virginia*, which brought him in a very good income, generally speaking, to the tune of 300 *l.* a year; but that if he was to live upon them, would bring him in four times as much,” Defoe has Moll eagerly state her priority: “thought I, you shall carry me thither as soon as you please” (108). In similar fashion, after Jemy and Moll wed, they discuss their financial situation at which point Moll recommends they remove to America because of the financial opportunity. Jemy’s initial resistance to this plan leads to their separation; however, when they are transported to America, they reestablish their relationship and Moll reconnects with her former family to access new capital.

In both of these marriages, wealth develops from the family plantation and the commercial trade it provides. Not unlike estates in England, the family plantation in Virginia provides financial freedom; however, in these marriages, home, that which represents the feminine interior, is actually abroad—outside of the nation, England. In other words, the gender representation of home and abroad are transposed. Moll and her spouse reside externally to the home in the colonies.⁸ While the colonies extend the

⁸ Regarding home and abroad, periodicals reporting on commerce, politics and foreign trade, used the terms to engender home/female and abroad/male. See for example the July 27, 1720, edition of the *Daily Post* that describes tenuous, parliamentary proceedings. Here, one politician fearful of the public, “kept himself close in the Palace Royal,” but “is come abroad again; he went home to his own house

reach of England, they still exist beyond the home and represent the commercial marketplace. Moll's infiltration of this space suggests the extent to which she willingly breaks free of domestic conventions in effort to access capital gain. In so doing, she participates in a departure from traditional feminine boundaries. Ellen Pollak advances that "it is as if the very quest for economic mastery and autonomy is itself fundamentally transgressive for a woman" (144). The world of commerce and mercantilism, be it shopkeeper, agricultural producer, or wholesale trader of raw goods, represents a traditionally, masculine space whereas the trade in sex either through prostitution or marriage represent commercial markets available to women. Nonetheless, in Virginia the second time, Moll, not Jemy, orchestrates the accessing of land and capital from her estranged son, the improvement of land, and the eventual commercial trade that leads to financial gains. Moll does not rely on the conventional, patriarchal marketplace to dictate her existence.

Instead, she actively and aggressively pushes her own agenda beyond the bounds of the domestic home. Ellen Pollak would ascribe this behavior more as transgressing the masculine authority as opposed to pursuing independence and wealth in a commercial market society. She states "the female quest for autonomy is rendered abject . . . because autonomy is coded as male; for a woman to pursue it is already to transgress the very

publicly, nor did he receive the least insult from the people" (1). Further, note an opinion column in the April 16, 1720, edition of the *Original Weekly Journal*: In response to a letter from a female reader seeking advice because she is "plagu'd with a drunken sot of a husband," the author replies that he is "perswaded that the wife's ill humours and ill treatment of the husband, often drives him to seek for that ease abroad, which he cannot find at home" (1717).

A reprinted speech in *The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* on June 18, 1720, made by "His Majesty," extends the usage to domestic and foreign lands: "Much the greatest part of Christendom is already freed from the calamities of war, and by what hath happened both abroad and at home, my people must be convinced, that their welfare is inseparable from the strength and security of my government" (1633).

boundaries that constitute her as a gendered being” (144). Precisely, this is how Moll views the marriage market of the time.

However, Moll’s efforts in Virginia subvert the marriage market. In the first to her brother, she renders him weak and impotent in the relationship upon the discovery of their kinship. Where Moll only seeks to remove herself from the union upon learning that they are siblings, the brother upon the news, “became pensive and melancholy . . . distemper’d in his head . . . and, in short, it went so far that he made attempts upon himself, and in one of them had actually strangled himself” (128). Moll describes further how “it had gotten too great a head, it prey’d upon his spirits, and it threw him into a long, ling’ring consumption, tho’ it happen’d not to be mortal” (128). And yet, for Moll, the situation only impinges on her quest; she ruminates that “in this distress I did not know what to do, as his life was apparently declining, and I might perhaps have marry’d again there, very much to my advantage” (128). Only through the dissolution of their marriage does Moll go home to England, alone. Infirm and blinded by the end of the novel, the brother no longer thrives but fades after his marriage to Moll whereas Moll continues her exploits.

Similarly, Jemy after removing to Virginia with Moll is rendered mute and of little use. Moll describes Jemy as “not only unacquainted, but indolent” when it came to work (322). Rather than “attend the natural business of his plantation,” Jemy hunts for sport. In response, Moll conducts business and manages affairs. In the colonies, Moll disrupts conventional marriage boundaries in a way that clouds the masculine association with the space of the marketplace and the feminine association with the space of the

home.⁹ Only by exploiting the home abroad can Moll, in both marriages, return to home, the nation where she was born.

Moll's relationship with home, and even marriage remains tenuous throughout the work; moreover, this tension ultimately serves to make the inn crucial to Moll's progress. Nomadically, she moves through England without a settled landing. More than once, she has to abandon the houses she calls home and, as previously noted, at one point she finds herself transported from the nation, her home—her second such separation from England. In part, her relationship to home, both personal and national, remains unstable and unsettled because Moll sees the home as part of the marketplace for which she trades. Her refuge in the Mint after her second marriage in some respect exemplifies this fact. To this end, Ann Louis Kibbie points out that “as a term for a place where money is

⁹ On this point, Sharon Harrow states “I understand *domestic* to mean both home and nation, and read the domestic home space as figured in close relation to the domestic nation” (6). Beyond this observation though, the use of the term “home” in association with country directly speaks to a gendered association of home with women since public discourse often feminized the nation. For example, in “Epistle to Mr. Addison,” Pope writes:

Oh when shall Britain, conscious of her claim,
Stand emulous of Greek and Roman fame?
In living medals see her wars enroll'd,
And vanquish'd realms supply recording gold?” (216)

This convention was not a new one at the time nor did it only exist poetically. The gendered representation of nation can also be sourced in political and opinion tracts, daily news, or general interest stories, such as in a January 1712 issue of *The Examiner* which states, “I am very glad to find Britain so gentle in her punishments, and so boundless in her rewards” (1). In this regard, Harrow advances that “the equation of female virtue with national virtue” itself “was certainly not rare” (3). The conventional use of the feminine to address nation thus reinforces the association of women with the interior, private home to the extent that domestic life cannot be separated from the feminine much the same way life abroad cannot be separated from the masculine.

As an additional example, the February 1714 advertisement for a new publication in the *Post Boy* provides a rather interesting example “Whigs and Tories united; or, The Interest of Great-Britain consider'd; both in respect of Domestick and Foreign Affairs: Wherein we have endeavour'd to represent in what the Welfare and Safety of this Kingdom consists, either in relation to Private Matters at Home, or Publick Concerns Abroad, with respect of Parties, or private sinister-Inventions” (8). In this example, the author conflates the concept of private with home and separately, public with abroad, and thus by doing so strengthens an association between private, home and, by proxy, women as well as public, abroad and by proxy, men. The rather common use of the terms home and abroad here reflect a general sense of national identity where one's country represents home, the interior space, as opposed to abroad at sea or in another country, the external space.

coined, mint suggests Moll's identification with currency" (1024). Furthermore, Moll states of her entrance into the Mint that she "took lodgings in a very private place, drest up in the habit of a widow," as if to suggest, while incognito, she retreats to the private space of home in the traditional guise of a mourning widow (94). The Mint, a public space, serves Moll's private needs in this respect; it is the safe haven and home for her to renegotiate her identity into the newly coined Moll Flanders. Having done so, she no longer needs the space and freely vacates it in pursuit of her next conquest not unlike her departure from Colchester, the fleeing of her second marriage home, or the removal from her brother's Virginia plantation.

Moll's willingness to utilize the space of the home, whether national or personal, for her financial gain specifically places the home as part of the public marketplace, not unlike an inn, as opposed to a private, domestic space for the family. This becomes more apparent when positioned against how Moll utilizes a network of female landlords to house her in continually temporary stints. "Women prove more capable of providing Moll with basic shelter than any of her husbands," posits Srividhya Swaminathan in her piece, "Defoe's Alternative Conduct Manual: Survival Strategies and Female Networks in *Moll Flanders*" (195). Further, she adds, "as a young child, she is sheltered by the nurse and rich patronesses, thereby avoiding a life of drudgery. After the death of her first husband, she moves in with a widow . . . When her second marriage dissolves, Moll escapes the Mint by lodging with another young widow. Her narrative abounds with examples of sympathetic widows and landladies who provide her with lodging" (195). Mother Midnight could be added to this list. Not only do these lodgings represent Moll's

continuous reimagining of her own domestic life, but speak to the space of the home as a commodity in trade.¹⁰

For sure, Moll Flanders exploits this network of lodgings; and moreover, only through recognizing these homes as part of the marketplace can Moll exploit them for capital gain, however temporary the stay. In fact, whether operated by widows or otherwise, inns become essential to Moll's adventures and financial campaign. By the latter part of the work, Moll passes in and out of inns with little regard for them as representative of her own domestic space or the marketplace she works. However, before such transient lodging, two pivotal episodes best exemplify the function of the inn in the work. First, Moll's wedlock to Jemy and the subsequent time they spend together thereafter before separating captures Moll's relationship to the inn. Realizing she cannot subsist in London on the money she has on hand, she makes plans to go to the country with an acquaintance. Out of fear of being robbed or generally losing what money she possesses, she works with a banker, later her fourth husband, to secure the money in the bank. This becomes significant as when in the country, Moll conceals her financial background. On this point and as part of her continued scheming, she states, "I that was a great fortune, and pass'd for such, was above being ask'd how much my estate was" (161). Instead she does not correct anyone when her "false friend taking it upon a foolish

¹⁰ Regarding lodging and work, see Margaret R. Hunt's *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*. She notes that "urban women were clustered in a very small number of occupational categories, notably personal care (nursing, midwifery, domestic service, the needle trades, petty sales, and preparing and selling food and drink" (129). Furthermore, Hunt adds that "most eighteenth-century middling people still ran their businesses out of their own homes or adjoining buildings; not surprisingly . . . women were especially likely to do so" (134).

Additionally, Bridget Hill forwards that women were more often categorized as the wife of a shopkeeper or shoemaker even though they deeply engaged in the work of the family business. In many cases, however, when widowed, such wives did not carry on the family businesses as "the choices facing a widow were often limited by the provisions of her husband's will" (Hill 250). In response, it was not uncommon to find a widow letting a room or converting a home to an inn as means to make a livelihood.

hearsay had rais'd it from 500 *l.* to 5000 *l.* and by the time she came into the country she call'd it 15000 *l.*" (161).

This works to Moll's advantage in seemingly seducing Jemy, who "was stark mad at this bait; in short, he courted me, made me presents, and run in debt like a mad man for the expences of his equipage, and of his courtship" (161). No different from her other exploits, here, Moll continues her capital conquest through the marriage marketplace. Her initial attraction to Jemy proves yet again financially motivated as "the glittering show of a great estate, and of fine things, which the deceived creature that was now my deceiver represented every hour to my imagination, hurried me away, and gave me no time to think of *London*, or of anything there" (162). Upon marrying, the two make plans to remove to Ireland. Interestingly, both still feign affluence as when Jemy offers to get private lodgings, a step up from an inn, but Moll replies, "he should by no means give himself the trouble to get private lodgings for one night or two, for that *Chester* being a great place, I made no doubt but there would be very good inns and accommodation enough" (163). It is here at the inn in Chester, they disclose to one another that neither has any money to speak of. While Jemy uncovers his situation and thus his plans to dupe Moll, she, however, continues her guise of poverty which leads seemingly to the undoing of their marriage.

It is Jemy's clandestine fleeing and Moll's consequent outcry of love that makes this scene critical to the discussion at hand. For, Jemy leaves Moll in many respects at home, if at the least a proxy of such, within an inn. Jemy attempts to go abroad to seek a fortune that, as his letter suggests, should it "*befall me, it shall be all yours*" while Moll remains home at the inn (170). As if confined within the domestic space of the inn, she

states that she “run raving about the room several times, and then sat down between whiles, and then walking about again” (171). In such a “vehement fit of crying” she calls out, “*O Jemy! . . . come back, come back. I'll give you all I have; I'll beg, I'll starve with you*” (171). The resolve in character throughout the work that Moll shows in her varied relations with men, here disappears into the rather traditional feminine character representative of the works of Aubin or Haywood where, common to these works, female characters typically remain confined or imprisoned at home by some overbearing male figure of authority. Perhaps, her reaction stems from her assertion before meeting Jemy: “I knew what I aim'd at, and what I wanted . . . I wanted to be plac'd in a settled state of living, and had I happen'd to meet with a sober, good husband, I should have been as faithful and true a wife to him as virtue it self could have form'd” (149). In this moment, Moll grasps the potential for the traditional, domestic life she covets but cannot attain.

To be sure, her life to date had not managed to procure much ease. Yet Moll knows that this relationship financially cannot deliver and will surely end in their parting; however, she reacts in a way much different from any previous relationship she has engaged in. Moreover, unlike the rest of the text that charts Moll's navigation of the harsh and sometimes cruel existence within a mercantilist reality, this episode stretches that reality into a quasi-supernatural moment in which Jemy hearing Moll's voice ring out from the inn some 15 miles away returns to her—as near a religious moment Moll has to this point in the text. In some regards, the inn, at once the place that served as the table to negotiate potential wealth, now becomes the domestic home front to negotiate love and affection. In this scene, then, the inn serves a multidimensional role: honeymoon suite, traditional home, center of trade (for both Moll and the innkeeper), and spiritual site. The

impermanent and mutable space of the inn provides a venue for the convergence of social spaces in a way that commodifies each of them. In this scene, marriage, spirituality, even the act of eating, become commonplace commodities within the inn.

Representative of commercial society, the inn provides a proxy beyond the traditional space to house and conduct common rituals and traditions while at the same time commodifying the time and functions of such activities. By accepting this proxy as real and valid, Moll, at the inn in Chester, knowing full well she withholds her financial situation from Jemy, acknowledges traditional institutions, such as the domestic home, marriage and, in some respects, religion, as commodities to be bartered for her own improvement. Under such a framework, the balance of the work reveals Moll utilizing this proxy of the traditional, domestic home for her own benefit.

Moll's recognition of the inn as a proxy for traditional, domestic institutions while at the same time serving as a space for the commodification of these institutions becomes fully pronounced in her wedding to the banker. Her first encounters with him to settle her own accounts before fleeing to Lancashire reveal her shrewd efforts to use what tools she has at her disposal for financial gain, specifically her own sexuality and marketability in marriage. Her negotiations with him to secure her own money soon turn into negotiations of nuptial promises. The text equates the financial advice required to secure her funds with that of the advice the banker seeks regarding his own marriage situation. During the somewhat playful back and forth of the negotiations, Moll states "my business is of another kind with you, and I did not expect you would have turn'd my serious application to you in my own distracted case, into a comedy" (156). The banker responds, "my case is as distracted as yours can be, and I stand in as much need of advice

as you do” (156). As such, the securing of funds for Moll analogously represents the securing of the domestic situation for the banker.

While the interchange of the two appears natural, Moll articulates her deliberate intention to woo the banker. Acknowledging her own scheming, at one point she reflects, “I knew that the way to secure him was to stand off while the thing was so remote, as it appear’d to be” (157). Later she adds “you may see how necessary it is, for all women who expect any thing in the world, to preserve the character of their virtue, even when perhaps they may have sacrific’d the thing itself” (158), and then, most directly, she muses, “I play’d with this lover as an angler does with a trout: I found I had him fast on the hook, so I jested with his new proposal; and put him off” (159). Unabashedly, Moll’s intention represents increasing her own wealth as when she explains “I found also he liv’d very handsomely, and had a house very handsomely furnish’d; all of which I was rejoyc’d at indeed, for I look’d upon it as all my own” (158). For Moll, the negotiations have all to do with capital gains as she concludes “I made no scruple in my thoughts, of quitting my honest citizen, whom I was not so much in love with, as not to leave him for a richer” (159). For Moll, marriage has only to do with commercial gain here as opposed to mutual love and admiration.

Thus, after Moll’s Lancashire exploits and subsequent childbirth, she arranges for the two to reconnect at an inn in Brickhill, a small town en route to London visited as part of her contrived, return trip to London from Lancashire. This meeting epitomizes the function of the inn in Moll’s adventures. First, as representative of her unceasing pursuit for increasing wealth, she speaks to her pleasure at seeing “the figure he came in, for he brought a very handsome (gentleman’s) coach and four horses with a servant to attend

him” (192). She next confesses her motives: “I took the hint immediately, that he certainly would propose to be married; and tho’ it was a sudden thought, it followed presently, that, in short I would not refuse him; for to be plain with my circumstances, I was in no condition now to say No” (193). The mutable and transitory space of the inn then provides not only the space for which the lovers continue their courtship and negotiations but also the very space in which the marriage ceremony takes place. Initially, Moll rejects the notion of the ceremony being held at an inn. She first reacts to the banker with ““what in an inn, and upon the road! Bless us all,’ *said I*, as if I had been surpriz’d, ‘how can you talk so!’” (193), and then again soon after, “Lord, sir, *says I*, what do you mean, what to marry in an inn, and at night too” (196). However, she soon acquiesces to his wishes after some cajoling and further acknowledges to the reader, “I was not so scrupulous” (194) and “I was a great while before I could be perswaded, and pretended not to be willing at all to be married but in the church; but it was all grimace” (197). When she does finally agree to wed in the inn, the landlord plays “father and clerk” and his daughter serves as bridesmaid (197).

Here, the inn is transformed from a temporary space to house the passing traveler to that representative of the family home, the church, and the courthouse. By conducting rituals such as marriage at an inn at any given hour in some respects denigrates the tradition, for the ritual no longer requires a sacred time or space. The very suggestion of this breach initially mortifies Moll; however, the minister himself thwarts her response by commenting “we are not tyed by the canons to marry no where but in the church . . . our princes are married in their chambers, and at eight or ten a clock at night” (196). The inn, then, provides not only room and board for the traveler, but a commercial

transformation of domesticity. For, here the inn and the innkeeper serve as proxies for home, church, and family. That Moll accepts these proxies for real underscores her willingness to break with conventional, domestic traditions in effort to extend her financial reach.

As the remainder of the text demonstrates, by accepting the inn as a proxy, and in many respects a lesser substitute, Moll also allows that the inn provides a mutable space for her to carry out her commercial exploits with little regard for domestic traditions or customs. After her marriage to the banker ends with his death, she once again finds herself in poverty for which she begins a series of petty crimes. Moll utilizes various inns as temporary lodgings and safe harbors but, more importantly, as disguises and spaces for schemes. In relaying several tales of her thievery, she describes bustling scenes of anonymity: “people come frequently with bundles and small parcels to those inns, and call for such carriers, or coaches as they want, to carry them into the country” (244). Moll understands the functional utility of the inn to carry out the anonymous crimes she engages in because she has spent large portions of her life in public lodgings. Her lack of a proper home allows her to victimize travelers through deception and disguise that at times extends to the storefront of the inns. For example, Moll details an event in which she makes away with a parcel in front of an inn:

I was standing at the inn-gate, and a woman that had stood there before, and which was the porter's wife belonging to the *Barnet* stage coach, having observ'd me, ask'd if I waited for any of the coaches; I told her yes, I waited for my mistress, that was coming to go to *Barnet*; she ask'd me who was my mistress, and I told her any madam's name that came

next me; but as it seem'd I happen'd upon a name, a family of which name liv'd at *Hadley* just beyond *Barnet* . . . by and by, some body calling her at a door a little way off, she desir'd me that if any body called for the *Barnet* coach, I would step and call her at the house, which it seems was an ale-house; I said Yes, very readily, and away she went. (244)

In another instance, Moll utilizes the inn to dupe a linen-draper by having a purchase “sent to such an inn, where I had purposely taken up my being the same morning, as if I was to lodge there that night,” and thus takes the package without paying and flees (266). Moll’s own inability to settle in any domestic situation whether of her own accord or by separation in marriages causes her in part to see the concept of home as an impermanent space, not unlike the inn. Because the concept of home or domesticity has failed her, she can easily transgress the traditions associated with the concept for her own survival or to forward her own self-interest in growing wealth. After the banker’s death, this transgression extends beyond the space of the inn to the inhabitants themselves, however temporary their stay.

Only through her eventual capture and subsequent transportation to America does Moll cease her crimes; however, home remains a somewhat mutable space. First, Moll find herself in prison which serves just as much as a home as any she has had. Her time there allows for reflection; nevertheless, under the penalty of death she continues to search for means to exploit her situation for the better. With transportation to America, she not only reunites with Jemy, but also removes herself to a situation that provides a substantially comfortable and profitable life. Even so, Moll remains restless and unsettled. She ends the text by commenting “I am come back to *England*, being almost

seventy years of age, husband sixty eight, having performed much more than the limited terms of my transportation” (334). Still, even in her return to England she remains ambiguous with respect to her domestic situation. She states, “at first I had intended to go back to him, but at his desire I alter’d that resolution, and he is come over to *England* also” (334). Moll’s life traces a course dedicated to upward mobility at all costs. From the outset of the work and that of her life, she begins a series of nomadic exploits for capital gain. Her disregard for domestic conventions underscore the schismatic and yet bound relationship between domesticity and commercialism. At once, Moll seeks a fortune in order to be settled but, in so doing, remains unsettled. The marriage market fails her, domesticity fails her, and in many ways her commercialism fails her as well.

Ultimately, Moll Flanders emblematically serves as the larger mercantilist class growing in wealth and seeking social mobility when such growth still faced numerous obstacles to success. Few commercial opportunities existed for women in the world save for clandestine, perhaps illicit, markets that Mother Midnight or Moll engage in. The marriage market represents an additional commercial venture available to women along all strata of the social spectrum. For Moll, this market presents the most viability and potential prosperity. Moll understands marriage, and therefore domesticity and home, solely as a vehicle to increase her wealth and situation. That she has no pretext for the traditional domestic role of housewife simultaneously allows Moll the freedom to move without boundary from home to home, marriage to marriage, and life to life and the responsibility to create by her own means the life she desires. From her nomadic beginning with a group of gypsies to her seemingly final return to England, Moll remains unsure of what home is and should be.

In this regard, her homes throughout the text remain transitory, approximate, and decidedly not hers. She remains an alien in all spaces, and thus her foreignness allows her to be both at home and without a home at all times. In this regard, the inn becomes essential to her motives and adventures. The inn for Moll at once provides both domicile and market where she returns for rest and comfort or where she sells her wares and steals the wares of others. In the absence of a settled home, the inn serves Moll as a proxy to a lifestyle she cannot grasp while at the same time a channel to get to the lifestyle she seeks. In the text, the inn builds on previous works in which the anonymity of the space and the nature of the business provide a commodification of domesticity for better or for worse. In short, Moll reframes marriage as a monetary transaction and with such a transaction the space of home becomes transient, malleable, and unrooted. Fittingly, the inn populates the text as a demonstration of this type of home away from home within the commercial marketplace. In this way, the inn essentially represents the commercial changes taking place in eighteenth-century English society.

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Where the previous two chapters have shown the writers utilizing inns because they provide central characters anonymity to carry out their generally deviant intentions, in *Joseph Andrews* Fielding specifically employs the village inn, and therefore its anonymity, as a space for social dialogue amongst characters of differing values, beliefs, class, wealth, and place of origin. For Fielding, the inn as an open space situates characters of varying social segments in a place where anonymity allows for social dialogue to emerge, and often devolve, as part of his overall satiric aim. As Fielding understands well, the eighteenth-century inn carries forward sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hospitality which “existed as a code of exchange between competing, often conflicting orders of society: between the poor and rich, noble and plebian, noble and noble, male and female, patriarch and family, family and society, English and non-English, Anglican and Puritan” (Palmer 4). However, the shift from hospitality as a social benefit to a commercial enterprise suggests a new environment in which the exchange of money repositions the expectations and pretensions of both guests and hosts. As such, I argue that Fielding capitalizes on the inn as a transitory stop on travel routes for the wide swath of society as part of his efforts to expose societal ills.

One of the strengths of Fielding’s satire stems from his use of public discourse in shared social spaces to instruct readers.¹ Utilizing the travel narrative, Fielding deals specifically in the common spaces of society where commerce, domesticity, and religion

¹On Fielding as satirist, Martin Battestin comments “Fielding chose, as he variously put it, to speak truth with a smiling countenance, to laugh mankind out of their favorite follies and vices, to tickle them into good manners.” Furthermore, Battestin adds “the satirist’s craft was a responsible one: he wrote with the Horatian design to instruct, as well as to delight, his readers; he acted, in a real sense as the arbiter and custodian of the good manners, morals, and taste of his society. Though laughter is his mode, the satirist is, then, fundamentally, a moralist” (x).

all comingle (i.e. pubs, inns, and coaches). Because of this tactic, society, much like the characters, gets put on display. The reader engages with the social fabric that holds the characters together. James E. Evans asserts that “in *Joseph Andrews* Fielding arranges most of his characters in satiric gatherings, temporary social groups encountered by Joseph and Parson Adams in coaches, houses, or inns, which serve as microcosms” (92). Society, magnified for analysis as if a character in its own right, remains under scrutiny throughout the entire book. Moreover, in common social settings, social boundaries and hierarchies become malleable for these characters. Their maneuverings within the social framework help break down the rigidity of that era’s social ideals. At these moments, when characters of varying class, experience, or values engage in a public debate that leads to conflict, Fielding’s satire against affectation emerges with didactic force.² These moments serve not so much as pivotal movements in the plot (though some do this as well), but rather, help moments that help demonstrate how affectation triggers varied responses in everyday life. Such interactions occur when characters, located in unfamiliar spaces (sometimes within a few miles of home), with foreigners (sometimes local neighbors even), transgress social boundaries and engage in or trigger social commentary.

² Fielding’s preface to *Joseph Andrews* establishes his satirical motives, namely: he affirms, “the Ridiculous only, as I have before said, falls within my province in the present work,” and further that “the only source of the true Ridiculous (as it appears to me) is affectation” (10). His division of affectation between vanity and hypocrisy decidedly deals in a classification system for which he marks as his own finding as opposed to Aristotle or Abbe Bellegarde. The end for either type demonstrates instructing the audience: “From the discovery of this [vanity’s] affectation arises the Ridiculous—which always strikes the reader with surprise and pleasure; and that in a higher and stronger degree when the affectation arises from hypocrisy” (11).

Frederick Olds Bissell, Jr. suggests that this section of the preface “describes the theoretical basis for Fielding’s satire. The satirical mood prevails in the novels, except *Amelia*, and from this point of view Fielding presents reality. He sees life clearly, but with a view to satirizing human frailties, particularly the affectations arising from vanity and hypocrisy” (31).

Written at a time when travel became more accessible to more people and when a growing number of public houses and inns along routes in and around London catered to people of varying lifestyles, *Joseph Andrews* uses common social spaces to stage a variety of debates concerning public life. As Judith Hawley indicates in her introduction to the work, “first-time readers of *Joseph Andrews* expecting to find a light-hearted novel unencumbered by serious intent, a bawdy romp through the English countryside peopled by hearty vicars, lusty lads and buxom wenches, may well be surprised by what confronts them” (ix). In *Joseph Andrews*, rather, Fielding delivers his satire and social commentary through the conflict created by the confrontations between people of differing status.³

In large part, Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews*, along with *Shamela*, responds directly to the moralizing of Richardson’s *Pamela* by restaging the conflict between a single master and servant to include larger-scale interactions enacted in common spaces such as inns, markets, or stagecoaches. As Robert Mayer asserts, Fielding “was offended by the self-presentation of *Pamela* as a work of fiction so self-consciously aiming at the improvement of the reader that it could not only be alluded to in a sermon but could itself function as one” (298). By comparison, unlike in *Pamela* where the reader must learn

³ Fielding notes in his preface that “here I solemnly protest, I have no intention to vilify or asperse anyone” (12) which is also to say he might seek to vilify *anyone*, in a general and less individualistic way, in a sense everyone that may need vilification. Further, he asserts that “everything is copied from the book of nature, and scarce a character or action produced which I have not taken from my own observations and experience; yet I have used the utmost care to obscure the person by such different circumstances, degrees, colours, that it will be impossible to guess at them with any degree of certainty” (12). That is to say, that affectation has no social category; it is pervasive, universal and many ways unavoidable regardless of class or rank.

On this point, Martin Battestin points to “a long, burlesque apostrophe in *Joseph Andrews* (I, 15), where Vanity is seen as busy everywhere and in everyone, deceiving mankind under the false faces of pity or generosity or heroism, lurking behind the passions of avarice or lust or fear, prompting us selfishly ‘to withdraw from others what we do not want, or to withhold from them what they do’ (xxiii). Similarly, W.R. Irwin states, “*Joseph Andrews* will exhibit human nature as it is” (182). Fielding does not have to lob aspersions or vilify any one person in particular; rather, as outlined in the preface he seeks through the machinery of ridicule to uncover the pervasive forms of affectation that plague society.

from the text as a whole in a singular movement, *Joseph Andrews* instructs by digression and by individual, momentary lapses in plot movement where characters hash out ideas with one another or hold grand debates between strangers in unfamiliar locales. For Fielding the social learning, the achievement of the text, is not a culminating lesson taught by the two central characters, but rather it is the culmination of multiple lessons of instruction relayed by multiple, diverse characters along the epic or mock epic journey. Furthermore, the travel narrative in itself provides the necessary frame for Fielding's satire to best take effect as it allows for the free flowing of multiple characters in multiple settings. Whereas Pamela crafts most of her letters while confined to a singular location, Joseph, Parson Adams, and Fanny traverse the countryside. Thus Pamela's scope of relations, by nature of the narrative frame, does not allow for the same interactions that the travel narrative of *Joseph Andrews* allows.⁴ Not until a text like Smollett's *The Adventures of Humphrey Clinker* do the travel narrative and the epistolary novel combine in such a way as to deliver similar satire.

The travel narrative, for Fielding, also allows for a greater sense of ambiguity in the characters presented which feeds his prefatory agenda. For, with the exception of clothing, travelers entering a public house or inn had little to no way to distinguish other

⁴ Pamela's narrative world remains closed to society and time bound by her letter writing whereas Joseph's narrative space stretches across time, space and society.

Regarding narration, James Cruise suggests that Fielding "creates an authorial presence immediately in his text by virtue of his preface; and, second, in the narrative that follows, he stations a narrator whose remove from direct narrative actions shields him from the ambiguity that plagues Pamela, the upstart and sole author of her history" (Cruise, "Precepts" 535).

The epistolary frame of *Pamela*, her imprisoned existence, and the inherent subjectivity, stand in direct opposition to the open world of *Joseph Andrews* where both major and minor characters come and go, plot moves forward then tangentially, and multiple tales unfold. Treadwell Ruml, II, that suggests "the epistolary intimacy of the serving girl's narrative disarms the very critical faculties that it is the mission of exemplary literature to sharpen" (195). In contrast, the narrator of *Joseph Andrews*, "constantly draws the reader's attention to the problems of interpretation and judgement that complicate learning in literature and learning in life" (195).

members of society where class separation did not exist in terms of spaces to eat or sleep. Instead, visitors ate and slept in like rooms. In London better accommodations existed for the wealthier class and not unlike today gradations in lodging existed; however, between London and the countryside, stages along the way offered a singular and similar type of inn for lodging that did not distinguish classes from entry. Friend or kin could offer housing when known in a region, but where anonymous, one found hospitality at the roadside inn generally. Clothing, money, and hygiene might have allowed for instant disclosure at such inns, especially in terms of servants or village locals, yet in many cases these were not instantly noticeable either. In *Joseph Andrews*, this type of mistaken identity occurs throughout; when characters arrive, the narrator describes them as they would be seen by those on location as opposed to more identifying characteristics, as, for example, “It was now the dusk of the evening, when a grave person rode into the inn” (50), or “they were now walking in the inn-yard, when a fat, fair, short person rode in” (65), or “this smart dialogue between some people and some folks was going on at the coach door when a solemn person, riding into the inn” (103). Similarly, when Joseph arrives at the inn after being robbed, his own identity leaves some in wonder such as Betty who “told her mistress she believed the man in bed was a greater man than they took him for” (54). The anonymity afforded by the roadside inn allows characters within each scene to establish anew their own appearances or pretensions with a new audience. In this regard, Fielding exploits the inn for the satiric value it offers.

Worth noting, in Book II, Chapter 1, “Of divisions in authors.,” Fielding acknowledges to some extent the rather essential nature of the inn in his literary exploits. He compares the divisions of a novel to that of travel where “those little spaces between

our chapters may be looked upon as an inn or resting place, where he may stop and take a glass, or any other refreshment, as it please him” (73). Spaces between books “are to be regarded as those stages where, in long journeys, the traveler stays some time to repose himself, and consider of what he hath seen in parts he hath already passed through” (73). These pauses for consideration, Fielding notes as important, for he “would not advise him to travel through these pages too fast; for if he doth, he may probably miss seeing some curious productions of nature” (73). Lastly, he adds to the metaphor, “what are the contents prefixed to every chapter but so many inscriptions over the gates of inns . . . informing the reader what entertainment he is to expect, which if he likes not, he may travel on to the next” (74). The device of the inn serves a further analogy for Fielding.

Still, the inn at the same time serves to inform the discussion at hand. For Fielding, the inn here represents a “resting place” to stop for “refreshment,” which stands in stark contrast to any of the inns the central characters frequent in the novel. The first inn offers the wrangling of Mrs. Tow-ouse, embittered debates between Adams, Barnabas, and the surgeon and of course, Betty’s row with Mrs. Tow-ouse which directly concludes before Book II commences. Not soon after, Adams scuffles with an innkeeper only to have “a pan full of hog’s blood” fall upon him (99). Among other stops, at one inn Adams and Joseph end up shackled and jailed in a room. For sure, the inns in the novel provide anything but a resting place. Nevertheless, they do provide “some curious productions of nature” requiring the reflection of the reader not unlike such referenced in the preface in which “everything is copied from the book of nature, and scarce a character or action produced which I have not taken from my own observations and experience” (12). Citing Andrew Wright, Philip Stevick remarks

“Fielding often presents the reader with a ‘tableau,’ a comparatively static, almost ‘posed’ picture, in the manner of Hogarth,” as for example “Joseph naked before the occupants of the stage coach” (28). The notion of the tableau for which one examines directly exemplifies the role of the inn in the work to establish a space of visual acuity that hones the reader’s attention to the very scene that has unfolded in effort to supply the satiric thrust. Several chapters end in such a way as to enclose the scene within its bounds as in Book I, Chapter XVII, where the narrator comments that Mrs. Tow-wouse “began to compose herself, and at length recovered the usual serenity of her temper, in which we will leave her, to open to the reader the steps which led to a catastrophe” (69). The chapter concludes by the closing of one tableau and the introduction of another.

Because characters cannot instantly segregate themselves by their own class or wealth relation, the situation forces them to associate with people of mixed identities. For Fielding, “public thoroughfares, greedy publicans, self-interested rambles, suspended identities, confining spaces, and, in general, everything that is not home gauge commercial activity” (Cruise, “Precepts” 536). The commercial space of the inn, and its occupants, however temporal, reflect the social framework he seeks to disrupt and dispute. By establishing a space that destabilizes the class and status of characters, Fielding creates a setting in which characters jockey for position as they attempt to create hierarchies of individuals based on knowledge, wealth, class, or community position. In this fashion, the inn serves as a stage to display some archetypal members of society.

By first utilizing the travel narrative to bring characters to common public spaces, the characters’ ambiguous social descriptions allow for the affected dialogue so pervasive in Fielding’s frame of society. When at the outset Joseph lies upstairs after having been

robbed, the discussion between the “gentleman” not yet identified as Parson Adams and the surgeon serves as such an example. With only the moniker of gentleman assigned before the reader, Adams inquires of the surgeon the state of the ill Joseph. Irrked at being questioned about his knowledge of his own profession, the vain surgeon, described as “a dry fellow,” responds with a line of questioning that seeks to “expose the gentleman” for his lack of knowledge (51). With an audience at the inn watching “the doctor pursuing his triumph,” the gentleman engages in the dialogue that concludes in laughter from the audience and the doctor enjoying his triumph “with no small satisfaction” (52). Of interest in this scene, Fielding has provided no description of the gentleman up to this point—only his entrance into the inn, his interaction with the innkeeper, and his inquiry of the surgeon. The ambiguity of his character masks the reader’s understanding of his conduct against the profession of the surgeon, and yet the surgeon derides the gentleman in effort to vainly assert himself as the leading medical authority. The surgeon thus concludes of the ill Joseph, “his case is that of a dead man” followed by a diagnosis of Latin gibberish (52). This diagnosis, of course, ultimately proves false. Only later does Fielding introduce the gentleman as Parson Adams which implies that the affected surgeon would have initiated such a dialogue with just about anyone in effort to bolster his own self-worth.

Here resides the pervasive affectation within society that Fielding seeks to uncover. The inn in this scene provides first a setting in which an anonymous character can enter the text without exposure or the need for explanation, in this case Adams, and secondly, a space or stage where an audience already exists for which an affected character such as the surgeon can stand upon the stage of his own self-aggrandizing. In

some regard, this movement of Fielding's speaks to his prefatory comments that "everything is copied from the book of nature" (10). For, here the ambiguity of personal identifiers stages the characters as analogues or archetypes for roles within society as opposed to individual characters within themselves. Hence, the satire resides as a call against all such people as opposed to an individual of the text. Furthermore, only by placing the characters in the space of the inn in which an anonymous body of men congregate by happenstance does Fielding's satirical aims shine through. In such an environment, these characters naturally interact within their own societal roles, but at the same time beyond their own societal roles.

Moreover, traveling by stagecoach, an extension of the many inns along the roadway, often allowed, or forced, anonymous members of varying social status to accompany one another in route to their destinations. As Roy Porter notes, "Northampton, with a mid-century population of 5,000, had sixty inns and 100 ale-houses, and there were about 50,000 inns and taverns throughout the country" (235). In Birmingham alone, "248 innkeepers" could be found in the directories of the 1770s (97). Such wide saturation of inns across the country suggests that travel was frequent and common for much of society. Percy G. Adams notes that "as early prose fiction was evolving, public stagecoaches and coach travel in general were evolving with it" (216). Like the public, open space of the inn, coach travel pushed against societal stratification forcing differing rank, status, and roles into the same tight spaces. In speaking of the *Spectator* from August 1, 1711, Percy G. Adams offers that "Mr. Spectator concludes that stagecoaches are an ideal means of bringing out human nature" (216). This is all to say that coach travel extends the space of the roadside inn for which Fielding exploits for

satiric ends. When Joseph is left for dead by the robbers preceding the above dialogue between Adams and the surgeon, a stagecoach passing by pauses to examine what happened. As the coach approaches, a debate ensues on whether or not to even stop and then whether or not to save the naked, robbed Joseph. Every character in the scene asserts a status higher than the assaulted Joseph, even the coachman who states, “we are confounded late, and have no time to look after dead men” (42). The entire scene serves as commentary on charity versus self-interest, but, more importantly, the discussion of whether to save the unfortunate Joseph or proceed serves to enforce Fielding’s prefatory agenda against affectation.

The moral imperative of charitable service in the scene obviously stands to reason; however, this decision itself does not serve as Fielding’s commentary. Instead, the act of having to make this decision, the pausing to contemplate and discuss, provides Fielding’s satiric thrust. First, a lady taking the moral high ground insists on the coach stopping to provide assistance only to quickly change heart upon hearing of Joseph’s state: “a naked man! Dear coachman, drive on and leave him” (42). When the gentlemen alight the stagecoach to assess the situation, they learn that Joseph had been robbed. As opposed to lending aid, one gentleman reacts by first stating “let us make all the haste imaginable, or we shall be robbed too” (42). The next gentleman, “who belonged to the law,” out of self-interest recommends the group help only because “if he should die they might be called to some account for his murder” (42-43). The moral and social implications of the scene reveal Fielding’s didacticism upon charity. For Christopher Parkes the lesson is clear: “*Joseph Andrews* (1742) is about the absence of charity in eighteenth-century England” (17). Michael McKeon adds “the paradigmatic instance of

failed charity in *Joseph Andrews* is the early stagecoach episode, in which an entire social spectrum of respectable passengers refuses to relieve Joseph's distress until the lowest of them all, the postilion, gives him his greatcoat" (59). In this instance, those on the coach have no real connection to one another, at least not to the reader's direct knowledge. As passengers, they collectively have no obligation to one another outside of social mores, and yet Fielding clearly seeks to reveal that such mores do not always drive one's actions. The discussion with its implications transcends class and status and specifically calls the reader to place him or herself within the context regardless of personal class categorization. W.R. Irwin observes that "Fielding intended that an alert reader be able to judge for himself simply by seeing affected characters in action" (185). Fielding's use of the ambiguous characterization and the common public space only heighten the reader's awareness of his moral imperative. The amalgamation of multiple characters of ambiguous backgrounds set within a social scene where each engages in ethical decision-making provides the setting for Fielding's satire to push through multiple arenas of society. Further, Joseph's own class and character remain unknown in the scene, thus relinquishing any possibility of noble austerity or formal decorum to create a barrier to charity. In short, the passengers in the coach must make a personal, moral choice to offer aid despite class or social status. Only to preserve their own interests does each in the group collectively decide to acquiesce. This reaction of course occurs only when the coachman agrees to some form of remuneration for taking on an additional passenger. This last touch by Fielding solidifies the satire of the situation in which no one person is found blameless for affected behavior.

Beyond the absence of charity, travel to and between roadside inns depicted in *Joseph Andrews* also serves to amplify the way in which the commercialization of hospitality has led to social ills worthy of invective. Fielding's own consistent disdain and disgust for innkeepers in his final publication, *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*, suggests his unease with the cooptation of hospitality by industry. As James Thompson indicates "the threat of the transformative or generative power of money runs throughout Fielding's novels, particularly in the anonymity promoted by journeys during which strangers are trusted on the strength of their money . . . those who have money are assumed to be gentlemen" (34). In this regard, commercial enterprise and the capital it fosters provide a proxy identifier of status and rank that seemingly does not exist. For Fielding, such fluidity in identity cultivates vanity and affectation in the wide spectrum of man, and the space of the inn in *Joseph Andrews* exemplifies the inherent tension created by the social and economic changes at work during the time.⁵

Moreover, with the notion of hospitality already under duress within the growing, capitalist society of the time, innkeepers commercialized and monetized the informal laws of hospitality that governed the countryside. Where once the weary traveler knocked upon any door and would get a place to sleep and a meal to eat, the stagecoach

⁵ Comparing Fielding and Hogarth as social commentators, Richard M. Baum states: "Each came from a bourgeois family of conservative outlook. Neither had any patience with the wasteful expenditures of the nobility, debauched by their imitation of foreign customs. Each was appalled by the excesses of the poor through their over-indulgence in hard liquor. Each was thoroughly anti-papist, identifying the Roman church with all the intrigues hostile to the political welfare of their country. Both heartily despised quack doctors who thrived upon the gullibility of their over-credulous patients" (30).

Such description suggests that Fielding and his contemporaries feared the effects of social mobility and commercialization of traditional values and customs. In this regard, satirizing the representative people of society that formulate such ills becomes paramount to Fielding's efforts.

Swift's poem, "A Description of a City-Shower," similarly highlights the filth and dissipation of society. The last three lines paint a bleak, disgusting image of society's wastefulness: "Sweepings from butchers' stalls, dung, guts, and blood, / Drowned puppies, stinking sprats, all drenched in mud, / Dead cats, and turnip tops, come tumbling down the flood." (42).

and the inn increasingly converted hospitality into a commercial venture. As James E. Evans points out, “when the coach arrives at the Dragon Inn, Joseph encounters the Tow-wouses, the first of several families in *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones* responsible for the kind of community associated with an inn, where economic motives generally control hospitable obligations to guests” (94). Throughout the text, Fielding continuously works on this changing reality. Be it seeking room and board at an inn, garnering a drink from an alehouse, or seeking assistance from a country parson, Adams, Joseph, and Fanny unceasingly face an inhospitable world requiring money in exchange for common goods or needs.

Nowhere is this more discernable than in the character of Mrs. Tow-wouse, the innkeeper’s wife. She, at once, represents Fielding’s satiric crusade against affectation, but more than this she also typifies the role commercialism plays in forwarding Fielding’s notion of pervasive affectation. The reader first becomes acquainted with the innkeeper’s wife when the coach of reluctant passengers drops him off at the inn. Finding that her husband has loaned a shirt to the needy Joseph, she states “what the devil do you mean by this, Mr. Tow-wouse? Am I to buy shirts to lend to a set of scabby rascals?” (46). Not unlike the passengers in the coach, Mrs. Tow-wouse removes herself from responsibility for the assaulted victim while at the same time suggesting herself his better. The husband and wife then engage in an interchange on the merits of taking in Joseph. Ultimately, Mrs. Tow-wouse proves this house of hospitality to be anything but hospitable as when her husband comments, “this man hath been robbed of all he hath,” and she responds “Well then . . . where’s his money to pay his reckoning?” (46). When she threatens to cast Joseph out, Mr. Tow-wouse states “common charity won’t suffer

you to do that,” only to be lambasted in response: “Common charity, a f—t! . . . common charity teaches us to provide for ourselves and our families; and I and mine won’t be ruined by your charity” (46). Here, Mrs. Tow-wouse plays the hypocrite that affects to be hospitable but only when self-interest makes it convenient. In the absence of gain, Mrs. Tow-wouse offers no hospitality. Not until upon the promise, or hope rather, of Joseph being a gentleman of fortune does Mrs. Tow-wouse reverse her course as she bellows at her husband, “Hold your simple tongue, and don’t instruct me in my business. I am sure I am sorry for the gentleman’s misfortune with all my heart” (55). Furthermore, the description of the shrewd, money-grubbing Mrs. Tow-wouse reads not unlike one of Hogarth’s visuals:

Her person was short, thin, and crooked. Her forehead projected in the middle, and thence descended in a declivity to the top of her nose, which was sharp and red, and would have hung over her lips, had not nature turned up the end of it. Her lips were two bits of skin, which, whenever she spoke, she drew together in a purse. Her chin was peaked; and at the upper end of that skin which composed her cheeks, stood two bones, that almost hid a pair of small red eyes. Add to this a voice most wonderfully adapted to the sentiments it was to convey, being both loud and hoarse.

(51)

The description here mirrors the name of the inn itself, The Dragon, as the reader finds preceding in the above detail. The inn, and by extension the innkeeper as representative of the locale, provides the antipathy of hospitality; instead, commerce drives the scene. Mrs. Tow-wouse has no care for humanity. Her very essence is driven by the

commercial venture of the inn. Mrs. Tow-wouse and the other innkeepers in the novel do not “want the good name of their establishments ruined by poor vagabonds” (Parkes 17), and yet the very opposite occurs not because of vagabonds, but rather because of the lack of hospitality to any that enter the inn to face the dragon.

In keeping with innkeepers, the next such inn the central characters come upon lands them in trouble with the innkeepers; however, in this new adventure the husband, not the wife, stands as the aggressor which Fielding works upon. First, when Joseph and Adams enter the scene the innkeeper, who “observing his wife on her knees to a footman” immediately lashes out at his wife for tending Joseph’s injured leg (98). Adams upon hearing the commotion accosts the innkeeper, and “Joseph bade the latter know how to behave himself to his betters” (99). Joseph’s use of the term “betters” incites the innkeeper and a scuffle ensues. Here, affectation stems from vanity in which the notion of class status drives the innkeeper’s behavior. Mr. Tow-wouse rages at his wife for tending to a footman as opposed to “the company in the coach,” and at the same time he is insulted that he would be called less than Joseph in status. Affectation pervades all segments of society.

Following the scuffle in which “a pan full of hog’s blood” (99) lands on Adams, a lengthy discourse on lawsuits commences. Striking in this scene at the inn as that of the coach above, Fielding provides a menagerie of participants: “There happened to be in the inn, at this time, besides the ladies who arrived in the stage-coach, the two gentlemen who were present at Mr. Tow-wouse’s . . . There was likewise a gentleman just returned from Italy” (100). Again, the stage inn and the coach upon the way allow for multiple, somewhat anonymous personalities to emerge within the same discussion. In this case,

two gentlemen separately work the innkeeper and Parson Adams to bring suit against the other. In both cases, the gentlemen do not get the answers they would expect; nonetheless, the greed of the genteel here suggests something greater at play. Adams rebuffs the gentleman: “If you knew me and my order, I should think you affronted both” (102). Realizing his own faux pas, the gentleman responds in flight, “Every man knew his own business” (102). Here, the man does not acknowledge his own wrongdoing in suggesting that Adams use the law for profit, but rather turns and leaves without mortification.

In addition to examples pertaining to the inns in the novel that inform Fielding’s satire, one also sees this concept develop in additional forms of public hospitality connected to the village inn and public houses in *Joseph Andrews*. The difference between public house and inn varied little in many cases for travelers. Generally, and in the most obvious sense, inns typically had rooms to let where public houses did not. However, depending on the size of the village or the local alehouse, rooms could be found for a night in a variety of settings. In fact, Fielding acknowledges this fluid characterization in *Joseph Andrews* in a description of one of the travelers’ stops in which “a most violent storm of rain obliged them to take shelter in an inn, or rather alehouse, where Adams immediately procured himself a good fire, a toast and ale, and a pipe, and began to smoke with great content, utterly forgetting everything that had happened” (128). In Book II, the travelers enter an alehouse and find a hospitable patron in a local squire who engages Adams in conversation. The squire soon offers Adams a generous, dream life that the host of the alehouse eventually confirms does not exist. Adams and the host at length discuss the implications of the squire’s actions before turning to

additional topics; nonetheless, regarding the squire, “one of the few things that Fielding shares with the earlier novelists is the familiar satiric point that rank on its own has no visible connection with moral quality” (Baines 60). The squire’s repeated acts of “denying him,” as Joseph calls the squire’s promises, amounts to little more than a vain attempt at appearing to be wealthier, perhaps more generous, but ultimately more genteel than those involved (150). The squire archetypally offers a character that directly represents the affectation of vanity Fielding forwards in the preface where “Vanity puts us on affecting false Characters, in order to purchase Applause,” and “when it comes from Vanity only, it partakes of the Nature of Ostentation” (10).

The squire’s base affectation to promote his own generosity stems from his innate vanity to appear more than he is. In this instance and throughout the text, “Fielding seeks rather to resolve the tensions between intrinsic virtue and extrinsic honor, first by seeming to alienate merit from birth and then by reconciling the two in his hero,” Joseph (Rumt II 196). Furthermore, only by situating the squire at the alehouse not far from his estate can the lesson develop, for, as the host relays, “I assure you, you are not the first to whom our squire hath promised more than he hath performed. He is so famous for this practice, that his word will not be taken for much by those who know him” (151-152). By such a chance meeting in such a chance location Fielding uncovers the affectation of the squire through the central characters of Adams, Joseph, and Fanny. The alehouse offers a social space frequented by the squire, but not confined to his social stratum for which, as the host proclaims, many of varying backgrounds, including himself, have fallen victim to the squire’s lofty assurances.

Just as quickly as Fielding situates the squire’s affected nature in this scene, he

transitions the discussion to another example of affectation employing the very characters that reprimand the squire's behavior, the barkeep and Adams. The conversation commences, as indicated above, with the two discussing the ill behavior of the squire but this quickly changes when the two clash in opinions over the value of learning by experience versus by learning by book. In speaking of the role of vanity in society, and in particular within the text of *Joseph Andrews*, Melanie D. Holm comments that vanity's deception "extends from our character to the character of our thought. And, because we enjoy the flattery of these ideas, including the belief that we are astute thinkers, we are disinclined to question our convictions and rather more inclined to defend them tooth and claw" (264). The exchange between Adams and the host precisely represents this ubiquitous, vain stubbornness as when Adams confidently asserts "I can go farther in an afternoon than you in a twelvemonth" before spouting several classic adventures in text that he has read (154). The host similarly retorts in confidence "O ho! You are a pretty traveler . . . and not know the Levant! My service to you, master; you must not talk of these things with me! You must not tip us the traveler; it won't go here" (154-155). As Holm suggests, "our thoughts are colored with a seductive self-certainty that grants our opinions a semblance of truth. Moreover, our certainty emboldens us to force these opinions on others and hear no dissent, turning innate virtuous impulses into enthusiastic crusades" (264). In this instance, Adams and the host each argue from their own intolerant view without acknowledging the other potentially equally valuable point of view.

Chief among the exchanges between the two, the role of trade surfaces. Adams comments, "Trade . . . as Aristotle proves in his first chapter of Politics, is below a

philosopher, and unnatural as it is managed now” (155). The host, a former sailor, responds “Of what use would learning be in a country without trade? What would all you parsons do to clothe your backs and feed your bellies? Who fetches you your silks, and your linens, and your wines, and all the other necessities of life?” (156). Entrenched in their own vain ideals, the two never reach consensus but simply deny the notion that both have value to add. For Fielding, the scene serves to provide a manifold experience of his satirical view on vanity. Here, the squire represents a point of ridicule cast aside for his deception, and yet those that cast aspersions upon him similarly act in an affected manner. The alehouse, by proxy an inn, serves as the essential backdrop for this activity to occur in which a Parson, country gentlemen, and village innkeeper all frequent as unequal equals. As James Cruise makes clear, there exists “a network of public houses that take a virtue once associated with the pastoral world, hospitality, and make a business out of it. These inns form the backbone of *Joseph Andrews* and gauge how far commerce has dislocated eighteenth-century England from a more generous ideal world” (“Fielding, Authority” 257). By utilizing the commercial space of the inn, Fielding operates on a wider society that includes the varying social strata of the time. In so doing, he calls to attention the very failings of society to act without affectation and without charity.

To conclude the discussion of inns in this chapter, the last major episode involving an inn in *Joseph Andrews* combines many of the elements discussed earlier. Book III, Chapter VII introduces a gentleman who, in seeming hospitality, offers his estate to the three travelers, but whose designs against them fed the “strange delight which he took in everything which is ridiculous, odious, and absurd in his own species”

(206). The scene at the squire's home thus sets up the subsequent events at the inn. The brief description the reader receives of this squire's upbringing clearly aligns him to that of Wilson; however, in this comparison, the reformed Wilson emerges caring, charitable, and hospitable. In the former squire, such traits remain nonexistent. Fielding clearly seeks to establish the two as opposing forces where "the Wilsons' 'Way of Living' distinguishes them from the self-love in the society around them," (Evans 95). Fed up, at last, with the treatment he receives at the squire's home, Adams exclaims, "Sir, I am sorry to see one to whom Providence hath been so bountiful in bestowing his favours make so ill and ungrateful a return for them" (209). This comment from Adams stands in stark contrast to his thoughts of Wilson for whom he "declares that this was the manner in which the people had lived in the Golden Age" (193). Wilson's hospitality signals a gentility of personal character beyond that of mere wealth and upbringing; rather, such charity and hospitality require an unaffected nature that does not embrace the ridiculous. Adams continues chastising the squire when he states "for though you have not insulted me yourself, it is visible you have delighted in those that do it, nor have once discouraged the many rudenesses which have been shown towards me; indeed, towards yourself if you rightly understood them; for I am your guest, and by the laws of hospitality entitled to your protection" (209). Even after such a scolding, the squire and his band of human "curs" continue to chide and roast the parson, forcing the travelers to embark from the home.

In addition to serving as a precursor to the events at the inn that follows, the roast at the squire's home also adds to the present discussion, for the squire, as a contrast to Wilson, demonstrates the changing space of hospitality at the time. If Wilson represents

a bygone “Golden Age” in which charity and the laws of hospitality dictate action, the ridiculing squire represents a vast change in society in which hospitality no longer guides behavior. In part, such hospitality becomes commodified in the network of inns James Cruise references above, and by such commodification the charitable act associated with hospitality no longer governs social action. The squire, in fact, uses the notion of charity and hospitality to lure the three travelers into his snare at his home as Adams acknowledges, “You found me, sir, travelling with two of my parishioners . . . my appearance might very well persuade you that your invitation was an act of charity” (209).⁶ In this regard, the travelers flee the squire’s home for an inn some short distance off. This, then, makes the space of the inn essential to Fielding’s satiric agenda as the inn represents both the absence of charity by placing a price tag on hospitality and at the same time the encroaching mercantilist society of the town now within the country in which a hodgepodge of society equally engage. As the narrator reminds us in Book II, Chapter XIII, “Nor is there, perhaps, in this whole ladder of dependence, any one step at a greater distance from the other than the first from the second; so that to a philosopher the question might only seem, whether you would choose to be a great man at six in the morning, or at two in the afternoon” (133). In other words, the inn is where Fielding’s most famous image of social hierarchy is staged, in a situation when a variety of people along the ladder assemble with no concrete way of assessing one another’s rank, wealth,

⁶ Judith Hawley states that “Fielding’s writing is frequently organized around a series of contrasts and conflicts” (xxvi). The contrast of Wilson and the squire indicates a contrast between the location of hospitality within the novel.

Martin Battestin similarly notes that “for Fielding, following a venerable tradition that reaches back to Juvenal and Virgil, town and country were always morally antithetical, types, respectively, of vice and virtue” (xxxvi). Wilson’s “Golden Age” situates charity and hospitality at the home whereas the squire’s modern age places them external to the home hence suggesting that the town has in some ways infiltrated the country.

or character. In such a situation, then, affectation inevitably arises in place of hospitality and charity.

In contrast, the possibilities of affectation and dissimulation found at the inn cannot occur at the manor where the lord's superior status must always be acknowledged and imposed. In this context, the multifarious characters in *Joseph Andrews*, representative of a society growing increasingly commercial and perhaps more urban, reflect the social fabric and reveal the pervasiveness of affectation that permeates all rungs upon the ladder. The inn works precisely to undermine the caste system by placing in its stead a stage for players to perform in affected manners.

To this end, the last notable presence of an inn in the novel not only delivers on this very notion rather effectively but also revitalizes similar elements that have already occurred at the previous inns. When the three travelers vacate the squire's home, "they soon arrived at an inn, which was at seven miles' distance" (213). As previously noted, stages along travel routes provided a variety of accommodations often indistinguishable, and here not unlike the previous alehouse, the narrator describes the inn as one "we might call an ale-house, had not the words, The New Inn, been writ on the sign" (213). Furthermore, to confirm Judith Hawley's observation about Fielding's enacting of plot as "a series of contrasts and conflicts," the episode commences by harkening back to the first inn described in the novel in which Adams engages with Parson Barnabas on the topic of the clergy and selling sermons. Once the three travelers have settled in, Adams with the recent events at the squire's home still fresh on the mind initiates a discussion with "a priest of the Church of Rome" on the topic of wealth (214). In response to the priest's lengthy reproach of wealth accumulation, a jubilant Parson Adams responds,

“Give me your hand, brother . . . you have spoken my sentiments: I believe I have preached every syllable of your speech twenty times over” (214). Much like the Barnabas scene in which the conversation alights on “small tithes,” “the hardships suffered by the inferior clergy,” and the amount of money to be gained by selling sermons, Adams’s discussion with the priest similarly focuses on the ill effects of wealth and commerce. Additionally, in both of the scenes, Parson Adams unwittingly and innocently serves as Fielding’s vehicle to uncover the corruption and affectation of those of religious orders—what Martin Battestin states serves as “an important secondary theme of the novel” (xxxiv). In this case, much like that with Barnabas, Adams plays the counter to the character of affectation. The priest here befriends Adams when the two find common ground in a singular view; however, in the end he comes to believe Adams actually representative of the same greed the two bemoan. Additionally, the priest from the outset with his series of questions and continued harangues against the wealthy could very easily be standing on the pulpit delivering a sermon. This, Fielding, clearly represents when the priest “resumed the discourse, which he continued with great bitterness and invective” (214-215). Striking in this regard, then, the priest “ended by desiring Adams to lend him eighteen-pence” (215). Not unlike the sermon selling of Barnabas, the priest seeks remuneration for his speech. Where Adams’s thwarted trip to London to sell his sermons for a modest sum is unassuming, the two men he counterbalances utilize the religious cloth for personal gain most overtly. The inn, as the backdrop to this interaction, serves yet again to supply an anonymous character in the priest and a space in which hospitality and charity meet commercialism.

The New Inn, here, also supplies yet another unforgiving, reprehensible set of innkeepers. While the innkeeper allows the priest to leave without payment, his reaction is anything but hospitable: “if he had suspected the fellow had no money, he would not have drawn him a single drop of drink; saying he despaired ever seeing his face again, for that he looked like a confounded rogue” (216). Later, after the several antics involving the three travelers, the poet, the player, the captain, and some servants, the innkeeper’s wife enters the scene in the mold of Mrs. Tow-ouse. Upon learning of the events that unfolded in the inn, she chastises her husband “with a decent number of fools and blockheads; asked him why he did not consult her, and told him he would never leave following the nonsensical dictates of his own numskull till she and her family were ruined” (230). Soon enough, with the entrance of Peter Pounce to the scene she quickly shifts her countenance “with a thousand curtsies” to excuse the behavior of her husband and relieve the inn of any wrongdoing. The apologetic speech, if it can even be called such, at once requests that Pounce “pardon her husband” and in the same breath retracts the pardon, “if he could be ruined alone, she would be very willing of it” (230). Continuing her plea, the innkeeper’s wife asks Pounce to “forgive her husband this time” as he is a “block-head” (230). As with the several innkeepers throughout the novel, the strained relationship of the husband and wife here frames the marriage relative to the commercial venture of the inn.

In summary, the inns in *Joseph Andrews* provide a social space for Fielding to engage the reader in his central argument that the ridiculousness of affectation and vanity reside in all forms of human life and must be tempered, minimized or avoided altogether. In the novel, inns bring together a wide swath of society that includes parsons, squires,

innkeepers, servants, poets, players, and merchants, in such a way that all find themselves edging for attention, for esteem, or for status. Professions, rank, and beliefs serve as motives for affecting something greater than oneself in the interactions at the inn. Additionally, the ambiguity of characters within the inns forces each to perform as a greater or lesser version of who they are in truth—in essence, affecting pretenses. When such affectation or vanity occurs, Fielding seizes the opportunity to exploit the character. Lastly, the inn plays an essential role in *Joseph Andrews* by not only delivering Fielding's satiric jabs at characters of society, but also by delivering an alternative to the ridiculous found in Providence. In the end, Providence wins out for Joseph, Fanny, and Wilson, in such a way as to demonstrate the overarching message the novel culminates to deliver at the last representation of an inn when Joseph and Adams find themselves bound. The inn, in this regard, does more than provide a backdrop or setting, but rather represents the larger body of humanity in society. In a sense, the inn plays the role of church for both Adams and his creator, Fielding.

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The Absence of Inns in Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*

Although Smollett's *Expedition of Humphry Clinker* stands as the culminating example of this study's series of novels, it differs from its predecessors in a number of important ways. For one, it has long been acknowledged to overlap significantly with this era's travelogues or travel literature. While its characters and situations are recognizably fictional and often comic, the novel details the travels and sojourns of the Bramble clan across the British Isles in such a way as to add seemingly real-life color and flavor in describing each stop along the journey. The novel has been so closely associated with travelogues that most current editions include a map with the route the group takes and geographic benchmarks from their stops. Held up against the other works of this study, for sure Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* operates in a much more tangible way as a travel narrative than the others. Travel in Aubin's *Lady Lucy* fuels the romance narrative. In Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, travel allows the title character to negotiate her adventures, and in Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* travel provides the engine for Fielding's social commentary within the narrative structure.

Here, however, in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, the reader finds through a series of letters written by multiple characters the very description of the sites traveled as if the plot narrative of the novel is secondary to the descriptions and observations of each stop of the journey. In the initial framing letters of the novel as a publishing transaction, Davis, the bookseller, comments "There have been so many letters upon travel lately published—What between Smollett's, Sharp's, Derrick's, Thicknesse's, Baltimore's, and Baretti's, together with Shandy's *Sentimental Travels*"—as if to suggest that the letters

that follow represent more travel writing than novel writing (4).¹ Not unlike the previous works discussed in this study, in *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* the inn serves as a necessary and unavoidable space. In particular, for Smollett the inn amplifies the stratification of classes as part of the conservative satire of the novel; however, unlike the other works discussed earlier in this study, Smollett submerges the usual role of the inn in the conventional travel narrative. While essential to travel at the time, and therefore to the novel, the inn usually accompanies the journey of the characters in the novel. Instead, as the following will demonstrate, Smollett minimizes the presence of the inn as space of any consideration and simultaneously employs it as a distancing tool, a way to privilege nobility against the growing merchant or commercial class.

To begin, for the most part scholars have argued that Smollett criticizes and satirizes a changing society that relies more heavily on commercialism, mercantilism, and private, self-interest, and less on a traditional, agrarian, stratified society. Further, the existing scholarship also tends to compare travel through England and Scotland to facilitate this criticism. In his introduction to the work, Thomas R. Preston comments that if the novel has a singular plot at all, it is the characters' realization that "happiness or

¹ Indeed, the form of writing definitely saw an upswing in the eighteenth-century as not only the means of travel became more accessible, but the means of conveying ideas about travel became more accessible as well (i.e. greater access to publication, a stronger and faster mail system, and a budding new commercial industry in hospitality).

Paul Fussell asserts that "it is easy to forget that the travel book was one of the chief eighteenth-century genres, a genre so appealing in both focuses and conventions that almost every writer of consequence—regardless of moral orientation—chose at some point to work in the form" (262).

A public appetite for learning about foreign lands including their cultures and customs was spurred by increased foreign trade, moreover, aided in the saturation of the market by travel narratives. Thus, while in the first letters of the novel Smollett takes a jab at the popularity of this form of writing including his own recent exploit, clearly the work in many ways operates as a travelogue rather than fiction.

At the same time, worth noting, John Sekora reminds the reader of *Humphry Clinker* that "we today tend to view eighteenth-century fiction under the all absorbing rubric of novel. Contemporary readers, however, could not and did not. For what we know as the early novel was a fluid and hybrid form" (217-218).

felicity, as Matt Bramble calls it, will not be found in luxury and affectation (two of Matt's favorite denunciatory terms) but in order, moderation, and active concern for the mental, physical, and moral health of oneself and others" (xxvi). Similarly, Angus Ross in another introduction to the novel states, "The interaction of his [Smollett's] view of human nature and his response to the problems of his society is the real driving force behind *Humphry Clinker*" (17). John Sekora, likewise, offers that Smollett "fashioned in *Humphry Clinker* a highly political design: the counterpointing of England and Scotland, city and country, change and tradition" (221). Robert Hopkins adds that "*Humphry Clinker* represents Smollett's last great defense of the empirical comic view of life with all its concomitant aesthetic values" (176). Michael Rosenblum goes a step further by positing that Smollett in *Humphry Clinker* plays the role of conservative satirist. In defining this notion, he states, "for the conservative satirist the bad society is loose, unstructured, permissive, uncertain of its values" (557). The conservative satirist, for Rosenblum, "criticizes the disorderly society from the vantage point of belief in the possibility and necessity of order" (557). In this framework, "the conservative may imply that order and design are somehow natural, built into the scheme of things, but at the same time he acknowledges the many forces which threaten order; the cast of mind that most strongly feels the impulse to order will also be the most sensitive to registering disorder" (558). Thus, for Rosenblum, the travel narrative of *Humphry Clinker* provides the opportunity for Smollett to act as a conservative satirist who, by enlisting external observers of each site along the journey, castigates disorder and praises order. At times, the observers, usually Bramble, provide an alternative, better society that often harkens back nostalgically to a better time or a better way. In a more nuanced approach to

Smollett's conservatism, Michael McKeon argues that "travel helps revalue the condition that had seemed a disease—the condition of mixture, liquidity and excess—as in fact a cure for stagnation" (61). Bramble's travel, and thus that of his family, in fact, is spawned from his own physical maladies and hypochondria acquired at home. Only by engaging with and mixing in the disorder of the gradations of society does Bramble learn to appreciate the pastoral countryside of his estate, and with this appreciation during the journey his health improves. McKeon concludes that "reading *Humphry Clinker* is a lesson in learning to discern, beneath the broad façade of traditionality, the innovative modernisations which that façade helps facilitate and humanize"; nevertheless, he concurs with others when he adds "that *Humphry Clinker* contains a powerful critique of luxury is, of course, not to be doubted," (64, 57). For McKeon, "the result is that what we are urged at each moment to see as mutually exclusive values and behaviors are repeatedly shown to overlap, mix or lapse into indistinguishability" (65). In this respect, the space of the inn, as discussed below, embodies such indistinguishability.

In some respects, Smollett's conservative attack confirms McKeon's assertion that *Humphry Clinker* ultimately works to destabilize the impending and emerging meld of society growing through increased commerce, travel, and wealth. As McKeon notes "the modern circulation of commodities renders city and country inseparable, two sides of the same coin" (65). Bramble's lengthy contrast of Brambleton-hall with London exemplifies both Smollett's conservative indictment of modern, urban society along with the Bramble clan's participation in it. In his June 8 letter, Bramble asks "shall I state the difference between my town grievances, and my country comforts?" The answer to this question he readily supplies by offering a manifold encomium on Brambleton-hall: "I

have elbow-room within doors, and breathe a clear, elastic, salutary air—I enjoy refreshing sleep, which is never disturbed by horrid noise, nor interrupted, but in a-morning, by the sweet twitter of the martlet at my window” (117-118). He continues his effusive description of Brambleton-hall as a pastoral Eden where he drinks the water “virgin lymph, pure and crystalline as it gushes from the rock,” where the “bread is sweet and nourishing, made from my own wheat, ground in my own mill, and baked in my own oven,” and where the various food stocks provide a wealth of abundance from the “delicious veal, fattened with nothing but the mother's milk” to the “sallads, roots, and pot-herbs, my own garden yields in plenty and perfection”(118). His time at home passes “without weariness or regret” where he can “read, and chat, and play at billiards, cards, or back-gammon” and take “pleasure in seeing my tenants thrive under my auspices” (118). The people of Brambleton-hall are “sensible”, “inoffensive”, “honest”, “and trusty dependents” of “integrity” (118). Life at Brambleton-hall is described as idyllic.

In contrast, London is anything but idyllic. The urban hub provides “frowzy lodgings, where there is not room enough to swing a cat” (118). Bramble breathes “the steams of endless putrefaction” and goes to “bed after mid-night, jaded and restless from the dissipations of the day” (118-119). Unlike the pure water of Brambleton-hall, in London he finds himself at a disadvantage: “if I would drink water, I must quaff the maukish contents of an open aqueduct, exposed to all manner of defilement; or swallow that which comes from the river Thames, impregnated with all the filth of London and Westminster” (119). The very streets of London, for Bramble, teem with filth where “human excrement is the least offensive part of the concrete, which is composed of all the drugs, minerals, and poisons, used in mechanics and manufacture, enriched with the

putrefying carcasses of beasts and men; and mixed with the scourings of all the wash-tubs, kennels, and common sewers, within the bills of mortality” (119). The London he describes stands in stark contrast to Brambleton-hall in so clearly defined ways that the criticism cuts to the quick. In this respect, Smollett serves as the conservative satirist Rosenblum describes and at the same time affirms McKeon’s assertion that town and country remain uniquely bound to one another. Bramble’s ability to excoriate London stands in opposition to his own renewed appreciation for his life at home. Here, Smollett, to a large degree, satirizes the current or potential lack of order and at the same time realizes the conservative fear of a world less hierarchical, less structured, and less caste.

In large part, Bramble’s descriptions of urban London and Bath’s social morass deliver the sociopolitical critique of the novel.² Furthermore, John Sekora details with careful consideration, that beyond Bramble an “open, direct denunciation is voiced by

² Of note, scholars of *Humphry Clinker* have read Bramble as Smollett, for better or worse: In 1945, George M. Kahrl, for one, states that Smollett “identified himself in part with Matthew Bramble. The resemblance between Smollett of the *Travels* and Matthew Bramble of *Humphry Clinker* are numerous” (125). Kahrl further adds that both “are of the same age and suffer from much the same ill-health; both are skeptical regarding the efficacy of mineral waters and the pretensions of the medical profession; both are peculiarly sensitive in matters of personal hygiene; both have a hasty temper and a warm sense of personal loyalty” (125). Charles L. Batten, Jr. states that “in his *Travels*, for example, ‘Smollett’ seems only a distant reflection of Bramble” (76).

As recent as 2009, Frank Felsenstein in “With Smollett in Harrigate,” pieced together an image of Smollett through third party travel letters at a time when Smollett had visited Harrigate just before publication of *Humphry Clinker*. He states that “in *Humphry Clinker*, essaying the waters at Bath, Matthew Bramble (surely ventriloquizing Smollett’s own view here) expresses his disgust upon discovering that ‘there is, or may be, some regurgitation from the bath into the cistern of the pump’” (442).

Lastly, in his chapter titled, “The Genesis of *Humphry Clinker*,” Louis L. Martz analyzes descriptions of travel found in previous works by Smollett compared to those found in *Humphry Clinker*. He notes that “the reader who turns from *Present State* to *Humphry Clinker* will notice at once that in the novel’s descriptions of England and Scotland Smollett has discarded the impartiality of the compilation” (125). Furthermore, with respect to Bramble, Martz attests “indeed, Bramble’s whole account of Bath contradicts the pages in *Present State* devoted to modest praise of the resort . . . The same distortion is found in Bramble’s account of London food. *Present State* praises the quality of English food in general. . . In sharp contrast Bramble retches” at the food in London (128-129). While Martz forwards a series of reasons to affirm the differences, he concludes by asking, “what could better accomplish all of these purposes than the presentation of descriptions in the popular form of a tour through Great Britain, in which satire on England would serve as a foil for a favorable account of Scotland?” (131).

five different characters—Bramble, Jery, Lismahago, Dennison, and Baynard—and elaborated in eighteen different letters, letters that as a rule are the longest in the novel” (217). One could also add the good aunt Tabitha to this list who writes home to assert from a long distance her matriarchal power and will over the servants. In this regard, Tabitha represents the dominating social structure of the landed estate. Similarly, the young Lydia Melford in her quest for romance serves as representation of the traditional patriarchy as found in much of the fiction of the century. Collectively, the traveling family extends the conservative values of the estate wherever they go.

While not as overt as Bramble, Jery Melford’s conservative condemnation of the progressive changes in society aligns with that of Bramble. His letter of May 10 from Bath, for example, subtly intimates Paunceford’s lack of gentility against the contrasted Serle. Where Jery describes Serle as “a man of uncommon parts, and unquestioned probity,” he relates that his uncle “had particular reasons for questioning the moral character of the said Paunceford” (66). Although reduced in wealth, Serle represents traditional nobility in his generosity, character, and morality. Paunceford’s gushing praise for Serle’s assistance does little to aid him in later life. The reluctance and eventual refusal of Paunceford to fulfill his monetary obligation to Serle represents the burgeoning social landscape replete with all varieties of wealth with the absence of gentility. Jery’s comment that “Mr. Paunceford lives in a palace, feeds upon dainties, is arrayed in sumptuous apparel, appears in all the pomp of equipage, and passes his time among the nobles of the land” is not a statement of praise, but rather a denouncement of Paunceford’s upward mobility, uncouth character, and opulent lifestyle (67). Jery, in this

regard, forwards a conservative value system equal to that of Bramble but with less excoriation.

Unlike Bramble, who launches into scathing diatribes against all things ignoble, Jerry Melford censures through careful consideration in his relation of the unfolding events. As opposed to an outright invective against Paunceford, the polished Melford concludes his letter by stating, “Having given you this sketch of 'squire Paunceford, I need not make any comment on his character” (67). By relaying the story of Serle and Paunceford to an external third party in his letter, Jerry distances himself from the two characters. Thus, as Sekora notes, whether the critique comes from Bramble, Melford, or Lismahago, for that matter, the work directly attempts to satirize the loose, commercial society, typically urban, not pastoral, with its bend toward opulence and luxury. As example of this type of denunciation, Matt Bramble’s attack against the current state of Bath does not meet his expectations of the Bath of old:

I find nothing but disappointment at Bath; which is so altered, that I can scarce believe it is the same place that I frequented about thirty years ago . . . I believe, you will not deny, that this place, which Nature and Providence seem to have intended as a resource from distemper and disquiet, is become the very center of racket and dissipation. Instead of that peace, tranquility and ease, so necessary to those who labour under bad health, weak nerves, and irregular spirits; here we have nothing but noise, tumult, and hurry. (34)

Thus, Bramble nostalgically calls back the Bath of some three decades ago that “Providence” assigned as a natural remedy for ill health—perhaps a time that travel and

tourism for anyone other than the genteel remained inaccessible. The new Bath, in contrast, “is so altered” that he finds “nothing but noise, tumult, and hurry” (34). To put it another way, Robert Giddings comments that “what comes through in the Bath scenes in *Humphry Clinker* is the sense of collapse, confusion, and social disintegration which the rising tide of luxury and its effects on social harmony have clearly started” (61). The work utilizes travel as a means of analyzing the ways in which each space frequented represents a portion of society unmolested or fully mutated in such a way as to uphold or forsake the values of the past.

To this point, and perhaps to a greater extent, Smollett wages his social critique against the growing, commercial urban center. Jeffrey Duncan in “The Rural Ideal in Eighteenth-Century Fiction” asserts that Smollett, like Fielding, glorifies the traditionalism of the rural lifestyle. In his schema, Duncan defines key elements of a rural ideal found in *Humphry Clinker* and Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* that include a “contentment with the sufficient (or moderation, temperance), and emphasis on the desirable self-sufficiency of honest labor” (521). Bramble’s description of Brambleton-hall above clearly offers examples of such elements. In addition to these two elements Duncan adds that the rural ideal found in the works of both writers also includes “a specific hostility to the vanity typified by the contrasting urban life, and a great satisfaction with the close relationship between man and wife and between various true and honest friends who through specific deeds are genuinely hospitable and charitable” (521). By representing a movement from the bucolic lands of Bramble’s estate to the urban unrest of both Bath and London and then an additional turn through Scotland, *Humphry Clinker* provides the landscape by which Smollett can critique the urban

commercial market. “The disintegration of the old social order in the wake of the rising tide of luxury, mammonism, and the mechanization of life develops into one of the dominating themes of western civilization,” Robert Giddings asserts (49). In large part this change stems from the movement from countryside to city street. Smollett’s description of “Bath in *Humphry Clinker* is not only sharply and accurately observed social comment, but a portrait of society at a particular stage of development as the nation slowly changed . . . We are looking at the metamorphosis of an agriculturally based economy into a capitalist imperialist nation” (Giddings 49). The growth of urban development and commerce that destabilizes traditional social order unsettles Bramble, both physically and mentally. As he sets to depart London, Bramble writes “my letter would swell into a treatise, were I to particularize every cause of offence that fills up the measure of my aversion to this, and every other crowded city” (121-122). The social critique specifically targets the urban economic center by which he concludes his letter, “from this wild uproar of knavery, folly, and impertinence, I shall fly with double relish to the serenity of retirement, the cordial effusions of unreserved friendship, the hospitality and protection of the rural gods” (122). Bramble restates in no uncertain terms the difference between rural and urban cultures by privileging the one over the other.

For Bramble, London, and with some respects any urban center the family visits, mutates the inhabitants and, generally, society. He comments of Londoners that “all the people I see, are too much engrossed by schemes of interest or ambition, to have any room left for sentiment or friendship” (121). Bramble’s London chaotically overturns society in such a way that “every person you deal with endeavours to over-reach you in the way of business; you are preyed upon by idle mendicants, who beg in the phrase of

borrowing, and live upon the spoils of the stranger— Your tradesmen are without conscience, your friends without affection, and your dependants without fidelity” (121). For Bramble, the urban center, is a dystopian society in freefall, or as Michael Rosenblum comments “one which recognizes no values and has lost the sense of obligations and distinctions upon which social class depends” (560). In short, the commercial urban hub represents a crumbling social order in which upward mobility and luxury have led to social decline rather than social progress.

For all of Bramble’s criticisms of commercialism within the city, critics have wrestled with Smollett’s assessment of the Scottish inability to utilize the land fully for commercial venture. In his July 18 letter to Dr. Lewis, Bramble notes how a Scottish plain “was covered with as fine wheat as ever I saw in the most fertile parts of South Britain,” and yet “agriculture in this country is not yet brought to that perfection which it has attained in England” (208). He continues by stating similarly that “Dunbar is well situated for trade, and has a curious bason, where ships of small burthen may be perfectly secure; but there is little appearance of business in the place” (208-209). Later in the journey through Scotland, Bramble comments that “it cannot be expected, that the gentlemen of this country should execute commercial schemes to render their vassals independent; nor, indeed, are such schemes suited to their way of life and inclination” (248). As above, here Bramble criticizes Scotland’s ability to become an economy based in commercialism. While he allows that “a company of merchants might, with proper management, turn to good account a fishery established in this part of Scotland,” for Bramble, Scotland stands apart from England as a nation of commerce (248). His ambivalence to Scottish commercialism allows space for redefining the current economic

situation; however, Smollett forwards a vision of Scottish commerce unlike England that values the traditional social system and at the same time a controlled adaptation of commercial progress.

His observations of the urban life in Edinburgh, although tempered in comparison to his observations of London, reveal a similar disdain for the urban centers of commerce. Bramble describes the family's entrance into Edinburgh with scorn as the road "would be undoubtedly one of the noblest streets in Europe, if an ugly mass of mean buildings, called the Lucken-Booths, had not thrust itself, by what accident I know not, into the middle of the way" (210). Then, similar to the London mob that irritates the patriarch, Edinburgh "is full of people, and continually resounds with the noise of coaches and other carriages, for luxury as well as commerce" (210). Further, he adds, "every story is a complete house, occupied by a separate family; and the stair being common to them all, is generally left in a very filthy condition; a man must tread with great circumspection to get safe housed with unpolluted shoes" (210). To this description of the housing, he continues: "in one particular light I cannot view it without horror; that is, the dreadful situation of all the families above, in case the common stair case should be rendered impassable by a fire in the lower stories" (211). Like the grime found in London, Bramble observes of Edinburgh "their method of discharging all their impurities from their windows, at a certain hour of the night . . . A practice to which I can by no means be reconciled . . . by break of day, enough still remains to offend the eyes, as well as other organs of those whom use has not hardened against all delicacy of sensation" (210). Again, the upstart urban lifestyle, regardless of location remains unwelcomed.

Nonetheless, Bramble's criticism of Scotland lacks the vitriol of the attacks on England. Instead, his observations suggest that Scotland has not become the commercial nation that England has, but rather that Scotland could become a better commercial nation than England, having heeded its lessons about over-consumption and luxury. As Paul-Gabriel Bouc   offers "it is a Scotland at the crossroads, between a traditional past and a commercial and industrial future, straining to discover its destiny in the modern age, that Smollett presents, with a wealth of shades of opinion, not to say contradictions, which are not always apparent at first analysis" (215). In other words, Smollett's Scotland can become a commercial power that still upholds the traditional values of the Scottish countryside so praised by the travelers along the journey. In Edinburgh, Bramble observes "all the people of business at Edinburgh, and even the genteel company, may be seen standing in crowds every day, from one to two in the afternoon, in the open street . . . The company thus assembled, are entertained with a variety of tunes, played upon a set of bells, fixed in a steeple hard by" (211). Distinct from the tumult of the tradesmen in London, in Edinburgh the people pause for recreation and entertainment. Scotland's current commercial climate, for Smollett, has less of a market of self-interest and more of a traditional social order. The discourse Smollett seeks to raise then centers on how Scotland can develop into a commercial power rivaling England while holding firm to the traditional social structures of the patriarchy—a f  te in some regard no longer available to England.

The novel serves generally as a satire against a progressive society overrun by luxury, affectation, and commercialism. Even at the novel's inception, the public gleaned the innate thrust of the work. In its review of the novel in 1771, the *Gentleman's*

Magazine found that the work “abounds with satire that is equally sprightly and just” (317). In *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, from Eden to Smollett*, John Sekora goes so far as to say “by literary standards *Humphry Clinker* is, among many other things, the most successful conservative attack upon luxury written in any genre during the 1750s and 1760s, a pearl in a generation of sand” (240). It is fitting that such an attack comes in the form of a travel narrative. As discussed in previous chapters, the emerging, global trade market, better means and modes of travel, and the increased wealth of the nation all made travel a progressively common occurrence in and beyond the country. Bath, in itself, “became the first city in Britain to make the holiday and tourist industry its main source of income” (Giddings 53). More than simple changes in the commercial market of the nation make the travel narrative an apt location for Smollett’s satire. Paul Fussell points out that “the motif of travel, at least travel undertaken as a mode of objective inquiry, appears to be almost a unique property of the eighteenth-century” (263). For Fussell, travel and the subsequent literary reporting on the experience come “very near the heart of the dominant eighteenth-century idea of knowledge” (263). Where the Middle Ages found travel in the “form of pilgrimage” and the nineteenth-century saw travel as “a subjective exploration into the inner recesses of the secret self,” the eighteenth-century held travel in a different light (263). As Fussell rightly notes, “eighteenth-century travel is neither an upward nor inward quest: it is empirical tourism, and when we do sense the presence of the quest, as in Boswell’s European jaunts, the quest is for knowledge of actual men and manners, or for knowledge of permanent, common human nature” (263-264). In this regard, travel writing naturally allowed for social commentary because of the requisite mode of description it afforded.

As fiction, *Humphry Clinker* straddles the line of travel reporting and storytelling; however, “the travel-book pattern, with its picaresque overtones, readily encourages the introduction of the factual material so pervasive in the novel” (Preston xxiv). In this regard, the novel does, in fact, serve as “empirical tourism,” most specifically in Bramble’s descriptions of the journey, but also in Jerry’s relation of events along the road. If travel represents a search for knowledge for the eighteenth-century tourist or reader for that matter, then it follows that the reporting of the knowledge found would include some editorializing as well. Fussell suggests that this pattern or motif represents “a perennial favorite of conservatives” where there is “a protracted but smooth ascent to some height of felicity or optimistic perception” followed by a “surprising reversal, a rapid descent into perception or comic disillusion” (275). In *Humphry Clinker*, Bramble’s optimism in finding solace at Bath, for example, quickly turns to pessimism at when he visits the site. Similarly, the hospitality he expects to find at Lord Oxmington’s estate rapidly devolves into a debacle.

Within the travel narrative, Smollett can most readily engage in the satiric turn because travel lends itself to the linear discovery of knowledge about a series of unfamiliar people. The repeated and subsequent denunciation of the urban lifestyle with its cramped, diseased, and disorderly quarters comes through the reporting of the travelers. Unlike Moll Flanders who describes Newgate as part of her own adventure, Matthew Bramble describes London for the sake of description as part of his travel report. Within this narrative structure, Smollett levels his condemnation on a new and emerging society found most clearly in the urban centers of England.

Given the nature of the novel as both a travel narrative and censure of society, the inn in *Humphry Clinker* surfaces as a space to stimulate social commentary. Yet Smollett treats the inn in *Humphry Clinker* in a surprisingly minimal way, one that contrasts even with their treatment in his other novels. To this end, Grant T. Webster denotes that “Smollett usually uses these five eighteenth-century favorites—the inn, the coach, the club, the coffeehouse, and the jail”—spaces he dubs as microcosms in Smollett’s works (34). For Webster, “the structure of the microcosm in Smollett’s novels is a fairly rigid one, consisting of four parts: a sketch of the setting, the introduction of the humor characters, a scene in which the humor characters display their folly, and the exposure of their true nature” (34). In these microcosms, “strangers will naturally gather,” and “the transition back to the main plot will not seem forced” (34).³ The structure of the microcosm Webster proposes emerges in *Humphry Clinker* as well, though, not as the “favorites” just listed. In fact, little if any action occurs at inns along the travelers’ journey. The fire at a Harrigate inn serves as one of the few scenes at an inn that either receives the treatment Webster proposes or for which an inn plays a figurative role within the work. In this case, the Scottish lawyer, Micklewhimmen, serves as the humorous character that uncourageously flees the scene leaving all others to fend for themselves.

³ For an example of Smollett’s use and understanding of inns, see *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, Smollett’s first novel. Much like Fielding’s use of the inn in *Joseph Andrews*, Smollett’s title character and his mate, Strap, at one point stop at an inn filled with a cast of characters of varying background: Roderick and Strap, Captain Weazel and his wife, the usurer Isaac, and the young Jenny Ramper. The Captain affects airs beyond his actual station by requesting a separate room to eat for which the innkeeper dashes his hopes of securing. Then in the middle of the night, shenanigans fit for the stage erupt within the chambers. Strap ends up in the Captain’s bed, Jenny screams out in fright from Isaac’s pursuit, and of course, a chamber pot full of human waste gets thrown at someone, namely the Captain’s wife. The next chapter details the cowardice of the captain against the bravery of Roderick.

Here, the inn serves as an example of the microcosm Webster suggests. Strangers gather in what is described as a small inn. The affected captain (the humorous character) then surfaces and soon becomes the butt of the joke when the others expose both his true character and lack of gentility.

After the extinguishing of the fire, the traveling party expose Micklewhimmen's contemptible character. Perhaps the scene at Hot Well in which Tabitha chastises Bramble mistakenly in his attempt to be charitable or later the scene at Bath when Bramble becomes incensed by the dancing above or the French horns below similarly serve as examples of Webster's microcosm.

On the other hand, these scenes may, in fact, only forward a common trope of the time that has already been discussed in previous chapters—namely, anonymous characters of varying degrees of society assemble at the inn and some event or happenstance occurs that provides for social commentary. Strikingly, however, in the travel narrative of *Humphry Clinker*, the three scenes above almost entirely represent such examples at inns. Opportunities for satire and social commentary in the novel occur in a variety of other settings and spaces along the journey including experiences on the road, in the coach, at an estate, at the beach, pump rooms, or even in the city street at a Methodist sermon. The question remains, why not at an inn? The remainder of this discussion will focus on the answer to this question.

Unlike his previous works, Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* stages the satire in a variety of locales beyond the inn or the "favorite" five above to suggest the pervasiveness of disorder in the emerging commercial society. In a range of settings, Smollett demonstrates in the work how the breakdown of traditional social order continues to erode the moral and noble standards of behavior regardless of setting. Bramble's lengthy diatribe against the mob of London, "the overgrown monster," specifically targets increased commercialism, ubiquitous luxury, and upward mobility as plagues on the social order (86). In London, Bramble notes that "there is no distinction or subordination

left—The different departments of life are jumbled together—The hod-carrier, the low mechanic, the tapster, the publican, the shop-keeper, the pettifogger, the citizen, and courtier, *all tread upon the kibes of one another*: actuated by the demons of profligacy and licentiousness” (87-88). This, then, serves as the fear for Bramble, and by proxy the conservative satirist Smollett, explicitly the absence of “distinction or subordination” (87). Where in the London of “about five and twenty years ago, very few, even of the most opulent citizens of London, kept any equipage, or even any servants in livery,” now “every trader in any degree of credit, every broker and attorney, maintains a couple of footmen, a coachman, and postilion” (87). In Bramble’s new London, “the gayest places of public entertainment are filled with fashionable figures; which, upon inquiry, will be found to be journeymen taylor, serving-men, and abigails, disguised like their betters” (87). The changes Bramble sees in London and elsewhere reflect the rise in commercialism where “the tide of luxury has swept all the inhabitants from the open country” to meet the demands of the bustling urban society (87). The fear underlying the conservative squire in part has to do with the loss of labor as “the plough-boys, cow-herds, and lower hinds . . . desert their dirt and drudgery, and swarm up to London, in hopes of getting into service” (87). Nevertheless, ultimately Bramble concludes that “there are many causes that contribute to the daily increase of this enormous mass; but they may be all resolved into the grand source of luxury and corruption” (87). Such causes, for Smollett, can be found in just about any space where varying degrees of people congregate.

Similarly, Bramble raises these concerns in Bath in conversation with Jerry and Quin. He comments “that the mixture of people in the entertainments of this place was

destructive of all order and urbanity; that it rendered the plebeians insufferably arrogant and troublesome, and vulgarized the deportment and sentiments of those who moved in the upper spheres of life” (49). Further, the lack of social stratification, for Bramble, “would bring us into contempt with all our neighbours” (49). While Quin agrees with Bramble, Jerry stands in opposition on this point conceivably representative of the next generation accepting the changing social framework. He offers an opportunity to see the discussion play out at a tea party in which the attendees’ manners would be on display. While the scene falls out in such a way as to prove Bramble the victor, Jerry offers that “we afterwards learned, the two amazons who singularized themselves most in the action, did not come from the purlieus of Puddle-dock, but from the courtly neighbourhood of St. James's palace. One was a baroness, and the other, a wealthy knight's dowager” (51). Although Jerry’s tale plays counter to Bramble’s conservative stance, the scene exemplifies the pervasive disorder Smollett seeks to criticize. Whether of the plebians or of the gentry, the anonymous collective of people at the party all act in ill accord. It is Bramble’s fears realized before his very eyes. In response, his “delicacy was hurt. He hung his head in manifest chagrin, and seemed to repine at the triumph of his judgment” (51). This same fear could and would materialize at an inn, if Smollett had offered such incidents in *Humprhy Clinker*, yet for the most part he does not do so. As the travelers move, the fear of a life less traditional, less stratified, and more opulent consistently stands on the forefront of Matthew Bramble’s mind, and Smollett clearly seeks to address this fear, only well beyond the inn.

The inn does not surface in *Humprhy Clinker* in the same way as we have seen in other fiction of the time, or in any Smollett’s previous works for that matter. The inn as a

space, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, represents quite specifically a location in which a wide array of characters along the social spectrum congregate. To draw attention to such a “mixture of people,” for Smollett (49), would in some respects condone the occurrence and denigrate the traveling family’s rank in society. Rather than dignify the amalgam of social classes, Smollett to a great extent buries the existence of the mixing at the inns that the travelers confront. With the exception of the scenes at inns at Hot Well, Bath, and Harrigate referenced above, in general, inns remain in the backdrop of the work. Within these three scenes, Smollett’s criticism emerges against the loose society where classes mix.

Still, unlike the space where the ghost reveals a murder in *Lady Lucy*, where Moll seduces her gentleman banker, or where Parson Adams sermonizes to a variety of men, in *Humphry Clinker* inns no longer have a character all their own as literary devices. Instead, inns more often than not receive minimal or negative treatment. As for example, when the travelers cannot stay at Squire Burdock’s estate, Bramble recounts “we therefore departed in the evening, and lay at an inn, where I caught cold,” as if the inn’s fault (166). Similarly, Jerry in describing a stop at Haddington offers “the inn at which we put up, (if it may be so called) was so filthy and disagreeable in all respects, that my uncle began to fret, and his gouty symptoms to recur” (207). Later, Jerry retells the party’s meeting with Mr. Dennison, a gentleman of “an ingenuous countenance, expressive of good sense and humanity” who “was come to conduct us to his habitation, where we should be less incommoded than at such a paultry inn” (303). Such representations suggest the inns along the road to be less than home, less than the estate.

Smollett thus separates the travelers from the merchant class of travelers or any variety of shop workers such as innkeepers. In most respects the inns along the way are unavoidable, temporary destinations for the group because of the travel; however, such lodgings do not serve as the preferred space or the most socially acceptable to the party. Jery follows his comment about the filthiness of the Haddington inn with the prospect of staying in better accommodations at a neighboring friend's estate who "insisted upon our going to his own house, until he could provide lodgings for our accommodation . . . where we were treated with equal elegance and hospitality" (207-208). By distancing the characters from the inns as a social station in life, Smollett physically perpetuates the traditional social order Bramble so argues to keep intact. The inns of the work represent the underclass forced upon the Bramble clan in an increasingly inhospitable world.

If, as the scholarship above suggests, *Humphry Clinker* serves as a denunciation of the emerging society of luxury and commercialism, then the way in which the inn is portrayed in the text informs the criticism. To this point, Smollett's *Travels Through France and Italy* offers an interesting contrast with the fiction of *Humphry Clinker*. In the *Travels*, Smollett painstakingly editorializes his experiences of most of the inns he meets with along the journey, or at the very least, provides some brief commentary about accommodations. The following description of lodging in France appears in the first letter of the collection where Smollett found upon arrival "at the inn, all the beds were occupied; so that we were obliged to sit in a cold kitchen above two hours, until some of the lodgers should get up" (61-62). He adds a further critique of the inn: "this was such a bad specimen of French accommodation, that my wife could not help regretting even the inns of Rochester, Sittingbourn, and Canterbury: bad as they are, they certainly have

the advantage, when compared with the execrable auberges of this country, where one finds nothing but dirt and imposition” (62). At the same inn, Smollett confirms the notion of the inn as a space where anonymous travelers congregate momentarily: “among the strangers at this inn where we lodged, there was a gentleman of the faculty, just returned from Italy. Understanding that I intended to winter in the South of France, on account of a pulmonic disorder, he strongly recommended the climate of Nice in Provence” (62). Unlike in *Humphry Clinker*, Smollett in *Travels* explicitly details his experiences at inns.

Not by accident, in *Travels*, Smollett specifically describes and critiques the stops along the way as part of the travel narrative. Later in the work, for instance, when stopping for a meal in Brignolles, he “was obliged to quarrel with the landlady, and threaten to leave her house, before she would indulge us with any sort of flesh-meat . . . She even hinted some dissatisfaction at having heretics in her house: but, as I was not disposed to eat stinking fish, with ragouts of eggs and onions, I insisted upon a leg of mutton, and a brace of fine partridges” (140). After this episode, Smollett recounts at length his conversation at an inn in Luc “with a young French officer who had been a prisoner in England” (141). Still at this inn, Smollett also “found a young Irish recollet, in his way from Rome to his own country” (141). When the young Irishman “complained, that he was almost starved by the inhospitable disposition of the French people; and that the regular clergy, in particular, had treated him with the most cruel disdain,” Smollett offers to aid him (141). Here, again the inn serves to bring strangers together and at the same time also serves as a social critique. Apropos of the travel genre, inns provide the vehicle for the criticism of foreign lands for Smollett in *Travels through*

France and Italy. In the conclusion of his first letter, he even offers that “these, I own, are frivolous incidents, scarce worth committing to paper; but they may serve to introduce observations of more consequence” (62). In the *Travels*, Smollett’s critique of the innkeepers, the accommodations, and the food, all work to provide a larger commentary denigrating the part of the country he visits.

Similarly, in *Humphry Clinker* the characters critique the stops along the way. In Harrigate, for example, Bramble carps that “the people who come to drink the water, are crowded together in paltry inns, where the few tolerable rooms are monopolized by the friends and favourites of the house, and all the rest of the lodgers are obliged to put up with dirty holes, where there is neither space, air, nor convenience” (159). Again, the inn and the people within serve as *less than* proxies for the estate, and as Preston notes in his introduction to the novel regarding where the group lodge in Harrigate, “Smollett’s likely reason for making the reference so nearly specific was the Dragon’s particular association with the Scots and the English upper classes” (xxxix). Thus, the social order is encoded even in the very location referenced by Smollett. Moreover, unlike that found in much of the fiction of the time, inns in *Humphry Clinker* do not provide the space or vehicle for twists of plot, character development, or new discoveries; but rather, quite simply the inns in the novel serve a more functional role in the travel narrative as locations the group frequents and as locations by which readers can assess the surrounding social landscape. At times, this function does not necessarily come in the form of biting criticism. For example, Melford commends Mrs. Humphreys, “a very good sort of a woman, who keeps the inn at Tweedmouth, and is much respected by all the travellers on this road,” suggesting that the inn can and does accommodate the gentry (206). Another such

example of the many, both positive and negative, in the work surfaces in Jerry's July 18 letter where he describes his travels: "passing through Dunbar, which is a neat little town, situated on the sea-side, we lay at a country inn, where our entertainment far exceeded our expectation" (207).

In somewhat surprising success, Preston and other scholars have meticulously worked to determine the referential locations of inns frequented by the Bramble clan. To this extent, Smollett's social criticism and conservatism read directly into commentary like Jerry's above. Preston's statement that "confirmation comes with the identification of Mrs. Humphreys as a historical person" indicates that Smollett infused locations specifically to signify an inherent value system, in this case rank and status accessibility (xli). As Kahrl points out, "within the framework of the familiar letter Smollett inserted much material that normally went into a travel book" (126). More than this view, however, "the familiar vein in the travel letters of the age gave him license to include brief and, at times, generous allusions to contemporaries" (127). The overlay of fact on top of fiction afforded by the travel narrative specifically allows Smollett the opportunity to provide social commentary that contemporary readers could find as truth.

To this end, utilizing the inn within the mechanics of the plot would denigrate the rhetorical framing of the travelogue as the space would appear too comical and too contrived to be validated. For this reason, innkeepers in the novel remain almost voiceless. There are no conniving Tow-wouses or chambermaid Bettys. John Richetti's argument that the characters in Richardson's *Clarissa* "assume the existence of a world of anonymous or interchangeable workers as the sustaining backdrop for their epistolary self-elaborations" could easily translate to Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, specifically with

respect to innkeepers (85). For Richetti, “when servants appear, they are necessarily part of that processed experience, visible only through the filters of their leisured masters’ perceptions” (85). With the exception of Jenkins, whom the reader ultimately is to see as meritless, and Clinker, whom Carol Stewart posits “is on the side of patriarchy, hierarchy, and subordination” (98), service workers in the novel hide in the shadowy recesses of the letters, present and yet unknown. Miss Gwyllim serves as an obvious illustration who receives only reprimands and orders from Tabitha Bramble. It is understood that the title character, Clinker only speaks to forward the Bramble narrative. Additionally, the only time an innkeeper speaks in the novel, albeit without requisite empathy, Bramble chastises him for his behavior and leaves him by questioning “who shall presume to censure the morals of the age, when the very publicans exhibit such examples of humanity?” (80). For Smollett, then, the inn here remains not a space to conduct the business of the novel; instead, the inn serves as a geographic space within the travel narrative to exact a vision of traditional order.

In *Humphry Clinker* the inn operates differently than the several inns found in the novels of Fielding, Defoe, or even Smollett’s previous fiction. In these works, much of the plot development or movement occurs in the inn whereas in *Humphry Clinker*, the space of the inn remains generally placid throughout the work. Interestingly enough, this shift in setting strengthens Smollett’s rhetorical aims by drawing attention away from spaces that typically house the mob Bramble so detests while at the same time placing that attention in spaces where traditional hospitality and decorum should exist. In so doing, Smollett creates an inversion of the spaces that still fulfills his satiric end. Louis Martz speaks of the “duality” in the novel that contrasts town and country, Scotland and

England, Baynard and Dennison, or Bramble and Melford (127). These contrasting constructs within the text, when placed in the linear trajectory of the travel narrative, inform the larger satirical agenda. In some respects, the relationships of these dualities are symbiotic and fluid. The tension between commercial prowess and agrarian comfort, for example, that Bramble raises with respect to Scotland suggests that even in the traditional society advocated in the text some ambivalence exists. Beneath this tension or fluidity, however, a conservative, traditional value system continuously operates to inform the travelers, and by extension the readers, of proper behavior, manners, and rank and class.

Nowhere does this surface more clearly than the treatment of hospitality whether at home or abroad. As a substitute for home while traveling, the inn should hypothetically supply the same rules of hospitality. Yet the transactional and commercial nature of the inn creates an environment where many of the earlier expectations of hospitality were suspended. Instead, hospitality emerges as an industry in the eighteenth-century as opposed to a social set of mores held up by the authority of the patriarchy that filters downward to tenants, merchants, and commoners. Smollett uniquely understands this transformation and characterizes the negative effects caused by the shift in his meticulous derision of inns and innkeepers in *Travels through France and Italy*.

Innkeepers provide common fodder for writers of the time because of the lack of hospitality they provide, hence enter Tow-wouse of *Joseph Andrews*, Boniface of *The Beaux Stratagem*, and the several innkeepers lambasted by Smollett in his *Travels*. This notion speaks to John Sekora's comment about Smollett's continued attack on luxury: "in the wake of the vice flows an unholy emphasis upon trade and commerce" (223). To this

point, the inversion of inn and estate that Smollett employs in *Humphry Clinker* directly amplifies his satirical purpose. Jerry's description of Harrigate in his June 23 letter, to begin, articulates an example of this inversion. He details that "most of the company lodge at some distance, in five separate inns, situated in different parts of the common" (157). Within these spaces, "the lodgers of each inn form a distinct society, that eat together; and there is a commodious public room, where they breakfast in dishabille, at separate tables, from eight o'clock till eleven, as they chance or chuse to come in—here also they drink tea in the afternoon, and play at cards or dance in the evening" (157). Jerry's convivial description of the scene suggests a familial atmosphere where unlike Bath or London the gathering of people is built on hospitable relations as opposed to commercial indifference. In fact, Jerry offers that "indeed, Harrigate treads upon the heels of Bath, in the articles of gaiety and dissipation—with this difference, however, that here we are more sociable and familiar" (157-158). He can thus conclude that "the company is more agreeable than one could expect from an accidental assemblage of persons, who are utter strangers to one another" (158). Perhaps the size of the town or the movement north has led to "a general disposition among us to maintain goodfellowship, and promote the purposes of humanity" (158). Andrew Franta endorses this notion when he notes that "the group's expedition to the north is explicitly framed as an attempt to cure the ills encountered in Bath and London, and the first glimmer of the possible solutions appears on the road in Jerry's letter from Harrigate" (781). The inns of Harrigate offer warmer, more hospitable, and seemingly familial lodging for the travelers. They do not reflect the commercial vices of Bath and London, but, instead, provide an image closer to the rural estate. In a way, Smollett shrouds the inn in the guise of the estate in the distant

Harrigate as a way to criticize pointedly the commercial version of hospitality found in the urban hubs. The inversion of inn as home reinforces Smollett's rhetorical purpose by establishing the inn as a necessary space within narrative development.

Similarly, the family's visits to different estates along their tour demonstrate the inversion of inn and home. In his June 23 correspondence to Dr. Lewis, Bramble highlights a visit paid to his cousin, "squire Burdock, who married a first cousin of my father, an heiress, who brought him an estate of a thousand a year" (160). Regarding Burdock's estate, to Bramble "the house, though large, is neither elegant nor comfortable;" moreover, "it looks like a great inn, crowded with travellers, who dine at the landlord's ordinary, where there is a great profusion of victuals and drink" (161). Completing the metaphor, Bramble adds "the footmen might be aptly compared to the waiters of a tavern, if they were more serviceable and less rapacious; but they are generally insolent and inattentive, and so greedy" (161). Here, Smollett describes the landed estate as an inn that lacks the needed domesticity found in true gentility. In so doing, he raises issue with the opulence of the family. Bramble characterizes the squire as "a declared opponent of the ministry in parliament; and having an opulent fortune, piques himself upon living in the country" (160). He describes the squire's wife as "very proud" who "receives even her inferiors in point of fortune with a kind of arrogant civility; but then she thinks she has a right to treat them with the most ungracious freedoms of speech, and never fails to let them know she is sensible of her own superior affluence" (160-161). He concludes of her that "in a word, she speaks well of no living soul, and has not one single friend in the world. Her husband hates her mortally" (161). In a sort of role reversal, the squire and his wife appear more like the innkeepers in *Joseph Andrews* than

country gentry. In addition to the unsuitably opulent appearance of the estate, the people in the home similarly lack nobility. Not unlike Jery's observations of the tea party in Bath, the inversion of characterization here forwards Smollett's attack on luxury and social disorder.

To a great extent, by replacing the concept of the estate with that of the inn, Smollett further complicates the relationship between commercialism and hospitality. Notably in complaining of the footmen and the home, Bramble concludes "I can dine better, and for less expence, at the Star and Garter in Pall mall, than at our cousin's castle in Yorkshire" (161). For Bramble, the "host seems to be misplaced" (161). Dismayed by the experience, he jabs that he "would rather dine upon filberts with a hermit, than feed upon venison with a hog" (161). The inherent commercialism related to room and board speaks to the juxtaposition created by inn and estate as part of Smollett's larger satirical aims. Clearly Smollett seeks to draw attention to this relationship, for Bramble's June 26 letter from Harrigate directly follows Jery's June 23 letter, thus placing the two experiences in stark contrast. Bramble's brief digression on "*old English hospitality*" where he reflects on the vacuous nature of the term in his present society only strengthens Smollett's argument. Bramble ruminates on hospitality that "this is a phrase very much used by the English themselves, both in words and writing; but I never heard of it out of the island, except by way of irony and sarcasm" (161). He adds that "certain it is, we are generally looked upon by foreigners, as a people totally destitute of this virtue; and I never was in any country abroad, where I did not meet with persons of distinction, who complained of having been inhospitably used in Great Britain" (161). Such a discussion would warrant episodic references in the text through the emerging travel and leisure

industry found in inns, but instead Smollett treats the topic in a more general and global sense.

Smollett's critique of the change in hospitality resonates though the text, nonetheless. Hospitality, for Bramble, loses all meaning in a contemporary society where "a gentleman of France, Italy, or Germany, who has entertained and lodged an Englishman at his house, when he afterwards meets with his guest at London, is asked to dinner at the Saracen's-head, the Turk's-head, the Boar's-head, or the Bear, eats raw beef and butter, drinks execrable port, and is allowed to pay his share of the reckoning" (160). Here, Bramble points out how squires like Burdock and generally "the old hereditary aristocracy and landlords, catching the fever of ostentation, forsook their traditional noblesse oblige and hospitality" (Gassman 105). By superimposing the image of the inn upon the estate, Smollett condemns the role of commercialism emerging within spaces of hospitality. Further, Gassman sustains that "behind Smollett's worry about the increasing loss of hospitality in George III's England is again the sense of dehumanization when possessions become symbols of individual pride and status and no longer serve any communal purpose" (107). By intermingling the inn and estate Smollett underscores the pervasive nature of unchecked commercial ventures devoid of humanity. The inn serves as a space that already engages in bartering hospitality. In describing the estate as an inn, Smollett extends this characterization of space into the larger social order, and this fact then legitimizes the worry and fear he raises.

If the description of the Burdock estate develops the notion of estate as inn, again the experience at Lord Oxmington's home fully realizes Smollett's satiric attack. Jerry had explained that the experience begins with "a fashionable meal served up with much

ostentation to a company of about a dozen persons, none of whom we had ever seen before" (270-271). His characterization of "ostentation" speaks immediately to Smollett's attack on the prevalent nature of luxury; moreover, much like being at an inn the dinner includes a collection of strangers. With respect to Lord Oxmington, Jerry states "his lordship is much more remarkable for his pride and caprice, than for his hospitality and understanding" (271). As with the Burdock experience, Smollett calls into question hospitality at the estate. In response to being treated inhospitably, Bramble "bad one of the servants to see what was to pay; and the fellow answering, 'This is no inn'" (271). Insulted, Bramble exclaims "I cry you mercy . . . I perceive it is not; if it were, the landlord would be more civil.-There's a guinea, however" (271). Again, the superimposing of inn on estate suggests the pervasive force of commercialism and luxury Smollett seeks to unveil. The disruption to social order caused by these forces rests specifically here in the flux of the inn and estate where the former represents the wild, plebian society replete with upward mobility and the latter represents the disintegrating, traditional society loosening toward a middling state. David L. Evans asserts that "just as, in Bramble's view, London and Bath represent the worst of middle and lower class urban life, the estates of Oxmington and Baynard represent rural life in its most decadent and non-Augustan form" (269). Much the same as inn and estate, the combination of town and country identified by Evans helps to destabilize the social order defended by Bramble and Smollett.

To rephrase Smollett's critique of the pseudo-hospitality of Baynard and Oxmington, Gassman explains that "true hospitality is a more effective bond of man to man than any theoretical equality, providing, as it does, a situation where host and guest feel

themselves mutually parts of a bounteous whole manifest in the generous disposition of nature's gifts" (107). To obstruct this bond and destroy the "bounteous whole" would in essence serve as an attack on the general social order that Smollett strives to preserve.

Several episodes in the novel speak directly to an attack on hospitality by a modern culture permeated with commercialism and luxury. With Lord Oxmington, Bramble responds to the lack of traditional values in the only way he can, as a gentleman: "tell your lord, that I shall not leave the country till I have had an opportunity to thank him in person for his politeness and hospitality," or, in other words, he wants "satisfaction" (271). Hence, by conflating the space of the inn with that of the estate or conversely estate and inn, Smollett calls into question the commercial venture of hospitality, the inn, as well as the faltering nobility of traditional patriarchy, the estate. The inn, thus, plays a larger role in Smollett's satirical agenda by providing the necessary space to contrast against the estate.

Smollett's application of the space of the inn differs greatly from previous works by the author as well many of his contemporaries. Where often the inn serves as a space to conduct narrative movement or character development, in *Humphry Clinker* the relative invisibility of the inn reflects Smollett's observation that in a thoroughly commercial and luxurious society, the estate and inn have become the same harbor. Fittingly, as the group comfortably lodges at Dennison's estate, Jerry in one of his last letters comments that they "are resolved to convert the great hall into a theatre, and get up the *Beaux Stratagem* without delay" (318). Farquhar's play that takes place entirely in the setting of an inn includes all the trappings one would expect of an inn, which are almost wholly absent in the inns of the novel: highwaymen, sexual intrigue, disguised characters, the melding of

classes, and social commentary. Jery's suggestion that he "shall make no contemptible figure in the character of Scrub; and Lismahago will be very great in Captain Gibbet" speaks to the distance between the inn and estate suggested previously. While the inn and the estate intersect yet again, Jery's proposal to put on the play in the great hall distills the inn to roleplaying or entertainment, not reality. The paltry spaces of the inn beyond the walls of the Dennison estate represent spaces for the lower classes. Within the estate, the gentry can act out the roles of servant or highwayman without sully themselves as the play's production is only in jest. No real contact is made with the lower classes, and no Aimwell or Archer actually exists. Instead, the Bramble clan safely remains within the traditional domicile. Smollett's deeply rooted social commentary emerges yet again here as it does throughout the novel.

The inn in *Humphry Clinker* differs greatly from that of *Roderick Random* or *Joseph Andrews*. In most of the fiction of the century the inn serves as a space to connect characters, develop the plot, or substantiate social commentary through representation. In *Humphry Clinker*, however, the inn helps to differentiate the classes while emphasizing the social instability created by luxury in the commercialized realm of the estate.

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Conclusion

In the final confrontation between the main characters of William Godwin's *Things as They Are or the Adventures of Caleb Williams*, Falkland enters a chamber of an inn where his henchmen have placed the forlorn Caleb Williams. Having escaped much treachery because of Falkland, Caleb makes no attempt to flee from his situation.

Falkland corners his one-time servant in the room to barter for freedom: if Caleb will deny Falkland's guilt forever, he will be freed of Falkland's pursuit. Falkland begins the conversation by reminding Caleb of his power as a member of the ruling class. He first protests that "I have this day successfully exerted myself to save your life from the gallows," and then questions Caleb by asking, "were you so stupid and undistinguishing as not to know that the preservation of your life was the uniform object of my exertions? Did not I maintain you in prison? Did not I endeavour to prevent your being sent thither?" (291). Falkland quickly reminds the young Caleb, "I had my eye upon you in all your wanderings. You have taken no material step through their whole course with which I have not been acquainted" (291). Falkland challenges him: "do you think you are out of the reach of my power, because a court of justice has acquitted you?" (292).

Published in 1794 not long after the revolution in America and amidst one in France, the novel speaks directly to the dark climate of the time and the political and social upheaval stretching across the western world. Falkland in many ways represents the traditional, wealthy oligarchy that for centuries lorded itself over the country. In contrast, Caleb represents the laborers, servants, and merchants poised to call out injustice and rise out of the rank and class system. Falkland's comments announce the control of his class over the entirety of English society and its government. He exclaims "I am still alive. I shall

live for days, and months, and years; the power that made me, of whatever kind it be, can only determine how long. I live the guardian of my reputation . . . when I am no more, my fame shall still survive” (292). He boasts, “my character shall be revered as spotless and unimpeachable by all posterity, as long as the name of Falkland shall be repeated in the most distant regions of the many-peopled globe” (292). Nonetheless, Caleb replies, “I have heard you to an end, and I stand in need of no deliberation to enable me to answer you in the negative” (292). Caleb signals in this answer that the aristocracy no longer holds power over him. He adds, “I am no longer irresolute and pliable. What is the power you retain over my fate I am unable to discover. You may destroy me; but you cannot make me tremble” (293). Caleb’s sentiments mirror the revolutionary tone in the air in England, on the Continent, and overseas in America. Forcefully, Caleb ruminates, “this I know, that I have suffered too exquisitely on your account, for me to feel the least remaining claim on your part to my making any voluntary sacrifice” (293). He stands up to Falkland in his own revolution and challenges Falkland’s authority with his own questions: “What is it that you require of me? that I should sign away my own reputation for the better maintaining of yours. Where is the equality of that? What is it that casts me at such an immense distance below you, as to make every thing that relates to me wholly unworthy of consideration?” (293). The intensity of the dialogue comes to a peak when Caleb declares “you have been educated in the prejudice of birth. I abhor that prejudice” (293). After Caleb’s escape from Falkland’s estate, Godwin serves up this final confrontation, which concludes their long struggle and caps off Godwin’s political significance.

Fittingly, this dialogue takes place at an inn. In fact, there is no other setting where this confrontation could take place. The estate where their story originated stands foreboding and ancient—too private, too feudal, and too one-sided for Caleb to last, and at the same time the courts and prisons where Caleb finds himself at times emerge as too public, too social, and too open for Falkland. As this study has attempted to show, the inn stands alone as the space between the public and the private, the space open to gentry or plebian, and the space caught between the agrarian past and the commercial future. Much as the writers before him, Godwin employs the inn because of its unique social significance. Even at the end of the eighteenth-century, the inn for writers serves as a transient space where anonymous characters of varying classes meet. Like Fielding before him, Godwin utilizes the inn to open up a debate about society and its divisions; like Defoe in *Moll Flanders*, the inn provides Godwin's Caleb Williams the cover of anonymity as he races away from maliciousness, and like Aubin in *Lady Lucy*, Godwin values the inn's capacity to bring clandestine action to the foreground of the novel.

By the end of the century, however, Godwin pushes away from the comedic turns of the picaresque novel. Reflective of the external environment, something dark, perhaps malevolent, looms in the world of Caleb Williams. Just over two decades after Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* entertained audiences, there can be no comedic Matthew Bramble with his persnickety hypochondria and genteel snobbery. Caleb's adventure features a man fleeing a life of servitude where Humphry's expedition helps to attach him to the estate. Clearly, the social climate portrayed by Godwin stands in stark contrast to that of his predecessors. Yet the inn retains a generative force in the literature—an expedient space for the writer to serve up any necessary developments of plot, character, or theme. In this

regard, this study has attempted to underscore the literary efficacy of the inn as found in eighteenth-century literature. Like no other social space within the literature of the time, the inn specifically allows members of varying classes to share space in public or private, openly or secretly, and known or anonymous. While such spaces as pleasure gardens, masquerades, or the theater provide sporadic, anonymous settings where people of varying classes congregated, the inn distinctively provides a social setting in which characters over longer stretches of time assemble in a more intimate, less structured environment. As such, not unlike Aubin, Defoe, Fielding, and Smollett, Godwin capitalizes on this fact with the same force as his predecessors.

While this study has worked to analyze the role of the inn in just a handful of works, surely a wider array of scholarship could be consulted. In addition to the fiction of the century, the inn plays a role on the stage as well. As discussed in the chapter on Smollett, the *Beaux Stratagem* (1707) by George Farquhar takes place in an inn and covers many of the characteristics discussed throughout this study. Sheridan's *A Trip to Scarborough* (177), as well, begins with the character, Fashion, alighting at an inn where the requisite commerce of travel reveals him to be penniless and at the same time sets the plot in motion. Even so, he continues to act the part of wealth and nobility. Perhaps most important to the study of inns in eighteenth-century drama, Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) substantiates much of the discussion realized in the previous chapters. Similar to Aubin's *Lady Lucy* (1724), disguise proves itself prominent among characters and specifically to the marriage plot between Kate and Charles. More than the disguised characters, however, the veiled misrepresentation of inn and home offers a potentially larger discussion on wealth, decorum, class, and identity. Yet again, the space

of the inn surfaces within the literature of the century as amorphous and fluid. On the stage as on the page, the inn defies definition so as to operate in a way that allows for social barriers to fall apart. In this open state, the social discourse of the works manifest.

In the previous chapter on Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, the brief discussion of travel literature hints at the space of the inn within this genre. For sure, further analysis of the role of the inn in travelogues or travel journeys could easily be pursued. In Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, for example, the sharp censure he offers of a Montrose inn speaks volumes. "At our inn we did not find a reception such as we thought proportionate to the commercial opulence of the place," he carps, "but Mr. Boswell desired me to observe that the innkeeper was an Englishman, and I then defended him as well as I could" (17). In this pithy comment, Johnson not only demeans the locale as a business enterprise but also below his standards. At the same time, he floats a subtle jab against Scotland through the innkeeper. Not unlike Smollett's discussion in *Humphry Clinker*, the accommodations and hospitality found along the journey become paramount in class warfare and national pride.

Descriptions of inns, innkeepers, and general reception at inns appear commonly in the travel journals of the century. Not unlike the fictitious inns previously discussed, the inns in travel journals provide a space for social commentary; however, unlike the fiction or drama of the century, eighteenth-century travel narratives typically utilize the inn as a space to draw distinctions. The external, traveling observer enters the inn and immediately draws attention to differences in class, culture, nation, or people. Almost always, the inn under such circumstances does not meet the satisfaction of the mannered and noble traveler. As discussed previously, in *Travels through France and Italy* (1766)

Smollett's denunciation of inns across the continent work in this manner. Smollett assuredly is not alone; take Fielding's summation of an experience at an inn in his *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (1755) where his dinner is not ready at the time he appointed. Bitterly, he proclaims, "tradesmen, inn-keepers, and servants never care to indulge us in matters contrary to our true interest, which they always know better than ourselves, nor can any bribes corrupt them to go out of their way, whilst they are consulting our good in our own despite" (94). As Jean Viviès suggests, the travel narrative is a fluid genre "characterized if not by the mixture, at least by the association of genres and discourses. There is no dichotomous divide between the novel and the travel narrative, but rather a gradation" (107). For a reading public that imaginably consumed the travel journal in similar fashion to fiction, generic difference had limited significance; nevertheless, travel writing provided "a 'montage'. Situated as it is at the meeting point—or the point of contradiction—between sight and insight, between inventory and invention and between fragment and whole, it is characterized by its plasticity in terms of form" (107). In this regard, the travelogue balances the function of reproducing the travel experience with the function of colorfully analyzing the same experience. As such, the spaces the traveler occupies requires careful consideration by both the travel writer and the reader analyzing the traveler's experience.

The generic relativity of the travel narrative extends beyond the travel journal of periodic tourists. In fact, the "plasticity" of the travel narrative which Viviès identifies speaks to further discussions relative to other forms of writing for which travel figures prominently. Rousseau's *Confessions* (1782), for instance, while autobiographical, in many ways operates as a travel narrative. Explicitly to this study, in two specific

episodes among others Rousseau writes of his accommodations at inns. First, at “Berne, where we lodged at the Falcon, then a good inn, and frequented by respectable company,” he notes about “the public table being well supplied and numerous attended” (179). Later, he stops at “Pont-du-Lunel, for the sake of good entertainment and company, this being deservedly esteemed at that time the best inn in Europe; for those who kept it, knowing how to make its fortunate situation turn to advantage, took care to provide both abundance and variety” (295). Not unlike Smollett or Fielding in their travelogues, here Rousseau describes the hospitality met with at the inn. He continues by adding “it was really curious to find in a lonely country-house, a table every day furnished with sea and freshwater fish, excellent game, and choice wines, served up with all the attention and care, which are only to be expected among the great or opulent” (295). Thomas M. Curley points out “the very idea of travel as a process of empirical validation, involving a psychological movement from untested conjectures to truth-telling realities, was a dominant intellectual pattern” in the century (87). Whether such a process occurs in fiction or otherwise poses little significance; rather, travel should constitute the overarching objective of fostering a change in understanding. Viviès posits that “the journey unfolds between the point of departure and the place of arrival and reads as a transformation of the traveler. It is of no account that the journey often ends by returning home”; moreover, “the traveler who returns is not the same as the one who set out” (110). To this conjecture could be added that the space of the inn for the eighteenth-century traveler transiently acts as both point of departure and arrival, and, as such, transformation unfolds in stages. In short, then, scholarship on the inn within the context

of eighteenth-century travel writing offers a field of further exploration beyond the scope of this study but truly worthy of the time.

As each of the preceding chapters has shown, the rise of commercial society undergirds the discussion of the inn in eighteenth-century literature. The inn, like the public house, the tavern, and the marketplace, represents an emerging domain of economic activities, eventually to be termed an “industry.” Hospitality as a right or privilege slowly erodes over the century as industrious shop- and innkeepers found ways to capitalize on the increase in travel and urbanization. To this extent, the inns of eighteenth-century literature offer additional, relevant source material for scholarship. If the inn, as this study has attempted to show, represents a space of intersection between varying degrees of social class in sometime anonymous circumstances, then identification of class and rank become principal to characters that frequent the inn. Nicholas Hudson points out that “the crisis of eighteenth-century England was, in short, less an actual upheaval of the material or class order than a perturbation of the *signs* that people could previously rely on to mark social difference” (569). For the most part, these identifiers or signs materialize in the consumer culture of the age through the food, clothing, methods of transport, and even personnel hired. The expansion of trade and commerce across the globe saw vast increases in wealth within the nation. The old feudal lords no longer stood as the only prosperous members of society. Michael J. Braddick asserts “the movement of goods and people around the British Atlantic world created a shared material culture which reflected common assumptions about status distinctions” (93). Buying power allowed for people throughout the social spectrum to engage in consumerism.

In some ways, this power spurred the fears of an upper class who saw “no change so unsettling as the increasing number of people who could afford luxuries previously enjoyed by a small segment of the nation, and who could imitate the lifestyle and self-importance of the traditional elite” (Hudson 567). Nevertheless, Colin Campbell notes that “the fact that a merchant or shop-keeper was now both able and willing to purchase a product previously a characteristic of superior aristocratic consumption pattern does not necessarily mean that he sought to imitate an aristocratic way of life” (40). That is to say, the act “which is imitative is not necessarily also emulative” (40). Although this may sound like splitting hairs, such scholarship suggests that the field of study remains open to new ideas. Whether imitative or emulative, such consumerism by the middle and lower classes reflects a shift in wealth and status that requires signifiers for identification. “An eighteenth-century Englishman got his public identity in relation to his birth, his property, his occupation, and his rank in the social order,” Roy Porter reminds us (63). The inherent social order of much of the eighteenth-century represents a key identifier of the age, and for the most part, “social order was understood as an ‘interaction order’ based explicitly on difference and inequality” (Braddick 94). Disruption, misinterpretation, or breaches in this system could lead to severe consequences. Beyond consumer culture, deference paid through “gestures of respect, or the refusal to make them,” likewise dictates social order (Braddick 97). The tipping of the hat or wink of an eye could signify disrespect or esteem. Such engrained and indoctrinated codes of conduct within the rigid social order suggest that the subtle loss of these norms or values could jeopardize the larger social system as a whole. The fear that spreads across the western world of the

eighteenth-century gets realized in the literature that grapples with how first to appropriately identify and then categorize the increasingly fluid stratifications of society.

In this respect, a study of the inns in eighteenth-century literature can shed light on the stratifications and differences in this period's consumer culture and behavior. Members of all levels of society would expect to find certain creature comforts at the inns along the way, and, certainly, as we have seen from Smollett and Fielding on their own travels, guests held high expectations for the type and caliber of food served at inns as representative of the status of patrons.¹ Similarly, these expectations roll over into the literature. As an example, in Book 10 of Fielding's *Tom Jones*, the landlady specifically attempts to identify guests through their consumption. In disagreement with the chambermaid, she comments of her new guests, "I would not have believed my own eyes against such good Gentlefolks. I have not had a better Supper ordered this half Year than they ordered last Night" (467). Not unlike the innkeeper at the outset of the *Canterbury Tales*, she judges the guests on commercial terms; moreover, based on consumption she

¹ Related to travel, food, and inns, Carole Shammas notes that "probably the most striking development in consumer buying during the early modern period was the mass adoption by the English and the colonies of certain non-European groceries," specifically tobacco, sugar, and stimulant drinks like tea (178).

Sidney W. Mintz adds that this adoption "marks the first time in history that marketed edible luxuries were turned into everyday necessities" for much of the entire nation (261).

Roy Porter provides that the "labourers' diets were at least as meagre and monotonous in 1800 as in 1700, bread and cheese predominating. The common people could afford little meat, and that was mainly fat bacon;" and separately, he comments, "the higher in the social scale, the larger the amount of meat eaten, especially the patriotic roast beef, carnivores lording it over granivores" (234).

At inns specifically, Richard Schwartz advances the concept that "the poor subsisted largely on bread, cheese, tea, and beer. There might be an occasional bit of meat, if it was cheap, and an occasional fish" (97). In contrast, he states "the artisan would have bread, cheese, tea, and beer, but would also be able to afford some butter, meats, and vegetables" (97), and further, "a country gentleman would have tea, coffee, or chocolate for breakfast at nine or ten with some cakes or rusks. An hour later he might have a biscuit with a glass of sherry. Dinner at two (or at three to four by 1780) might include chicken, venison, ham, a pudding, beans, some berries, and apricots" (97). With guests, this menu could be amplified and formalized to include, "for example, some cod, mutton, soup, chick pie, pudding, roots, pigeons, veal, asparagus, sweetbreads, lobster, tarts, syllabubs, jelly, fruit, and a Madeira and port" (97); "supper, at about 10 p.m. would consist of a variety of cold meats" (97).

assesses the social rank. To her, “so easy and good-humoured were they, that they found no Fault with my *Worcestershire* Perry, which I sold them for *Champagne*; and to be sure it is as well tasted, and as wholesome as the best *Champagne* in the Kingdom, otherwise I would scorn to give it ’em, and they drank me two Bottles” (467). Based on this indulgent consumption does the innkeeper conclude “no, no, I will never believe any Harm of such sober good Sort of People” (467). While this stands as a singular example, other examples fill the literature of this period. Bramble’s assessment of food along the way, for instance, speaks to the role food plays as a social identifier. Perhaps future studies will undertake the question of how inns across regions specifically addressed the social spectrum of travelers and tourists. In addition to food, clothing as formal representation at the inn needs further investigation, for in at least two of the works discussed in this study, the title characters (*Joseph Andrews* and *Humprhy Clinker*) turn up at inns stripped of their clothing with their social rank unknown only to spend the rest of their respective journeys climbing the social ranks and donning new apparel. The sometimes ambiguous and anonymous representation of Parson Adams’s religious clothing when he enters an inn provides for specific social commentary or plot movements as well, and this then suggests that a larger body of untapped work exists that targets the role of clothing as a consumer good and as found on characters within the space of the inn.

With respect to the inn as a significant space in the fiction of the time, both in the works discussed in this study and, for sure, in others of the century, the role of the domestic servant demands exploration as well.² In Aubin, servants play a key role in

² D.A. Kent’s research into servants in the eighteenth-century estimates that in London alone “at least 10 per cent of Londoners, or around 67,500 people, were servants of one sort or another” (112).

setting action in motion such as letter exchanges. In all three of the other works the title characters begin as servants in vast estates, and with respect to Clinker and Andrews both, after being removed from service, surface at inns naked and penniless. Caleb Williams serves as a similar example. Marginal individuals—not title characters—play large roles in much of the fiction of the eighteenth-century. In many episodes, the servant, the footman, or the chambermaid, not the protagonist or antagonist, sets the plot in motion or continues to advance the action. Quite frankly, without the servants in the fiction of the time, most of the main characters would be of little interest.³ Lovelace would have no henchmen to parade around Clarissa, Pamela would not be held captive by Jewkes (there would be no Pamela, in fact), and not one letter would pass from one hand to the next in any of the works of the eighteenth-century. Historically, scholarship on the topic has viewed the servant as little more than a tool in the shed—wrenches to throw into the machine when necessary. Recent scholarship, however, has started to complicate this notion. Kristina Straub, for example, looks specifically at how servants fit into the contextual landscape of class and gender identity. In speaking of identity, Straub attempts

Representation of servants on stage can also be found usually constitute farce or buffoonery of some sort. Disguised or misidentified gentry acting as servants, often during travel and periodically at inns, received large guffaws from theatergoers, or in the case of *She Stoops to Conquer*, Kate's disguised role of servant comes off as endearing. In addition to drama, "farces concerning servants, particularly footmen and other personal menservants such as valets," crossed the stage as operas that "echo the familiar ills of 'the servant problem'" (Straub 123). Similarly, artwork depicting servants at work, at play, or in suggestive situations readily populates the social scene. This work complements the fictitious representation of servants in literature as well as the several political and advice tracts directly related to the management and disciplining of servants by writers like Defoe, Hayward, and Swift.

³ In the works in this study, servants at the inns play key roles in a variety of ways. As for example, Slipslop's assistance during the coach scene between inns in *Joseph Andrews*.

Of most interest, the inn serves as a space of freedom for a variety of servants including the traveling servant, the exiled servant, and the servant within the inn. The space of the inn allows characters to take liberties they typically would not in other social settings. Cherry Boniface, for example, in the *Beaux Stratagem*, speaks liberally with the guests and seeks to move further with Archer in such a way as would not be possible outside of the inn. The inn surfaces as a space at the crux of social custom for which with guards down, characters can transgress their station and expected behavior.

to declassify servants as servants alone in order to understand where to place them in the contexts of class, gender, and sexuality. “Treating domestic workers as an identifiable and stable class” she offers, “does not get at the knotty connections of contract, kinship, and affiliation that crisscross the British household at the time” (4). With the emergence of this scholarship, the servant no longer must serve only as a pawn, as a curtain in the backdrop, or even a conduit of missives from one character to another; instead, by moving beyond function and deeper into identity, the servant becomes subjective. No longer does the task of servant exist as a response to a call to duty, but rather such tasks must be viewed historically, contextually, and subjectively.

This work has attempted to shed light on a space within the literature of the eighteenth-century that has heretofore received little attention, namely the inn, in an effort to begin a longer discourse for the future. The works here discussed represent only the most emblematic examples of the inn during the literature of the century. Certainly, further research into the eighteenth-century inn is warranted, if not for the several reasons outlined above, perhaps because the inn in eighteenth-century literature finitely represents a static space that soon disappears from existence. The conclusion of the eighteenth-century did not necessarily shut the door of the inn altogether, but in 1825, the first passenger train created a much more convenient method to carry people than the coach, helping to expand rails across the countryside, and to reduce the need for the old regional networks of coach inns. In Austen’s last work, *Persuasion* (1817), the inn still emerges as an important place for characters to pause. Indeed, even in Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* (1847-1848) the inn prominently hosts the main characters’ travel, but no longer advances the novel’s plot. Instead the inn serves as a undistinguished backdrop of

the novel like a coatroom or a tavern. By the time George Eliot writes *Middlemarch* (1871-1872), the inn does not exist with any significance at all. The estate and the long arm that it may still hold over the countryside becomes paramount. In the large urban hubs across the country and across the globe, inns have been replaced by the modern hotel. In other words, the village inn, the Bath resort inn, or the urban inn of London, almost wholly disappear in literature. Thankfully, in reality these spaces still exist in many regions for the interested tourist, the weary traveler, or the nostalgic scholar. As Sir Edwin Lutyens notes in his *Forward* to Richardson's *The Old Inns of England* (1942), "the invention of the railways and the growth of their great systems left the roadway Inns to desultory neglect" (v). In this regard, the inns of the eighteenth-century forever disappeared as spaces of literary creation. However, Lutyens quickly qualifies, that "now, the giant growth of motors and of motorists has brought our old roads, and the Inns adorning them, into renewed existence" (v). In this regard, the inns of England still prosper as sites of hospitality, a new hospitality accepted as an industry sector and welcomed by the passing traveler.

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