

Gay

AT HOME IN 'THAT GAY BATHING PLACE'; OR, REPRESENTING BRIGHTON IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

[ABSTRACT]

Historians have established late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Brighton's role in the urban renaissance by tracking its emergence as a centre of fashion, polite sociability, and consumerism. Other versions of the town, such as domestic experiences and home life, have, however, been neglected. Yet in the early nineteenth century, contemporaries increasingly present a version of Brighton that is domestic and retired instead of public; polite instead of fashionable; rational instead of dissipated; intimate rather than crowded; more country and nature-orientated than urban focused. This article explores how Elizabeth Sandham's didactic novel, *Sketches of Young People; or, a Journey to Brighton* (1822), negotiates this transition. It moreover argues for the empowering possibilities that this new Brighton offers middle-class women in terms of satisfying intellectual curiosity and facilitating physical mobility. While Brighton's history has been explored, this article calls for future work into the cultural, including literary, representations of romantic-period Brighton.

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In Lydia's imagination, a visit to Brighton comprised every possibility of earthly happiness. She saw, with the creative eye of fancy, the streets of that gay bathing place covered with officers. She saw herself the object of attention, to tens and to scores of them at present unknown. She saw all the glories of the camp – its tents stretched forth in beauteous uniformity of lines, crowded with the young and the gay, and dazzling with scarlet; and, to complete the view, she saw herself seated beneath a tent, tenderly flirting with at least six officers at once.

JANE AUSTEN, *Pride and Prejudice* (1813).¹

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Lydia Bennet's ill-fated trip to Brighton is probably the most well-known foray to the resort town in early nineteenth-century fiction. Lydia anticipates a Brighton oriented towards busy, public spaces like streets and a military camp. It is a fun, fashionable, often dissipated resort town with 'scores' of exciting and yet unknown people, and, most importantly, for Lydia handsome and fashionable young soldiers. Lydia's highly visual conception of the town also captures the Brighton ethos of display – it is a place to see and be seen. Lydia has such a keen idea of Brighton before even visiting because this version of the fashionable resort town was a common one in the period's cultural consciousness. She could have imbibed it from the soldiers and their wives she has met in her hometown of Meryton as well as from newspaper reports, satirical verses, and novels. Brighton fiction emerged as the town grew in popularity, and works such as Richard Sicklemore's *Mary-Jane* (1800), Mary Julia Young's *A Summer at Brighton* (1807), Mary Jane Anne Trelawney's *Characters at Brighton: A Novel* (1808), the anonymous *Brighton; or, The Steyne. A Satirical Novel* (1818), Innes Hoole's *Scenes at Brighton; or, 'How much?': A Satirical Novel* (1821), and Elizabeth Sandham's *Sketches of Young People; or, a Journey to Brighton* (1822). Brighton was the most popular of the British resort and spa towns in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, usurping Bath's long-standing hegemony. From 1781 to 1820, Brighton led the resort towns in population growth, and from 1811 to 1821, Brighton was the fastest growing of all British towns, doubling its population and number of buildings.² This article asks what happens when the action of domestic novels, in particular didactic ones aimed at young women of Lydia's age, are transplanted to Brighton: how are the genre's emphases on the domestic woman, the private sphere, and rigid codes of behaviour for young people reimagined in a space dedicated to public display and dissipation? I am particularly interested in how even in the conservative parameters of a novel like Sandham's *Sketches*, essentially a female conduct book in narrative form, Brighton offers young women relative physical and intellectual freedom, the possibility of being more than a mere 'object of attention'.

This study is also a call to delve more deeply into how, like Lydia, writers imagined Brighton, and to better understand the cultural, including literary, representations of romantic-period Brighton. Historians have tracked Brighton's emergence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a centre of fashion, polite sociability, and consumerism by explicating its urban development, architecture, population growth, economy, and health provision – in terms of the springs, the sea, and medical practices.³ Literary critics have meanwhile hitherto only briefly referenced Brighton (or, as it was often known into the nineteenth century, Brighthelmstone).⁴ The brevity of these references is brought into relief when compared to the considerable literary criticism on other spa and resort towns thanks in large part to Jane Austen's depictions of Bath and the fictional Sanditon.⁵ While there is admittedly no great Brighton novel or poem of the period, literary critics' very brief considerations of the resort town overlook the rich trove of documents negotiating the meanings of a town that was increasingly a part of people's annual calendars and that embodied many of the changes

occurring in British society in terms of the expansion of the middling ranks, increased social mobility, greater access to leisure time and recreation, the fashion for landscape aesthetics like the picturesque and sublime, urbanization and suburbanization, the luxury debates, women's role in society, and a general trend of proliferating spa and resort towns wedded to increased attention to health.

The image of a fashionable, urban, and public Brighton is a dominant one in the early nineteenth century and this is what literary critics have focused on in their brief references to the town in the period.⁶ At the centre of dissipated Brighton was its most high-profile Brighton resident, the notoriously libertine Prince Regent (by 1820, King George IV), who transformed a farmhouse into an oriental-inspired palace, the Pavilion. Whole works like the *Prince of Wales in Brighton* (1796) centre on him and a Prince Regent cameo appearance is a standard feature of the Brighton novel; see, for instance, Young's *A Summer at Brighton* when he appears at a fashionable party at a Brighton villa and Sandham's *Sketches* when he is spotted riding by the Pavilion.⁷ The Prince took his court to Brighton in the summers, affirming the fashionability of the Brighton season (the peak of the season was from July to the end of October, but became longer as time went on) and inspiring Londoners from the middling ranks to the nobility to visit the Sussex seashore.⁸ George Saville Carey, in *The Balnea; or, an Impartial Description of all the Popular Watering Places in England* (1799), versifies that Brighton is a town '[t]hat coaxes all our courtiers down,/And half depopulates the town'.⁹ Merchants from the City of London also escape to Brighton; as the author of *Brighton!!* remarks '[e]n cits the spot [London] a desert call'.¹⁰ People, goods, activities, and indeed the whole polite civic culture were transplanted from London.¹¹ The urban, specifically metropolitan, status of Brighton was routinely stressed: '[s]ome say [Brighton] is London in miniature',¹² and it was called a 'seaside London'.¹³ Brighton's answer to London's fashionable hot spots like Hyde Park or Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens where people dressed in their best to see and be seen was the Steyne. The Steyne, adjacent to the Prince Regent's Pavilion, was a grassy area used as the town's fashionable promenade.¹⁴ This is where, especially in the early days of Brighton (before the 1820s), fashionable visitors wanted to stay.¹⁵ It was also the focus of Brighton's social life; for example, the circulating library, which doubled as a gambling venue in the evenings, was adjacent to the Steyne.

Writers of guidebooks, verse, musical compositions, and fiction documented the lifestyles of visitors to this London-by-the-sea, either to excite readers with the town's possibilities or, more often, to satirize and condemn them. Novels like those mentioned above highlight and criticize the public display, fashion, dissipation, consumerism, and middling-rank vulgarity characterizing the resort town. All of these issues are captured in a description of Brighton in Mary Robinson's *The False Friend: A Domestic Story* (1799), which I quote at length since it provides a typical satire of the fashionable resort town: the novel's heroine Gertrude writes from Brighton that

We have passed the whole morning in the *routine* of occupations which here it is both healthful and fashionable to follow: such as bathing, strolling on the Steine, crowding to the libraries, driving on the downs, and idling time away in the busy avocation of doing nothing. But example is every thing; and that which the leaders of refined taste zealously adopt, the followers of folly will not fail to imitate. Hence we behold one sex, recently emerged from the salt waves, scorching in the morning sun for the embellishment of beauty; and the other, riding races in the full blaze of noon, or wasting the midnight hour at a gaming-table, for the benefit of the constitution! For this purpose the sober cit quits the dull toil of commerce, and exhibits his wealth in proportion to the follies of his family. The emaciated libertine, and the lisping coquette, labour through the day in a perpetual round of fatigue, in order to repair the ravages of dissipation, or to shake off the languor of a nervous fever. Thus, by the powerful force of example, toil becomes a pleasure, and reason is sacrificed to the supremacy of custom: the wise condemn even that which they countenance; and the senseless eagerly pursue the footsteps of Fancy, because she has Fashion for her guide, and Folly for her companion.¹⁶

Before about the 1820s, this routine – modelled on Bath’s – imposed a culture of fashion, dissipation and display that visitors ‘senselessly’ followed. It is opposed to and even destructive of health (the ostensible *raison d’être*, at least initially, of the town). As well as health, money, looks, and time are dissipated. This mode of life does not allow for the proper appreciation and enjoyment of nature. Part of the critique also centres on how normative categories of gender and rank are disrupted and blurred. The middling ranks (or ‘cits’) exhibit their folly as well as their wealth when they imitate their more tasteful betters, and the Steyne is full of effeminate men like the ‘emaciated libertine’ and women who neglect their domestic duties in favour of a very public display of their sexualized, fashionable bodies. Gertrude describes visitors exhibiting themselves in public spaces – the Steyne, libraries, the downs – but pays no attention to domestic spaces, reflecting that Brighton culture in this representation is publicly oriented away from the home.

Indeed, as critics have sought to establish the Brighton’s role in the urban renaissance – its emergence as a town with fashionable and polite amenities – other versions of the town, such as domestic experiences and home life, have been neglected. This is part of a wider trend in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholarship in which the home in urban context is elided and the emphasis instead is on more public urban spaces, including theatres, museums, coffee houses, and streets.¹⁷ Yet, amidst the satirical verse, guidebooks, and novels lampooning the aspiring middle ranks, effete libertines, and dissipated ladies of fashion flocking to Brighton, contemporaries also present a version of Brighton that is domestic and retired instead of public; polite not fashionable; rational instead of dissipated; intimate rather than crowded; more country and nature-orientated than urban focused. Sandham’s *Sketches* is just one example of a contemporary text offering this alternate Brighton. For example, in 1812, a George Jackson wrote from Brighton to a relative that: ‘[t]his is now becoming our country house without

the drawbacks of country life. Nobody breaks down our hedges, our sheep do not die of the rot, our cows do not lose their calves, etc. and I can follow my indoor occupations without being interrupted by any visits'.¹⁸ Meanwhile, in Richard Sicklemore's novel *Mary-Jane* (1800), the characters seek out rural advantages in Brighton. They 'hired a pleasant house on the Marine Parade', a residential street immediately facing the sea with easy access to the Steyne, and one of them asks: 'Who would live in London . . . in the dry part of the year, when they can be so much cooler and comfortably accommodated in the country?'¹⁹ Guidebooks also acknowledge that not all visitors to Brighton would want to be in the centre of fashionable society. The *Brighton New Guide* (1800) gives Dorset Gardens as one example of the many rows of terraced townhouses that provided the best of the town and the country.²⁰ Dorset Gardens is

a handsome row of houses . . . uniformly built: in front is an extensive garden, laid out with much taste; two octagon temples or summer-houses ornament the pleasure-ground; and for those who wish retirement and rural prospects, with the advantage of being in the centre of every gaiety in a few moments (if required), there cannot be a more eligible situation about Brighton.²¹

Rural retirement and urban gaiety are both accessible here thus evincing a similar desire for the *rus in urbe* that was a feature of the suburbanization occurring in London at this time.²² The *Guide* does not assume that visitors will rigidly follow the Brighton routine. Individual choice dominates over fashionable prescriptiveness: rural retirement is available 'for those who wish' it, while the aside of '(if required)' emphasizes that visiting the 'centre of gaiety' is optional.

The villages around Brighton offered even greater retirement while still having proximity to amenities, including those associated with fashionable Brighton. For example, according to the *Brighton New Guide*, the village of Rottingdean, about four miles from Brighton,

has of late been the resort of a considerable number of genteel company; for which bathing-machines, and every accommodation, have been provided. Here are a variety of well-fitted up lodging-houses, a good inn, with convenient stabling, coach-houses, &c. It is mostly frequented by such families as prefer a little retirement to the bustle and gaiety of Brighthelmston, and who occasionally may wish to mix with the company there, for which its situation renders it, at any time, perfectly convenient.²³

Again choice or what individuals or families 'prefer' or 'wish' is emphasized. Young's *A Summer at Brighton* offers a sustained fictional portrayal of domestic life in Brighton's rural hinterland. Rather misleadingly and intriguingly named, this three-volume novel only ventures to Brighton for a few chapters, spending the rest of the time at a country estate, Beacon Priory. The Priory contains those amenities like bathing machines mentioned in the *Brighton New Guide*, and offers easy access to the centre of Brighton. This 'summer at Brighton' is primarily a

retired, intimate one, and the Priory is configured as a retreat distinct from both Brighton and London. The main characters, two affectionate sisters Amelia and Sybella, favour 'rational and elegant amusements' and the Priory 'had never been the fashionable resort of significant and dissipated characters'.²⁴ Sybella says, 'I did not enjoy the gay scenes at Brighton half so much as I have the happy hours we have shared in the dear Priory'.²⁵ The sisters are repeatedly contrasted with their dissipated sister-in-law, Lady Orient, who is most at home in London's most elite area, the West End, and who comes to Sussex for fashionable parties at villas near the Steyne boasting a range of aristocratic guests and the Prince Regent.

The pursuit of domestic retirement in Brighton and its environs thus existed through the early nineteenth century, but according to Sue Berry, an historian of the town, this became more pronounced in the 1820s. The Steyne started losing its fashionable status since views of the sea became more coveted and entertainment shifted from public areas to private homes on Brighton's edges.²⁶ In many cases, fashionable behaviours were merely shifted from the Steyne to private residences – increasingly big houses were built to cater for large-scale entertainment. The turn to privatized leisure and the increase in population meant that the master of ceremonies could no longer impose a single lifestyle on Brighton. People were more and more at liberty to determine their own mode of life, ones that could be, as in *Sketches*, distinct from the earlier fashionable social routine described above by Robinson. This anticipates the next step in the development of the resort town, since the 'sedate, protected middle-class family was probably the most important constituent of the mid-Victorian holiday market'.²⁷

Domesticity, Women, and Brighton

Sandham's *Sketches* captures this transition. This is a novel that explicitly champions rigid gender conventions – initially in London, men work in the public sphere, while women are almost completely relegated to the private, domestic sphere. However, I argue that Brighton offers middling-rank women the opportunity to engage in physical mobility and intellectual curiosity not accessible in their quotidian London lives. Moreover, women can take advantage of these Brighton opportunities without having to sacrifice their virtue or respectability as domestic women – even when in Brighton, they are never in danger of becoming the lady of fashion or aspirational coquette so often lampooned in contemporary works on the resort town.

In addressing these issues, this study explores the gendered geographies of Brighton. Romantic-period women operated in spaces that were coded as male or female. Marilyn Francus notes that:

[w]hile the chronology of domestic ideology may be disputed, there are two points of general consensus: first, that the idealized image of the domestic woman served as a cultural shorthand for standards of female behavior, applicable to all women regardless of specific

situation or subject position; and second, that domestic discourse relied upon a gendered geography of space.²⁸

Markman Ellis explains that the domestic woman, as represented by conduct books, follows:

a model of feminine behaviour consciously different from the aristocratic (which was criticised as ornamental, luxurious, exhibitionist): one whose virtues were to be found not in display but in inner virtue. They value a woman who has emotional and moral depth rather than a splendid show of surface.²⁹

Usually scholars' understanding of the domestic woman in gendered geographies builds on a Habermasian notion of the separation of the public and private spheres and is rooted in a binary between male spaces (public, work, non-home) and female spaces (private, domestic, home), as in Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's study of the middle classes between 1780 and 1850.³⁰ In practice, a rigid distinction between public and private spheres, male and female spaces is not always evident, as various critics, including Lawrence E. Klein, Amanda Vickery, and Marilyn Francus have indicated.³¹ Women entered the public sphere as consumers and professionals, and welcomed the public sphere into their homes by hosting assemblies and writing letters to parliament.³² While rigidly gendered geographies may not always apply to how men and women seemed to have actually lived their daily lives whether in 'real' life or in literature, the gendered separation of spheres has without a doubt a strong discursive power, as Marilyn Francus, among others, has indicated.³³ This is evident in the dedication with which writers of educational tracts, conduct books, and fiction, including Sandham, propound the virtues of the domestic woman ensconced in the domestic sphere. In *Sketches*, women's increased agency and freedom comes from a breaking down of rigid distinctions between public and private spheres, and so I trace how this binary is configured and re-configured as women move between holiday Brighton and London's routines.

In order to make sense of shifts in configurations of public and private and relations between men and women, feminist geographers' descriptions of the gendered power dynamics at play in space are useful. Linda McDowell states that '[p]laces are made through power relations which construct the rules which define boundaries . . . These boundaries are both social and spatial – they define who belongs in a place and who may be excluded, as well as the location or site of the experience'.³⁴ Vickery has applied power relations to her reading of eighteenth-century domestic interiors: she 'opens the door of the London house to consider how internal space was conceptualised, demarcated and policed'.³⁵ I follow Vickery's use of 'space' to refer to the multi-facetedness of spaces made up of a geographical location, physicality, and social relations, while 'place' refers simply to a geographical location or site. Sandham's novel is interested in the gendered implications of who controls entry into spaces (the home, the outdoors,

the Steyne) and what experience or activity occurs in a particular space (flirting on the Steyne versus distanced observation and critique). The degree to which people benefit from a particular space is a powerful indicator of who is making the rules. While in Sandham's novel, the heroine's father ultimately constructs the rules and defines who belongs in various spaces, and the novel thereby never abandons the strictures of conduct book domesticity and gender roles, the different gendered geographies of London and Brighton are subtle yet significant. In the resort town, with the patriarchal father largely physically absent, the women have more control over their spatial experiences and benefit more from them; specifically they gain reprieve from domestic chores, control over reading, and unprecedented physical mobility. While in London the women are largely confined to the smoke of London, in Brighton, they explore the town, adjacent villages, the Sussex downs, and the seashore.

Beyond this novel, contemporary spa and resort towns offered women possibilities not available in other spaces. These holiday towns had particularly high female populations, and allowed women '*comparatively* more autonomy in fields such as human relationships, marriage brokering, charitable work, gambling and leisure in general'.³⁶ Literary critics have also broached female agency in spa and resort towns. Melissa Sodeman explores how Austen's female characters take notions of domesticity out into the public, urban spaces of Bath and Sanditon which offers them new possibilities, security, and escape from confinement.³⁷ Sodeman's interrogation of mobility and domesticity aligns in many ways with the benefits that the women in Sandham's novel experience in Brighton. I am however interested in how this plays out in the specific context of Brighton as it becomes the country's premiere resort town and one focused on privacy rather than more eighteenth-century resort town ideals of display. I am also interested in how a highly didactic novel, one that unlike Austen's, is explicitly invested in defending the separation of spheres and gender roles, negotiates fashion, display, and female agency in the resort town milieu. While I, like Sodeman, explore how notions of domesticity extends beyond the home – in my case, into the urban centre of Brighton and its rural environs – in Sandham's novel, the bricks-and-mortar home remains significant. The home is central to the novel's shifting notions of female agency, since the home, as a particular location, physical structure, social and experiential space, as well as an idea, becomes a space in Brighton more focused on women's well-being than is the London home. The home is moreover the core of Brighton experiences and so all the intellectually and physically liberating excursions circle back to the home; home and not-home are in this way mutually enriching. Alison E. Hurley has meanwhile looked at correspondence to show how watering places, including Brighton, offered women, and in particular Elizabeth Montagu and her bluestocking circle, greater agency than did other spaces.³⁸ *Sketches* and my discussion of it are concerned with unpacking what such empowering spaces would look like for domestic-oriented, middling-rank women rather than the wealthier and/or higher-rank and more publicly visible female literati like Montagu and Frances Burney whom Hurley

addresses. This aim is reflected in my choice of both characters and writer. Instead of rehearsing the commentary on resort towns offered by well-studied and well-known women, this essay recovers a largely lost but once popular female writer; the online Hockliffe Project at DeMontfort University states that '[I]ittle is known about Elizabeth Sandham except that she was one of the most prolific and successful children's authors of the early nineteenth century'.³⁹

**'Home is the sphere of females':
gender and spatial restrictions in London**

Sketches focuses on the Hamilton family, and since their Brighton holiday home is set up in relation to their London residence, I start with an interrogation of their metropolitan home life. The London domestic routines of the Hamiltons – Mr., Mrs., Charles, Caroline, and baby Harriet – are clearly gendered with strict divisions between the spheres and spaces of male and female daily activity. Men's work is in the 'counting-house' and 'warehouses' and women's is in the home.⁴⁰ Mr. Hamilton explicitly confirms this strict gender division, explaining that 'boys . . . must be more in the world', while '[h]ome is the sphere of females'.⁴¹

This distinction allows the men to retreat at the end of the day from their place of work to the pleasure and ease of the home, as is evident in this description of a typical evening at the Hamiltons':

Mr. Hamilton left his counting-house at four o'clock. They dined at five; after which, the baby engaged their attention, till it was her hour of going to bed. The tea was then brought in; and when this was removed, and his mother and sister had taken their work, Charles read aloud. The happy father resigned himself to the luxury of ease and parlour comforts, which can only be enjoyed among affectionate relations, where each finds pleasure in the same employment.⁴²

While each family member supposedly finds pleasure in the same employment and they are all indeed listening to Charles's reading, it is evident that each person depending on age and gender is experiencing this domestic space – the parlour – differently. The sequence of activities runs according to Mr. Hamilton's schedule, specifically when he leaves work at four o'clock. The 'happy father', the head of the household, is apparently both mentally and physically completely resigned to 'ease' and 'comfort'; indeed, listening to reading is the only activity he engages in while in the parlour. For Charles, as a younger man, this space is not so straightforwardly one of ease. He has to choose the books at the library, bring them home, and read them aloud. A hierarchy is in evidence: he selects the books in order to please his father, having been carefully educated along the lines of his father's taste (he 'prefer[s] those avocations which, from his infancy, he had seen his father follow')⁴³. So while as a younger man, Charles does not enjoy the same power and leisure as his father, he has a range of mobility and access to knowledge denied to his mother and sister. They are never entrusted to choose

books, and they are passive receivers of knowledge: Mr. Hamilton reflects that ‘on returning to my parlour for the evening, I can almost fancy myself a learned man, when I see a new work spread before me, and my wife and daughter waiting to hear my opinion of it’.⁴⁴ For the most part, the women are taxed with making this a peaceful retreat for the men, and so the home is never completely a space of ease for the women. During this scene they care for the baby, they do (needle)work, and likely pour the tea. The opportunities that women do have for leisure and pleasure are subordinate to the men’s; as Mrs. Hamilton explains to her daughter: ‘When [your father] is at home, we should consult his pleasure, rather than our own’.⁴⁵ This subordinating of self to the patriarch applies to reading as well: while there are indications that Caroline studies and reads on her own, when he is in the house, reading, like other activities, is centred on him.

Nature and the country are positioned as important recreational extensions of the home, particularly for the men. Caroline does sometimes leave her ‘confined mode of life’ in her house ‘in a confined part’ of the City of London, but her morning walks have limited geographical scope: she ‘walk[s] in the gardens (which even the city affords) on the banks of the Thames’ and her and Charles’s ‘utmost wishes for a walk. . . extended no further than to the Parks or Kensington Gardens’.⁴⁶ The health benefits of this exercise for Caroline are dubious; the reason she gets pleasure from these City walks is because she is ‘inured to the atmosphere of London’ which does not suggest an ideal physiological state.⁴⁷ These limited walks reflect corresponding experiential, literary, and intellectual limitations. The siblings’ reading does not map onto their experience of space – this will have to wait for Brighton – and they are reliant on second-hand accounts of the countryside, since while still in London:

[r]ural scenes and pleasures were unknown to Caroline and her brother, except that they had read of them in books. They thought these accounts very pretty, but did not give them full credit; as they had heard from many of their father’s acquaintances, that the country was either dry and dusty, or wet and dirty, and always very dull.⁴⁸

While Caroline’s and Charles’s exercise is connected here, his regularly encompasses an area beyond the smoke of London. Mr. Hamilton keeps saddle-horses so that he and his son can ride out. After all, ‘it was [Mr. Hamilton’s] ambition, that neither himself nor his son, though born and bred in London, should, in this respect, be a *cockney*’, and Mr. Hamilton’s ‘health was established by the air and exercise they afforded him’.⁴⁹ The saddle-horses thus have health and social benefits, but only for the men, and in fact the novel only signals the positive physical effects of these longer rides on the family’s patriarch not on his son. The novel consistently reinforces that the family and their understanding of space are centred on ensuring Mr. Hamilton’s well-being, health, and social status.

So while the horses benefit the men, especially Mr. Hamilton, these advantages are directly related to the women’s limited movements: ‘Mrs. Hamilton also had her *friends*, who attempted to insinuate, that a carriage would have been bet-

ter for the family, as then all might partake of the benefit of it; but their opinion had no weight with her'.⁵⁰ Here the concerns of the family are secondary to those of the men, and the women, unlike the men, are confined to the City's bad air. Mrs. Hamilton has internalized the 'benefits' of this unequal access to mobility, air, and exercise that disenfranchise herself and her daughters. Soon the Hamilton women are spending almost all their time in their home (in a 'confined', and thus likely miasmatic part of London) engaged in 'domestic affairs', especially childcare, since 'after the birth of her little Harriet, Mrs. Hamilton] found more pleasure in nursing and attending upon her, than an airing every day would have afforded'.⁵¹

**'[W]alk over half the country':
gender and spatial possibilities in Brighton**

Ultimately, Mrs. Hamilton's confinement in the home and in London has serious consequences, making her ill, and her doctor 'recommended her trying the air of Brighton for a few months, as the summer was far advancing, and the confinement of London very injurious to her present state of health'.⁵² The house the Hamiltons rent on Brighton's Marine Parade is thus configured as a retreat from London, particularly for Mrs. Hamilton, and is immediately contrasted with the bad air, confinement, and resulting ill health of the City house. Upon first arriving, Mrs. Hamilton finds a place in 'the drawing-room' where she 'reclined on the sofa, which had been drawn towards the open window, enjoying the view of the sea; and, to use her own expression, "inhaling health and vigour from every breeze"'.⁵³ The drawing room opens out not into confined streets and buildings but onto the ocean which is 'wide-spreading' and 'extended' with a 'wide expanse'.⁵⁴ Later Caroline takes in this view which is explicitly contrasted with the metropolis: the 'clouds are as variable as the ocean; and to Caroline, who had never been out of London, nor viewed their fleeting changes, but through the smoky atmosphere of the city, they affected ample room for admiration'.⁵⁵ Mrs. Hamilton and Caroline finally have access to fresh, health-giving air.

This house is also a different kind of social space, particularly in terms of gender: in Brighton, the home and drawing room are no longer dedicated to Mr. Hamilton's 'ease and comfort' from a day at work, but to Mrs. Hamilton's enjoyment and recovery from a lifetime of household management. The Brighton home can be such a space for Mrs. Hamilton, because she is relieved from her typical household duties, which are taken over by her husband and her daughter. When her father returns to London for work, Caroline will take care of her mother. While Mrs. Hamilton's dedication to her domestic affairs made her ill, Caroline's take-over of these duties does not have such negative recuperations – indeed, her time in Brighton is also enjoyable and health-giving – and this is directly tied to the uniqueness of Brighton as a holiday resort town. Caroline's duties are lighter than her mother's at home, because for most of the trip, she does not have to take care of her brother or father who are not in Brighton but

are for most of the time working in the City of London. This is, for the most part, a holiday set up specifically for women – a holiday they rarely (never?) get in London. Significantly, Caroline is not confined to the home or to the bad air of the City: from her Marine Parade home, she has access to those resort town advantages that attracted so many people to Brighton: the sea, the downs, and polite amenities like the circulating libraries.

The Hamiltons set their Marine Parade home up not just as a retreat from London but also from fashionable Brighton. Early on, Caroline momentarily worries about becoming a Lydia Bennet, making a mad dash to the Steyne. However, the presence of her family solidifies her commitment to her mother and to the home, and she reaffirms that '[w]herever [my mother] is, there is my station'.⁵⁶ Caroline and her father do venture into the heart of the Steyne. While evidently most visitors to Brighton are piling onto the crowded Steyne and embracing its nightlife, Mr. Hamilton and Caroline retain their status as an intimate, family unit clearly separate from the crowd. They do so by maintaining a tourist's distance – while they see the sights of the Steyne, they have no desire to become a sight in turn. They verbalize the paraders' ridiculousness and do not participate in the Steyne activities such as gambling. Indeed, the Steyne is an unpleasant space physically, aurally, and rationally in which immersion is implicitly not desired. Caroline for the first time becomes a social critic, as she wonders: '[C]an people . . . prefer sitting in that hot place, and listening to the din of such continual noise, to walking by the sea-side? or even to parading up and down these bricks, where, at least, there is more air, if not greater variety?'.⁵⁷ Excursions out of the home always circle back to it in this novel, and this venture onto the Steyne has its domestic benefits: before leaving for their walk, Mr. Hamilton promises that he and Caroline will return with stories of 'fine ladies and gentlemen' and will thus 'bring [Mrs. Hamilton] home some amusement'.⁵⁸

In the Hamiltons' experiences of urban Brighton, two versions of it emerge: the fashionable, dissipated one above, which the Hamiltons observe at a tourist's distance, and a genteel, polite one in which they participate. This polite Brighton includes attending concerts on the promenade and book borrowing from the circulating libraries. While the Hamiltons do not even enter a library appropriated for gambling, Mr. Hamilton envisages that library books will be the building blocks with which they re-create in Brighton the rational activity they cultivated in London. He tells Caroline:

You must subscribe to a library while you are here; but as reading will be your chief motive for doing so, we must go where there is the best collection of books. You will not wish to spend much time away from your mother; therefore it is unnecessary for you to put your name down at each library, as many do, that they may have free access to all.⁵⁹

Mr. Hamilton here alludes to the fact that gambling is not the only way that Brighton's circulating libraries are implicated in the fashionable routines of the resort town. Most people's 'chief motive' for subscribing to the town's libraries

was to advertise their arrival at Brighton, and thus enable their quick assimilation into its public, fashionable social circuit.⁶⁰ Caroline will use the library with the best choice of books differently as she will engage only in non-domestic spatial experiences that improve the home, as she says ‘it will give me more pleasure to read to her, than all of the variety these places afford’.⁶¹

Mr. Hamilton directs and insists on Caroline’s use of the library, and he controls the creation of domestic activity in Brighton similar to that he has overseen in London. Indeed, even when he’s gone back to London, the ‘mother and daughter pursued the same regular plan they had adopted at home’.⁶² Yet there are important differences for the women between the Marine Parade and City homes once Mr. Hamilton leaves Brighton. Caroline will have unprecedented mobility, access to knowledge, and power in shaping domestic activity; by venturing to the library, choosing the books, and reading them aloud, Caroline takes over a role belonging to a male, her brother, in London. While Brighton libraries are never named in *Sketches*, Sandham describes them as commercial and sociable spaces both men and women could enter to buy fripperies, converse, and make charitable donations, so they are likely representations of some of the town’s many circulating libraries which included, for example, Bowen’s shop (described by Hester Thrale to Fanny Burney in a 1780 letter).⁶³ Since Caroline or indeed the reader never go with Charles to the library in London, it is possible that he frequents a subscription library, a non-commercial library generally only open to men. Circulating libraries, by contrast, were feminine spaces. In the popular imagination, circulating libraries provided sensational romantic and gothic novels for impressionable young women. While this is far from the whole story, circulating libraries were spaces of female agency, something Caroline experiences for the first time in Brighton. Women could take out memberships, as they do in *Sketches* – women accounted for about half of the nation’s circulating library memberships – and Fanny Price in Austen’s *Mansfield Park* reflects on the sense of empowerment that subscribing to a circulating library gave women: ‘She became a subscriber – amazed at being any thing in *propria persona*, amazed at her own doings in every way; to be a renter, a chuser of books!’⁶⁴

Like Fanny, Caroline has agency through the act of choosing. Intriguingly, Sandham never specifies what the ‘best collection of books’ would look like or indeed the kind of ‘books’ that Caroline borrows. Caroline could be bringing home a whole range of works, and the lack of specificity points to how Mr. Hamilton’s reading regime is quite relaxed, giving his daughter a lot to choose from when the decision of what to read falls to her. Charles’s education encompasses Virgil and Horace, but Mr. Hamilton does not believe a future merchant should be too intellectual and should be able to relax along with his female relatives with entertaining, even funny, works like “‘Rejected Addresses,” “Letters of the Fudge Family,” and others in that style’.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, the ‘education of Caroline was on the same plan as her brother’s’ and she studies ‘the English and French languages, geography, and other branches of useful knowledge’, while also having the time to laugh along with her brother at these lighter pieces.⁶⁶ By not merely

allowing but actually emphasizing the importance of entertaining literature and introducing his daughter to circulating libraries, Mr. Hamilton distinguishes himself from the alarmist school of thought which held that circulating libraries were corrupting the morals of young women and destroying Enlightenment ideals. Such rigid, moralistic, even misogynistic attitudes are embodied in *Pride and Prejudice's* Mr. Collins who refuses to read novels or anything from a circulating library, choosing Fordyce's *Sermons* instead.⁶⁷

Caroline not only picks out books in Brighton, but the women will have to develop their own opinions of these works, since Mr. Hamilton will not be available to dispense his literary insights. Meanwhile, Mrs. Hamilton is in the more fully leisured position of listener normally restricted to Mr. Hamilton; this space is set up to ensure her well-being, health, and social status (as here she plays the role of genteel lady, while claims to gentility are usually restricted to her husband and son who can escape the cockney [i.e. lower middle class] City on their saddle horses). The advantages of the Hamilton's City home are therefore transposed to Brighton primarily benefitting women rather than men.

Another advantage accorded to Caroline in Brighton is her increased access to nature. The Marine Parade house faces the sea and is not far from the Sussex downs. While Caroline explores the country and nature, the home is always the most significant space for her in Brighton. Domestic affairs, particularly as they relate to Mrs. Hamilton's comfort, must be attended to before going on a seaside walk. As with the visit to the Steyne, the excursion to the sea will benefit the home by enlivening domestic conversation. Moreover, when admiring the sea, Caroline's thoughts turn back to the home, as she thinks about her ill mother and the ways that the sea might complement Mrs. Hamilton's recovery already underway in the Marine Parade drawing room. Caroline's appreciation of the sea is also mediated through the literature her family has read together in their London home: the waves remind Caroline 'of a small extract from Mason's English Garden', which she goes on to recite.⁶⁸ However, for the first time, she can map literature onto the space in which she stands, and she thus has an enhanced experience of both space and literature. Significantly, she no longer relies on her father's literary opinions: she advances her literary impression first and it differs from her father's who invokes 'Gray's letters'.⁶⁹ Nor must she be satisfied with his male friends' ideas of the dull and dirty country.

Charles Hamilton's and Mr. Hamilton's visits to Brighton demonstrate that even when the men are present, women do enjoy greater freedom in the resort town than they do in London. In Brighton, women are part of men's excursions to Brighton's hinterland and to the library; women's inclusion has in the resort town become normalized. During Mr. Hamilton's visit, the family explores the town, including one of the libraries, together. Mr. Hamilton's attention is focused on his female relatives' health and happiness at the library: he buys them the products they want and makes a generous charitable donation as a thank you to the town that has been instrumental in his wife's recuperation. When Charles visits, he and Caroline explore a multiplicity of spaces in ways that support intel-

lectual curiosity, imaginative exploration, and physical well-being. Charles writes to Caroline, anticipating their trip: 'Gather up all your strength, as I shall expect you to walk half over the country with me. Prepare the Brighton Guide, and we will see all that is worth seeing within ten miles of the place'.⁷⁰ Although he instigates the plans and gives her advice (such as '[p]repare the Brighton Guide'), he sees them as joint planners of these excursions – he wants her to do preparatory reading as he himself has done. Unlike in London, Charles's retreat from work does not centre on his sister creating a domestic refuge for him. While extensive journeys were confined to himself and his father in London, Charles plans to explore Brighton and its environs with his sister. Caroline replaces her father and this is in one way a more equal team consisting of siblings (with near matching names) than the generational imbalance of the father-son relationship and its total exclusion of women.

Again reading directs exploration, and when planning the trip Charles also mentions 'Mr. Wilson's description' of Brighton, Mary Lloyd's *Brighton: A Poem* (1809), Shakespeare, and Byron.⁷¹ A range of writers shape Caroline and Charles' explorations, enhancing their imaginative, aesthetic, emotional, and historical understanding of natural, aesthetic, historical, and religious sites. For example, at one point, Charles pictures himself 'with the power of Prospero' raising a '*tempest*', while Caroline's imaginings of a storm are mediated through her reading about the destruction caused by the storm of 1816 and Thomson's 'dreadful description' of an enraged sea.⁷² This is the moment Charles and Caroline most clearly break out of the conduct book narrative in which they spend most of the novel and play at being characters in a novel of sensibility with the possibilities for the expression of deep feeling for others, nature, and literature that that genre offers.⁷³ This is Caroline's Evelina or Celestina moment. This spatial experience is an alternative to domestic confinement, drudgery, and ill health and to urban consumerism and superficiality. Again, Caroline is able to apply her reading to the landscape in a way that was not possible in London, and her domestic reading and her experiences of nature are mutually enriching.

The multi-faceted possibilities that Caroline takes advantage of in Brighton are underlined by her foil, a Miss Dobson. Miss Dobson and her mother are the vulgar, emulative middling-rank women so often satirized in works on Brighton including Robinson's novel quoted above; they are the family of the 'the sober cit' who 'exhibit' their 'follies'.⁷⁴ They reveal their lack of interest in managing the home financially or emotionally: they, in their own words, 'cheat' Mr. Dobson 'by using some of that which he allows for housekeeping, on our own wants' in urban shops.⁷⁵ They spend money and enjoy Brighton's fashionable and commercial amenities as much as possible. For example, unlike Caroline, Miss Dobson uses the library to announce her arrival in Brighton and thus her readiness to participate in the Brighton 'routine': she 'said [to her father], none of our acquaintance would find us out, unless our names were in this [subscription] book'.⁷⁶

Caroline and Miss Dobson's different experiences of Brighton spaces are highlighted when one day our heroine goes for a walk with Miss Dobson and

some of her Brighton friends (Caroline, of course, makes sure everything is in order at home and makes Harriet promise to be ‘a very good girl’ in her absence):

instead of going by the sea-side, or on the hills, as [Caroline] hoped they would, their walk extended no further than the Steyne, and from the middle of North-street to the top of St. James’s-street, looking in at the various shops, and giving their opinion of the people who passed.⁷⁷

They walk only in a geographically limited area at the very centre of town, including the fashionable promenade, the Steyne, and the central shopping streets of North and St. James’s. Moreover, their exploration of Brighton is confined to window-shopping and people-watching. Miss Dobson and the Brighton ladies thus limit themselves to a very narrow, namely fashionable and highly visual, version of Brighton. Caroline repeatedly expresses a desire for greater physical mobility and exhibits a more general curiosity about Brighton. Her admiration of ‘the distant hills, with the windmills on them’ and ‘the parish-church’ and its ‘prospect’, as well as her interest in better understanding the architectural merits of the Pavilion are dismissed by the Brighton ladies.⁷⁸ They favour the more fashionable Chapel Royal and unquestionably, and without reflection or a desire to understand more about architecture or aesthetics, venerate King George IV’s Pavilion as the pinnacle of good taste. Caroline is all together more critical and curious and hopes to learn more about these spaces by returning for a more in-depth tour. All in all, this adventure with the Brighton ladies, unlike her rambles with her family, fails to satisfy her intellectual curiosity or her need for physical activity, and Caroline ‘returned from her walk more fatigued than when she had been a greater distance’.⁷⁹

As is common in the domestic or sentimental novel, influenced by female conduct books, the lady of fashion (or her middling-rank emulator) gets her comeuppance. This comes after the Dobson women:

purchased a large quantity [of the best smuggled silks and laces], unknown to Mr. Dobson, who would never discover it, as his eyes were not good, and they intended to wear them only by candlelight. Besides, [Miss Dobson] said, he will never suspect us, because we pretend always to be of his opinion in these matters.⁸⁰

Miss and Mrs. Dobson’s behaviour is undercut in multiple ways. They fail as proper domestic women: they practice duplicity with their patriarch and they bring the public sphere into the private in ways that the narrative and the Hamiltons find problematic. Despite acknowledging Mr. Dobson’s tyrannical, parsimonious behaviour, the Hamilton women find Miss Dobson to be most at fault here because she has deceived her father and thus failed in her duty as a woman and a daughter. Furthermore, the Dobsons import fashionable Brighton, which the novel finds problematic even when safely located in its proper site of the Steyne, into the rarefied private sphere of the home. They transgress the separa-

tion of the spheres and there are no advantages here for women in bringing the public sphere home. Instead of affection and togetherness there is deceit. Miss Dobson and her Brighton friends pretend French study is the reason for her silk shopping. Caroline sees this as merely an excuse: 'I imagine the dialect of French milliners and toymen not very improving'.⁸¹ Moreover, there is no mention in the descriptions of the Dobsons' Brighton house of the kind of domestic- and book-oriented rational study Caroline engages in. The Dobsons are also failed ladies of fashion and made ridiculous in their attempts at being chic: instead of parading on the Steyne, they wear their silks in their darkened rooms where they just have each other as an audience. Moreover, the Dobsons disobey the authority not only of their domestic patriarch but the nation's as well. The family is arrested by customs officials for possession of smuggled goods, and their silks are confiscated. They fail as both ladies of fashion and domestic women.

In the face of such transgressions, the novel strongly reasserts the ideal of the domestic woman, male authority, and the separation of the spheres. Mr. Dobson reaffirms his control over his female relatives by confining them to the home: he 'allowed them no superfluous money; and, from that time, their annual visits to watering-places were given up. They were deprived of every recreation, except what their house and garden at Islington afforded, or occasional visits to their brother's shop'.⁸² While the Dobson women must be forcibly restricted to the home, Mrs. Hamilton and Caroline have internalized their roles – their place values – as household managers. During her time in Brighton, Mrs. Hamilton starts to resist her continuation in this space of retreat and recuperation, and is eager to return to her domestic affairs. Moreover, once they're back in London, Caroline becomes the primary agent in reconciling the Dobson women to patriarchal power. Caroline helps the Dobson women transform their home into one centred on intimate, familial reading similar to the Hamiltons'. Miss Dobson 'imperceptibly began to find pleasure and instruction in the pursuit' of reading and their new confined position in domestic space even becomes agreeable.⁸³ Miss Dobson 'began to find pleasure in obeying her father. . . . She became better tempered, and her mother more comfortable; though there was little prospect of their being under less restraint'.⁸⁴ At this point in the novel, reading is an instrument of soft patriarchal power. This home is one clearly run by a man, Mr. Dobson, and so reconciliation to domestic confinement means internalizing gendered hierarchies and also learning to experience a lack of power as pleasurable.

Back in the workaday world of London then, men, especially older patriarchal figures, are overtly the centres of power. In this novel's logic, a model of quiet, rational domesticity with clearly demarcated roles according to gender and age triumphs. Of course, even Brighton was far from a female utopia. The feminine-centric spaces of Brighton have clear temporal, spatial, and experiential limits. Mrs. Hamilton has to attain a point of illness and fatigue that the Hamilton men with their daily access to 'comfort and ease' never reach before she is granted her own space in which to recuperate. Brighton is importantly a holiday location – denoting its *temporary* departure from normal spatial and temporal routines.

Mrs. Hamilton insists on returning to her routines at home which have proven hazardous to her health. Moreover, even when Brighton is a space of leisure and recuperation for Mrs. Hamilton, a woman still needs to be doing the work of hands-on household management and Caroline assumes that role, while Mary (Mrs. Hamilton's sister) takes over in London. Although Caroline does have greater leisure time in Brighton than in the City, the Brighton house becomes a sort of apprenticeship for her, inducting her more fully into an adult world in which women are taxed with household affairs in order to create domestic retreats for men. This is quite clearly illustrated in her success at reconciling the Dobson women to domestic patriarchal power. Indeed, only female agency – like Caroline's – that does not challenge patriarchal power is allowed, even in Brighton. After all, Mr. Hamilton's domestic model of rational reading was copied by the women in Brighton; his control over shaping that domestic space is reflected by the fact that he did the initial choosing of the house, its situation, and its furnishings, and he goes to Brighton to set the house up. Mr. Hamilton also ultimately benefits from the Brighton trip – he was a healthier, and more productive, worker than his wife after her brief recuperative vacation.

Sandham's novel could then be read as a run-of-the-mill tirade against fashionable women who dare to go out on their own and spend money as they want and a treatise on how women must be controlled by men and kept safely in the home. Having said all this, *Sketches* still offers suggestive possibilities for how middling-rank women might benefit from the growing popularity of resort towns. Caroline may be limited in her role as a good 'daddy's girl', but her domestic life also gives her a richer experience of public spaces – unlike the other more fashionable young women, she is curious and critical as she moves through a whole range of spaces. Significantly, at the end of the novel, the Dobson women are not the only ones to change; Mr. Dobson becomes more mellow with age and attracted by his daughter's better temper finally weans himself away from his City shop to spend more time at home. It is interesting that the Dobson women's punishment specifically involved giving up their 'annual visits to watering-places' where women do have comparatively more agency. The last we hear of Miss Dobson she is in Margate, another resort town, buying silks (English this time). In resort towns then as long as women work within the bounds of patriarchy, both national and domestic, they can access some freedom too.

After all, in towns like Brighton and Margate, women could become savvy consumers, make friends with a range of fellow visitors, and enjoy various cultural experiences such as concerts on the promenade. Opposed to the more common image of the fashionable resort town, visitors increasingly sought domestic retirement in Brighton which offered different opportunities for women: intellectual development, intimacy, and health-giving exercise. Resort towns could allow access to advantages until recently relegated to middling-rank women's social superiors and often accorded only to men in ordinary, non-holiday life.

Notes

- 1 Jane Austen, *The Complete Novels of Jane Austen* (London: Penguin, 1996), 356.
- 2 Sue Berry, *Georgian Brighton* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005), 19. Berry bases this information on the decennial census.
- 3 See Sue Berry, *Georgian Brighton* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005); Anthony Dale, *Fashionable Brighton, 1820–1860* (London: Oriol P, 1947); Dale, *The History and Architecture of Brighton* (Wakefield: SIR, 1972); Dale, *The Theatre Royal Brighton* (Stocksfield: Oriol, 1980); and Dale, *Brighton's Churches* (London: Routledge, 1989); Sue Farrant, *Georgian Brighton, 1740–1820* (Brighton: University of Sussex, 1980); Edmund W. Gilbert, *Brighton: Old Ocean's Bauble* (London: Methuen, 1954); and Clifford Musgrave, *Life in Brighton* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970). Brighton is also addressed in histories of the resort town more generally. See Peter Borsay, 'Health and Leisure Resorts, 1700–1840', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 1540–1840*, vol. 2, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 775–803 and John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History, 1750–1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983).
- 4 For brief references to romantic-period Brighton and its hinterland in literary criticism, see Tim Fulford, 'Sighing for a Solider: Jane Austen and Military *Pride and Prejudice*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 57, no. 2 (2002): 153–78; Andrea Henderson 'Burney's *The Wanderer* and Early-Nineteenth-Century Commodity Fetishism', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 57, no. 1 (2002): 1–30; Alison E. Hurley, 'A Conversation of Their Own: Watering-Place Correspondence among the Bluestockings', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 1 (2006): 1–21; Michael Wiley, 'The Geography of Displacement and Replacement in Charlotte Smith's *The Emigrants*', *European Romantic Review* 17, no. 1 (2006): 55–68; and Sarah M. Zimmerman, 'Varieties of Privacy in Charlotte Smith's Poetry', *European Romantic Review* 18, no. 4 (2007): 483–502.
- 5 The Jane Austen Society of North America's 1997 Annual General Meeting had the theme, 'Sanditon: The New Direction?' which resulted in a special issue of *Persuasions* (no. 19, 1997). For Austen criticism on Bath, see, for example, Jocelyn Harris, 'The White Glare of Bath', in *A Revolution Almost beyond Expression* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 160–87.
- 6 See Fulford on dissipation and display in military camps and Henderson on commerce.
- 7 For a detailed discussion of the royal Pavilion, see Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, 46–62.
- 8 For descriptions of the season and how it changed, see Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, especially 32 and 39.
- 9 George Saville Carey, *The Balnea; or, An Impartial Description of All the Popular Watering Places in England* (London: J. M. Myers, 1799), 70.
- 10 Anonymous, *Brighton!!: A Comic Sketch* (London: William Kidd, 1830), 9.
- 11 See Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, especially 12.
- 12 Elizabeth Sandham, *Sketches of Young People; or, A Visit to Brighton* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1822), 54.
- 13 Anonymous, *Brighton!!*, 41.
- 14 Many spellings exist for the Steyne (particular Steine, Stein, and Stayne). I have elected to use Sandham's usage, the Steyne, but where variants appear in quotations I do not change them.
- 15 Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, 97.
- 16 Mary Robinson, *The False Friend*, in *Works of Mary Robinson*, vol. 6, ed. Julia A. Shaffer (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010), 88.

- 17 Benjamin Heller, for example, writes that the ‘history of leisure and pleasure in the eighteenth century has largely been written as one of commercialization and public places’ and this ‘emphasis’ has ‘often obscured the importance of people’s homes’ (623–4). See Heller, ‘Leisure and the Use of Domestic Space in Georgian London’, *The Historical Journal* 53, no. 3 (2010): 623–45. For an example of the emphasis on urban public spaces in romanticism, see James Chandler and Kevin Gilmartin, eds., *Romantic Metropolis: The Urban Scene of British Culture, 1780–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- 18 Quoted in Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, 45.
- 19 Richard Sicklemore, *Mary-Jane*, vol. 1 (London: Minerva, 1800), 58.
- 20 Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, 113.
- 21 F. G. Fisher, ed., *Brighton New Guide; or, a Description of Brighthelmston*, 4th ed. (London: T. Burton, [1800]), 26.
- 22 See Henry Lawrence, ‘The Greening of the Squares of London: Transformation of Urban Landscapes and Ideals’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83, no. 1 (1993): 90–118 and Chris Miele, ‘From Aristocratic Ideal to Middle-Class Idyll: 1690–1840’, in *London Suburbs*, ed. Julian Honer, especially 45–6. For discussion of Brighton in suburban terms, see Borsay, ‘Health and Leisure Resorts, 1700–1840’, 777–8 and Berry, ‘The Suburbs’, in *Georgian Brighton*, 87–110.
- 23 *Brighton New Guide*, 53.
- 24 Mary Julia Young, *A Summer at Brighton. A Modern Novel* (London: D.N. Shury, 1807), vol. 1, 53, 126.
- 25 Young, vol. 3, 16–7.
- 26 See Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, 45, 62 and 97–110. This privatization of resort life also occurred in other resort towns; see Borsay, ‘Health and Leisure Resorts, 1700–1840’, 793–4.
- 27 Walton, 190.
- 28 Marilyn Francus, *Monstrous Motherhood: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Ideology of Domesticity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 2.
- 29 Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender, and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge U P, 1996), 28.
- 30 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).
- 31 Francus; Lawrence E. Klein, ‘Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (1995): 97–109; and Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998).
- 32 Francus, 4.
- 33 Francus, 5.
- 34 Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 4.
- 35 Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 28.
- 36 Borsay, ‘Health and Leisure Resorts, 1700–1840’, 796. Borsay points out that ‘[s]uch a system did not, of course, undermine the fundamentally gendered character of social behaviour’ (796). For further discussion, see pp. 795–6.

- 37 Melissa Sodeman, 'Domestic Mobility in *Persuasion* and *Sanditon*', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* (Autumn 2005): 787–812.
- 38 Hurley, 'A Conversation of Their Own', 1–21.
- 39 'Stories Before 1850. 0205: Elizabeth Sandham, *The Twin Sisters; or, the Advantages of Religion*'. *The Hockliffe Project*. DeMontfort University, n.d.
- 40 Sandham, *Sketches*, 13.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 4, 5.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 21.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 14.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 17–8.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 18, 117, 19, 20.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 19–20.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 19–20.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 21.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 18, 21.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 29.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 39, 41, 43.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 72.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 49.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 45.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 50.
- 60 Berry, *Georgian Brighton* 28–9.
- 61 Sandham, *Sketches*, 50.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 52.
- 63 Hurley, 'A Conversation of Their Own', 13.
- 64 Austen, *The Complete Novels*, 676.
- 65 Sandham, *Sketches*, 17.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 17.
- 67 Austen, *The Complete Novels*, 263. My discussion of libraries is informed by John Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), 176–86; James Raven, 'From Promotion to Proscription: Arrangements for Reading and Eighteenth-century Libraries', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, eds. James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 175–201; and William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 235–67.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 43.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 43.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 97.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 105.

- 73 See Ellis; Claudia Johnson, *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender and Sentimentality in the 1790s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Gillian Skinner, *Sensibility and Economics in the Novel, 1740-1800* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1999); and Ann Jessie van Sant, *Eighteenth-Century Sensibility and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- 74 Sandham, *Sketches*, 88.
- 75 Ibid., 91.
- 76 Ibid., 88.
- 77 Ibid., 74.
- 78 Ibid., 74, 76, 76.
- 79 Ibid., 78.
- 80 Ibid., 81.
- 81 Ibid., 79.
- 82 Ibid., 114.
- 83 Ibid., 126.
- 84 Ibid., 139.