Isabella Kelly published *Madeline; Or, the Castle of Montgomery* in 1794; although it was her first novel she had already published her first book a *Collection of Poems and Fables* previously that same year. The novel narrates the lives of three generations of the Montgomery family, from the young Archibald Montgomery a ‘romantic’ and ‘perfect philosopher’ (1.9) and his clandestine marriage to Madeline Clifford through to their children and grandchildren. It is their daughter Madeline Montgomery that functions as the heroine of the novel as she navigates her way through the numerous trials that await her and her family, retaining throughout the virtue that was taught to her in early life. As such it is not hard to see why it has been argued that it ‘aspries to be a generational family saga,’ and at one point in the novel it is referred to as a memoir (1.61). Although the biography of Isabella Kelly should not necessarily create meaning in the text it is hard not to draw comparisons between Kelly’s life and some of the themes that appear. Kelly parents ‘were both cut off by their wealthy families, following a clandestine marriage in the early 1750s’ and her father was serving in the Royal Marines. Similarly, the very first chapter of *Madeline* sees Madeline Montgomery’s parents marrying secretly, cut off from their families and Archibald Montgomery in the army, fairly reminiscent of Kelly’s own family history. Yet as many of the biographies explain, all we know about Isabella Kelly’s life is gleaned

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from the prefaces to her work as she left no autobiographical writings.⁴ The significance of *Madeline* is that it was really the beginning of Kelly’s professional literary career and although it cannot be found in the classic literature section alongside such prestigious authors as Austen and Radcliffe, though there have been several modern editions of her later novels such as *The Abbey of St. Asaph* published in 1977, it does not mean that it has little importance. At the time Isabella Kelly was a successful Minerva novelist, with six out of her eleven novels being published by them⁵ and *Madeline* enjoying a further edition in 1795.⁶ In a list of ‘works of particular and favourite authors’ in the Minerva general prospectus of 1798 Isabella Kelly features in the top ten mentioned along with her first four novels published by the Minerva Press.⁷

The Minerva Press was therefore instrumental in the literary career of Isabella Kelly. William Lane became a bookseller around 1770 and ‘the name of Minerva Press was adopted by Lane in 1790,’⁸ it was from this date that he apparently began to publish nothing but novels and romances⁹ of which *Madeline* was one. A duodecimo novel in three volumes sold at three shillings a volume, *Madeline* perhaps epitomises the output of the Minerva Press during the 1790’s. A first edition copy housed at Chawton Library shows that the binding is half calf gilt, with a relatively ornate spine, and as such would look attractive on a book shelf. Furthermore, the book looks well

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⁵ Susan Brown, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy, eds. *ISABELLA KELLY* entry: *Orlando*
⁸ Dorothy Blakey, p. 26
⁹ Dorothy Blakey, p. 26
read, with the leather edges worn and several pages coming loose from the binding.\textsuperscript{10} We can perhaps surmise that it was read by several people perhaps reflecting the change from intensive to extensive reading practices. John Tinnon Taylor explores this phenomenon when looking at the ‘new reading public’ in the eighteenth-century and how ‘there was quite general agreement that little or no mental activity was necessary’\textsuperscript{11} in novel reading and those who read ‘only for plot’\textsuperscript{12} were looked on with scorn and that ‘rapid readers were looked upon with even more suspicion.’\textsuperscript{13} This rapid reading is satirised in \textit{The Natural Daughter} by Mary Robinson published in 1799 whose protagonist Mrs Morley is forced into earning a living bringing her into contact with Mr Index a bookseller who complains about his customers:

“How troublesome these women are! They never get through more than the first six pages; they then dip into the middle, and conclude their reading by glancing over the catastrophe. Were it not for the labours of some novel-manufactories, we should never be able to satisfy our female customers.”\textsuperscript{14}

Although amusing it embodies certain contemporary opinions about rapid reading and also highlights the concept of ‘novel-manufactories’ of which Minerva Press would have been considered one. In the \textit{Critical Review} in December 1794 it was said of \textit{Madeline} that:

\begin{footnotesize}
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  \item Isabella Kelly, \textit{Madeline; Or, the Castle of Montgomery}, (London: Minerva Press, 1794), at Chawton House Library.
  \item John Tinnon Taylor, p. 9
  \item John Tinnon Taylor, p. 10
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
This novel is rendered interesting, more by variety of subject, than either by the nature, or relative transition, of the incidents which it contains. Madeline is not so much the real, as the nominal heroine of the narrative. The moral, however, is of the highest importance to the attainment of tranquillity and happiness; and, on this account, the production is entitled to a decent rank in the circulating libraries.\textsuperscript{15}

Although the reviewer praises Kelly’s novel for its high moral and ‘variety of subject’ it can be seen as tempered praise.\textsuperscript{16} The idea that circulating libraries were often seen with scorn further reflects on the development of the novel and debates surrounding reading practices during the late eighteenth-century. Edward Jacobs in his article ‘Anonymous Signatures: Circulating Libraries, conventionality, and the production of Gothic Romances’ suggests that as circulating library’s primary function has been seen as distributing books ‘the dominant view has been that circulating libraries vulgarized literature, by pandering fiction to women, servants, and other people who had previously been excluded from reading by the high cost of books or by illiteracy.’\textsuperscript{17} Indeed Blakey states that ‘so closely identified with cheap fiction was the famous publishing house in Leadenhall Street that to nineteenth-century critics the name Minerva Press meant little more than a convenient epithet of contempt.’\textsuperscript{18} However, Jacobs goes on to argue that circulating libraries were often publishers too, such as the Minerva Press, and as such they ‘could compete only by developing cheap,
new talent and fashions within the fiction genre.¹⁹ Isabella Kelly’s *Madeline* easily fits into this new fashion for fiction, a ‘production’ of what the *Critical Review* called ‘the Leadenhall street manufactory.’²⁰ The reviewer also suggests that the reader knows what to expect from a novel in the circulating libraries. This assumption is perhaps given credit in the paratext of *Madeline* which is fairly simple consisting of the title page and advertisements.

Janine Barchas explores the interpretive function of the title page which ‘shouldered the publisher’s commercial burden’ and so ‘its composition fell largely outside the author’s domain.’²¹ Barchas goes on to argue that ‘before the novel matures and is allowed to flaunt its confidence in a lavish extravagance of white space, it exploits every opportunity to identify and publicise itself.’²² The title page of *Madeline* consisting of title, its claim to be simply ‘a novel in three volumes’ and the standard Minerva Press imprint that Blakey establishes as one of two variants in the years 1792-98 can be considered minimal.²³ If the title page acts as the method in which eighteenth century consumers could ‘decipher the clues to the text’s nature, subject, and style’²⁴ then presumably the title page to *Madeline* with its white spaces is all the eighteenth-century reader would need to know in order to determine what kind of text they were getting. The imprint has already established that it belongs to the Minerva Press with its tradition of producing cheap popular fiction in the 1790’s. The title indicates there will be a heroine, and perhaps a gothic element as its alternative title ‘The castle of Montgomery’ suggests. The lack of authorial signature further

¹⁹ Edward Jacobs, p. 604
²⁰ Dorothy Blakey, p. 26
²² Janine Barchas, p. 65
²³ Dorothy Blakey, p. 108
²⁴ Janine Barchas, p. 65
highlights the reliance on the other elements of the title page to discern subject as there was no author signature. I refer here to Robert Griffin’s point that ‘the standard version of the rise of the professional author in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries links professionalization with the name of the author,’\textsuperscript{25} so that the author’s name functioned as a brand. However, Griffin highlights that ‘even when the name is marketed as a commodity, the copyright is not always retained by the writer’\textsuperscript{26} and therefore it is ‘crucial not to take anonymity as a static practice…but to historicize it properly in each case.’\textsuperscript{27} Isabella Kelly published her book of poetry in 1794 by subscription along with the her name, yet it is not until her third Minerva Press novel \textit{The Ruins of Avondale Priory} that she attaches her name to the work as well as having her previous two novels attributed to her. There are many possible reasons for Isabella Kelly’s anonymity. One possible reason that authors did not attach their names to their work was the possible stigma of writing for money, however, this reason perhaps holds little sway with Isabella Kelly as she was open about her career, and in the preface to \textit{Joscelina} (1799) she mentions that she wrote to help her husband out of financial distress and to support her children.\textsuperscript{28} Yet in the preface to Kelly’s poems she explains that ‘the writer of these verses is aware, that when works are offered in a printed form to the public, the authors must lay their account with receiving the wreath, or enduring the rod, from the hand of criticism’\textsuperscript{29} something which she must endure ‘with all its terrors’\textsuperscript{30} for the sake of her friends. Therefore it is possible to infer from this that when her first novel was being published she did not want to run the risk of attaching her name to something which might have to endure criticism, and

\textsuperscript{26} Robert J. Griffin, p. 889
\textsuperscript{27} Robert J. Griffin, p. 883
\textsuperscript{28} Janet Todd, p. 380
\textsuperscript{29} Isabella Kelly, \textit{A Collection of Poems and Fables}, (London: Richardson, 1794), p. iii
\textsuperscript{30} Isabella Kelly, \textit{Poems and Fables}, p. iv
it is only when her relative success is achieved that she decides to attach her name. This also coincides with a further development in her literary career as Isabella Kelly ‘left Minerva to publish for herself, in a run of 750 copies through Longman’s, taking the risk and the profit,’\textsuperscript{31} her fourth novel \textit{Joscelina}. However, Edward Jacobs explores the function of anonymity in circulating libraries, arguing that there was a trend in circulating libraries specialising in publishing anonymous works.\textsuperscript{32} Therefore it is possible to situate \textit{Madeline} in a wider context that according to Jacobs ‘gave readers an unprecedented material basis for recognizing intertextual relationships, and for identifying generic conventions’\textsuperscript{33} through the very way libraries categorized books. Relating this back to the function of the paratext in \textit{Madeline}, the idea that it is one of a general category is emphasised through the effect of the advertisements which appear at the end of volume two and volume three,\textsuperscript{34} that place the novel along side such popular fiction as \textit{Lucy} by Mrs. Parsons and \textit{The Necromancer}. However, although this may help the contemporary reader to choose books to their taste, neither the advertisements nor the simple claim to be ‘a novel’ actually identifies the particular genre. This is especially true as the term “novel,” its definition and ‘origins’ in the eighteenth century is one that is widely debated, for example Hunter in \textit{Before Novels} highlights that although there were certain conventions such as credibility and probability ‘until quite late in the eighteenth century, the term “novel” was used very loosely and imprecisely.’\textsuperscript{35}

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Madeline can be seen as a novel of sentiment, yet the term is a modern conception and is by no means a static one. It seems as if the second half of the eighteenth century was preoccupied with ideas of sentiment. Walter Francis Wright writes that much of the prose fiction in the second half of the eighteenth century was sentimental. 36 Whether this broad claim is true or not, the concept was definitely in the forefront of the public imagination as ‘sensibility and the sentimental were a matter of informed and energetic debate in the second half of the eighteenth century.’37 Although as mentioned the terms have no static meaning a distinction between sentiment and sensibility is given by John Mullan who writes that sentimental ‘was usually a description of a representation’38 as in a sentimental novel, whereas ‘a person possessed sensibility.’39 Therefore a novel of sentiment involved characters of sensibility and attracted readers of sensibility, and the Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms suggests that such novels ‘exhibit the close connections between virtue and sensibility, in repeatedly tearful scenes; a character’s feeling for the beauties of nature and for the grief’s of others is taken as a sign of a pure heart.’40

From the very beginning it is clear Madeline is a novel of sentiment. In the first chapter of Madeline Mr Montgomery describes Miss Clifford and how he ‘sometimes observed a tear start in her eye, a pensive smile animated her lovely features, and a delicate languor was diffused over her countenance, which rather indicated a suffering mind, than an afflicted frame’ (1.12). Here the lone tear acts as a signal of a ‘suffering

39 John Mullan, p. 238
mind’ and the term ‘delicacy’ is often associated with sensibility.\textsuperscript{41} Further on in the novel Miriam, the young Miss Montgomery’s friend, contemplates her love for Glanville ‘what thought she, could he ever be to me, even did he love me, his faith,—my fathers—she shuddered,—mine, she sighed,—Oh Glanville! Glanville!’ (1.100) The use of hyphens is another common convention in novels of sentiment to represent all the emotion that is left unsaid, furthermore, the reference to bodily responses to such emotion, she ‘shuddered’ and ‘sighed’, is experienced to some extent by the reader as the sharp punctuation and sentence structure create a similar affect.

It is possible to see the sentimental novel as a legacy of the huge impact Samuel Richardson’s novels \textit{Pamela, Clarissa,} and \textit{The History of Sir Charles Grandison} had on the reading public. Janet Todd argues that ‘the cult of sensibility was largely defined by fiction from 1740’s to the 1770’s’\textsuperscript{42} and later writes that ‘Samuel Richardson is clearly the most important figure in early sentimental fiction, for in the mid-eighteenth century his novels made the new form serious and respectable.’\textsuperscript{43} Some themes do seem familiar even though \textit{Madeline} was published almost half a century later, for example, in volume two a gentleman calling himself Harvey, his actual name is Hervey Marley, makes several improper advances to Madeline ranging from offering to pay money for sex to an attack where he ‘clasped her round the waist, and rudely thrust his hand into her modest snowy bosom’ (2.165-167). Madeline is then offered his hand in marriage as ‘reparation’ by his mother (2.175), which she refuses, a situation that leads to her false imprisonment. However, whereas Samuel Richardson can be argued as making the form of sentiment ‘serious and respectable’

\textsuperscript{43} Janet Todd, \textit{Sensibility}, p. 66
by the 1790’s it was seen in a completely different way and the often hyperbolic sensibility of Madeline boarders if not on parody then on the concept that sensibility had become vulgar or ridiculous. As Janet Todd argues, the term had become pejorative in the 1770’s to mean ‘debased and affected feeling.’ Comparing Kelly’s novel with a famous parody of sensibility about the excess of feeling, Austen’s short epistolary work Love and Freindship (1790), it seems a short step between a satire and serious novel of sentiment. For example in Love and Freindship the narrator writes:

‘A soft Langour spread over her lovely features, but increased their Beauty.—It was the Characteristic of her mind—. She was all Sensibility and Feeling. We flew into each other arms & after having exchanged vows of mutual Freindship for the rest of our Lives, instantly unfolded to each other the most inward Secrets of our hearts—.’

The excess of feeling and sudden attachment is found in Madeline, and returning again to the first chapter it is particularly interesting to note. After seeing Madeline Clifford ‘simply attired in white crape, with no other ornament than a black velvet cestus clasped with pearls’ (1.13) Mr. Montgomery instantly ‘loved her in her sorrow’ (1.13). In contrast to the satire of Love and Freindship this is meant in full seriousness, yet perhaps the remark of Mr. Montgomery’s supper partner who calls Madeline Clifford one of those ‘sober sentimentalist (drawing out the words)’ (1.14) indicates some acknowledgment to the critics of sensibility, although it is not continued in the narrative.

44 Janet Todd, Sensibility, p. 8
There are also elements of the Gothic throughout *Madeline*. Frederick S. Frank classifies it as a ‘domestic Gothic’\textsuperscript{46} however ‘more domestic than Gothic,’\textsuperscript{47} arguing that both Madeline and Ellen each endure ‘several unpleasant episodes which might have been rendered in Gothic terms had the author chosen to indulge herself in violent fantasy in her first work.’\textsuperscript{48} The first incident that could be considered Gothic occurs in volume one, chapter three, when Mrs Montgomery, Madeline, and Ellen are out walking in the evening and pass a ‘remote tower’ (1.53) and ‘observed old Giles the bailiff walk with great quickness past a particular entrance’ (1.53), when questioned about it he replies with a ‘visible tremor’ (1.53) that it is the entrance to a haunted square. However, only Giles and Madeline show any fear, and the suspected ghost turns out to be a large white owl so any supernatural element is quickly explained away. Frederick Frank puts particular emphasis on the fact that *Madeline* was the beginning of Kelly’s literary career and that she ‘was not the first young writer to waver between the older novel of weeping sentiment and the new novel of terror which coexisted with the older type.’\textsuperscript{49} It seemed that later in her career this became less of an issue: a contemporary review of her second novel that appeared in the *Critical Review* said of the *Abbey of St. Asaph* that ‘in humble imitation of the well-known novels of Mrs. Radcliffe [it] is duly equipped with all the appurtenances of ruined towers, falling battlements, moats, draw bridges, Gothic porches, tombs, vaults, and apparitions.’\textsuperscript{50} In some ways *Madeline* is reminiscent of Ann Radcliffe, for example, the novel opens with a description of the landscape surrounding the castle, argued by Frederick Frank as taking on ‘an eerie Radcliffian splendour suggesting

\textsuperscript{47} Frederick S. Frank, p. 177
\textsuperscript{48} Frederick S. Frank, p. 177
\textsuperscript{49} Frederick S. Frank, p. 178
\textsuperscript{50} Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling, 1795:27, p. 642
she studied the Gothic topographies of Mrs. Radcliffe’s novels, mentioning ‘lofty rugged rocks’ (1.2) and a ‘grand and natural cascade’ (1.2). Further on in the chapter Mr Montgomery was ‘struck with religious awe’ (1.19) after viewing a romantic ruin in the sunset. Furthermore, Isabella Kelly also intersperses *Madeline* with sections of verse. The first instance is in volume one chapter five when Glanville whispers a section of James Thomson “Summer” from *The Seasons* beginning “fear not, sweet innocence! Thou stranger to offence” (1.99). Further on in the chapter Miriam repeats a section from John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* “hail universal lord, be bounteous still” (1.101). Although it is not possible to know for certain what effect this lofty poetry may have had on the reader the inclusion of it perhaps suggests Kelly’s intended audience, those familiar with Milton, and maybe an attempt to give authority to *Madeline* as a serious piece of literature.

This ambivalence in the genre that Frederick S. Frank seems to suggest is in some way related to Kelly being a young writer can also perhaps be due to the social status of female writers at the time. Examining evidence by Pricilla Wakefield who wrote *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex; with Suggestions for its Improvement* (1798) with literature as the first suggestion, Cheryl Turner concludes that ‘by the end of eighteenth century literary professionalism was clearly an established employment option for women from the middle and upper classes.’

Despite this it can be seen that social stigma, and if not stigma then suspicion, was still attached to professional female writers. Edward Jacobs explores a wide range of critical essays on the ‘rise’ of the novel which highlight the concept that the ‘elevation’ of the novel equated the novel with didacticism and female fiction as an

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51 Frederick S. Frank, p. 178
immoral continuation of French romance and therefore argues that ‘in fundamental ways, both of these ideologies at once devalue female fiction, and insist that reproduction of virtuous male models is the only legitimate form for female fiction writing.’ This didacticism that was seen as appropriate for female authors appears throughout the novel not only through the characterisation but through the third-person omniscient narrator. Throughout Madeline the narrator interrupts the story, in some places this is simply to keep the plot on track, as in volume one chapter two where she informs the reader ‘we will now return to Pall Mall,’ (1.32) or to move the action on ‘leaving the happy family…let us introduce some neighbours’ (1.61). However, in other parts of the novel the narrator takes a much more direct pedagogical approach aimed at the ‘daughters and sons of humanity’ (3.91). She asks the reader to ‘permit a female pen to deprecate the daemon of suspicion’ (3.91) calling it a ‘poison’ and warns against its influence on the passions (3.91-92). In this way Isabella Kelly conforms to certain conventions of novel writing.

This is not to say that she does not engage with political debates as ‘Isabella Kelly’s narratives are of interest for the forthright reactionary political outlook given in a genre which was thought of as feminine and therefore apolitical.’ Although the biographer gives example in Kelly’s later works, drawing attention to the characters that show responsibility to their tenants as well as ‘solid judgement and correct principles,’ a similar theme is apparent in Madeline. In the concluding two paragraphs of the novel the narrator directly addresses ‘all countrywomen’ (3.246) warning ‘that an undeviating line of duty can alone lead to peace on earth’ (3.246).

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53 Edward Jacobs, p. 613-614
54 Edward Jacobs, p. 613-614
55 Janet Todd, p. 381
56 Janet Todd, p. 381
This importance of duty is highlighted throughout the novel, whether it is the Montgomery’s duty to their tenants, conjugal responsibility or familial. The importance of this is particularly evident when in contrast to those characters which do not show such responsibility. Sir Joseph loses Mr. Montgomery’s money in bad speculation (2.111), he kills himself and Mr. Montgomery is imprisoned, such is the fate of those who don’t show responsibility.

_Madeline_ is a novel that in every sense is a product of the time in which it was written. From its publication with the Minerva Press in 1794, the narrative form and ambivalence in its genre, its engagement with the politics of the time, and the significance in relation to the literary career of Isabella Kelly, _Madeline_ is highly representative of the literature and literary marketplace of the 1790’s.


<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t56.e1042>


<http://orlando.cambridge.org/>


Kelly, Isabella, *Madeline; Or, the Castle of Montgomery*, (London: Minerva Press, 1794)


## Appendix

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<td>Madeline; Or, The Castle of Montgomery</td>
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<td><strong>Imprint</strong></td>
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