"I am disappointed in England": Reverse-Robinsonades and the Transatlantic Woman as Social Critic in *The Woman of Colour* (1808)

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The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act (1807) brought much self-congratulatory backslapping by the British, who celebrated it as a tremendous national achievement that showcased British compassion and morality.[1] A correspondent with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the pointedly named "Benevolus," praised the "Justice and Benevolence" of Britain's "present enlightened Administration," remarking that the "Abolition of the Slave Trade ... will do immortal honour to the Government."[2] Arguably, however, the gesture was motivated by lurking narcissism rather than humanitarian concern and offered symbolic change, not a genuine challenge to colonialist power structures.[3] *The Woman of Colour*, an epistolary novel published anonymously the subsequent year (1808), punctured English self- satisfaction at the abolition by exposing England as far from occupying the high ground regarding its transatlantic colonial subjects.[4] Forced to leave Jamaica for England, Olivia Fairfield, the eponymous biracial heroine, has high hopes of what she will discover across the Atlantic, having heard from her father that "in England, in his native country," there was "a more liberal, a more distinguishing spirit."[5] As the novel progresses, the author plays repeatedly on the difference between that which England projects itself to be and what Olivia experiences, exposing injustice within ostensibly enlightened English society; thus, Olivia becomes a female transatlantic social critic of England, designed to expose English bigotry. The narrative opens "At Sea," as Olivia is "LAUNCHED on a new world," ironically reversing "New World" and "Old World" labels.[6] From the novel's opening, then, readers should be alerted that traditional demarcations are going to be tested. The novel's primary purpose is to rupture England's self- regard toward its treatment of transatlantic subjects; seemingly paradoxically, its secondary aim is to encourage action from its (likely) young, female, English readers by promoting an idealized conception of English principles.

This essay argues that *Woman of Colour* is what I term a “reverse-Robinsonade”: instead of depicting an enlightened European discovering an apparently uncivilized island and civilizing it, the reverse- Robinsonade takes an apparently uncultured native, in this case from Jamaica, to expose uncivilized aspects among apparently enlightened Europeans. Thus, the protagonist of a reverse- Robinsonade is a transnational social critic of a culture often imagined to be superior, exposing its flaws (sometimes via affected naïveté, other times using biting condemnation). Olivia is unusual in being a female transatlantic critic; this characterization enables the author to problematize the attitudes of English women to the institution of slavery, notably in the case of Mrs. Merton, who evinces no compassion for those humans whose misery facilitates her lavish lifestyle. Furthermore, Olivia, as a woman—and almost a paragon of virtue, an idealized English novelistic heroine—serves as an exemplar to female readers for how to contribute to slavery’s amelioration, standing in contrast to the worldly Mrs. Merton and Lady Ingot, whose behaviour should be eschewed. The author politicizes the private, domestic domain—that is, the sphere within the home and the family circle—by showing that abolition is not just an issue of (masculine) high politics, but concerns everyday (female) readers. The novel promotes the notion that women can contribute to the curing of social evils within the home, particularly through moral education of the young and of servants (often a woman’s two prominent roles within her house

hold were to manage her children and staff). It suggests that good men are most impressed with morality when it is articulated by an unimpeachable and impeccably proper woman of any colour.

The author endeavours to persuade readers that slavery contravenes both the teachings of the Church of England, essentially kindness and charity, and ostensibly traditional English notions of liberty. The problem with present- day England, the text suggests, is that these ideals have been subverted: English society has become blind to what it should be; it needs to see things from an outside perspective. It is Olivia's task to re- teach English values back to the very English who have forgotten them. The mirror image of other long eighteenth- century transatlantic missionaries, like Robinson Crusoe and Unca Eliza Winkfield, Olivia spends much of the novel not converting natives of a "New World" but instead proselytizing English, Christian dogma back to the "Old World." While the novel awakens English readers to the plight of "poor blacks" overseas, the vision of change offered (perhaps influenced by the recent and notionally worrisome Haitian Revolution of 1804) is Burkean, advocating amelioration rather than revolution.[7] This is particularly evident in the author's treatment of Dido, whose attempts at self- agency are denied such that she remains trapped beneath Olivia's *benevolent* wing. Ultimately, for all its ostensible critique of England, *Woman of Colour* both assumes and reinforces the putative superiority of English culture.

REVERSE- ROBINSONADES

The term "Robinsonade," derived from Daniel Defoe's transatlantic castaway in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), came to mean a story about being marooned on a desert island or some similarly inhospitable place. Augustus Merton—Olivia's intended husband—refers to England as such a place, where Olivia is socially marooned, "a stranger in a strange country," and even proclaims that it would have been "better had she perished on the ocean, better had the tempestuous billows over- whelmed her, ere she set foot on this inhospitable shore!"[8] *Woman of Colour*'s author plays on Crusoean connotations of "being shipwreck'd" on an "*Island of Despair*" by having Olivia and Augustus use shipwreck imagery to describe their misery.[9] Augustus's despair renders him "like a shipwrecked mariner," while Olivia declares she does not want "to be the shipwreck of [Augustus's] happiness."[10] Immediately Olivia lands in England, she self- consciously quotes William Cowper's "Verses, Supposed to be Written by Alexander Selkirk during his Solitary Abode in the Island of Juan Fernandez" (1782).[11] Selkirk spent four years castaway on a South Pacific island and was a probable inspiration for Robinson Crusoe. Like Selkirk, Olivia longs to return to her "own native land" but comforts herself with "Religion" "more precious than silver and gold" and "all that this earth can afford."[12]

Woman of Colour reverses the traditional Robinsonade genre, in which the cultured European sallies forth abroad and teaches the unenlightened native a better way to live.[13] As Crusoe declares of Friday, "I ... made it my Business to teach him every Thing," *Woman of Colour*'s "*Editor*" inverts this power dynamic; the narrative's stated purpose is for a "*despised native of Africa*" to "teach" the "*skeptical European*."[14] A con temporary reviewer in the *Monthly Review* sniped that the author "is too apt to 'express the jests' in italics," but the italicization here pointedly questions the validity of these categorizations.[15] Olivia's mother, Marcia, had been a "*slave*" on Olivia's father's plantation.[16] Olivia archly echoes the categories queried by the Editor in describing how, after converting to Christianity, Marcia enlightened Fairfield: "The scholar taught her master—The wild and uncivilized African taught a lesson of noble self- denial and self- conquest to the

enlightened and educated European" (note how individual characters become allegorized as "The ... African" and "the ... European").[17] Three connotations of "master" come into play—as teacher, enslaver, and male—and the authority of all is contested. Furthermore, Marcia's teaching explicitly comes in the form of exposing how England fails to embody the Christianity it purports to assume: "the *new* Christian [Marcia] pointed her fin ger at *him* [Fairfield], who, educated under the influence of the Gospel, lived in direct opposition to its laws!"[18] Like her mother before her, Olivia's role is to teach England to improve itself (throughout the novel " England" is used as a metonym for "the English"). The Black, feminine "scholar" must continue to teach the white, masculine "master."

Educating and Christianizing impulses run throughout Robinsonades.[19] Such is the case of Unca Eliza Winkfield, the transatlantic woman traveller in *The Female American* who presents readers with a female Robinsonade culminating in her conversion of Indigenous people and Englishmen.[20] Long before these travels, Unca Eliza's father, like many West Indian dwelling Englishmen, "determined to return to England" to "give [Unca Eliza] a better education."[21] Similarly, in *Woman of Colour*, Sophia Honeywood returned to England to educate young Charles at "an eligible school" because "she dreaded the tainted atmosphere of Jamaica."[22] Unca Eliza had "the religious part" of her "education" in England, and these "pious instructions" are of both " great comfort" and "highest use" to her castaway self.[23] Unca Eliza takes Church of England lessons, and spreads English constructions of virtue and morality transatlantically.[24] In calling on these religious teachings, Unca Eliza "employs transatlantic recollection in order to summon the religious authority of a wise and benevolent," manifestly English, "paternal figure."[25] Contrary to Unca Eliza, Olivia exposes the lack of English religious practice at home, which she attempts to rectify. The Ingots—East Indian "Nabobs," riddled with "folly, ostentation, and self- conceit"—and Miss Danby reject attending church because distinctions of wealth are not upheld: "The *breaths* of the greasy farmers is what I chiefly dread," Miss Danby laments.[26] Lady Ingot's "plan for a *little sequestration*" for the " family's accommodation at church" has alarming implications of profiteering.[27] The Ingots, as their name suggests, define themselves by wealth, and see the Church as a way of enriching their material means rather than their spiritual selves. Olivia, on the other hand, "not content with being *good* herself," "makes *others* so likewise" by insisting the Fairfield house hold "go to church on a Sunday."[28]

While we should consider the novel alongside Robinsonades, it may be better described as a reverse- Robinsonade: where a foreigner in England exposes English primitivism, criticizes social ills, and punctures England's idea of itself as the pinnacle of developed culture and civilization. A considerable tradition of using the "other," "foreign," and/or "peripheral" to critique a "home" society had emerged by the eighteenth century: Margaret Cavendish, in *Blazing World* (1666), and Jonathan Swift, in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), for instance, invert the critical gaze squarely back to England from an imaginary other world. Reverse- Robinsonades go a step further: the "foreign" comes "home." In these texts, supposed colonial subjects visit the metropolis, apparently for education and/or cultural development, but the plots pivot to have the "native informant" focus on England's moral deg-radation.[29] As in *Woman of Colour*, in several reverse- Robinsonades it is "the gap between principles and actions which is threatening to destroy con temporary England."[30] Eighteenth- century reviewers did not use the term itself but describe the effects of the reverse-Robinsonade: in the words of the *Monthly Review*, reviewing Elizabeth Hamilton's *Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* (1796), the genre employs "an ingenious device ... designed to place before the view of the English reader a picture of the prevalent manners and customs of his country," uncovering,

according to the *Scots Magazine*, "that many of our practices, habits, and sentiments, depend entirely on custom, prejudice, and education," rather than on reason and morality.[31]

While some reverse- Robinsonades use a naïve foreigner, perplexed by what he or she finds, other criticisms were more arch. The scornful "Omiah," for instance, describes England as

> A world of prejudice, where Error rules,
> By Folly bred, and rear'd in Fashion's schools;
> Where on a gilded car in state she rides,
> Whilst custom draws, and ignorance misguides.[32]

Elsewhere, Oliver Goldsmith lambasted the arrogance of the English at their imagined intellectual superiority in *Citizen of the World; or, Letters from a Chinese Philosopher, Residing in London, to his Friends in the East* (1762): "Strange, say they, that a man, who has received his education at such a distance from London, should have common sense; to be born out of England, and yet have common sense! impossible! He must be some Englishman in disguise."[33] Olivia, also born out of England, aligns herself with "reason and common sense," and Augustus refers to Olivia as "the citizen of the world" (perhaps with an ironic nod to Goldsmith's work).[34] The author draws on Francis Bacon's seventeenth- century description: "If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers, it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut off from other Lands."[35] Compassion ought to be international, which Olivia embodies as a "citizen of the world, with a heart teeming with benevolence and mercy towards every living creature!"[36]

The year before *Woman of Colour*'s publication, Robert Southey produced the popular *Letters from England* (1807). Through a pseudonymous Spanish traveller, Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella, Southey presents England through fresh, skeptical eyes, quarrelling with the disparity between rich and poor and arguing for greater class equality. Southey criticizes those, like the Ingots, who would see the "abominable custom" of maintaining social hierarchy even in church.[37] Not every-one approved of such foreigners criticizing England: Jane Austen, for one, condemned "Espriella's Letters" as "horribly anti-english [*sic*]."[38] While *Letters from England* has been described as "a repository for Southey's own, often inflammatory, opinions on society and politics," *Woman of Colour* overtly avoids being anti- English.[39]

ENGLISHNESS VERSUS OTHERNESS

Unlike figures presented as entirely foreign, the point is emphasized that Olivia is half English: genetically through her father and culturally through the tutoring of her English governess (Mrs. Milbanke). Olivia considers herself "more than *half* an English woman."[40] She occupies a position in which she is simultaneously outsider and insider. The author uses this dual perspective better to expose English society's corruption. On the one hand, readers encounter Olivia's unpleasant expe-riences at the hands of those who let England down by not living up to 'English' principles; on the other hand, Olivia has authority as an insider to criticize those people. Olivia complicates her English identity with her use of pronouns; others, too, use pronouns to exclude or include her. Olivia, having just set foot on English *terra firma*, refers to "our own dear Cowper" to align herself with English literary authority, but elsewhere to "our poor blacks" in Jamaica.[41] " 'You speak like a *perfect* English woman,' said Lady Ingot [to Olivia]; 'I see you have already imbibed our air,' " which partially renders Olivia more English, but simultaneously demarcates her as being

only *like* an English person, not *as* one.[42] The plural possessive pronoun establishes Lady Ingot as native, "our," and Olivia as assimilated, but essentially distinct, Other, "you."[43] Olivia responds, "It has always been my ardent wish to prove myself worthy of the *title*" of "English woman," playing on the "*title*" given to the Ingots.[44] England's misjudgement of its priorities in what it venerates is symbolized through the Ingots being given honour, a "title," by the establishment, becoming Sir Marmaduke and Lady Ingot.[45] Olivia's desire to "prove" herself a "worthy" "English woman" allows her to critique what she sees in England because she understands and respects what a proper English person ought to be: she reveres England, giving her license to criticize it for falling short of the standards it should expect of itself.

Sailing to England, Olivia pronounces, "The moment when I set my foot on your land of liberty, I yield up my independence," ironically reversing the notion, following Lord Mansfield's ruling, that England brings independence for all.[46] Maria Edgeworth's "The Grateful Negro" (1804) articulates the conception: "The instant a slave touches English ground he becomes free. Glorious privilege!"[47] Earlier, Cowper's famous antislavery passage in *The Task* (1785), book 2, reads:

> Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free.[48]

Despite its noble sentiment, Cowper's implementation of "our" and "their"/"they," like Lady Ingot, differentiates Englishness and Otherness. Cowper's poem forms the novel's epigraph: "He finds his brother guilty of a skin not colour'd like his own."[49] In Cowper's words, Mrs. Merton, with power to enforce the wrong, considers Olivia to be guilty of being coloured differently from her own "alabaster" complexion and therefore her lawful prey.[50] The novel questions the assumed "mercy" of "Britain's power," undermines England's self- image as a "nation proud" of its compassion, and asks whether those in "our country" really are as " free" from "shackles" as Cowper supposes.[51] In juxtaposing "land of liberty" and "yield ... independence," Olivia exposes, symbolically, the difference between England's pretensions and reality; "your" liberty, "my" lack of independence.[52] Readers are "invited" to realize that England is not the land of liberty some assume it to be.[53]

GENDER AND THE POLITICIZED DOMESTIC SPHERE

James Joyce, lecturing in Trieste in 1911/2, admiringly declared that Crusoe "is the true prototype of the British colonist," in whom one finds "the whole Anglo-Saxon spirit" complete with "manly independence."[54] Most reverse- Robinsonades follow this "manly" "prototype" and use male protagonists. Olivia, exceptionally, is a foreign *woman* entering and criticizing England: "*Woman of Colour* could be a rare female addition" to a "male tradition ... designed to make readers see England anew through the rarely utilized eyes of a West Indian heiress."[55] *The Female American* had contested traditional identification of the adventure genre with masculinity, male protagonists, and defined- male writers.[56] *Woman of Colour* challenges the masculine perspective within reverse- Robinsonades. In fact, Olivia's power to convert others comes largely from her 'feminine' virtues. Olivia has "a sense of [her] sex's more exclusive feeling delicacy," and this quality enables her to unmask the everyday cruelties of others.[57] Precisely because she is "a woman,—a young—a tender woman" who bears but exposes unkindness despite having little power, she displays the "unexampled pre- eminence and virtue" that others are encouraged "to imitate."[58]

Olivia's homosocial relationships reveal how Englishwomen contribute to England's degradation.[59] The novel exposes how women, such as Mrs. Merton and Lady Ingot, participate in English society's degeneration through their engagement with Olivia as a "tropicopolitan": that is, "object of representation *and* agent of resistance."[60] Lady Ingot advocates, baldly, husband-hunting in Bengal for "an advantageous matrimonial connexion" as Olivia's "*colour* would be overlooked."[61] Mrs. Merton is a "city lady, whose ideas are all centered in self, and in money, as the grand minister to all her capricious indulgences" (76). Olivia's "feelings of humanity" and "principles of [Christian] religion" cause her to advocate for the "emancipation" of "slaves," a viewpoint not understood by avaricious Mrs. Merton, who presupposes that Olivia would put mercantile concerns before those of "humanity" and "religion" (80–81). As Mrs. Merton says, "Born, as you were, in the West Indies, your father a planter, I should have imagined that you would have entertained quite the contrary side of the question" (80–81). Readers see English people's worst behaviour exemplified in these women, who assume Olivia would, like them, prioritize money over morals.

Problematical English conduct toward Jamaicans is seen to run throughout society, as in Abigail's mistreatment of Dido: "Mrs. Merton's maid treats me, as if me was her slave," Dido protests (100). Lady Maria Nugent, a nonfictional sojourner in Jamaica between 1801 and 1805, found that "the lower orders," with "conceit and tyranny," considered "the negroes as creatures formed merely to administer to their ease, and to be subject to their caprice"; indeed, she "found much difficulty to persuade ... [her] white domestics, that the blacks are human beings, or have souls."[62] The noun "abigail" means "a lady's maid; a female servant or atten-dant."[63] Choosing the name "Abigail," then, suggests the author intended readers to view the character as representative, more broadly, of attitudes held by her society, that prejudice transcends socio- economic groupings. Unlike Lady Nugent, Mrs. Merton does not even attempt to educate her employees out of prejudice, just as she fails in her duty to educate her son.

However, Olivia converts little George Merton by using methods, ironically, espoused by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG)—again, the "Foreign" is seen at 'home': she "appeal[s]" to his "Reason and Conscience ... by the plain and most obvious Arguments."[64] Olivia uses little George to explain biblical equality, as exemplified in the King James Bible's rendering of Galatians 3:28 (the KJB being the authorized English translation for the Church of England, and the version from which Olivia quotes throughout *Woman of Colour*), which explicitly states the parity between "bond[ed] and free" people: " There is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."[65] Olivia argues, "The same God that made *you* made me ... the poor black woman [Dido]—the whole world—and every creature in it! ... God chose it should be so."[66] Through Church of England principles, Olivia teaches 'English' values, of tolerance and moral equality, back to those English who no longer exhibit them. Little George's mother remarks, acidly, "He is very backward in his *catechism*," but she "could not pretend to *teach* it to him."[67] Mrs. Merton pointedly ignores where Olivia actively attends: according to the SPG, those in positions of responsibility ought to "take a special Care, to lay a good Foundation ... by Catechizing those under their Care, whether Children [such as little George] or other ignorant Persons [such as Abigail], explaining the Catechism to them in the most easie and familiar Manner."[68] All Abigails and Little Georges should be taught to imbibe, both in heart and in mind, the equality of all before God. Some con temporary readers found Olivia's religiose teachings offputtingly clunky; for instance, the *Critical Review* found that "Olivia is rather too methodistical; *providence* is for ever in her mouth; she indulges a little too liberal in her

use of the *Most High*, and plumes herself too much on her religious duties, and her quotations from Scripture."[69] But the novel's political message is clear, and Olivia's moral lessons are drawn demonstrably from English establishment authority, the Church of England.

In focusing on women, the author shows how politics features in domestic settings, thus implying that progress is not simply a matter of high politics or law-making. Little George's lesson prompts Uncle George to raise the issue of abolition: "George, we shall have your sentiments on the abolition presently."[70] The connection between the domesticity of teaching a child and its relation to the political sphere's broader concerns is explicit. English domestic life affects ways in which England engages transatlantically.

Marcia's teaching through Christian principle continues in her daughter; Olivia teaches little George because his mother refuses to. Olivia is "not a little proud" of little George's lesson, as she "consider[s] it a conquest over prejudice!" (79). "Prejudices imbibed in the nursery are frequently attached to the being of ripened years," so "to eradicate them as they appear, is a labour well worth the endeavour of the judicious preceptor" (80). The author highlights the role that mothers have in eradicating the next generation's prejudices. Little George continues, referring to Jamaica, "black slaves are no better than horses over there" (80). Olivia argues that opportunity, not innate in equality, facilitates enslaved people's situations: " Those black slaves are, by some cruel masters, obliged to work like horses ... but God Almighty created them *men*, equal with their masters, if they had the same advantages, and the same blessings of education" (80). Little George's reaction is in keeping with Percy Bysshe Shelley's notion of the moral imagination, later articulated in *A Defence of Poetry*: "The great secret of morals is Love; or a going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action or person, not our own... . The great instrument of moral good is the imagination."[71] Little George imagines how it would feel to be treated like a horse himself, asking what "*right*" "naughty masters" have to behave so: "I'm *sure* they can't like it—I shouldn't like to work like mamma's coach- horses, and stand shivering for hours in the wet and cold, as they do."[72] The repeated, but pointedly expanded, diction—"work like horses" and "work like mamma's coach- horses"—implicitly aligns Mrs. Merton with the "cruel masters." Little George does not like his mother's treatment of others, and so hopefully he will not subsequently replicate the same behaviour. English attitudes to the plight of "slaves" is exemplified in his mother's affected indifference at and refusal to listen to little George's lesson: "Mrs. Merton now appeared to think the conversation as great a *bore* as making *tea*, and, walking to the further part of the room, she was patting her pug dog, and humming a tune at the same time."[73] Mrs. Merton chooses to ignore the very suffering that affords her the lifestyle she enjoys. The author imagines that the pro cess of teaching Europeans to treat Africans better will have to be carried on over generations, and that women have a crucial role in disrupting the inheritance of prejudices.

OLIVIA'S ENGLISH CONFORMITY

Olivia's utter conformity to European standards, however, cannot be overlooked. She draws attention to her identity "as a stranger, and a mulatto West Indian," reminding readers that she is, apparently, an outsider, but her behaviour conforms to English ideals of virtue, and her cultural authority is grounded in English lit-erature.[74] Olivia speaks in perfect grammatical English, in a way that Dido does not (which demarcates Dido visually and aurally as Other).[75] The exposure of the myth of England's self- image is complicated by the text's reliance on English cultural

authority and standards. Olivia performs the identity "Britons would least expect a black Ca rib bean woman to know well," that of 'English' feminine vir-tue.[76] She is "heavenly, heavenly Olivia!" whose "*mind* ... is the seat of every *vir-tue*!"[77] She eschews "all the ceremonials of fashion and the tax which the arbitrary customs of the world has imposed so heavily upon reason and common sense" (125). Here "reason and common sense" with which Olivia aligns herself are by implication English qualities, which are eroded by the "world[ly]" taste of people like Mrs. Merton and Lady Ingot. In contrast, for Olivia, "the meretricious allurements of folly" are nothing to "the contemplation of virtuous simplicity!" (131). Olivia embodies feminine resignation in line with the Editor's "*moral*" that "the mind" "imbued with the truths of our most *holy faith*" should "become resigned to its fate" (189); she vows, "It is part of my religious duty to endeavour to resign myself to the all- wise dispensations of the Most High" (154). The way in which Augustus responds to Olivia might serve as a guide for readers: initially he feels "disgust" at her "negro" "skin," but only "a very few hours served to convince" him that "her mind and form were cast in no common mould" (102). She is, indeed, "a superior being" (102). Augustus describes Olivia using characteristics familiar of the typical English novelistic heroine. "She has a noble and a dignified soul" and "is raised above the standard of her sex" (102). "She is accomplished and elegant," but not with "the superficial acquirements of the day" (103). Her "elegance is not the studied attitude of a modern belle, but the spontaneous emotion of a graceful mind" (103). Crucially, "The decision and promptitude with which she delivers her opinions, though accompanied by an air of modest timidity, prove that she has a spirit which will never suffer her to yield her principles or her sentiments, where her conscience tells her she is right: and that, though trampled upon, she will yet retain her native dignity of character!" (103). This virtuous, almost unrealistically ideal, description echoes, for example, the heroine of Samuel Richard-son's behemothian *Clarissa* (1748–1749). Clarissa had, like Olivia, an air of modest timidity, but a spirit that would never suffer her to yield her principles, so much so that she starves herself to death. The third edition's postscript responded to readers' criticisms that "the character of our Heroine" is "not only improbable, but unattainable" by declaring that readers ought "to exert the like *humble* and *modest*, yet *steady* and *useful*, virtues" to "reach ... the perfections of a Clarissa."[78] As it is supposed that Clarissa, as a perfect virtuous heroine, will serve as an exemplar to young female readers, so it is with Olivia.

Throughout *Woman of Colour*, admirable men lament that Olivia should be subjected to oppression and misuse: "Oh! why—why were you the *best* and gentlest of human beings? why were you the appointed victim of such unparalleled sufferings?"[79] Olivia epitomizes virtue by accepting suffering calmly, while refusing to allow her principles to be subdued: "They can never teach my heart to forego its nature, or my mind its principles" (66). As Lovelace writes of Clarissa, "She never *was* subdued," and indeed "her glory has been established by her sufferings!", so Mr. Lumley, "clergyman of the parish," declares of Olivia's behaviour, "See here a conquest over *self*, which ye would vainly try to imitate!"[80] Like Clarissa, Olivia concentrates her "conquest" on governing her "*self* "; she is an example for English female readers "to imitate." Olivia's behaviour and moral code is thus sanctioned by the novel's religious figure, described as an example of what makes England venerable.[81] Like Marcia before her, Olivia teaches "a lesson of noble self- denial and self- conquest to ... European[s]" (55). Likewise, Olivia might convert readers as she had little George.

Olivia proves to be more English than many native Englishwomen (including Mrs. Merton, Miss Danby, and Miss Singleton). Charles Honeywood, as they are crossing the Atlantic, states: "Miss

Fairfield, I know of no one like you—you will shame our English ladies—or rather, you are going where your virtues will not be known or appreciated!" (65). Olivia declares, ironically, that she "is no heroine" despite her conduct epitomizing one (61). In disavowing herself as heroine, Olivia is presented in contrast to Mrs. Merton, who had imagined herself heroine of "Augustus and Letitia, a novel, founded on facts"; so "she immediately fell *violently in love*" with Augustus, precipitating her "so novel- like" revenge upon him (175). Yet whereas Mrs. Merton had sought "the most silly novel[s]" "warm with the declaration of passion," *Woman of Colour* is not that kind of novel (173–174). Olivia's behaviour, in line with conduct book heroines, is exemplary and unimpeachable, providing guidance for young female readers. This heroine is not "rewarded ... with the usual meed of virtue—*a husband*," because "virtue, like Olivia Fairfield's, may truly be said to be its *own reward*" (189). Olivia is not presented as threatening, mollifying the potential threat of the message she carries with her. Augustus says to Olivia, "*Your* unparalleled sweetness and forbearance is what *I* must ever remember!" as should English female readers (126).

As well as religious quotation, Olivia copiously alludes to the male English literary canon—to William Words worth, Edward Young, William Shenstone, and Thomas Gray, among others—showing her thinking is steeped in English literature, implying that she possesses the cultural authority to criticize England. She quotes three of the canon's most prominent men: William Shakespeare, John Milton, and Alexander Pope. She adds to the pathos of Mr. Bellfield's "misfortunes" by aligning him with the words of *Romeo and Juliet*'s apothecary, "My poverty, but not my will, consents!"[82] She invokes Milton's *L'Allegro* to extol the active and cheerful life.[83] She quotes Pope's popular *Universal Prayer*, stating the "Power" of God has "taught" her to "feel another's woe."[84] To "feel another's Woe" enables one to "see" one's own "Fault[s]," "foolish Pride, / Or impious Discontent."[85] As the poem's title suggests, Pope advocates that God's laws apply universally, to all people, from all lands:

> FATHER of All! in every Age,
> In every Clime ador'd,
> By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage.[86]

Olivia draws on this very English authority to support her belief that all should be merciful to each other:

> That Mercy I to others show,
> That Mercy show to me.[87]

English luminaries support Olivia's perspective; she values English cultural authority, and English cultural authority argues for the equality before God, even of "Savage[s]."

The three Englishmen who, at the novel's close, embody Olivia's "veneration" for " England"—Lumley, Bellfield, and Augustus—typify 'English' virtue.[88] Lumley is "devout and impressive" (105). The Ingots refuse to interact socially with the Lumleys because Sir Marmaduke thought it "necessary to draw the line of separation *somewhere*" (123). Olivia, conversely, takes Caroline Lumley under her wing as "frequent ... companion," and observes, "My behaviour surprises and charms her, as being contrasted with the foolish *hauteur* of other strangers" (123). The clergyman's family—with good, honest, unfussy Englishness—is preferred to the luxuriating East Indians: "The amiable simplicity and good- humoured frankness of the Lumleys, are well

contrasted by the assuming pride and false consequence of the Ingots" (124). Bellfield, Sophia's uncle, is presented as a "good," "paternal" Englishman, as against Sophia's reckless "hot- headed West- Indian" husband: Sophia "sincerely wished she had never quitted those paternal arms which now sheltered her in their fond embrace!" (185–186). Augustus is "a lover of goodness and virtue" (104). Olivia experiences disappointment with many English people she encounters: "I am disappointed in England," she says, "I expected to meet with sensible, liberal, well informed and rational people, and I have not found them; I see a compound of folly and dissimulation" (88). Although her experience has been disappointing in some respects, England is still upheld as the seat of "sensible, liberal, well informed and rational people." Olivia realizes that "the circle of Mrs. Merton's friends" "is not the place to meet with the persons [she] expected" (88). Instead, she finds English goodness in the religious piety of Lumley, the kind patience of Bellfield, and the noble suffering of Augustus.

DIDO'S THWARTED AMBITION

Dido is also a transatlantic woman traveller with personal experiences of England. She, at least partially, follows in the tradition of Cervantes's Sancho Panza, the comic, practical, and faithful servant in *Don Quixote* who returns to his master's auspices after attempting self- governance. Lyndon J. Dominique optimistically assesses Dido's relationship with Olivia: "Dido's gratitude," apparently, is "discriminating" as she is "active in questioning the terms of freedom in England for people of African descent."[89] But "freedom" is not on Dido's agenda; instead, she hopes to ascend the established hierarchical system by being promoted to house keeper. Dido is glad to "have a house and an establishment of [their] own": "Dido be great there," she says, "and house keeper to her dear dearest lady."[90] Despite this apparent elevation, within the same breath, Dido maintains her position as subservient "to Massa Fairfield's daughter" (99). Olivia remarks, condescendingly, of Dido's new role, "Dido is delighted ... and bears about the insignia of her office, in the bunch of keys at her side, and the important expression of her face" (105).

Dido's treatment at Olivia's hands is, of course, better than in the Merton house hold, where she was " 'blacky,' and 'wowsky,' and 'squabby,' and 'guashy'" (100). When the Mertons visit New Park, Dido enjoys her upgraded status: "Thanks to my good lady,—Dido be Missee below stairs, and treated by all as if me was as good as another, for all me be poor negro wench!" (127). Dido "thanks" Olivia for being treated "as if" she was equal. Olivia commends Augustus's proper treatment of Dido, unlike Abigail, and states this will "win" Dido's affection: "But you know the honest heart of my faithful girl! Augustus treats her with that good- humoured kindness and freedom which is the sure way to win it" (100). For English people "the sure way" to "win" (with odd connotations of competition and triumph) the faithfulness of "slave[s]" is to treat them with "good- humoured kindness and freedom" (100). Clearly, suggesting Dido receive "good-humoured kindness and freedom" from whiter-skinned people is not objectionable, but the implication is that Black people ought to be encouraged to be "faithful" to whiter people. The status quo's hierarchy is not displaced by Dido; instead, readers are presented with her apparently willful enslavement. Augustus treating Dido with "freedom" will, oxymoronically, encourage her to be subservient to "her new beautiful Massa" (100).

Dido's fidelity to Olivia, and concomitantly Augustus, is more troubling than Dominique suggests. Olivia proclaims, "My faithful Dido" (151), "how grateful am I for her faithful attachment!" (181); as much as 'slaves' ought to be grateful for kind treatment by their 'masters/mistresses',

‘masters/mistresses’ should likewise be “grateful” for such “faithful[ness].” This does not suggest that the system should be overthrown, but instead conforms to Burkean conservative notions of each “ little platoon” working for the benefit of all within it.[91] Lady Nugent described how “poor blackies ... are all so good- humoured, and seem so merry” as they work.[92] Woman of Colour likewise presents Dido as merrily subservient to Olivia. At no point does the narrative suggest that Olivia seeks to free Dido, or that Dido might seek emancipation. In this respect, Olivia is as blind to her own conduct as those she chastises are to theirs. Dido exclaims she “was never slave but to her own dear Missee, and she was *proud* of that!”[93] That Dido is “*proud*” to be Olivia’s “slave” troublingly endorses Edgeworth’s “The Grateful Negro,” which sentimentalizes ‘slave/master’ relations.[94] Dido is a grateful Caesar, not a vengeful Hector.

Dido develops some agency while in England. “Of her own inviting!” she engineers Honeywood’s visit.[95] Dido promotes a scheme where Olivia marries Honeywood, which would enable her to retain her position as house keeper. When this plan falls through, Dido declares (echoing Olivia’s earlier disappointment in the Mertons’ circle), “Me know nothing in this England town, but disappointments” (167). She is disappointed because her attempts to determine her own future have gone awry; she has not experienced the post- Mansfield emancipatory freedom supposed to exist for enslaved peoples on stepping foot in England. She had hoped for betterment in her position in England. Instead, she must return—under Olivia’s auspices—to her Jamaican status. Olivia rebukes Dido’s frustration: “Dido, how often must I tell you, that happiness is in de pen dent of situation” (168). This is easy enough for Olivia—who commands a position of relative privilege—to think, but Dido is decidedly less “in de pen dent of situation” than Olivia: she does not have the choices and autonomy available to her that Olivia does, and she has to submit to what ever Olivia decides. As Olivia makes apparent in the novel’s final stages, when she “revisit[s] Jamaica” she will retain a privileged position and “ shall again enjoy the society of [her] dear Mrs. Milbanke” (188). When Dido travels to Jamaica, her status will revert to that of “slave,” and yet we learn in Olivia’s penultimate missive that “Dido is already packing up with avidity,” eager to return.[96] Brigitte Fielder articulates in her illuminating discussion of Olivia’s and Dido’s relationship that “in equality does not foreclose Dido’s agency”; not entirely, but Dido’s attempts at independence are ultimately thwarted.[97] The novel troublingly denies Dido agency to control her life and keeps her—chastened after her “disappointments”—in contended, even “avid,” subservience.[98]

CONSERVATIVE AMELIORATION, NOT RADICAL REVOLUTION

Olivia perceives a different relationship to slavery in Bristol than in London. Bristol made its money in the slave trade, and so was frequently depicted in the long eighteenth century as a symbol of parvenu vulgarity and moral laxity. We might think here of Bristolian Mrs. Elton in Austen’s *Emma* (1816), whose indecorousness and exploitativeness, especially through her references to Bristol, are mocked mercilessly.[99] The Mertons live in Bristol, although trading in London has contributed to their wealth. It is experiencing Bristol that makes Olivia “disappointed in England.”[100] When she visits London (seat of lawmakers), however, her assessment of the nation shifts, and “ England” becomes a symbol of “benevolence” (96). Depicting Bristol’s corrupted culture and comparing it with London’s allows the author to have her/his cake and eat it too: Bristolians embody the bad behaviour that the author is trying to educate readers out of, but the author still manages in contrasting “compassionate” London to maintain the image of England as it likes to imagine itself (96).

Olivia "behold[s]" in Londoners a "boundless liberality in providing for the distresses of their necessitous fellow- citizens!"[101] The diction "fellow- citizens" recalls the French Revolution's admirable ideals: "citizens" possess civic rights and privileges, while "fellow" suggests equality. Contemporaries, such as Helen Maria Williams, had likewise considered principles spearheaded by the French Revolution as arguments against enslavement: "Eu rope is hastening towards a period too enlightened for the perpetuation of such monstrous abuses."[102] Williams, like Olivia, is "a citizen of the world."[103] *Woman of Colour* promotes some of the original ideals behind the French Revolution while cautioning against such violent action. Olivia sees the "compassionate eye" in London, and assumes this "benevolence" extends to enslaved people: " England is, sure, the favoured isle, where benevolence has taken up her abode! *Here* she dwells, here she smiles, while, towards my native island, she turns her 'far surveying,' her compassionate eye. She descries the sufferings of the poor negro, and promises benign assistance.—Yes! the cause of Afric's injured sons is heard in England; and soon shall the *slave* be free!"[104] The author quotes a phrase from Words worth's *Descriptive Sketches* (1793) to bolster the argument; the poem illustrates Words worth's "Wish for the extirpation of Slavery."[105] There is a direct echo in "compassionate eye" to the novel's stated "moral."[106] England's "benevolence" will lead to "*slave*[s]" being " free." Africa's "injur[y]" is a "cause" that "is heard" and "taken up" "in England." But crucially, Jamaica requires England's "benign assistance" to facilitate emancipation.

Although Olivia criticizes much of what she encounters in England, and her sojourn there leaves Dido and her "disappointed," the disappointment stems from the gulf between what she "expected" and "found."[107] Expectations of what England *should* be are, in fact, re- affirmed in the novel; the status quo is fulsomely supported, and reform rather than rebellion is espoused. Olivia's criticism of England concerns the practice not the principle. Indeed, one might read Olivia's and Dido's connection as embodying an idealized 'master/slave' dynamic, showing how amelioration could seemingly improve conditions and practices.

Olivia is conservative in her outlook; she argues that enslavement is wrong because it contradicts principles that England ostensibly holds dear—Christian charitability to others. Slavery corrupts 'English' Christian principles—it "hardens the heart, and deadens the feelings."[108] Dominique's buoyant reading claims that Olivia is "beleaguered but fiercely in de pen dent."[109] Olivia's thinking is not "in de-pen dent," however. Burkean "just prejudice" is, in fact, what Olivia advocates in her employment of "old customs, and old notions."[110] Edmund Burke had argued that "prejudice is of ready application in the emergency"—pertinent for an author considering themes of emancipation in the wake of the recent alarming Haitian crisis—because "it previously engages the mind in a steady course of wisdom and virtue, and does not leave the man hesitating in the moment of decision, sceptical, puzzled and unresolved."[111] "Prejudice," for Burke, is "respect for the wisdom of others" who have gone before.[112] Dominique calls Olivia "a literal, subversive, and political threat sent to expose the dominant system of prejudice in England and to undermine it by associating with, and re- educating, Britons."[113] She is neither "threat[ening]" nor "re- educating" Britons with anything new, however; Olivia does not "undermine" the English "system." Instead, Olivia adheres to a Burkean "old scheme of things," eschewing the dangerous exotic "new" ideas represented via Lady Ingot.[114] Lady Ingot remarks to Olivia: " There is scarcely a female besides yourself in this neighbourhood, who has ever set her foot out of England. Conceive what narrow minded, prejudiced beings they must be? Not an idea but what was planted in them at their births and has been handed down by mothers and grandmothers, and great- grandmothers, through countless generations!"[115] Olivia rejects the assertion that someone must travel out of England to

expand his or her mind; in fact, "*ideas*" handed down through countless generations are "worthy [of] retaining": "I confess, I think our mothers and grandmothers were sensible beings. I rather lean towards old customs, and old notions, and can trace one of *my ideas* as far back as the *Old* Testament" (110). Olivia shows female readers that you do not have to travel to learn: because "retirement seems the peculiar and appropriate station of our sex," "the enlargement of the mind, and the conquest of prejudice, is not always achieved, perhaps, by visiting foreign climes!" (111). The novel's purpose is for young female readers—who have not travelled abroad, and are unlikely to—to enlarge their minds and contest bigotry from the "retirement" of their own homes. Olivia has done their traveling for them. The author puts gender in the foreground; useful ideas are passed through the female line—through the "sensible beings" of "our mothers and grandmothers [and great- grandmothers]." The use of "our" here suggests that passing morality down through the generations is a collective enterprise.

In Marcia, Olivia sees that "the distributions of Providence are equally bestowed, and that it is culture not capacity, which the negro wants!" (55). The "culture ... the negro wants" is assumed to be English. Felicity Nussbaum has called another reverse- Robinsonade, *Hindoo Rajah*, a "surreptitious" defense of "British colonial[ism]," which also applies to *Woman of Colour*.[116] As with *Hindoo Rajah*, however, *Woman of Colour* defends "a version of colonialism which will work only if the English practice the Christian tolerance and mercy they preach."[117] Other reverse-Robinsonades, such as Anna Maria Mackenzie's *Slavery* (1792), where "European" "virtue" and "education" "polish" and "refine" "the savage" "of Africa," had advocated amelioration.[118] Likewise, at the novel's close, Olivia wants to return across the Atlantic to apply English values in order to "instruct" and "mend" "blacks."[119] In the penultimate paragraph, Olivia even uses the term "ameliorat[e]" about Jamaica: "I shall again zealously engage myself in ameliorating the situation" (188). Olivia's diction alludes to the 1798 Amelioration/Melioration Act, which was supposed to improve conditions for enslaved people in British Caribbean colonies.[120] Early in the novel, Olivia had used the same diction in explaining her preference for staying in Jamaica and "meliorating the sorrows of the poor slaves," rather than traveling to England.[121] Given the recent Haitian Revolution, the threat of "slave" insurgency continued to worry those wishing to maintain the status quo.[122] Lady Nugent, for example, was chastised for showing "unusual and extraordinary" "respect" to "slaves"; her associates "seemed to think the example dangerous" and might "even produce a rebellion in the island."[123] Likewise "Benevolus" of the *Gentleman's Magazine* warned that without attentive management of potential "insurrections," "it might make Jamaica like St. Domingo."[124]

"Is it, that I see through a magnifying glass to discover defects?" Olivia asks.[125] The author, unsubtly, alerts readers to Olivia's function, which is "to discover defects" and "magnify" them for readers to "see" more fully. English society's defects are exposed in order to put England right. Olivia is a foil through which the author reflects England back to itself. The focus is on pricking the consciences and changing the behaviour of people in England, rather than on Olivia's subjectivity. The Editor makes clear that "the *moral*" of the work is expressly to "teach" the "*skeptical European*" to be more "compassionate" " towards the *despised native of Africa*."[126] It is irrelevant " whether Olivia Fairfield's be a *real* or an *imaginary* character."[127] The function of reverse- Robinsonades is to examine the home culture, and the novel's closing passage focuses not on Olivia herself, or even on Jamaica, the land she is returning to, but on " England, favoured Isle!—Happy country."[128] Olivia will "carry" her "veneration for [England's] name" back "over the world of waters"; she will keep in mind the "beautiful purity" of England's "laws," "arts,"

"sciences," and "religion" when she is "ameliorating" Jamaica (188). This transatlantic woman calls on readers to uphold and promote England's "benevolence" in the march toward emancipation (96).

NOTES

1. Joel Quirk, *The Anti- Slavery Project: From the Slave Trade to Human Trafficking* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 49; Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (New York: Verso, 1988), 314–315.
2. Benevolus, *Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* 77 (February 1807): 129, 128.
3. Lyndon J. Dominique, *Imoinda's Shade: Marriage and the African Woman in Eighteenth-Century British Literature, 1759–1808* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2012), 236–237.
4. *The Woman of Colour, A Tale* (London: Black, Parry and Kingsbury, 1808). Quotations in this essay are from *The Woman of Colour: A Tale*, ed. Lyndon J. Dominique (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2008).
5. *Woman of Colour*, 58.
6. *Woman of Colour*, 53.
7. *Woman of Colour*, 188.
8. *Woman of Colour*, 102–103.
9. Daniel Defoe, *Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719)*, vol. 1 of *The Novels of Daniel Defoe*, ed. W. R. Owens and P. N. Furbank (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008), 109.
10. *Woman of Colour*, 103, 92.
11. *Woman of Colour*, 71; William Cowper, *The Poems of William Cowper*, ed. John Baird and Charles Ryskamp, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1:403–404.
12. Cowper, *Poems*, l:403–404, line 45; lines 25–28.
13. The vast majority of Robinsonades remained male- dominated, but female Robinsonades grew over the eighteenth century. See Jeannine Blackwell, "An Island of Her Own: Heroines of the German Robinsonades from 1720 to 1800," *German Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 5–26.
14. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 212; *Woman of Colour*, 189.
15. *Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal* 62 (June 1810): 212.
16. *Woman of Colour*, 53.
17. *Woman of Colour*, 54–55.
18. *Woman of Colour*, 54.
19. Maximillian Novak and J. Paul Hunter foreground *Robinson Crusoe*'s Puritan elements, arguing that the novel focuses on the experience of spiritual conversion. See Maximillian Novak, *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962); and J. Paul Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and Quest for Form in "Robinson Crusoe"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966).
20. Note that the transatlantic traveller's gender is highlighted in the titles of both novels: *The Female American* and *The Woman of Colour*.
21. Unca Eliza Winkfield [pseud.], *The Female American; or, The Adventures of Unca Eliza Wink-field*, ed. Michelle Burnham and James Freitas, 2nd ed. (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2014), 57.

22. *Woman of Colour*, 186.
23. Winkfield, *Female American*, 52.
24. For more on projects of "New World" colonialism and religious conversion, see Michelle Burnham and James Freitas, introduction to *The Female American; or, The Adventures of Unca Eliza Winkfield*, by Unca Eliza Winkfield [pseud.], ed. Michelle Burnham and James Freitas, 2nd ed. (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2014), 9–32.
25. Scarlet Bowen, "*Via Media*: Transatlantic Anglicanism in *The Female American*," *The Eighteenth Century* 53, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 193.
26. *Woman of Colour*, 105, 119, 122.
27. *Woman of Colour*, 121; Denys Van Renen, " 'The Temple of Folly': Transatlantic 'Nature,' Nabobs, and Environmental Degradation in *The Woman of Colour*," in *Romantic Sustainability: Endurance and the Natural World, 1780–1830*, ed. Ben P. Robertson (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016), 155.
28. *Woman of Colour*, 121.
29. Victoria Barnett- Woods, "Models of Morality: The Bildungsroman and Social Reform in *The Female American* and *The Woman of Colour*," *Women's Studies* 45, no. 7 (2016): 616 n4. Examples of reverse- Robinsonades include *The Spectator*, no. 50 (April 27, 1711), in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, ed. Donald Frederic Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1:211–215; *The Ranelean Religion Displayed. In a Letter from a Hottentot of Distinction, now in London, to his Friend at the Cape of Good- Hope* (London: W. Webb, 1750); Voltaire, *Le Huron, ou L'ingénu*, 2 vols. (Lausanne, 1767); Anna Maria Mackenzie, *Slavery: Or, The Times*, 2 vols. (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinsons and J. Dennis, 1792); Robert Bage, *Hermsprong; or, Man as He is Not*, 3 vols. (London: printed for William Lane, at the Minerva Press, 1796); and Elizabeth Hamilton, *Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, 1796).
30. Pamela Perkins and Shannon Russell, introduction to *Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah*, by Elizabeth Hamilton, ed. Pamela Perkins and Shannon Russell, repr. with corrections (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004), 22.
31. *Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal* 21 (October 1796): 176; *Scots Magazine* 59 (January 1797): 47. Neither review attempts to categorize or coin a term for the "ingenious device," but both helpfully describe the technique used by the reverse- Robinsonade genre.
32. Omiah, *An Historic Epistle, from Omiah, to the Queen of Otaheite; Being His Remarks on the English Nation* (London: T. Evans, 1775), 1, lines 5–8.
33. Oliver Goldsmith, *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Arthur Friedman, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 2:142.
34. *Woman of Colour*, 125, 103. Goldsmith is quoted throughout the novel.
35. Francis Bacon, *Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (London: John Haviland for Hanna Barret, 1625), 70.
36. *Woman of Colour*, 103.
37. Robert Southey, *Letters from England*, by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella [Robert Southey]. Edited by Carol Bolton (London: Routledge, 2016), 97.
38. Jane Austen, *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. Deidre Le Faye, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 141.
39. Carol Bolton, introduction to *Letters from England: By Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella. Translated from the Spanish*, ed. Carol Bolton (London: Routledge, 2016), 7.
40. *Woman of Colour*, 111.
41. *Woman of Colour*, 71, 188.

42. *Woman of Colour*, 111.
43. Van Renen, " Temple of Folly," 151.
44. *Woman of Colour*, 111.
45. *Woman of Colour*, 187.
46. *Woman of Colour*, 66. Stephen Usherwood, " 'The Black Must Be Discharged': The Abolitionists' Debt to Lord Mansfield," *History Today* 31, no. 3 (March 1981): 40–45.
47. Maria Edgeworth, "The Grateful Negro," in *Selected Tales for Children and Young People*, ed. Susan Manly (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 179.
48. Cowper, *Poems*, 2:140, lines 40–41.
49. *Woman of Colour*, 51. The author slightly misquotes Cowper's "He finds his fellow guilty of a skin / Not colour'd like his own, and having pow'r / T' inforce the wrong, for such a worthy cause / Dooms and devotes him as his lawful prey" (Cowper, *Poems*, 2:139, lines 12–15). In replacing "fellow" with " brother," the author perhaps conflates Cowper's poem and the antislavery campaign's slogan, "Am I not a Man and a Brother?"
50. *Woman of Colour*, 73; c.f. Cowper, *Poems*, 2:139, lines 12–15.
51. Cowper, *Poems*, 2:140, lines 41–47.
52. *Woman of Colour*, 66.
53. Sara Salih, *Representing Mixed Race in Jamaica and England from the Abolition Era to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2011), 71.
54. James Joyce, "Daniel Defoe," ed. and trans. Joseph Prescott, *Buffalo Studies* 1 (December 1964): 24.
55. Lyndon J. Dominique, introduction to *The Woman of Colour: A Tale*, ed. Lyndon J. Dominique (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2008), 40.
56. Burnham and Freitas, introduction to *Female American*, 13; Mary Helen McMurran, "Realism and the Unreal in *The Female American*," *The Eighteenth Century* 52, no. 3–4 (Fall– Winter 2011): 323.
57. *Woman of Colour*, 59.
58. *Woman of Colour*, 148.
59. Olivia's several homosocial relationships are revealing in other ways too, for example, with Mrs. Milbanke, Mrs. Honeywood, Caroline Lumley, and especially Dido (which I discuss later in the chapter). For a "queer" reading of *Woman of Colour*, which prioritizes Olivia's engagements with female characters, see Brigitte Fielder, "*The Woman of Colour* and Black Atlantic Movement," in *Women's Narratives of the Early Americas and the Formation of Empire*, ed. Mary McAleer Balkun and Susan C. Imbarrato (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 174.
60. Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688–1804* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 4; Dominique, introduction to *Woman of Colour*, 31.
61. *Woman of Colour*, 150.
62. Maria Nugent, "Lady Nugent's Journal of Her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805," in *Travel Writing 1700–1830: An Anthology*, ed. Elizabeth A. Bohls and Ian Duncan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 331.
63. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "abigail," accessed September 1, 2020, http://www.oed .com.
64. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, *A Collection of Papers, Printed by Order of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London: Joseph Downing, 1706), 28. The SPG was a missionary organization of the Church of England.
65. Gal. 3:28. *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, ed. Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 236.

66. *Woman of Colour*, 79.
67. *Woman of Colour*, 79.
68. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, *Collection of Papers*, 28.
69. *Critical Review; or, Annals of Literature* 20 (May 1810): 109.
70. *Woman of Colour*, 81.
71. Percy Bysshe Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Major Works*, ed. Zachary Leader and Michael O'Neill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 682.
72. *Woman of Colour*, 80.
73. *Woman of Colour*, 80.
74. *Woman of Colour*, 92.
75. Dido says, for example, "Iss, iss, me think it be very pretty house" (*Woman of Colour*, 166). For more on Dido's "racialized dialect," see Fielder, "Black Atlantic Movement," 178.
76. Dominique, introduction to *Woman of Colour*, 25.
77. *Woman of Colour*, 154, 117.
78. Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa. Or, The History of a Young Lady*, 3rd ed., 8 vols. (London: S. Richardson, 1751), 8:298.
79. *Woman of Colour*, 161.
80. Richardson, *Clarissa*, 6:27; *Woman of Colour*, 105, 148.
81. *Woman of Colour*, 188.
82. *Woman of Colour*, 134; William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, in *Royal Shakespeare Company Complete Works*, ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008), 1734, act 5, scene 1, line 78.
83. *Woman of Colour*, 69.
84. *Woman of Colour*, 125.
85. Alexander Pope, *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt, 11 vols. (London: Methuen, 1961–1969), 6:148, lines 33–38.
86. Pope, *Poems*, 6:145, lines 1–3.
87. Pope, *Poems*, 6:148, lines 39–40.
88. *Woman of Colour*, 188.
89. Dominique, introduction to *Woman of Colour*, 34–35.
90. *Woman of Colour*, 99.
91. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (London: J. Dodsley, 1790), 68.
92. Nugent, "Journal," 328.
93. *Woman of Colour*, 100.
94. George E. Boulukos, "Maria Edgeworth's 'Grateful Negro' and the Sentimental Argument for Slavery," *Eighteenth- Century Life* 23, no. 1 (February 1999): 12–29; George E. Boulukos, *The Grateful Slave: The Emergence of Race in Eighteenth- Century British and American Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
95. *Woman of Colour*, 161.
96. *Woman of Colour*, 188. See Salih, *Representing Mixed Race*, 180 n20.
97. Fielder, "Black Atlantic Movement," 179.
98. *Woman of Colour*, 167, 188.
99. Gabrielle White, "*Emma*: Autonomy and Abolition," in *Jane Austen in the Context of Abolition: "A Fling at the Slave Trade"* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 52–72.
100. *Woman of Colour*, 88.
101. *Woman of Colour*, 96.

102. Helen Maria Williams, *Letters Written in France, in the Summer 1790*, ed. Neil Fraistat and Susan Lanser (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2001), 84.
103. Williams, *Letters*, 69.
104. *Woman of Colour*, 96.
105. William Wordsworth, *Descriptive Sketches. In Verse. Taken during a Pedestrian Tour in the Italian, Grison, Swiss, and Savoyard Alps* (London: printed for J. Johnson, 1793), iii. Olivia quotes Words worth's "But now with other soul I stand alone / Sublime upon this far-surveying cone" (27, lines 366–367).
106. *Woman of Colour*, 189.
107. *Woman of Colour*, 88.
108. *Woman of Colour*, 107.
109. Dominique, introduction to *Woman of Colour*, 39.
110. Burke, *Reflections*, 130; *Woman of Colour*, 110.
111. Burke, *Reflections*, 130.
112. Burke, *Reflections*, 130.
113. Dominique, introduction to *Woman of Colour*, 31.
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