On William Combe, Literary Female Impersonator and Panegyrist for the Sex,

Focusing on his work:

*Letters Between Amelia in London and her Mother in the Country*

In his most well-known work, *The Tour of Doctor Syntax, In Search of the Picturesque*, William Combe wrote,

"He ne'er will as an artist shine,

Who copies Nature line by line:

Whoe'er from Nature takes a view,

Must copy and improve her too."   (Tour 14)

William Combe was a satirist, propaganda writer, and an established imitator, most notably of the works of Lawrence Sterne. That particular imitation was, for a time, actually attributed to be part of the authentic correspondences of Sterne and his female friend.  Combe says of his *Letters from Eliza to Yorick,* “They complete the closing part of the history of two celebrated characters, hitherto defective, as at first view must be obvious, from presenting only one side of the picture” (Eliza 10). Combe chose to present the female perspective of the relationship established in Sterne’s *Letters from Yorick to Eliza*.

Combe imitated the female voice again in his serial publication *Amelia's Letters*, which appeared in Ackermann's *Repository*, and later, after his death, was published as a complete epistolary novel entitled, *Letters Between Amelia in London and Her Mother in the Country*.  I would like to show how, in the same way his character, Dr. Syntax, felt one should improve the landscape in his portrait, Combe not only imitated the female voice in these letters, but attempted to influence and improve the condition of women in society by attacking, though satire, the idea that a young lady's most important consideration of marriage should be a gentleman's means to support her.

The serial publication turned posthumous epistolary novel was recognized by critics of the time as a satire against the upper class of London. According to one contemporary review, “*Letters Between Amelia in London and her Mother in the Country* is a very amusing correspondence, intended to represent the follies of fashionable life.” (Book 67) Indeed, *Letters Between Amelia in London and her Mother in the Country* does satire the upper class society of London, particularly the maneuverings to acquire a spouse of suitable position to achieve a higher social or economic status. Critics today agree that Combe expressed strong opposition to deception to achieve social status, “Combe didactically disapproves of deception to achieve self-interest, an attitude he and Austen broadly share. In Combe’s view, ambition for upward social mobility leads to idle wastefulness,” so it is no stretch of the imagination to attribute this sentiment as the subject of his satire in *Letters Between Amelia in London and her Mother in the Country* (Byrne 205).

I began researching this piece, with the intention to analyze the reasons Combe may have chosen to write in the female voice in the epistolary style, without ascribing his name to the work, at a time when the style was declining and female authorship was not yet respected enough to be profitable, and also look at whether he impersonated the female voice well.

When the series was first published in Ackermann’s *Repository*, it was presented simply as “Amelia’s Letters.” Combe did not claim authorship, and the premise was that the letters were written by two women. Combe was raised on the tradition of writers who used the epistolary style to lend an authenticity to their message. “The use of letters afforded a writer many advantages in meeting the almost universal requirement of authenticity” (Day 86). Not much credit is given to the reader of the time; their willingness to accept published letters as genuine is assumed. According to Robert Adams Day, “The ‘common reader,’ living in an age of (modified) belief, did not find his credulity overstrained by a series of letters which told a story and which purported to be authentic, especially when elaborate devices to stimulate his suspension of disbelief were provided. He could hardly tell it from a collection of authentic letters unless he happened to move in circles where the facts were known” (Day 87). Though Combe published *Letters Between Amelia in London and her Mother in the Country* a few decades later than the majority of the epistolary authors Day referenced in his book, the faith that the reader would accept the letters as genuine remains, and to present a female perspective, Combe chose to ascribe his letters to female authorship.

In the publication of the first letter in Ackermann’s *Repository*, Combe, as the editor, comments on the series of letters he is about to present. “We have the pleasure to submit to our female readers the letter of Amelia, which came too late for our last number. It is the first of a series, and the specimen which it exhibits of the talents and sentiments of the writer, will render any recommendation on our part totally unnecessary” (C. Amelia’s 211). Combe expresses his admiration for the female writer’s ability and ideas.

Popular ideas in the early and mid-eighteenth century and later on women and writing, however, were extremely misogynistic. One example of this is a book published in 1763, believed to be authored by a man named Edward Kimber called, *The Ladies Complete Letter-Writer; Teaching the art of indicting letters on every subject that can call for their attention, as daughters, wives, mothers, relations, friends, or acquaintance…* This book announces itself as a book of instruction to women on how they should write letters complete with examples of the best. “Most of those I have made choice of, at the same time that they render the Fair Reader Mistress of an elegant Stile, are fraught with such Instructions as cannot fail of having the best Effect upon her Mind; inculcating the Practice of every Moral and Social Duty, and tending to make her happy, by making her wise and virtuous” (Kimber). According to men, letters written by women were supposed to contain moral instruction. Combe contradicts this idea that women are less capable than men of writing letters in his preface to one of his other epistolary novels, giving both letter writers equal credit and praising the skill of both above his own. He says of the letters in his *Original Love-Letters, Between a Lady of Quality and a Person of Inferior Station*, “If I could have composed them myself, I would not have yielded the reputation of them to suppositious characters” (Original iv). Combe’s history of epistolary novels before *Amelia’s Letters* includes publishing *Letters Between Two Lovers and Their Friends* in 1781 and *Original Love Letters Between a Lady of Quality and a Person of Inferior Station* in 1784.

According to Ana Vogrincic, when the novel (prose fiction) was gaining popularity, the majority of the writers in the genre were women. “Even though these works represented just a tiny portion of literary market--no more than two percent--because religious literature dominated the market well into the nineteenth century (Probyn 1), the growth of prose fiction, if one takes into account the number of editions and the size of the circulation, proportionally surpassed any other type of literature.” She describes her search for works that fall under the category and tells us that the majority of them were written by women, “but all these terms point to the same female threesome: Aphra Behn (1640-1689), Delariviere Manley (1663-1724) and, above all, Eliza Haywood (1693-1756) as the most successful representatives of the genre” (Vogrincic 99).

The events of Samuel Richardson’s release of the first epistolary novel, *Pamela*, and the subsequent release of the satire, *Shamela*, by Henry Fielding, are of consequence to a progression of popularity of female writers, female writing style, and seemingly, from Vogrincic’s research, an insight into the male writer’s decision to impersonate the female voice in writing a novel. The idea that men were publishing books directing women how they should be writing, with the intention of promoting morality, and this critic’s research results that the risqué new literature was all being written by women suggests this could be a reason why men of this time might want to write in the feminine voice.

Combe decided to use the voice of a female narrator, but did he do it well? Today, some standards of the feminine voice against which Combe’s impersonation might be held in order to evaluate how well he accomplished his impersonation include self-deprecation, emotional variation, genre impurity, male aggression, and movement between private spheres and public areas with a highlight of having a home space or retreat. This list, which is subjective but was something with concrete terms I could use for the purpose of analysis in this paper, comes from a panel entitled “Recovering Women’s Satiric Voices; or, A Feminist’s Work is Never Done.”

In authentic female writing, you would conjecture that no single voice would embody all of these qualities simultaneously, so an impersonator should choose only some. Combe achieved this level of authenticity by including three of these qualities prominently in the letters.

Amelia’s letters include self-deprecation throughout. They are all based on her professing modestly how inferior her knowledge is while she asks her mother for counsel. Doing this also allows her letters include the movement between private and public worlds with the home space or place of retreat being Amelia’s home in the country and her mother to whom she goes for safety and counsel against the public world of London society in which she is living. She devotes her third letter to praising her mother for being her “greatest protecting influence” from the dangers of the society she has entered as she “maintain[s] the habitual solitude to unfold [her] secret thoughts” in her letters home and comments that one word is her “talismanic power which could disperse” those dangers, and “this magic word is, MOTHER” (C. Letters Between 32). The letters also include the depiction of an aggressive male just before Amelia’s abrupt return to the country. She and Lady Elizabeth are discussing prospects of marriage when Amelia rejects a Lord as a prospective husband, a 27 year old widow, whom she states mistreated his first wife. Because of that, she believes she would be miserable with him and will not entertain the thought of him as a suitor.

After concluding that Combe’s imitation of the female voice was successful, my next questions as I approached the work were why Combe chose the epistolary style for the narration at a time when, according to Franco Moretti’s graph of British Hegemonic forms, it was at the end of its popularity as a writing style and why a man who did not attach his name to his work would want to throw his voice into a female narrator.

Combe published *Amelia’s Letters* in Ackermann’s *Repository* in 1809, a year at the very end of the epistolary novel’s curve on Moretti’s graph, the point at which he says the form has “outlived its artistic usefulness” (Moretti 14-15). Frank Black comments on the reasons for success of the epistolary novel and analyzes some authors’ purposes for writing them in his book *The Epistolary Novel in the Late Eighteenth Century*. When Samuel Richardson popularized the genre in 1740 by throwing his voice into the feminine title character *Pamela*, Black says he, “employed letter fiction with the primary motive of conveying instruction in conduct and manners” (Black 36).

Black traces the circle of the epistolary novel’s purpose back to moral instruction with the publication of Fanny Burney’s *Evelina* in 1778, which, like *Amelia’s Letters* focused on a young girl’s prospect of finding a husband on a trip to London from the country, saying, “the peculiar merit of Fanny Burney’s *Evelina* was that it brought the novel back to the depiction of manners, in a rich an realistic picture of London society of the 1770’s, with a foreground occupied by a heroine so human that one could believe in her” (Black 1-2). A key difference between Burney’s and Combe’s heroines is that Evelina achieves her marriage and Amelia returns to the country without having found a husband. But in Black’s view, the purpose of the epistolary novel comes back to instruction by the time Combe writes his piece in Ackermann’s *Repository*. Between the time of Richardson and the time of Burney, the purpose of the novel in general seems to have been more of entertainment, and the epistolary novel in particular to have been “to formulate a range of responses to a cultural anxiety about private energies and appetites, particularly those of women” (Cook). The genre was authored disproportionately by women, according to Black, “from 1781 through 1790…seventy-four novelists whose identity is known, twenty-six of them men and forty-eight women” (Black 5).

Another critic, who mentions Combe’s other epistolary novels in her book, argues that the letter is the “marker of disruptive female desire, characteristically fixed as a figure of criminal excess and threatening semiotic restlessness within a social and narrative order that consistently attempts to discipline it” (Watson 16). This is true of Amelia’s letters to her mother. Her desire to find a husband who is compatible with her rather than look for someone who is titled and wealthy disrupts the natural order of the society of the town. Writing in the epistolary style highlights the inner thoughts of Amelia and her Mother that are contrary to the social order allowing him to give instruction to the readers through the thoughts of his narrators.

This leads to Combe’s reasons for choosing to imitate the feminine voice. Lorrayne Carroll, who discusses captivity narratives in her work “’Affecting History’: Impersonating Women in the Early Republic,” proposes an interesting reason for male authors to throw their voice into that of a female narrator. She says the, “female voice has a status and utility derived from female embodiment that distinguishes it from both male-identified models of depersonalized, textual authority and male “speaking” “performances”. Radically embodied, women’s experiences come into the public through the emotive and affective modes of fiction” (Carroll 516).

An article in 1807, just two years before “Amelia’s Letters” appeared in Ackermann’s *Repository*, praises the detailed nature of women’s observations in their letters, “It may easily be conceived that those women who have wit, and a cultivated mind, write better letters than the best writers among men. Nature has bestowed on them more pliableness of fancy, and a more delicate organization; their mind, less accustomed to reflection, possesses more vivacity and ready thoughts, it rambles into more digressions; shut up in society, and less distracted with business or study, they are more attentive in observing characters and manners, they are more interested in all the little events which occupy the world” (On Epistolary Style). From these analyses, it might be conjectured that using the female voice in a first-person narrative is more believable in presenting the sentimentality of an experience with attention to small but important details as opposed to the factual nature that a male voice would lend to a piece.

So if the purpose for choosing the epistolary style is that it is both a way to portray a “disruptive desire” that is contrary to the status quo and a mode of instruction from an authentic narrator, and the feminine voice is to capture the “small but important details,” I propose that Combe’s reason to present *Amelia’s Letters* in this format was to instruct as well as entertain the female readers of Ackermann’s *Repository*. The question now becomes, instruct them in what? Combe’s piece is certainly a critique against the upper class vanity.

But two other themes exists in the letters, the instruction for a young girl on how to value the female presence in society and what she should look for in a marriage—contrary to what society tells her to look for.

One of the first indications that Combe’s narrative puts high value on the female component of society comes in the first letter. Amelia is lamenting the situation of society to her mother and says, “The days of chivalry are certainly past and gone; for instead of having our castles approached by knights who have left their sovereigns to contend for the prize of beauty; the beauties themselves are obliged to issue from their castles, seek the metropolis, and present themselves at every place of public resort to the gaze of our modern chevaliers, who will not risk catching a cold in their service” (C. Letters Between 5-6).

Another instance of Combe pointing out the importance of women’s roles in society comes when Amelia is describing the custom of people giving parties for the purpose of upward social mobility. It is pointed out plainly by Amelia, twice, that these dinners are solely controlled by women, and the men who desire social advancement are dependent upon them. Her first comment is “Friendship cannot have the least concerns in it; for it often happens, that half the company at least which attended these solemnities are not known to the priestess who presides at the alter, while the good man who pays for the hecatombs in only considered as one of the crowd of votaries” (C. Letters Between 34-5). She describes the woman with reverence as the “priestess” while the man is reduced to the level of unknown attendee. Combe portrays the men as understanding their place in these happenings, as Amelia tells her mother of a particular highly ranked gentleman who wished to “collect a society suitable to” his newly built house. “This he understood, was to be accomplished by his cara sposa’s elegant parties” (C. Letters Between 35-6). He has no control over his social advancement but must leave it to his wife’s skills at giving parties.

Amelia’s Mother herself is an indication that Combe values women in society, and that he acknowledges their intelligence and capabilities as well. In her first letter to Amelia, she discusses matters of science and philosophy in a well-educated manner. She is a widow, managing her estate on her own, as well as bringing up Amelia and seeing to her education alone. In her letter, she discusses Amelia’s capability in matters of dealing with the opposite sex saying, “On these subjects, however, my dearest Amelia does not require any observations of mine, as she appears to me to be perfectly qualified to make them herself in the most impressive manner and with the happiest effect” (C. Letters Between 45). She also counsels her on the necessity of the imagination in forming judgments rather than repeating only what comes before. She says, “the world would have given us nothing but bare dates, etymologies, and facts, if the imagination had not added its embellishments; and men, like so many echoes, would have repeated the same things, from the beginning of time to the present hour” (C. Letters Between 46-7). She reiterates to Amelia how important judgment is to progression of ideas, “If learned men were without imagination, we should find them only in the beaten track of fact and memory, while they would do nothing more than repeat what the ancients had said and done before them. It is most true, that the judgment is the grand basis of our intellect, and must serve it as a rule, a guide, and a support; but the judgment, unassisted by the imagination, will proceed with a slow and heavy pace” (C. Letters Between 48-9). Combe, through Amelia’s mother, as the voice of authority, seems to be advocating for a change in society rather than the repetition of old ideas that no longer serve the best interests of individuals, such as spouse hunting for money or status.

Black comments on the introduction of the theme of what women should look for in a marriage to literature in the late eighteenth century, “The eternal human problem of marriage is given a perhaps more searching consideration in this decade than heretofore…In the nineties the disrupting ideas of Godwin and other theorists were at work and the cause of women was being advanced with a certain militancy, so that the right of a married woman to a life of her own and to a measure of self-determination found advocates” (Black 82). Combe depicts this attitude in every one of the letters in his series which focuses almost solely on the female upper class of London written from the perspective of a young Lady who couldn’t agree with the ideas of a woman needing to give up her intelligence to become “charming’ and engage in the leisures of society with the goal of marrying for title or income only to become unhappy.

Amelia comments on the ridiculousness of the custom of young ladies to seek an appropriately wealthy or titled husband among the society of London “as if they were to be disposed of, according to the custom which necessity imposes on the inferior classes of putting out the boys apprentices, and sending the girls to service” in her second letter (C. Letters Between 5). She spends the rest of her letters relating her experiences back to her mother and seeking approval for her notions that she would rather not marry for these superficial reasons.

The tales of Amelia’s experiences add one more dimension to the idea that Combe’s world of London depicted in *Letters Between Amelia in London and her Mother in the Country* is a woman’s world. Going further than the earlier letters describing parties which portrayed the gentlemen as rather unnecessary components of society, the later letters portray the gentlemen who are suitable in the eyes of the elder females around Amelia in the city as ridiculous. At her first party, Amelia speaks to two gentlemen, one an artist of little means and one to whom a contemporary of her aunt gives her approval for Amelia to seek the affections of. The approved gentleman is unable to carry on an intelligent conversation with Amelia until she comments on the shine of his shoes. His vanity takes over, and after a discourse on the formula of his shoe polish, he leaves her, admiring his feet until he must look up in order to navigate the crowd on the other side of the room. Amelia comments to her mother, “I should prefer good sense with twelve-hundred a year to tonish folly with twelve thousand; the former, at least, might happily fancy that I bore some resemblance to a favorite picture, and become fond of me; while the latter might want to japan me, or be disposed to make a footstool of me; and that is a submission against which, with all my wishes to be a dutiful wife, you will encourage me to enter a formal protest” (C. Letters Between 26).

Amelia’s mother seems to feel the same way as Amelia does about seeking happiness rather than estate or title from a marriage. This perspective, set against Amelia’s professions of her youth and inexperience preventing her from speaking knowledgably on the subject, lends the credibility of age to the argument while not going so far as to include the male perspective for the majority of the letters. Her mother receives a proposal of marriage for Amelia and speaks of it in one of her letters. The proposal comes from the gentleman who owns the adjoining estate and is made on behalf of his son. His idea for the proposal is for the purpose of uniting the two estates and turning out a wealthy young couple. Amelia’s mother refuses because she says Amelia would “possesses a strength of mind, a sedateness of character, and a store of information far beyond her years. She will not, I think consent to marry the boy” (C. Letters Between 95). Throughout the refusal, she disempowers the young man, who she states is two to three months younger than her daughter, as a boy who would be unable to make her daughter happy.

She relates the conversation to Amelia, including saying, “Such a marriage would not only be ridiculous, but, I verily believe, must be miserable,” (C. Letters Between 96) and that “it is the duty of parents, particularly when it is a question of marrying a daughter, to contrive all possible securities for her happiness” (C. Letters Between 98).

She not only relates to Amelia her disempowerment of the boy but of his father as well. She tells her that, to smooth the refusal, she said, “were I bound by an irresistible obligation to marry my darling Amelia to you, Sir William, or your son, I do most solemnly declare, that I should not hesitate a moment in requesting you to conduct her to the alter” (C. Letters Between 98). She comments to Amelia, “here the old baronet’s vanity was so tickled, that he appeared instantly to forget his son,” and that upon his leaving, “it was with no common exertion that I refrained from laughter” (C. Letters Between 99).

The first proposal Amelia declines herself, a milestone for her, also depicts the gentleman in an inferior position. The gentleman, who is about 40-years-old, entreats her for her hand, listing his fortune and his title. She declines saying she has “adopted certain fixed principles on which alone [she] shall enter into the married state” (C. Letters Between 74). He accuses her of having already given her heart to another because he cannot fathom that a woman would turn down what he is offering for any other reason. After arguing with her that wealth and title can be enough to produce happiness in a marriage and having her decline him again he accuses her of “argue[ing] very philosophically” and tells her he “did not come with the expectation that [she] would employ those weapons in defense of the fortress, which [she] must have borrowed from the rusty armoury of [her] grandmamma.” Her reply is to thank him for the complement and say, “It appears to me to be owing to the neglect of that rusty weapon called common sense, on these occasions, that there are so many ill-sorted and unhappy marriages” (C. Letters Between 75).

As the encounter ends, he is further disempowered as he requires Amelia’s assistance in rising from his seat in order to leave due to his age and infirmity.

Only two men are portrayed as less than ridiculous. One, who is said to come closest to Amelia’s criteria for a husband in her declaration “I should ever find an exact counterpart. I never will marry anyone whose character and qualifications do not bear a very strong resemblance to those of my original conception,” is unfortunately physically unattractive and already married (C. Letters Between 109). He and his wife “are foolish enough to continue to be in love with each other,” giving additional strength to the argument that love and happiness should be criteria for marriage.

The other, a Mr. B—who was educated by his mother like Amelia, is in love with Lady Elizabeth, Amelia’s contemporary, and attempting to secure his estate so he is worthy of her hand. His story is related by Amelia to her mother in direct quotation, presumed to be exactly as he related it to Amelia. This inclusion of the indirect male voice lends the male approval and credibility to Amelia’s ideas and her mother’s instruction when she says, “I can, indeed, want no instruction while I have you to instruct me; I can stand in need of no other counselor, while I have you to counsel me…Nevertheless I have found in the narrative of Mr. B—a living illustration of your opinions,” (C. Letters Between 208-9) and her mother answers in her letter, “The narrative Mr. B—has given of his life is an incomparable example to support my doctrine. Affection has done everything for him” (C. Letters Between 221-2).

In addition to the disempowerment of men throughout Amelia’s letters, the power of the female voice and the ineffectiveness of instruction by men is addressed in Combe’s piece. One of the duties of a lady is to continue her devotion to religion. Amelia tells her mother of two types of services she attends, one of her own religion where the minister brings in several guests to preach instruction to the congregation. She tells her mother she finds that the “variation of the ministers does not preserve the essence of the message” for her. She says, “a new figure, a new voice, a new mode of delivery, a new style, break the chain of that effect which would be produced by the habit of hearing successive instruction from the same lips, the same language, and the same elocution” (C. Letters Between 80). She comments on one of these men in particular, who gives a sermon against seeking worldly pleasures and then laments to her afterward that the weather will prevent the worldly pleasure of walking in Kensington Gardens that day. She dismisses him, telling him she “never frequents them on the Sabbath.” This is an interesting instance of the dismissal of male instruction.

The other service she attends is a Methodist service, by invitation of a friend of her aunt’s. She tells her mother of the service, which she describes as being the same as of their own religion. It is the entrance hymn that impresses Amelia. She says the chapel “contained three thousand people” and the service “commenced with a psalm accompanied by the organ; and [she] know[s] not how to describe the effect it had upon [her].”

She tells her mother, “If what followed had corresponded with the beginning, your Amelia, I believe, would not have been able to resist the conversion with which Mrs. H—had threatened her. The first two lines of the verse were sung by the whole congregation, the third was left exclusively to the female part of it, and the closing line was resumed by the whole chorus. As the larger part of the assembly consisted of females, it may be supposed that at least fifteen hundred voices chaunted forth the find simple melody of our old psalm-tunes. I leave you to judge of the effect.” After this near conversion based on the female voices in the congregation, Amelia expresses her dissatisfaction with the male preacher, who recommends his sermon as instruction to “the attention of the female part of his audience” (C. Letters Between 84).

Combe shows a contrast throughout *Letters Between Amelia in London and her Mother in the Country* between the effectiveness of the voices of male and female instruction, as well as depicting the disempowerment of men. I believe this, as well as Amelia and her mother’s frequent discussions on the necessity of marrying for happiness, rather than the expected wealth or title, show this work as an imitation meant to be instruction to improve the lives of women of the time. In looking at Combe’s other works, I found hints of these themes in other pieces as well.

#### Besides his recognition that the female perspective was missing from Lawrence Sterne’s *Letters from Yorick to Eliza*, there is support for an interpretation of Combe’s works in a proto-feminist light. In *An Interesting Letter to the Duchess of Devonshire, The Second Edition,* Combe discusses the problems a male writer has dealing with the feminine perspective since males are, “accustomed to cool and regular investigation, would be unable to follow the quick and successive changes of Female fancy: he would be bewildered in the hurry of fashionable life” (Interesting 9). He expresses an admiration of women’s position in society and a desire to praise and elevate them saying, “There was a time of my life, when I myself had some thought of undertaking this delicate business, and had actually begun to prepare materials for an History of Woman, and a full Examination of her Character and Duties of the Female Sex: but being in the situation of those who owe the blessings of life to them, and bearing about me the continual and affecting sensibility of the obligation, I soon discovered that it was my lot to be their Panegyrist, and not their Historian” (Interesting 10).

#### In addition to *Letters Between Amelia in London and her Mother in the Country*, in Rudolph Ackermann’s *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics*, Combe ran a series titled *The Female Tattler* aimed solely at women readers and the column *The Modern Spectator*, published in the form of an advice column wherein Mr. Spectator answered reader’s questions (some of which may be of his own pen and attributed to the authorship of readers in further examples of imitation/impersonation and many of which are by female queriers), which often dealt with issues of marriage and relationships on a regular basis showing that these topics were relevant to Combes writing at the time.

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"Recovering Women's Satiric Voices; or, A Feminist's Work is Never Done," chaired by Jocelyn Harris, at the Am. Society for 18th-Century Studies, 2019, in Denver. Members of the roundtable were Sharon Smith [not our Sharon Smith], Julianne Adams, Conny Cassity, and Lillian Lu.

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