

Photocopy and Use Authorization

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree at Idaho State University, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for inspection. I further state that permission for extensive copying of my thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Dean of the Graduate School, Dean of my academic division, or by the University Librarian. It is understood that any copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature_____

Date_____

Copyright 2022 Victoria Davis

The Realms of John Murray II: A Publisher's Influence

by

Victoria Davis

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in the Department of English and Philosophy

Idaho State University

Spring 2022

Committee Approval

To the Graduate Faculty:

The members of the committee appointed to examine the thesis of VICTORIA DAVIS find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

Roger Schmidt, Ph.D.
Major Advisor

Matthew VanWinkle, Ph.D.
Committee Member

Xiaomeng Xu, Ph.D.
Graduate Faculty Representative

Table of Contents

List of Figures	iv
Abstract	v
Introduction	1
Chapter One: The Literary Climate of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	3
Eighteenth Century.....	3
Alexander Pope.....	6
Samuel Johnson.....	10
Nineteenth Century	12
The House of Murray	15
Chapter Two: A Genesis of Maria Rundell’s <i>A New System of Domestic Cookery</i>	19
The History of the Cookbook Genre	21
<i>A New System of Domestic Cookery</i> – A History	24
Legal Battle	32
Piracy	35
Maria Rundell as a “Domestic Goddess”	39
Chapter Three: <i>Gatherings from Spain</i> and Other Works by Richard Ford	45
Travel Writing as a Genre	46
Travel Writing in the House of Murray	51
Richard Ford and Spain	56
Richard Ford and the House of Murray	60
Ford’s Legacy	65
Conclusion	72
Bibliography	76

List of Figures

Figure 1. Frontispiece and Title page of <i>A New System of Domestic Cookery</i> by Maria Rundell, First Edition	26
Figure 2. Plate VII from <i>A New System of Domestic Cookery</i> by Maria Rundell	28
Figure 3. Plate V from <i>A New System of Domestic Cookery</i> by Maria Rundell	33
Figure 4. Handwritten recipe, taken from a letter from Maria Rundell to John Murray II, 1806	34
Figure 5. Handwritten recipe in the blank space of <i>A New System of Domestic Cookery</i> by Maria Rundell, Second Edition	43
Figure 6. List of House of Murray Travel Guidebook publications, taken from Richard Ford's <i>A Handbook for Travellers in Spain</i>	55
Figure 7. Watercolor of Spain by Richard Ford	59
Figure 8. Handwritten design for title page, taken from a letter from Richard Ford, 29 April 1837	61

The Realms of John Murray II: A Publisher's Influence

Thesis Abstract – Idaho State University (2022)

John Murray II was one of the most influential publishers of the nineteenth century, and his work transformed the publishing industry. This thesis examines the publishing climate that John Murray II had to enter into, as well as the steps that Murray took to be so successful. In particular, the thesis centers around the work that Murray did with Maria Rundell, author of the wildly successful *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, the most popular cookery book of the early nineteenth century. In addition to this, Richard Ford's work with John Murray II and the impact of his writings about Spain are scrutinized.

Key Words: John Murray II, Nineteenth Century Publishing, Book History, House of Murray Publishing, Maria Rundell, Richard Ford

Introduction

In literary studies, there's no "right" way to answer a question that may arise about a text. There are endless methods of investigation and analysis at the reader's disposal - the only limitation is their own imagination. When an investigation hits a wall, be it because of a lack of information or substance, there is always a way to reconfigure that investigation.

Throughout those investigations, there are frequently little pieces of information unearthed, details about the author's life or the broader cultural norms of the time. I was doing exactly that for a paper on Byron's *Manfred* when I stumbled across the first mention of Byron's publisher, a man named John Murray II. In one of his letters to Murray, Byron wrote a satirical poem that begins, "Strahan, Tonson, Lintot of the times, / Patron and publisher of rhymes, / For thee the bard up Pindus climbs, / My Murray" (1-5). Of the same man, Jane Austen, in a letter to her sister, said, "He is a rogue, of course, but a civil one" (Jones 1). The two vastly different opinions of the man raised a lot of questions, and those questions refused to go away.

My intentions in this thesis were to tell as much of the holistic story of John Murray II as I could, even if it is confined to his work with two authors. That story, unfortunately, will not be anywhere near complete by the end of this project -- this is only a drop in the bucket of what could be. Murray was many things -- a shrewd businessman, an encouraging friend, and a talented actor for his authors. He kept diligent records, and the Library of Scotland has enough of the publishing firm's materials that it's created *Nineteenth Century Literary Society: The John Murray Archive*.

While Murray kept meticulous records and preserved many of the letters he was sent regarding business matters, there's little information about the man written by himself. There's no autobiography, or diaries that a reader can find to get to know the man -- instead, he lives on

through the words of his authors, like Byron and Austen, and so it is through examining his work with them that we can begin to understand Murray.

The first chapter of this thesis sets the stage for Murray, because he was not publishing within a vacuum -- Murray lived in one of the most fascinating and dynamic times of the publishing industry, and in that time he positioned himself as one of the top publishers. But to truly understand how remarkable Murray's success was, the historical context of publishing is not only valuable, but necessary.

The second and third chapters detail Murray's work with two of his authors, Maria Rundell and Richard Ford respectively. These chapters intentionally feature lesser-known authors, in addition to genres that are frequently overlooked in literary studies - that is, the cookbook genre, and the travel guidebook genre.

This project has not only helped me come to an understanding of John Murray II and his publishing, but it has also contextualized the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries more deeply for me than ever before. More importantly than that, however, it serves as a reminder that literature does not exist in a vacuum, and publishers are more than the people who decided to print a book.

Chapter One: The Literary Climate of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

John Murray II was a giant among booksellers during his time. His influence on the literary world of the nineteenth century, and the culture of the nineteenth century in addition to that, is almost unteachable. He has numerous visible contributions to the literary world, most famously as the bookseller who was willing to publish the controversial works of Lord Byron. John Murray II worked with other widely known names, such as Jane Austen, and Sir Walter Scott. This is in addition to numerous lesser known authors such as the two that will be examined later in this thesis. However, the role of a bookseller was much more involved than simply being the person that agrees to let a book be published and sold - views such as that ignore the influence they have in the literature that they publish, as well as the influence that they have on the broader literary culture.

While John Murray II's influence rocked the publishing industry in the early nineteenth century, to fully understand the scope of his impact, it is first necessary to understand the climate of the literary world before, during, and after the conception of the House of Murray.

Eighteenth Century

At the onset of the eighteenth century, bookselling was a more niche profession, one that was operated by a small number of booksellers that had a stranglehold on the market, with little to no room for new names in the industry. However, the small number of booksellers also had to do with the amount of demand for books, which correlates to literacy rates of the eighteenth century. Scholar John Brewer addresses the topic as such:

The long-term trend in Britain between the sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries was of growing literacy. The most reliable figures (and they are not very reliable) show a gradual, though not unbroken improvement in male literacy from 10 per cent in 1500 to

45 per cent in 1714 and 60 per cent in the mid-eighteenth century. Female literacy rates were lower - 1 per cent in 1500, 25 per cent in 1714 and 40 per cent in 1750. This large trend conceals considerable variation: an elite of aristocrats, gentry, and rich merchants were far more literate than the poor - indeed, almost totally literate by 1600; below the elite, shopkeepers were the most literate with a rate of 95 per cent by the third quarter of the eighteenth century; at the same time, most labourers could not read at all. (167-8)

With this in mind, it is clear to see why new booksellers were not springing up on every street corner - there simply could not have been an adequate demand for them, especially at the onset of the eighteenth century.

Brewer further suggests that through the eighteenth century, as literacy rates slowly grew, the literary culture slowly transitioned from “intensive reading” to “extensive reading” (169). By his definition, “intensive reading” results when a society has few books, and therefore treats those books as precious, sacred objects, whereas “extensive reading” happens when a society has numerous books, and fairly easy access. In a society with “extensive reading” books are no longer treated so reverently, and readers become more apt to read more and varied things. This is once again the result of the growing literacy rates - once the demand for books was higher, the print industry was able to grow, and grow the industry did.

Due to legal regulations for publishing, as previously mentioned, a small number of larger publishing houses had a stranglehold on the industry as a whole, but with the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, it allowed the industry to expand, which it did rather rapidly with the addition of numerous provincial booksellers entering the market (Brewer 130-2). These smaller scale printer-publishers, while seemingly inconsequential, laid the groundwork allowing for new names to enter into the business, such as John Murray I in years to come.

These provincial printers added a previously unseen dynamic to the market, initially seemingly innocuous. “At first the provincial printer-publishers did not compete with the London booksellers. Not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century did they print and publish books in any numbers. Before this they produced insubstantial material of only local interest” (Brewer 132). These small scale printers began on a small enough scale that the larger, previously existing booksellers did not see them as a threat, which proved to be problematic later in the industry. When these provincial printers ventured into printing books, rather than take on the financial risk of publishing a book on their own, they would split the copyright amongst themselves, each contributing some amount of money towards the cost of printing the book, which then allowed each of them to make some profit off of the book if it sold well, and if the book did not sell well, the loss of money would not cripple the business (Brewer 137).

The publishing industry of the eighteenth century was still primarily one of patronage, although that was changing all of the time. A writer would seek a wealthy patron to support their works, often writing things at the patron’s request, and in turn the patron would fund the publication of their book (Brewer 145). This model was an old one, and it contributed to the perceived prestige of the literary world, as literature was something that set the aristocracy, and even further, writers, apart from the general public. However, the general attitudes towards literature in England cannot be summed up as simply as this - indeed, scholar Nicholas Hudson writes, “Marxist interpretations of class conflict between the aristocracy and emergent middle class are unhelpful in describing the political situation in eighteenth-century Britain and its literary works,” describing England at the time as “a nation ruled by the old elite, but increasingly dominated by commerce” (1). The heart of Hudson’s argument is that many

different things factored into each individual's perception and reception of literature in the eighteenth century, and it wasn't as cut and dried as upper class versus lower class.

Alexander Pope

While bookselling in the eighteenth century was primarily one of patronage, there were a number of individuals that were instrumental in dismantling that structure. First and foremost is Alexander Pope, one of the most influential and famous poets of his time. While this thesis strives to examine the impact of a singular bookseller, a bookseller is of little use without authors. For many booksellers, authors were business partners, a means to continue business. However, there was the occasional author that insisted on a more active participation in the production of the book, and in doing so was sometimes a boon to the bookseller, and sometimes a pox. None exemplified this as much as Alexander Pope. "Pope, already thought to be the leading light in the world of poetry (although denied the Laureateship by his Roman Catholicism), was now a celebrity... He was also very careful of his fame" (Bernard 277). Famous for works such as *The Rape of the Lock* or *The Dunciad Variorum*, Pope was hugely influential to the literary culture of eighteenth century England, although in different ways than may be expected.

First and foremost, Pope was remarkable in his time because of the way that he amassed his fortune. In *The Lives of the Poets*, Samuel Johnson recounts the unusual manner in which Alexander Pope handled the publication of his translations. Pope, after noting the wild success of his poetry, "resolved to try how far the favour of the publick extended, by soliciting a subscription to a version of the Iliad, with large notes" (119). Johnson is careful to note that publication via subscription was highly unusual at the time, and specific to England. About Pope Johnson continues "With those hopes, he offered an English *Iliad* to subscribers, in six volumes

in quarto, for six guineas; a sum, according to the value of money at that time, by no means inconsiderable, and greater than I believe to have been ever asked before” (119). According to a historical currency calculator, six guineas at this time would have the same spending power as \$1297.91 United States Dollars in today’s world, a rather large subscription fee.

However, Pope’s asking price was paid, and thus his translation of the *Iliad* and the printing thereof was successfully funded. While the price was steep, Pope had stalwart supporters, as Johnson points out.

Lord Oxford, indeed, lamented that such a genius should be wasted upon a work not original; but proposed no means by which he might live without it... The greatness of the design, the popularity of the author, and the attention of the literary world, naturally raised such expectations of the future sale, that the booksellers made their offers with great eagerness; but the highest bidder was Bernard Lintot, who became proprietor on condition of supplying, at his own expense, all the copies which were to be delivered to subscribers, or presented to friends, and paying two hundred pounds for every volume. (120)

The subscribers, in turn, would find their names in the book as a reward for their support, an early version of crowdfunding.

Pope had such success in accruing subscribers for the *Iliad* that he did the same with his translation of the *Odyssey*, charging five guineas for the five-volume work. He struck a similar deal with Lintot, though this time he only received one hundred pounds for each volume of the work. With the six volumes of the *Iliad* and the five volumes of the *Odyssey*, Pope amassed 1700 pounds, which in today’s world would have the buying power of 350,000 United States Dollars.

Not only did Pope exemplify diverging from patronage in the publishing sphere, he was extremely successful in his ability to do so.

Pope was heavily involved in printing and book production throughout the entirety of his life: “In youth he penned manuscript pages that looked like print; in early manhood he designed elaborate editions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; and in a middle age he ran his own printing and publishing business by proxy. Print for him was both a serious vocation and an elaborate game” (McLaverty 1). It was highly unusual for such a prolific author as Pope to be so heavily involved in the printing process of his books, especially as he vacillated so often between loving and hating printing:

An introduction to Pope, print, and meaning must face up to the two Popes: the Pope who loved print and the Pope who hated it. The Pope who hated print loathed the great mass of printed matter: Grub Street scandal, party pamphlets, weekly journals, scholarly editions, boring poems, most plays, critics, and booksellers. He also hates attacks on Pope, even though he collected them. This Pope is well known... But the other Pope, the one I believe is important for the interpretation of the poetry, was fixated on print. He loved the look of print: dropped heads, italics, black letter, caps... This Pope is a better kept secret. (McLaverty 1).

Pope and his love of print was primarily concerned with the quality of the print, from the font used in the printing press to the paper that his books were printed on. While these are details that the modern reader frequently overlooks, Pope immersed himself in such details.

Pope’s involvement in the printing of his books, however, was not the only aspect of his career that sets him apart from other authors of his time. Throughout his career, Pope was involved in the advertisement of his books, something that had previously been unheard of.

Advertising books in general was a relatively new concept in Pope's time, and it was ordinarily the job of the bookseller, not the author. "Advertising was in its infancy, but even Pope recognized that there was some certain decorum to be followed in it... It must have been to him a necessary evil, and he was careful about the newspapers in which the advertisements were to appear" (Bernard 277). Pope entered the world of advertising with more finesse than anyone expected.

More important than the reputation of his books, however, was Pope's own reputation. Throughout his career Pope made a series of calculated moves that would allow him to not only stay relevant, but to keep his aforementioned celebrity status. One such move was the publishing of a compilation of his works at a relatively young age:

In many ways the *Works of Mr Alexander Pope*, published on 3 June 1717, dignified, decorated, and expensive, is the boldest as well as the most beautiful of Pope's books, proclaiming both the poet's youth and his achievement with a confident flourish. The Works gave Pope the status of a classic author, opened up new opportunities for authorial control and self-definition, and set a pattern of publication that persisted until his death. But in June 1717 Pope had only just passed his twenty-ninth birthday, and in publishing a volume of Works he was engaging in an act of self-promotion that any celebrated 79-year-old contemporary would have blushed at. (McLaverty 46)

Publishing a book of *Works* was an act that, previous to Pope, was usually only done in the case of an author widely recognized as "classic," and after the author's death. In many ways this act was an unbearably confident one on Pope's part, but it cemented his celebrity status and reformed the marketing aspect of the bookselling industry. In many ways it could also be viewed

as a political move, as Pope's success and titles were limited due to his being Roman Catholic, as previously mentioned.

Samuel Johnson

Another pertinent author is Samuel Johnson, famously known as "Dictionary Johnson", recognized widely as the author of one of the first and most comprehensive English dictionaries. While Pope found ways to circumvent the traditional routes of patronage, Johnson was openly outspoken against certain aspects of the publishing industry of the time. For one, Johnson's attitudes took much of the prestige out of the whole business. Those very attitudes toward the industry as a whole presented quite the paradox, as Mary O'Connell pointedly explains:

Samuel Johnson derided those he called 'the manufacturers of literature, who have set up for authors, either with or without a regular initiation, and like other artificers, have no other care than to deliver their tale of wares at the stated time'. Of course, Johnson also asserted that no 'man but a blockhead ever wrote, except for money', and admitted to writing *Rasselas* in a week in order to pay for his mother's funeral. (8)

While it is clear that Johnson found literature to be a worthwhile endeavor and something to be valued, he also came from a background that necessitated the financial gain he could find as a result of his writing.

Outside of his *Dictionary*, Johnson is known primarily as a moral essayist, as writing for periodicals was how he made the bulk of his income. This was a relatively new trend, as "[p]eriodicals also made possible a career dedicated solely to writing. Magazine proprietors were inundated with unsolicited material, some of which came gratis, and the growing competition among the magazines meant that the demand for the material exceeded supply" (Brewer 142). As previously discussed, literacy rates in the eighteenth century were not high enough to support a

multiplicity of publishers, and as such only the more popular periodicals were able to stay in business, and only the more successful writers for periodicals were able to make a living out of it, and Samuel Johnson was among those elite.

Johnson wrote for a number of periodicals throughout his lifetime, including *The Rambler*, *The Idler*, and *The Adventurer*. *The Rambler*, running from 1750-2, was a twice-weekly periodical that some claim marked the most successful part of Johnson's career. In his 200 essays for the periodical, Johnson covered a number of subjects, such as daily stresses, literature or literary forms, but in each of the essays "Johnson intended his essays to 'inculcate wisdom or piety' in conformity with Christianity" ("Samuel"). However, throughout his work with each of these periodicals, Johnson was upfront about the stressors of working as a periodical writer and needing to constantly produce something for publication.

In today's society, Samuel Johnson is best known for his *Dictionary of the English language*. While Johnson's was not the first English dictionary, it was by far the most comprehensive one of the era. In addition to being the most comprehensive dictionary of the time, it was also full of displays of Johnson's wit and opinions. For instance, Johnson defines oats as "n.s. [aten, Saxon.] A grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people", which, in addition to showcasing Johnson's sense of humor, is also colored by his opinion about Scotland and its residents.

While Johnson's *Dictionary* was revolutionary in a number of ways, it was another means of fighting against the system of patronage in the eighteenth century, although that was not Johnson's original intention. While Johnson was in the process of writing the dictionary, he had been promised the patronage of one Lord Chesterfield, who in fact never gave Johnson any

financial support. After the initial success of the dictionary, Lord Chesterfield took public credit as a patron for Johnson's *Dictionary*. In his scathing reply, Johnson wrote the following:

Is not a Patron, my lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it; till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no cynical asperity not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the Publick should consider me as owing that to a Patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself. (104)

Johnson's refusal to allow Lord Chesterfield to retroactively support his dictionary was largely due to his refusal to allow the lord to take credit for what was rightfully Johnson's success.

However, Johnson's objections brought to light one of the fundamental issues with the patronage system, and that is that the patron could be unreliable and indifferent.

Nineteenth Century

Patronage in publishing did not evaporate overnight, instead it was slowly phased out throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century. Throughout that time, however, the publishing industry continued to change and grow. Many of these changes had their roots in the eighteenth century, as discussed earlier in the chapter, but those changes had other effects that may not have been expected.

First and foremost, literacy rates were drastically different in the nineteenth century than the eighteenth. While there is no perfectly accurate figure for this, one study estimates the following:

In 1800 around 40 percent of males and 60 percent of females in England and Wales were illiterate; by 1900 illiteracy for both sexes had dropped to around 3 percent. Thus, during the course of the century, there was an enormous expansion in the size of the reading public in Britain, giving new markets and audiences to publishers of books, periodicals, and newspapers. (Lloyd 1)

The transformations that were beginning to take place in the mid- to late-eighteenth century only continued until the literary world of the nineteenth century was nearly unrecognizable. For one, those provincial printer-publishers only grew in size and number with the demand that new and larger audiences brought. This increased the demands for newspapers, for periodicals, and even for novels, a fairly new invention.

The demand for certain genres, however, had significantly decreased. Nicholas Hudson documented the decrease in use of classical genres like epics and pastorals in the eighteenth century, and while that trend continued, poetry in general was significantly less popular and common in nineteenth century literature. Scholar Lee Erickson asserts that this trend away from poetry was largely a result of the move away from patronage in publishing, and that it was a result of booksellers attempting to decide what the public wanted at the time. Erickson sums up his argument as follows:

The decline in the market for poetry reflected by the publishers' lack of enthusiasm for verse manuscripts in the 1830s seemed to suggest that there existed some kind of economy of readers' demands and authors' productions represented and made evident by literary form and that an investigation into the publishing market and its mechanisms would help to explain the relations in the early nineteenth century among genres in the literary marketplace. (3)

While the literate audience was larger than it had ever been before, and the public demand for literature was coming from a variety of socio-economic positions, the booksellers of the nineteenth century were pivotal for the development of the nineteenth century literary society. It was those publishers and booksellers, after all, that decided whether or not to put an author's voice into the world.

Many scholars have determined that the nineteenth century marked the industrialization of the publishing business, and there were a few technological advances that were able to lead to this. The improved literacy rates of the nineteenth century, as previously mentioned, were instrumental in creating a greater demand for the printed word, and this was largely thanks to greater access to education. "One of the primary providers of education was the churches, which ran Sunday schools and day schools. As all Sunday schools taught reading (so that children could read the Scriptures) and some also taught writing and even arithmetic, they were an important source of education for working-class children during this period" (Lloyd 2). Some of these schools were operating and available to the general public in the eighteenth century, but it was in the nineteenth century that the State became more involved in education and making sure that it was accessible to the nation's citizens.

A less expected contribution to the industrialization of the publishing business was the industrialization of clothing:

Since paper for books was made from cotton and linen rags during the early nineteenth century, the expansion of readership and of book production during the period depended upon the industrialization of textile manufacturing in the late eighteenth century and the availability of cheap clothes for all of England's and Europe's population. There had to be an industrialization of cloth manufacturing before books could be similarly mass

produced from recycled cotton and linen rags, and then sold at an affordable price to a large reading public. Because people became able to afford larger wardrobes, to accelerate their consumption of clothing with new fashions, and to discard old clothes and bedding long before they were unwearable or unusable, the supply of rags available for paper production increased greatly. The new mountains of rags on rubbish heaps thus allowed for an exponential growth in publishing and increased the availability of books and periodicals to the English common reader. (Erickson 6-7)

As is frequently the case, it is impossible to predict the historical cascade from one event to another - it is highly unlikely that the average reader would suppose that the industrialization of one good would correlate at all with the industrialization of another seemingly unrelated good, but a holistic approach to history provides invaluable insights into matters such as this.

Throughout the nineteenth century paper was still made from the pulp of rags, rather than the wood pulp that today's society generally employs, but the capability to locally source that paper as opposed to importing it from sources in Italy or France lowered the cost of production, further allowing more booksellers to enter into the business. It is discoveries such as this that shows that contextualizing can and should reach for a more holistic understanding.

The House of Murray

It was under these circumstances that the House of Murray was born into the publishing world. While the focus of this thesis is on John Murray II and his contributions to the nineteenth century literary society, it would be remiss to fail to mention John Murray I, the founder of the publishing house. John Murray I was born as John McMurray, later changed to more easily assimilate into English society, and become less recognizably Scottish. As scholar Mary O'Connell asserts, "The publishing firm of John Murray would have never existed if the first

John Murray had enjoyed military life” (23). It was that same distaste for military life that drove John Murray I to the career of a bookseller in 1768.

John Murray I, or at the time still known as McMurray, left the financial security of his naval career, investing the 700 pounds that made up his wife’s dowry, a small fortune at the time, into buying out an existing bookseller’s business. On the subject, McMurray wrote to a friend, stating “Many blockheads in the trade are making fortunes, and did we not succeed as well as these, I think it must be imputed only to ourselves” (Carpenter 11). As previously mentioned, while the literary marketplace was expanding at this time, it was still a small, selective market, and the fact that McMurray bought an existing business rather than beginning his own was likely the only thing that kept the House of Murray from falling into bankruptcy before it could be turned over to the hands of John Murray II (O’Connell 24).

After overcoming a number of barriers, “John Murray, Bookseller, 32 Fleet Street opened for business on 20 October 1768. The shop was located in the centre of London book trade and stayed open twelve hours a day, six days a week. On his first day he recorded that his first two customers bought books on credit and the third only bought a few pence worth of stationary” (O’Connell 24). A number of circumstances further forced John Murray I to continue selling books to customers on long term credit, which left Murray limited funds and largely unable to take on new publications.

The state of the House of Murray vacillated between poverty and success for years while John Murray I stood at its head. Many drastic changes took place in the publishing firm and in the Murray family in that time, including the death of Murray’s first wife, partnerships with other publishers, John Murray I’s second marriage, and the subsequent birth of John Murray II, John Murray I’s first legitimate son, and successes found via advertising. John Murray II was the pride

of both of his parents, known as a kind, intelligent boy. Murray the first arranged for his son's education, but after an incident at one of his schools that left Murray the second blind in his right eye, he was given a classical education locally and was able to work for his father in the meantime (O'Connell 26-9).

At fifteen years old John Murray II experienced the death of his father, and after the remarriage of his mother, the publishing firm was left to his father's assistant, Samuel Highley. John Murray II was left in the care of Highley, and in a letter to his brother, he wrote the following:

so unprotected, so patronised, so unadvised, I am so fearful... I will not determine until I can figure to myself the prospect of being contented & constant in whatever I shall hereafter engage in and truly there are objects which I can neither (at present) assimilate nor associate with a connection with Highley - so many disagreeable remembrances crowd upon me that I think myself very unlucky now often very unhappy & yet I have done less to deserve a better lot than I fear that I have done to deserve a worse... Indeed I wish - my Father was alive. (O'Connell 29)

While Murray clearly had no intention of abandoning the bookselling business, his distaste of Highley was evident. He worked diligently under and with Highley, but as soon as Murray had completed his education and had the financial ability to stand on his own, Murray proposed putting an end to their partnership in 1802 (Garnett).

John Murray II did not become an instant success in the world of publishing - like his father, he had to bide his time publishing "safe" works, things that were guaranteed to make money for the publishing firm. He still had to weigh the risks and benefits of each publication, and for many publications he collaborated with other booksellers to soften the financial blow

should a publication be unsuccessful in the market. However, he slowly cultivated his influence on the broader literary culture of the nineteenth century, and the first major instance was his decision to publish *A New System of Domestic Cookery* by Maria Rundell, the most popular English cookbook of its time, and the subject of the second chapter of this thesis.

Chapter Two: A Genesis of Maria Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery*

The urge to try and share recipes from household to household is a recognizable trait that can be found far back in the beginnings of recorded history. Recently Yale University's Babylonian Collection translated a cuneiform recipe for lamb stew, recognized as the world's first written recipe, or at least the earliest written recipe that has been discovered. The translation of the recipe reads as follows: "Meat is used. You prepare water. You add fine-grained salt, dried barley cakes, onion, Persian shallot, and milk. You crush and add leek and garlic" (Winchester). Compared to the specificity in format and lexicon that today's society is accustomed to in recipes, this may seem like a bit of a stretch to call it a recipe. It doesn't contain measurements for any of the ingredients, nor does it tell the reader how to prepare the water. As it is a recipe for lamb stew, it would be fairly safe to assume that the preparation of the water would be boiling the water, but once again, the reader has no idea how long to boil the water.

In order to successfully follow such a recipe, the reader must have had some idea of what they were looking for. In the instance of the lamb stew, the reader and cook would have to know what the end result of the stew should look and taste like, otherwise they run the risk of having either wildly overcooked or undercooked stew. However, the study of cookbooks can reveal a lot about the society in which they were produced, including "aspects of current mentalities, moral attitudes, ideology, national identity, and gender roles" (Notaker 132). In many ways, cookbooks encapsulate a part of society that otherwise remains unseen.

Upon examination, the cookbook genre is truly a remarkable one, and it has evolved drastically over the centuries, cultivating the aforementioned lexicon and format that has stayed remarkably consistent. The cookbook industry and the continued demand for cookbooks, even

after the genre is centuries old, belies the cultural exchange that is found in the simple urge to collect and disseminate recipes from one household to another.

Regardless of holistic aims, the cookbook genre is largely unrecognized by literary studies. On this topic, scholar Henry Notaker writes the following:

Cookbooks have a long history, at least as long as many other types of texts we encounter in our daily lives. But these culinary texts have very rarely been studied with the methods used in most histories of literature. This has partly to do with the concept of literature, which started in the eighteenth century. Before that time, “literature” was a term for most kinds of what we now call fiction and nonfiction, but gradually the concept was narrowed to include only fiction and occasionally certain forms of nonfiction that had traditionally been considered to have a higher literary value - like personal essays, for example.

Literature was specified as beautiful or artistic (ix).

It is not the purpose of this thesis to investigate the reasons that cookbooks have not traditionally been considered literature, but it is a facet of literary studies, and the goals of this chapter, that bears to be recognized.

The long and short of the matter is that cookbooks are a fundamentally different type of writing than that which is recognized as literature. It would be rare indeed to find a literary criticism or analysis discussing the implications of a recipe utilizing thyme over rosemary, or reading Marxist principles into offering the option of replacing one ingredient with another more cost effective one. As Notaker points out, when a cookbook comes under scholarly examination, it is usually the work of historians, sociologists, anthropologists, or even linguists, as would have been the case for the recipe for lamb stew (ix). In the literary sphere, a cookbook may enter into

the academic conversation for the sake of providing context or comparison, as is the case in this very study, further perpetuating the gatekeeping of what “real” literature is or is not.

The History of the Cookbook Genre

While the history of the cookbook genre is a much longer one than most would expect, there is a drastic difference between the cookbooks of the past and the cookbooks that might be published today. As previously mentioned, historical cookbooks did not have the standardized format or lexicon that readers today expect from the genre. Those were conventions that had to develop in the genre over time. However, it would make sense for a modern reader to expect at least a bit more clarity from older recipes, either in terms of the amounts needed in a recipe or the process undergone to prepare the food. Scholar Sandra Sherman explains this phenomenon as such:

[S]uch texts had not generally accommodated cognitive models adapted to teach cooking in a print environment (can an art of complex secrets be reduced to compact, practicable recipes?). In the world of formal apprenticeship, as well as in the domestic environment, cooks learned by trial and error, by observation, question, and revision. Even domestic manuscripts - which had but a few readers - are in many cases characterized by open-ended exchange, as the recipes are written down, accumulated in variant forms, renovated, and personalized in the mode of an interactive, evolving commonplace book. A typical manuscript (often in a family for many generations) bore the hands of several writers, who frequently went back over former writers' inscriptions to make additions or corrections. In the print text, by contrast, the teacher is a book that cannot spontaneously respond. (Sherman 118)

Cooking is an art that largely needs to be seen and practiced with an experienced person present, at least when one is first learning. There are exceptions to this, of course, but that is still the most frequent mode of learning to cook. Thus, attempting to transfer the knowledge required to cook via the written word is difficult, to say the least.

After all, “[t]he written recipe is normally produced at a desk rather than by the fire (even if it is later used in the kitchen). More important is that the writer who records the recipe... must position himself in relation to another addressee, not a pupil or a daughter by his or her side, but rather a reader or readers, who are invisible” (Notaker 55). Therefore, there is frequently some dissonance between the original recipe and techniques that the author used or created and their attempt to convey that knowledge through written means.

While this dissonance was found in most historical cookbooks, this was most definitely true of cookbooks produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Cookbooks followed many of the same trends that all written works did - after the 1460s and the invention of the Gutenberg printing press, the number of cookbooks, as with most other written works, sharply increased (Notaker 55-7). However, not every house had a cookbook - regardless of subject matter, literacy is requisite for the reception of any written work. This meant that even into the eighteenth century, while there were more cookbooks, they weren't terribly common.

The cookbooks that were printed in the early to mid-eighteenth century in England were not the sort that this chapter will be focusing on. As can be estimated by the literacy rates in the previous chapter, in the early to mid-eighteenth century, the cookbooks that were published were not written for an audience of housewives, but instead professional chefs. Most of the women who were literate at the time would not be cooking for themselves or their families. As such these cookbooks primarily contained French recipes, or recipes that were technically very

difficult. If housewives did have access to a cookbook, it was generally a “domestic” cookbook - a cookbook that was handwritten and kept in the family for generations, with numerous additions and corrections to the recipes written (Sherman 120).

However, the fact that cookbooks were not necessarily a common household item in the eighteenth century did not mean that they did not exist - in fact, Andrew Monnickendam refers to the eighteenth century as the “golden age of women’s recipe-books” (2) He goes on to state that between the years 1500-1800, there were 188 cookbooks specifically geared towards women published. 136 of those cookbooks, or roughly 72 percent, were published in the eighteenth century. These statistics do not include the aforementioned “domestic” cookbooks, but instead focus on the published books, which were generally what Notaker refers to as an “aide-memoire to the professional cook” (Notaker, Printed 153). That is, a cookbook written by professionals for professionals. This was one of the things that led to the instructions of printed cookbooks having such vague instructions - an expert did not want to give away all of the tricks of the trade, or their value would be diminished.

The popularity of women’s cookbooks in the eighteenth century led the way for even more cookbooks to be published in the nineteenth century, including Maria Rundell’s *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, first published in 1806. However, cookbooks in the nineteenth century began to take on new characteristics. Rather than falling into the dichotomy of either a domestic cookbook or a professional cookbook, nineteenth century cookbooks, specifically cookbooks aimed at women, began to merge the two predecessors to the modern cookbook.

Brian Rejack describes some of his observations of early nineteenth-century cookbooks, or Romantic cookery books, as he calls them, as such:

First, on the tip of your tongue will come the sensation of a media ontology that privileges objects over processes, creating a pathway toward the slightly bitter hint of a political, aesthetic, and ethical resistance to the logic of Singularity which animates so much of contemporary discourse around computational media (and which infects how we view other media in comparison with it). As those initial notes begin to fade, lingering spicy claims regarding the sensuous character of reading take over, with particular focus on the strategies of mediation at work in romantic-era cookery books. (257)

As Rejack points out, all things are a product of the time in which they were created, and that applies to cookbooks as much as it does to people. He goes on to assert that cookbooks remind us, often to our discomfort, that we as humans are dependent on other objects such as food for our very existence to continue, and in order to combat that, we ascribe a human presence to objects like books, which is why cookbooks are often written to be personable. Rejack also emphasizes that this is especially true of Romantic cookbooks.

While Notaker states that cookbooks are not and will not be read as literature in the future, Rejack suggests that perhaps we should, especially looking at Romantic cookbooks. “Cookery books may not be the most obviously *romantic* texts out there, but they offer a wide range of reflections on the nature of media and mediation during the romantic period” (259). While the modern reader may struggle to view a cookbook as literature, they offer invaluable insights into the culture and society in which they were produced.

A New System of Domestic Cookery -- A History

While booksellers and their success are largely dependent on the range and quality of materials that are sent to them to be considered for publication, there is a level of skill and acuity required to guarantee their success in business. In most cases that involves selecting works for

publication wisely, which requires an intimate understanding of the market, and what kinds of things are selling successfully at any given time. In other cases, it involves recognizing areas in the market that are lacking, and finding something to fill in the gaps.

However, in other situations a bookseller may stumble across something altogether different, a gem hidden in plain sight waiting to be recognized by the discerning eye. This was the origin of Maria Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery*. While it was written by Maria Rundell, it was edited and brought into the world by John Murray II, who was more responsible for that particular publication than any other that he had published.

A New System of Domestic Cookery had much more humble beginnings, as Maria Rundell's intended audience did not extend beyond her family. The Advertisement of this edition states the purpose of the book as such:

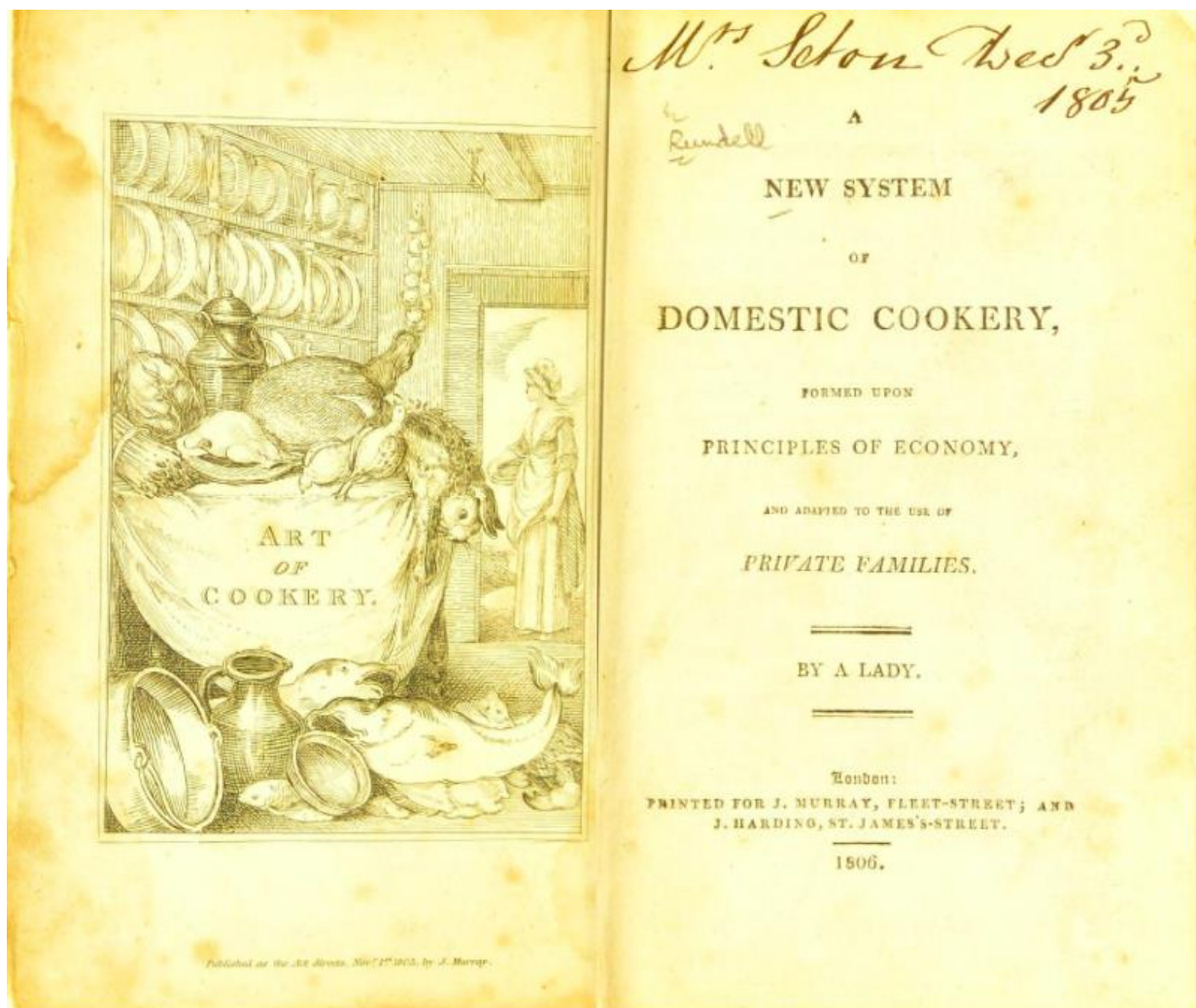
AS the following directions were intended for the conduct of the families of the authoress's own daughters, and for the arrangement of their table, so as to unite a good figure with proper economy, she has avoided all excessive luxury, such as essence of ham, and that wasteful expenditure of large quantities of meat for gravy, which so greatly contributes to keep up the price, and is no less injurious to those who eat than those who penury obliges them to abstain. Many receipts are given for things which, being in daily use, the mode of preparing them may be supposed to be too well known to require a place in a cookery-book; yet, we rarely meet with butter properly melted, good toast and water, or well-made coffee. She makes no apology for minuteness in some articles, or for leaving others unnoticed, because she does not write for professed cooks. This little work would have been a treasure to herself when she first set out in life, and she therefore hopes it may prove useful to others. In that expectations it is given to the public; and as

she will receive from it no EMOLUMENT, so she trusts it will escape without censure.

(13)

As the advertisement states, Maria Rundell initially intended *A New System of Domestic Cookery* to be a resource for her daughters and her daughters' families, kitchen tips and recipes that she wanted them to know. Later in her career, Rundell would publish her second and final book, *Letters Addressed to Two Absent Daughters* in 1814, yet another attempt to pass on the domestic advice of a seasoned wife and mother.

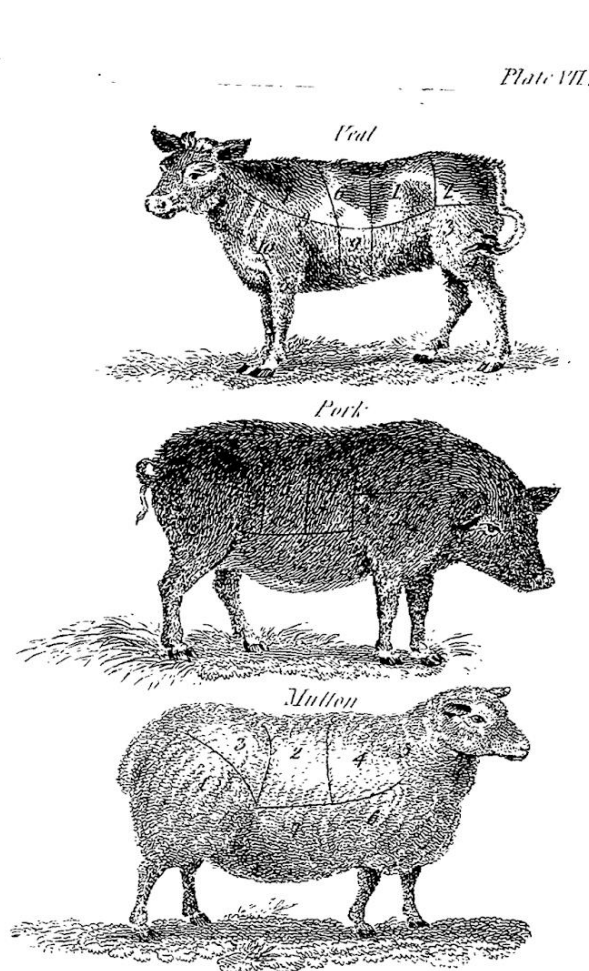
Figure 1. Title page and frontispiece from a first edition of *A New System of Domestic Cookery*



Rundell had finished collecting the recipes and advice that would compose *A New System of Domestic Cookery* at the age of sixty, and it was then, in 1805 that she sent a copy of the book as a gift to John Murray II, a longtime family friend. Murray, then only twenty-six, recognizing the possible potential of the work, asked for Rundell's permission to publish it, which she granted (Benjamin 73). Neither person could have anticipated just how popular *A New System of Domestic Cookery* would become, but it became an unprecedented success after editing and adding engravings to the work. "Published in 1806, the book was a blockbuster in terms of sales; Murray routinely sold up to 10,000 copies each year and by the early 1840s the book was in its sixty-fifth edition. As the firm gained a stable financial footing Murray began to think about ways to expand it and to achieve greater influence" (O'Connell 34). And achieve greater influence Murray did.

After the riotous success of the first edition in 1806, a second edition was not far off. On July 4, 1806, mere months after the printing of the first edition, Rundell wrote Murray explaining the bad health of one of her children, and apologizing for the delay it caused for her edits on the second edition. "I am sorry I am so slow with the 2^d edition + much vexed that in health delays, it as several of my young friends are just setting out in the household concerns and wish the book as a companion. I am indeed flattered to find it is deemed useful in its present defective state + hope it will have more merit when reproduced" (Rundell). Murray and Rundell alike took much bolder moves in the publication of the second edition. Murray added illustrations and diagrams, and while Rundell added bolder and new recipes, she also offered more assertive counsel to her readers in their household management. One such example is Rundell's advice on carving - in the first edition she mentioned carving, but in the second she counsels women to become expert carvers and provides some instruction in carving, something that was largely a male task.

Figure 2. Plate VII from *A New System of Domestic Cookery* by Maria Rundell



Digitized by
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A New System of Domestic Cookery was Murray's bestseller by far, and for the first few editions of the book Rundell insisted that it was a gift to the publisher and that she neither

required nor wanted any sort of payment. On top of this, Rundell initially requested not to be named in the book, and it was published with the author listed as “A Lady.” On the topic of Rundell’s anonymity, scholar Sarah Benjamin states the following:

Maria’s preference for anonymity and refusal of payment for her work may mystify the modern reader but it serves to remind us she was balancing a belief in the value of her work against strong societal notions of respectability. The potential taint of commerce was staring at her from all angles. As a respectable middle-class woman, she was mindful to distance herself from any suggestion she was writing for money. Whether Murray cared to think too much about her motivations, he would have understood her situation, for he too knew the delicate equilibrium between commerce and social aspiration. When Maria first delivered the manuscript, she was a widow just in her sixties; her husband had left her well provided for, most of her children were respectably married and her favourite brother-in-law had become a huge commercial success as the crown jeweller. She was being careful not to send out the wrong message. Rather than profits, she was anxious to be published and read by modern young women and Murray enabled her. (74)

Thus the knowledge and legacy that Rundell had desperately hoped to impart to her daughters could be and was read widely by women all over the country, and not long afterwards, internationally.

Possibly feeling guilty about his own financial success due to the book, in 1808 Murray gifted Rundell 150 pounds, which has the same spending power as over 16,000 US dollars in today’s society, a more than generous sum (McClay 29). Rundell once again claimed that it was not necessary and that she did not require any sort of payment, writing that she had “never had the smallest Idea of any return for what I considered, & which really was, a free Gift to one

whom I had long regarded as my friend” (Rundell 1808). That attitude would not persist throughout their work together, however.

Murray wasted no time in printing new editions of *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, publishing them at almost dizzying speeds. The cookbook remained so wildly popular and successful that ownership of the copyright was one of the pivotal pieces that allowed Murray to secure the House of Murray’s famous location on Albemarle Street, which Murray claimed was “peculiarly favourable for the dissemination of any work of eminence among the fashionable & literary part of the Metropolis” (Carpenter 76). The house that Murray eventually bought was 4000 pounds, which had the same buying power as over 369,000 US dollars in today’s society. At that point in his career Murray did not have 4,000 pounds to spend on the house, but he owned the copyright to *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, in addition to the *Quarterly Review*, and his quarter share in Sir Walter Scott’s *Marmion*. Owning a quarter share of a copyright was fairly common practice for a bookseller in the nineteenth century. Many booksellers would share a copyright to minimize the financial risk of producing the work. However, in the event of a successful book, they would continue to have shares in the copyright and continue to have shares of the profit. Of those titles Rundell’s was the most profitable - more profitable, even, than *Childe Harold* by Lord Byron, which was financially successful, but had not hit the peak of its sales at that point. Maria Rundell was not informed of her hand in allowing Murray to move his business, and her letters at the time voiced her concern that *A New System Domestic Cookery* and the revisions and improvements she was sending were forgotten.

While Murray frequently consulted with Rundell before publishing each new edition of *A New Domestic Cookery*, ultimately it was he who owned the copyright, and as such he could do

as he liked with the cookbook, which caused some tension between the authoress and bookseller. One such example is a letter that Rundell sent to Murray on May 22, 1807 that reads:

I am glad you are aware how ill the 2^d edition of our good eating was put together; it was far worse than the first, but I think much of the fault lay with the compositor, for he did not know there was a sound in the cod, and called it a round, and so in many other things.

I have made lists of some sets of articles that they may be better classed. (Rundell)

In this case, the “sound” Rundell refers to is “the swimming bladder of certain fish, esp. of cod or sturgeon”, something that was not necessarily common knowledge outside of housewives (“sound”). Murray had moved on to other things, bigger name authors who were producing new, exciting literature instead of the occasional new recipe -- indeed, the last pages in later editions of *A New System of Domestic Cookery* were devoted to advertising Murray’s other, more prolific authors such as Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, or Jane Austen (Benjamin 78).

Rundell’s second book, *Letters Addressed to Two Absent Daughters* was published in 1814, but not by Murray. Rundell had sent Murray the manuscript, but he had not seen the letter in time to respond. Aggravated, Rundell took the manuscript to be published elsewhere. This added to Maria Rundell’s perceived neglect from the bookseller, and relations between the two continuously grew more strained. In 1819, fourteen years after the initial publication of *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, Rundell informed Murray that she wanted the copyright of the cookbook, as copyrights only lasted fourteen years at the time (Tippen 3). This came as a shock to Murray, as did Rundell’s plans to have the cookbook published by one of Murray’s competitors, but it had been brewing for some time. Maria Rundell felt that Murray had been taking *A New System of Domestic Cookery* largely for granted, and she did not approve of the lower quality of later editions, such as numerous printer errors and prefaces and afterwords by

writers other than Rundell that were included without consulting her. (Carpenter 52). This resulted in both Murray and Rundell filing separate claims to the copyright of the book.

Legal Battle

Rundell's original insistence on anonymity was likely part of the reason that her attempts to reclaim the copyright were so shocking to Murray.

Despite the acknowledged cooling of their relationship, in 1819 Murray was shocked when he was told of Maria's move to effectively reclaim her copyright and offer the book to his commercial rival Longman... She wanted it back and she had every reason to think that she owed Murray nothing more. Murray was doubly horrified by the very public fashion in which she did this. It was incredible - and no doubt humiliating - to him that an all but invisible woman, now in her seventies, whose book he had published successfully for well over a decade, could behave in such a way without any prior warning to offer 'his' title to a competing business. (Benjamin 81)

Murray's response to Rundell was to contact his lawyer, Sharon Turner, who advised immediate action against Rundell's claim.

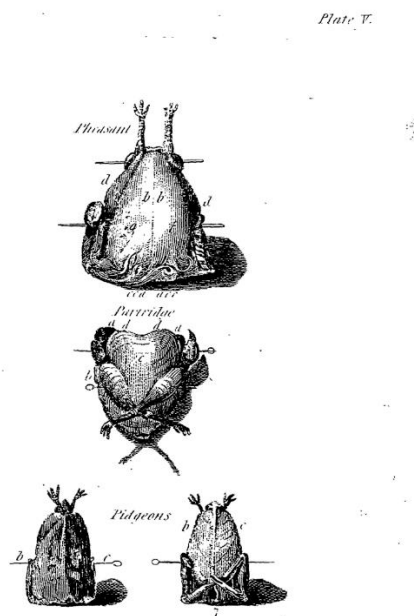
In a modern reader's mind, Rundell's ownership of *A New System of Domestic Cookery* might seem like the only answer, but Murray was able to claim that the work was a collaboration between Rundell and himself. Murray had, in fact, had a liberal hand in the work, including the creation of the title, which was largely what Murray wanted in the first place.

Murray was less concerned about ownership of the recipes, confident that he would have no trouble sourcing new ones if necessary. Turner crudely proposed to Murray that a more biddable writer be found to write up instructions for hotch-potch, anchovy toast and Devonshire junket. Lawyer and publisher still claim the framing and marketing devices

of *Domestic Cookery* held the most value. For now, Murray wanted to protect the expensive illustrations of trussed partridge, shoulder of mutton and haunch of venison rather than the recipes for their preparation and cooking. In other words, the author's authority and written word he deemed less valuable. (Benjamin 82)

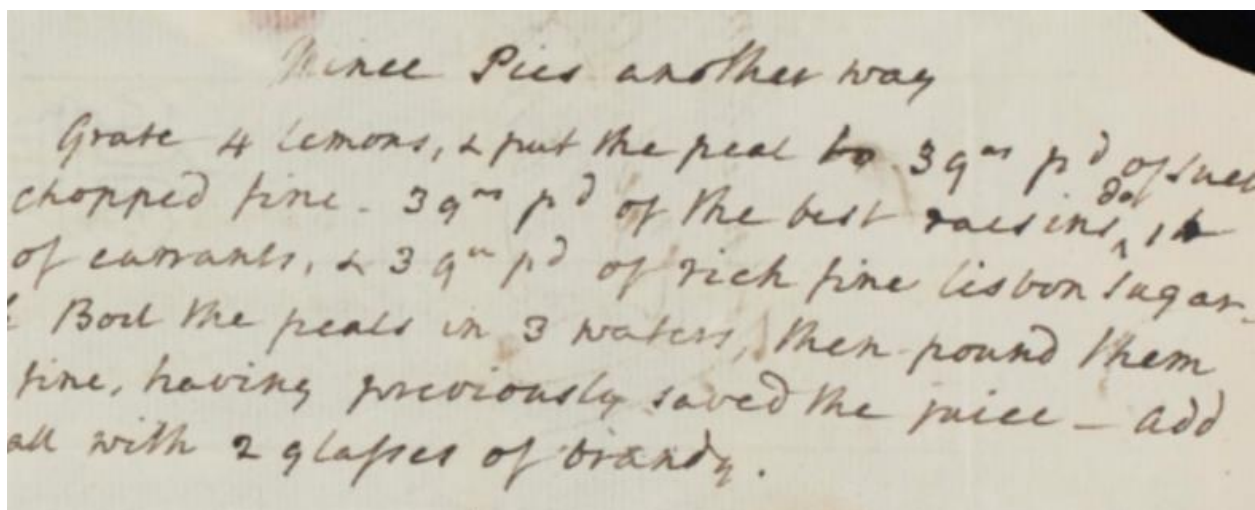
While Murray devised ways to remove Rundell from *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, Rundell was devising ways to remove Murray from the work. As Murray claimed that he was a collaborator of her work, Rundell re-wrote any portion of the book that Murray had had a hand in, resubmitting it to Longman, Murray's competitor. "Furthermore she took the extraordinary step of initiating a new and separate claim against Murray for damages under common law. She was now playing her former friend on two fronts. This must have been exasperating for Murray. This woman who dealt in apple dumplings and lemon cheesecakes was making a mockery of him and threatening his business" (Benjamin 83). This led to what scholar Gary Dyer called "Murray's longest, most expensive war over literary property" (121).

Figure 3. Plate V from *A New System of Domestic Cookery* by Maria Rundell



Murray's next tactic in this literary war was to cast doubt over Rundell's authorship of the recipes. "Given that *Domestic Cookery* had passed through so many hands, editions, and time periods, as a representative of the cookery-book genre, Rundell's work might well display certain literary implications " (Tippen 3). Due to Murray's allegations, the court asked for proof that Maria Rundell was the authoress of each individual recipe. This was extremely difficult to do, and throughout the process the many letters, one from 1806 pictured below, that Rundell wrote to Murray concerning updated and revised versions of her recipes were never utilized as evidence in Rundell's defense.

Figure 4. Handwritten recipe, taken from a letter from Maria Rundell to John Murray II, 1806



All of Rundell's correspondence with Murray makes it more than evident that the improvement of *A New System of Domestic Cookery* was constantly on her mind. Despite her efforts to prove her authorship, however, it became clear that the recipes themselves were not able to be copyrighted; it was the format and the organization of the cookbook that was copyrighted, and that was the main complication in the court's eyes. It was eventually evident that Rundell did write the recipes, but the cookbook as a whole was a product of collaboration between Rundell and Murray.

After a long, expensive battle between the housewife and the bookseller, Murray finally gave up. He wasn't going to give up the copyright to his most consistently successful title, so he had no choice but to compensate Rundell fairly. Later editions of *A New System of Domestic Cookery* have a note added to the Advertisement both naming Rundell as the author and recording the payment that Rundell received for the copyright of the cookbook, a sum of 2000 pounds, which in 1822 had the same buying power as almost 253,000 US dollars would have today (Eliassen). This was the same amount that Murray had paid Byron for Canto III of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* in 1817 (Dyer 1). Many of Murray's friends would admire his generosity, but in actuality the large sum was a product of Rundell rejecting smaller amounts.

The amount that Murray was willing to part with for the copyright of an eighteen-year-old cookbook pays testament to the value that *A New System of Domestic Cookery* held, both as a monetary asset as well as a cultural phenomenon. Copies of *A New System of Domestic Cookery* are still in print today and easily accessible for anyone that wishes to look, but the House of Murray kept the book in print until 1893, eighty-seven years after the initial publication. It proved fruitful for him, as it is estimated that in those eighty-seven years, Murray sold over 245,000 copies in Britain, and over 500,000 worldwide (Carrell).

Piracy

Literary piracy was a common issue in early nineteenth century England. While intellectual property existed at the time, as evidenced by Murray and Rundell's continued battle for *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, piracy was much harder to combat then than it is now. Lord Byron famously and vocally proclaimed the evils of those who pirated his works, not because of the lost capital from piracy, but because his works had been pirated poorly (Kolkey 21). Murray and Byron waged war for a number of Byron's works, of which the pirated editions

were wildly successful because of their low price, a mere two shillings for Byron's *Cain: A Mystery* (Dyer 2). At that time, publishers of piracy were open to being sued by the owner of the copyright, but there were no moves to cut piracy off at the source, or deter people from pirating literature. Murray's attempts to stop piracy of some of Byron's works were particularly difficult because of the controversial subject matter that they dealt with (Kolkey 21).

Maria Rundell had the opposite problem. Her cookbook held a high place of esteem and prestige - *A New System of Domestic Cookery* was in many ways a non-controversial manual for the sensible housewife, and that was recognized in England and abroad. *A New System of Domestic Cookery* was scarcely published before it was pirated at some level. While England had fledgeling copyright laws in place, there were no laws protecting copyrighted materials from country to country. Rundell's book was just as successful in the United States of America as it had been in England, if not more successful. *A New System of Domestic Cookery* was so prolifically published in the US that a number of academic databases classify the work as "American Cookery" rather than British.

By the mid to late nineteenth century, the popularity of *A New System of Domestic Cookery* had died down - it was still frequently found in many households, but it was not the top seller that it once had been. However, that did not mean that the pirating of the cookbook stopped. In 1912, a man named S. Thomas Bivins published *The Southern Cookbook: A Manual of Cooking and List of Menus Including Recipes Used by Noted Colored Cooks and Prominent Caterers*. The book has nearly 700 recipes, and in those recipes there are whole sections of text copied exactly from *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, as are most of the long sections of writing between recipes. There is very little formally published on Bivins or his book, other than

the fact that Bivins was one of the first African American cooks to “write” and market a cookbook specifically to other black cooks (Tippen 5).

The preface and the introduction of *The Southern Cookbook* are the only portions of the cookbook that are completely uninfluenced by *A New System of Domestic Cookery*. In the preface, Bivins states his purpose:

The writer of this book has one object in view in preparing and sending out to the world the treatise here published. He has labored at the same time to produce a manual which the family and hotel proprietors can take in hand with a certainty of finding directions and assistance in most of the doubts and perplexities which beset their daily life: a book to aid in choosing choice dishes and delicacies for private and public functions and to guide them in the selection of such dishes as will be most desirable - a book which, if studied and followed, will render them sagacious, able, well informed, ready, cheerful and accomplished in whatever makes the table the dearest comfort and the fountain of purest delight. (Bivins 9)

There are notable similarities and differences between the Preface of *The Southern Cookbook* and the Advertisement of *A New System of Domestic Cookery*. The purpose of the two texts remains similar, that is, to serve as a manual to aid in managing a household. However, the intended audiences are the source of the largest difference between the two statements. Where Rundell hoped for *A New System of Domestic Cookery* to be a resource and a “friend” to women new to the world of managing a household, Bivins offers Rundell’s advice in a more professional capacity, for the use of families, but also specifically for hotel proprietors.

The introduction of *The Southern Cookbook*, the only other portion of the work that was not pirated from *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, provides the book some interesting aspirations. Bivins writes the following:

In no country in the world are there so many well-to-do people as in the United States, or so many who own comfortable and even beautiful homes, and on every hand we hear the call for trained servants for those homes. The home, with all of its endearing associations, as father, mother, brother, and sister, is more affected by the domestic service carried on within than by all other agencies and influences combined. It is said that the mother who rocks the cradle controls the nation, but the domestic who faithfully and intelligently serves her who rocks the cradle is, in fact, the real ruler... Domestic service consists not simply in going the rounds and doing the humdrum duties of the house, but in scientifically cooking the food: in creating new dishes and in having a thorough knowledge of the family, the peculiar tastes, habits and dispositions of each member so as to be able to meet all of their peculiar wants and circumstances. (Bivins 11)

While this section is one of the only original sections of the cookbook, many of the sentiments and hopes that Bivins presents are a mirror of Rundell's writing. In her section "Miscellaneous Observations for the use of a Mistress of a Family," Rundell writes "The mistress of a family should always remember that the welfare and good management of the house depend on the eye of the superior; and consequently that nothing is too trifling for her notice, whereby waste may be avoided; and this attention is of more importance, now, that the price of every necessary of life is increased to an enormous degree" (13). It makes sense that Bivins would include similar sentiments in his Preface, but the knowledge that *The Southern Cookbook* was largely pirated significantly dampens the legacy that it leaves behind.

With so little accessible information on S. Thomas Bivins, it is impossible to say what his intentions in publishing *The Southern Cookbook* might have been. According to a group of scholars,, “[t]he data available in the census and city directories suggests that the S. Thomas Bivins who penned *The Southern Cookbook* was not a professional cook or writer, as some scholars have claimed, but an upholsterer and furniture dealer, a business professional and craftsman from the merchant class of African Americans in Philadelphia” (Tippen 6). Unfortunately, how an upholsterer was introduced to the world of cookery is unknowable, a secret yet to be uncovered from history.

The aim of this thesis is not to cast judgment on any of the people involved in the legacy of *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, but rather to observe the cultural value that the advice of a mother produced. Even an entire century later people were reproducing Rundell’s advice and recipes for more people to learn, which is really the legacy that she wanted from the outset.

Maria Rundell as a “Domestic Goddess”

An article published in the *Stella Magazine* in 2009 begins talking about Mrs. Beeton, the “queen of household management” (Wilson 46), and the disappointment that readers may face when they find that she was not, in fact, the country domestic goddess that her works had made her out to be - she was a glamorous city girl with a talent for writing and compiling recipes, but with little experience in the kitchen. From here the article continues: “But there was another food writer of the 19th century who did fit our comforting idea of Mrs. Beeton. Though her name may not ring a bell now, Maria Eliza Rundell (1745-1828) has been called the ‘first domestic goddess’” (Wilson 46). The article goes on to give a brief overview of her life, and descriptions of *A New System of Domestic Cookery* and the many skills that she displayed both in life and in the cookbook.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the term domestic goddess means “a woman likened to a goddess of the home, spec. one who is admired or adored for her domestic skills (later esp. cooking); an idealized housewife or homemaker.” The phrase “domestic goddess” is first documented by the OED in 1828, but at that point in time it referred to mythological goddesses who were associated with the household. Considering the entire history of cookbooks, it is hardly fair to call Maria Rundell the first domestic goddess. She had a number of predecessors in the cookbook genre. For instance, Rundell’s work is frequently compared to Hannah Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, the best-selling cookbook of the eighteenth century, published over fifty years before *A New System of Domestic Cookery*.

While Rundell can hardly be considered the first, her status as a domestic goddess is irrefutable. This is evidenced by a number of non-scholastic newspaper and magazine articles about Maria Rundell spanning several years of the early two-thousands, not unlike the *Stella Magazine* article previously quoted. The resurgence of Rundell’s popularity is a curious one, but some conjectures can be drawn from the time in which they were published.

The beginning of the aforementioned *Stella Magazine Article* begins by describing the disappointment that some readers may feel from the knowledge that Mrs. Beeton was not the domestic goddess that history had made her out to be, a fact that had then only recently been revealed by Kathryn Hughes’s biography of the Victorian cookbook author, published in 2005. However, this biography came out not terribly long after a number of scandals involving women that were seen as modern domestic goddesses, women such as Martha Stewart or Nigella Lawson. There is no way to know for sure that there is any sort of correlation between these events, but it is curious that these articles introduce Rundell as a figure to be trusted when so many of the domestic goddess figures in mainstream media were disappointing their viewers.

What was it about Maria Rundell, then, that offers the modern reader such comfort? Rundell's was not the first cookbook, nor was it the first cookbook to offer advice in the domestic sphere. Henry Carpenter describes the effect of *A New System of Domestic Cookery* as such:

[C]ookery books for domestic use had been appearing at least since the sixteenth century, and more recently *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1747) by Hannah Glasse had been a bestseller. Mrs Rundell was not a pioneer, but she was bringing a well-established science up to date: hers for example was the first cookery book to give instructions in making coffee. The book reflects the rise of the middle class. The old social classes, aristocracy and tradespeople, were being remade by what Mrs Rundell, following Daniel Defoe, calls 'those in a middle line', who did not have armies of servants to do the cooking and keep house. On the other hand, the recipes were not intended for the poor, or for those of a delicate constitution, judging by the amount of eggs and cream that go into the plainest dishes... The style of the food is formidably English: the book begins with instructions in carving a joint, and only a few recipes have French titles. (49-51)

What Rundell offered was a voice that could be trusted. From the very beginning of her book her intentions were clear - she wrote initially for her daughters, but ultimately to give young housewives a companion to ease their worries. Rundell does so with no pretense - unlike the previously mentioned domestic goddesses involved in scandals, Rundell never poses as something other than a concerned mother.

Rundell's advice caters to women of many stations, as it gives suggestions for managing servants alongside the recipes. Many of her recipes provide frugal ways to lower the expenses of

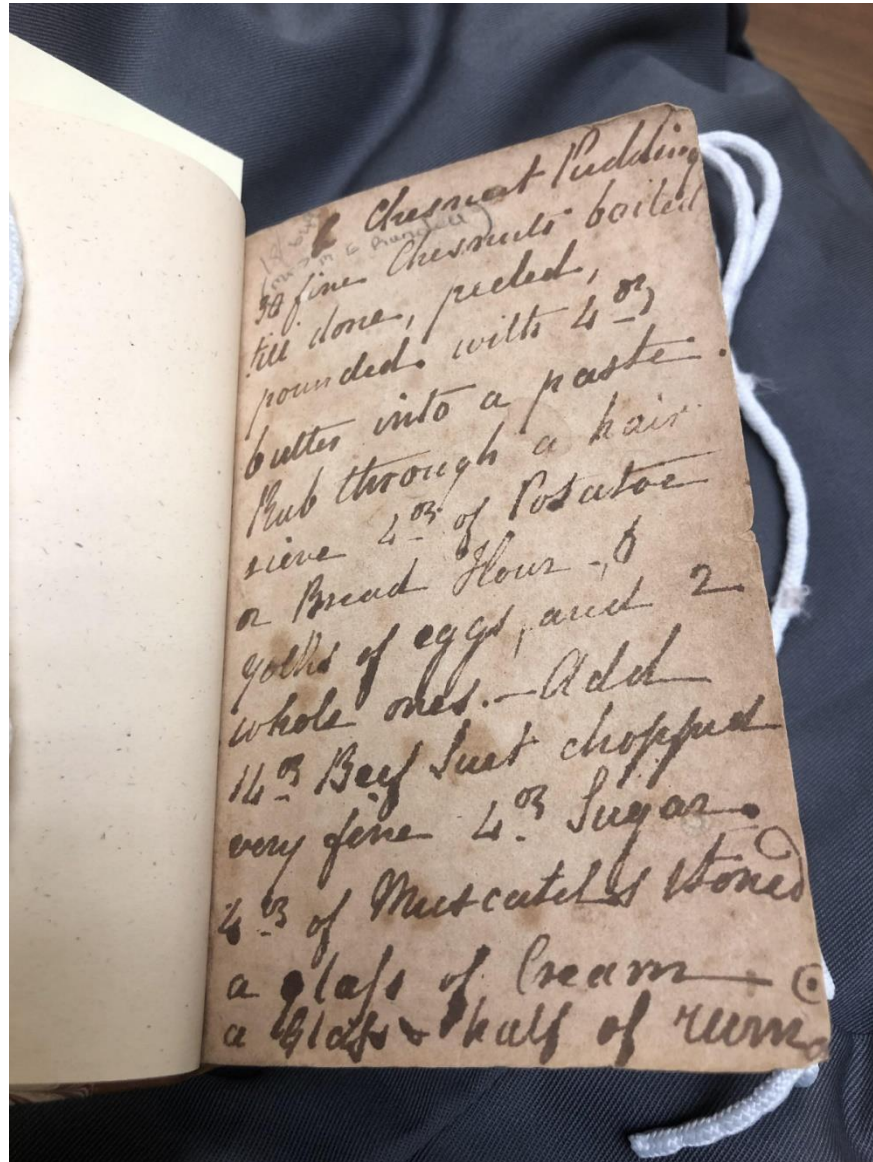
the food, but for women who do not care as much about the cost of food, there were new, exciting recipes that at the time could not be found elsewhere. For instance, from India she writes a recipe for “Chicken Currie”, which is to be served with an “Indian Pickle,” made with garlic, vinegar, and mustard seed. Later editions had more diverse recipes, such as “Chinese” foods like “Mutton kebobbed” and “China Chilo,” which consisted of minced lamb seasoned with cayenne pepper served over rice.

In their Special Collections, Idaho State University’s Oboler Library owns a copy of *A New System of Domestic History* - a copy of Rundell’s bemoaned second edition, in fact. It is a smaller book than I originally expected, a duodecimo with over 400 pages. It bears signs of heavy use - it has clearly been rebound and yellowed with age, and many of the pages are stained, likely due to some cooking-related accident. This particular copy is consistent with the complaints that Rundell and many of Murray’s other authors had about Murray’s printer. While it had the misprints that Rundell had written Murray about, there were also portions where the text was incomplete because there had not been sufficient ink applied to the printing plate - on some pages, the first one or two letters of a word were simply not printed. Regardless, for a book clearly so well-utilized to still be in circulation is a feat of book-making that should not be ignored.

Most charming of all is the additions to the book that previous owners made. This particular copy of the book has a number of recipes written into the blank spaces, such as a recipe for “Chesnut Pudding” shown below, and a “Receipt for curing Hams”. The way these recipes are written are very similar to the way that Rundell writes her recipes, with just as little specificity on the amount needed for the recipes and the way these recipes should be made. The recipes added to the cookbook are clearly written by different people, but there is no way of

knowing how they knew one another, or even if they knew one another. It could have been a cookbook passed from mother to daughter, or even amongst friends, or perhaps it was simply lost by one woman only to be found by another.

Figure 5. Handwritten recipe in the blank space of a Second Edition of *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, found in Idaho State University's Special Collections



At the beginning of this chapter, the two predecessors to the modern cookbook were discussed - both the “domestic” cookbook and the “aide-memoire”. Rundell’s manner of writing

was already a sort of fusion of the two types of cookbook, but this particular copy encapsulates that more fully than anything else could. Rundell's cookbook and guide to household management was published, like the "aide-memoire", but here it has also become a "domestic" cookbook, passed from woman to woman so that it might offer Rundell's wisdom, in addition to the wisdom of the women that owned it previously. When Rundell first sent her manuscript as a gift to Murray, there was no way she could have known all that would come from that. While she had her moments of frustration and disappointment, ultimately her aim for the book was reached. Rundell's writing was able to help more women than she could have ever imagined.

Chapter Three: *Gatherings from Spain* and Other Works by Richard Ford

The publishing industry is a game of risks. There are some publishers like John Murray II that are far more perceptive about which books would be successful, but as seen with *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, there's simply no way to tell what success a book may bring until it's been published. This remains true today, but in some ways the stakes were higher for publishers in the nineteenth century.

Not every book that John Murray II sold was as popular as *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, nor could it be - the market was simply not large enough and society did not have enough disposable income to have very many books that were so widely purchased. Publishing in the nineteenth century was a different beast then than it is now. While ebooks still cost some money to format and produce, there are no physical resources lost if the book does not sell as well as the publisher expected or hoped. But in a time where *every* publication necessitates a loss of resources, there is a balancing act that happens with each work being considered for publication.

For travel guidebooks in particular, a bookseller had to evaluate whether or not there was a demand for writing about that particular area - it would make no sense to produce thousands of copies of a guidebook for a place that almost no one visited. However, guidebooks, if they were to remain effective, needed to be updated frequently to reflect any changes, which also meant that the authors needed to travel to those places fairly frequently as well, in addition to reprinting the guidebook with updates.

Similar to the cookbook genre, the purpose and utilization of a guidebook specifically begins to disqualify the writing as "literature". Travel writing in general is broadly recognized as "literature", but handbooks or manuals such as travel guides are cursed by their brevity. The

writing can be beautiful, but an outdated guidebook is no longer a reliable resource for the reader, and thus is not in high demand in the market. Therefore, every few years booksellers have to judge whether or not it would be worth it to commission a new edition of the travel guidebook. A group of scholars describe this issue as such:

The principal epistemic problem raised by exploration and travel and its written reports is that of trust, specifically how trust was to be secured at a distance. How could the testimony of “unofficial reporters” and “geographically privileged persons” (as those who traveled and witnessed have been so characterized) be evaluated as to its value and reliability by audiences elsewhere? (Keighren et al, 72-3)

The most important aspect of a guidebook for its reader is the ethos it holds - is this guidebook a trustworthy one? And that was something that the House of Murray worked hard to develop in their ventures with travel writing.

Travel Writing as a Genre

Travel narratives are something that have existed longer than scholarship can possibly fathom. Long before writing was invented, people told stories of their travels, talking of strange lands and people that intrigue and excite the audience. This was just as true in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than it had ever been, but the market for travel writing during these times varied widely.

The eighteenth century saw a plethora of travel writing - so much so that *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* states, “Travel accounts represented a dominant paradigm of writing for an eighteenth century obsessed -- in the wake of the scientific revolution and Locke’s philosophy -- with what Bishop Thomas Sprat called the ‘plain style’” (Das 93). This would have been during the time of the Enlightenment, a time seeking logic and knowledge, so many of the

travel accounts were very straightforward and informative. Writers strove to keep their language and their accounts as unadorned as possible, simply because that was not what was popular at the time.

The effects that the Enlightenment had on eighteenth century travel writing went deeper than the diction of the narratives. Previously many, if not most travel narratives were written accounts of pilgrimages, or spiritual journeys, and completely erasing that legacy from the travel writing of the eighteenth century was difficult to do, if not impossible.

On the one hand, as a secularisation of pilgrimage narrative with its ultimately spiritual goals, travel writing made the principles of a materialist epistemology ‘available not through the renunciation, but through the exploitation, of merely sensuous human powers’ in the political interests of nations formation and colonial expansion. On the other hand, a venerable association between travel and romancing (the basis of Jonathan Swift’s irony in *Gulliver’s Travels*) problematised the truth claims of travellers in the age of Hume and Voltaire, however much they were buttressed by eyewitness accounts and empirical detail, making travel writing in this period ‘a transnational mode of testimony between wonder and knowledge’. (Das 93)

And such is the crux of the issue of travel writing, particularly in the eighteenth century. Travel writers had to play a careful balancing act -- their writing could not be too spiritual or it would not be factual enough, and not too factual, because then the writing would not be interesting enough.

One work of particular interest is Samuel Johnson’s *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*. Published in 1785, the work details an eighty-three-day journey that Johnson took through the Highlands and the Hebrides, accompanied by a party most notably including James

Boswell, a Scottish friend and eventual biographer of Johnson's. *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* is recognized for Johnson's particularly acute observations and witty narration, and it presents a landmark in travel writing as a genre. This particular work of Johnson's is still frequently studied today, for subjects such as Scotland's intellectual traditions, a study of the inhabitants, and even, recently, ecology conservation (Markley 493-4).

In the eighteenth century travel was common for the aristocracy. It was not impossible for the middle and lower classes, but it was also not common. Among aristocratic young men, "The Grand Tour" became a sort of rite of passage - a journey on which these young men would take three or four years to travel around Europe, always completed with "an expensive sojourn in Italy," as Rome was seen as the height of what a modern reader would recognize as cultural tourism ("Art"). Over time, however, "[t]he overfamiliarity of the Grand Tour as a 'beaten track' for aristocratic *ennuyes* prompted the emergence of a second dominant mode of eighteenth-century travel writing: the 'home' or domestic tour of the peripheries of Britain" (Das 95). This was a more accessible travel option, and it was taken by some aristocracy, but also by aspirational middle classes.

Traveling was largely a male pursuit, but it is important to note that it was not a wholly male pursuit. While women were not able to take "Grand Tours" of their own, after marriage, traveling did frequently become a possibility for them. Unlike the young aristocrats on their "Grand Tour", most married female travelers "had an estate, or a household, a husband, and often children and elderly parents to take care of and worry about while abroad -- whether these dependents traveled with them or stayed at home", a far cry from the careless travels of the young aristocratic men (Guerts).

Travel writing was also a predominantly male pursuit, but there were some female travel writers. However, the obstacles for the female travel writers were significantly higher than they were for male travel writers. “For one thing, it took a certain kind of woman in the right circumstances to publish anything in the first place, let alone to publish a text on secular subject matter (and not, for instance, a conversion narrative) in which she herself played the main part” (Geurts). Despite the difficulties that women found in publishing travel narratives in the eighteenth century, those accounts that were published were highly valued for “women’s perceptive, original observations of life abroad” (Geurts). Readers found certain aspects of female narratives new and refreshing, likely due to women focusing on different aspects of travel than men.

One female travel writer of note is Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, famous for writing *Turkish Embassy Letters*, was a woman who:

resisted 18-century gender constraints, she taught herself Latin at an early age, eloped with a man of whom her father did not approve, traveled with him to Turkey, and used her correspondence from there as the basis for an epistolary manuscript, brought a method of inoculation back with her and devoted considerable time in England advocating for it, and did not back down from defending herself – often in writing – from the literary barbs of Pope and Swift. (Hall et al 1)

Over the course of her lifetime Lady Montagu revised and added to this collection of letters a number of times, so they are not purely authentic correspondence, but they still offer an important development as the first written account of a British woman traveling in Turkey. Published posthumously in 1763, Lady Montagu’s *Letters* were formative in female travel writing (Hall et al 2).

Transitioning into the nineteenth century, travel writing was one of the most popular genres of that time period. It was so popular, in fact, that people began to feel obligated to write of their travels, whether they wished to or not. For example, after the publication of several of his travel narratives, a man named William Parry wrote to John Murray II, “It is very gratifying to my feelings to be assured that my Book is well spoken of by those whose judgement is the most be valued on such subjects... Too much is, in these book-making days, expected of Naval Officers in this respect; for they are accustomed to *act* more than to *write* -- but both are expected from us now” (Keighren et al 35). This sentiment was particularly true of seamen at the time - their narratives were of particular interest in the public eye.

A push-back against the Enlightenment, the beginning of the nineteenth century saw the birth of Romanticism and a very different kind of travel narrative. Gone were the “plain” travel accounts, unadorned and highly factual, and in its place were accounts of fancy and wonder.

In historical surveys, early nineteenth-century travelogues are commonly discussed under the heading ‘Romantic Travel Writing’. This label is useful insofar as it stresses the many continuities underpinning the genre from the 1770s to the 1830s. The term ‘Romantic’, however, often generates misleading expectations. Some aspects of early nineteenth-century travel writing can certainly be broadly construed as Romantic tendencies. The late eighteenth-century vogue for ‘picturesque’ scenery continued, producing greater aesthetic appreciation of landscapes than in earlier eras, and generating numerous accounts which made the picturesque, both at home and abroad, their principal theme.

(Das 110)

Many of the Romantic poets had travel writing of their own, which definitely lived up to the “picturesque” expectations of the time.

However, as the century progressed and Romanticism began to fade, travel was more accessible to the general public than ever before. Industrialization and innovation led to better roads, new canals, and hot-air balloons in the late eighteenth century, but this was only expanded in the nineteenth century, which saw the invention and use of railways, telegraph, telephones, bicycles, and motor cars (Das 108). With travel so accessible and affordable, travel writing then had to shift to accommodate the audience's needs. Gone were the days of an audience ravenous for information and descriptions about a place when they could visit those places themselves. This called for guidebooks "in a recognisably modern form" (Das 119). And it is those very guidebooks that this chapter will discuss.

Travel Writing in the House of Murray

Richard Ford's work within the House of Murray began at a particularly interesting time for the publishing firm. Growing older, John Murray II was still the head of the business, but John Murray III was stepping up and taking on more and more responsibilities in the firm. Father and son worked so closely together that it hardly mattered which Murray the authors were corresponding with -- in fact, in some letters to the publishing firm, it is impossible to know which John Murray the correspondent was writing to.

John McMurray had bought the business on a whim, John Murray II was the one who brought financial security to the business, and John Murray III was then able to focus a bit more on his passions. Of course his father had to approve of the early publications, but John Murray III was moving the firm in a new direction:

John Murray II, in particular, managed the publication of books on parts of the world in relation to market demand: authorship reflected matters to do with audience as well as with the facts of writing in the field, truth telling, and those other elements experienced

by explorers and travelers who became “authorized.” John Murray III’s interests in earth sciences helped him bolster the standing of the firm, which issued several leading works of science. (Keighren et al 27)

Both John Murray II and III were actively involved in the production of travel writing throughout their careers. John Murray II primarily focused on areas of the world that people wished to know more about, places that English society held enough curiosity about to inspire them to buy the narratives from those places.

John Murray III, however, brought new ideas and inspiration to the House of Murray, and father and son working together brought new standards to the world of travel writing. At the beginning of John Murray II’s career was the height of Romanticism, which highly valued travel narratives because of the value that the literary movement placed in solitary life and the love and worship of nature. Travel writing was never directly the focus of the House of Murray, but it was commonly published. Once Murray began the *Quarterly Review*, a periodical that the House of Murray published from 1809 to 1967 and marketed as a political periodical, it was incredibly common to find various articles about travel in each issue. It began with travel narratives, but as Romanticism began to fade away, travel writing did not; it merely changed to meet the demands of the public.

As interest in the travel narrative began to wane in British society, interest in tourism spiked inexplicably. Justin Livingstone explains this trend:

The tourist industry boomed as modes of transportation became quicker and more affordable and as new transit networks developed rapidly. These were the decades of expanding railway-technology that contributed so dramatically to the nineteenth-century compression of space and time. But Victorian travel took many forms. If it was an age of

tourism; it was also an age of exploration. This was an era of intensified expeditionary travel, as the last so-called “blank spaces” on the globe were surveyed according to the protocols of European geographical knowledge. (259)

Travel narratives still might be found interesting, but when British citizens were able to go and see these places first hand, their needs were different than they had been before. Rather than the ornate language of Wordsworth and Byron, society called for practical information on traveling - a need that the House of Murray saw and provided for, with the introduction of their *Handbook* series that was inspired by John Murray III's own travels in the early 1830s.

The series began with *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent: Being a Guide to Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Northern Germany, and the Rhine from Holland to Switzerland* written by none other than John Murray III, published in 1836. Upon publication the author was unlisted, but in the Preface of the work Murray describes the meticulous notes that he took throughout his travels, and explains what sets his guide book apart from other guide books:

The Guide Books hitherto published are for the most part either general descriptions compiled by persons not acquainted with the spots, and therefore imperfect and erroneous, or are local histories, written by residents who do not sufficiently discriminate what is peculiar to the place, and what is not worth seeing, or may be seen equally well or to greater advantage somewhere else. The latter overwhelm their readers with minute details of its history “from the most ancient times,” and with genealogies of its princes, &c. : the former confine themselves to a mere catalogue of buildings, institutions, and the like; after reading which, the stranger is as much as ever in the dark as to what really are the curiosities of the place. They are often mere reprints of works published many years ago, by no means corrected or brought down to the present time; and whether accurate or

not, originally, are become, from the mere changes which each year produces, faulty and antiquated. (Murray v)

Though Murray made some drastic claims about the state of traveling guide books at the time, he wasn't necessarily wrong. While John Murray II and III began the *Handbook* series with John Murray III's own observations, they continued the series by carefully selecting authors who were meticulous in their observations and writing, and the series as a whole gained a reputation for "comprehensiveness and accuracy: as one contemporary had it, 'he [the reader] trusts to his Murray as he would trust his razor, because it is thoroughly English and reliable'" (Keighren et al, 27). It was this reputation that was at stake, and neither of the Murrays were willing to risk that.

The *Handbook* series grew to be extensive, especially when Richard Ford eventually came to write as an author in this series. Below is a page from Ford's *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, which gives a number of valuable insights into the series. The *Handbook* series shows where people in England were traveling to in the mid-eighteenth century, but it also demonstrates the vast empire that Murray II had built up over his time at the head of the House of Murray. Booksellers all over England were selling the *Handbook* series, but the name of Murray was always attached. If nothing else, the sheer number of booksellers working with Murray is astonishing.

Figure 6. List of House of Murray Travel Guidebook publications, taken from Richard Ford's *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain*

THE ENGLISH EDITIONS OF MURRAY'S HANDBOOKS MAY BE OBTAINED
OF THE FOLLOWING AGENTS:

In Belgium, Holland, and Germany.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE .	MAYER.	LEIPZIG .	BROCKHAUS.—TWIRTMAYER.
AMSTERDAM .	MULLER.—KIESERGER.	MANNHEIM .	BENDER & FONTAINE.—
ANTWERP .	MERTENS.	NETZ .	LOFFLER.—KOTTER.
BADEN-BADEN .	MARX.	MUNICH .	ALCAN.
BERLIN .	ASHER.—MITSCHER & ROSE-TELL.	MÜNCHEN .	MANZ.—ACKERMANN.—KAISER.
BRUSSELS .	KIESLING.	NÜRNBERG .	SCHRAG.—ZEISER.
CARLSRUHE .	A. BIELEFELD.	PESST .	HARTLEBEN.—G. HECKENAST.—OSTERLANN.—RATH.
COLOGNE .	GREVEN.—DUMONT.—EISEN.	PRAGUE .	CALVE.
DRESDEN .	BURDACH.—PIERSON.	ROTTERDAM .	KRAMERS.—PETRI.—ROBBERS.
FRANKFURT .	JÜGEL.	STRASSBURG .	GRUCKER.—TRÜBNER.
GRATZ .	LEUSCHNER & LUBENSKY.	STUTTGART .	METZLER.—NEFF.
THE HAGUE .	NIJHOFF.	TRIESTE .	COEN.—SCHIMPF.
HAMBURG .	MAUKE SOHN.	VIENNA .	GEROLD.—BRAUMÜLLER.
HEIDELBERG .	MOHR.	WIESBADEN .	KREIDEL.

In Switzerland.

BÂLE .	GEORG.—AMBERGER.	LUCERNE .	KAISER.
BERNE .	DALP.—JENT & REINERT.	NEUCHÂTEL .	GERSTER.
COIRE .	GRUBENMANN.	SCHAFFHAUSEN .	HURTER.
CONSTANCE .	MECK.	SOLEURE .	JENT.
GENÈVE .	MONROE (NETFORD).—SANDOL.—H. GEORG.	ST. GALLEN .	HUBER.
LAUSANNE .	ROUSSET.	LANDSCHAPE .	ORRILL FURSLI & CO.—MEYER & ZELLER.—LEUTHOLD.

In Italy.

BOLOGNA .	ZANICHELLI.	PARMA .	ZANGHERI.
FLORENCE .	GOODMAN.—LOESCHER.	PISA .	NISTRI.—JOS. VANNUCCI.
GENOA .	GRONDOWA.—ANTOINETTE BEUF.	PERUGIA .	VINCENZI.—BARTOLI.
LEGHORN .	MAZZAJOLI.	ROME .	SPITHÖVER.—FIALA.—MORWALDINI.—LOESCHER.
LUCCA .	BARON.	SIENA .	ONORATO FORRI.
MANTUA .	NEGRETTE.	TURIN .	MAGGI.—L. BEUF.—BOCCA FRÈRES.—LOESCHER.
MILAN .	SACCHI.—DUMOLARD.—HOEPLI.	VENICE .	ONGANIA.—COEN.—MEYERS.
MODENA .	VINCENZI & ROSSI.	VERONA .	MÜNSTER.—MEYERS.
NAPLES .	BRITISH LIBRARY (DORANT).—HOEPLI.—FURCHHEIM.		
PALERMO .	PEDONE.		

In France.

AMIENS .	CARON.	LYONS .	ATYNS.—SCHREIBING.—MÉRA.
ANGERS .	RARASSE.	MARSEILLES .	CAMOTIN FRÈRES.—MEUNIER.
AVIGNON .	OLEMENT ST. JUST.	NANTES .	PETIPAS.—POURIER LEGROS.—ANDRÉ.
AVRANCHES .	ANFRAY.	NICE .	BARBERY FRÈRES.—JOUGLA.—GALIGNANI.
BORDEAUX .	CHAUMAS.—MÜLLER.—SAUVAT.—FERET.	ORLÉANS .	GATINEAU.—PESTY.
BOULOGNE .	WERRIDEW.	PARIS .	GALIGNANI.—BOYERAU.
CAEN .	BOISARD.—HERVIEU.	PAU .	LA FON.
CALAIS .	ENGEL CAUX.	REIMS .	BRISART BINET.—GEOFFROY.—GIRET.
CANNES .	ROBANDY.	ROUEN .	LEBRUMENT.—HAULARD.
CHERBOURG .	LECOUFFLET.	ST. ÉTIENNE .	DELABUE.
DIEPPE .	MARAI.	ST. MALO .	HUE.
DINANT .	COSTE.	ST. QUENTIN .	DOLOY.
DOUAI .	JACQUART.—LEMAIRE.	TOULON .	MONGE ET VILLAMUS.
GRENOBLE .	VELLOT ET COMP.	TOULOUSE .	GIMET ET COTELLE.
HAVRE .	BOURDIGNON.—FOUCHER.—BUYA.	TOURS .	GEORGET.
LILLE .	BÉGIN.	TROYES .	LALOY.—DUFFY ROBERT.

In Spain and Portugal.

GIBRALTAR .	BOWSWELL.	MADRID .	DURAN.—BAILLIÈRE.
LISBON .	LEWIS.	MALAGA .	DE MOYA.

In Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

ST. PETERSBURG .	WATKINS.—WOLFF.	ODESSA .	CAMOIN.
MOSCOW .	GAUTIER.—DEUBNER.—LANG.	CHRISTIANIA .	CAMMERMEYER.—BENNETT.
		STOCKHOLM .	BAMBOY & WALLIN.—FRITZ.

At Malta.

CRITEN.—WATSON.—CALLEJA.

In Greece.

ATHENS.—KARL WILDBERG.

In the Ionian Islands.

CORFU . J. W. TAYLOR.

At Constantinople.

WICK & WEISS.

Add to Liby Alexandria and Cairo.

ALEXANDRIA BOOK CO.

Digitized by Google

As previously stated, when reacting to a travel guidebook, one's impulse is likely not to include it under the scope of literature. Like a cookbook, it's a resource, to aid in a process, in this case, the process of traveling. Unlike a cookbook, travel guidebooks have a sort of built-in

expiration date - there's a point where a travel guidebook is no longer helpful enough to be worth purchasing. However, scholar Christopher Keirstead argues against this impulse:

The past decade has witnessed a wealth of new attention to poetry in the Victorian periodical press, including newspapers, magazines, and literary annuals and other gift-books. Dwelling more at the border of periodical and book production, the travel guidebook pioneered by the firm of John Murray III (1808–92) has been largely overlooked in this effort, and yet these handbooks included numerous poetic extracts.

(60)

The more literary aspects of the House of Murray's *Handbook* series were likely one of the things that brought the series and the publishing firm such acclaim, and which kept customers buying the series.

Richard Ford and Spain

Richard Ford, born 1796, was the eldest legitimate son of Sir Richard Ford, a police magistrate, and Marianne Booth, a talented artist and heiress to an important collection of pictures. He was educated at Winchester College and Trinity College, Oxford, and in his youth he made four European tours between 1815 and 1819, collecting engravings and paintings as he traveled, clearly holding the same enthusiasm for art as his mother (Robertson).

Five years after his excursions, in 1824 Ford married a woman named Harriet Capel, who, like Ford and his mother, was an amateur artist. However, Harriet's health was of a delicate nature, and so in 1830 the Ford family traveled to Spain "on account of Mrs. Ford's health. She is condemned to spend a winter or two in a warm climate, and we have decided on the south of Spain for this year" (Ford and Rowland 20). The Ford family stayed in Spain for three years,

during which Richard Ford made numerous excursions throughout the country, and kept careful notes and observations.

While he was fascinated by Spain, it was clear that it didn't measure up to England in his eyes, as evidenced by a number of his writings. For instance, he once declared that riding expeditions for civilians in Spain was "almost equivalent to serving a campaign" (Robertson), or in yet another letter he stated, "One can't expect in Spain to keep pace with the march of intellect and English mail. I trust civilisation will be long getting in here, for it is now an original Peculiar People, potted for six centuries" (Ford and Rowland 35). Ford's fascination with Spain is palpable in these statements - by referring to the Spanish as "an original Peculiar People," he was referring to them as God's chosen people, high praise indeed. However, in many ways Ford makes it seem technologically and socially inferior to England.

There are a number of reasons that this may have been the case, but the most obvious possibility for Ford's views of Spain would be that during the time of their family excursion, Spain was on the brink of civil war, which severely limited the "march of intellect and English mail" and "civilisation" that anyone in the country had access to. A civil war that, it bears to note, did, in fact erupt less than a month prior to the Ford family's departure from Spain.

While in Spain, Richard Ford did as much as possible to immerse himself in art, both in the creation and observation of it. Talking specifically about Ford's own artistic endeavors, scholar Ana Maria Suarez describes Ford as such:

Ford may be considered as a traveller at a crossroads. He was born at the dusk of the Enlightenment period, towards the end of a century, that, in spite of the phenomenon for which it is most famous, had been gradually falling in love with shadows. His meticulous recording of Spain reveals that he was grounded in knowledge of the art of landscape

painting of the past... mediated by an appreciation of ideas about the picturesque and the sublime. The light effects especially of his watercolours reveal ,however... that Ford's was an especially romantic spirit. (122)

While Suarez gives this examination based on Ford's art, her description can be applied to Ford in general. He was a man who loved Spain, but found it lacking in numerous ways. (It bears to note that Ford primarily painted landscapes, and it was largely Spanish landscapes.) Likewise, Ford was a man navigating the ideals and perspectives of both the Enlightenment and Romanticism, something that shows in both his art and his writing.

Ford was also an avid patron of art. In the times that he was staying with his family, they frequently hosted artists in their residence, such as artist John Frederick Lewis (Robertson). However, on Ford's frequent expeditions across Spain he collected a number of paintings to ship back to England. On one such occasion he wrote a friend about his latest additions to his collection, which included, "three by Murillo 'in his 3 different Stiles', a *Head of Christ* by Moreales, and one described as a '*Leda with a swan*' which he later attributed to Pedro de Moya" (Bean 96). Throughout his life, his enthusiasm for art never waned.

Figure 7. Watercolor of Spain by Richard Ford



The Ford family's departure from Spain was a rather timely one. After their three-year excursion, they left Spain in October of 1833, a month after the beginning of the first Carlist War, "[t]he dynastic war between Isabelline liberalism and Carlism" ("Spain"). The first war would last seven years, until 1840, but the Carlist Wars would continue until Queen Isabella died in 1868. Richard Ford and his family were able to leave the country before the war had reached Granada, where they had been staying. The Fords, and the copious amount of artwork they had collected in Spain, were able to leave the country in safety. (Bean)

Ford, once back in England, separated from his wife and settled at Exeter, where he began writing about his experiences in Spain. In 1834 Ford was determined to write a book about his experiences, but he soon abandoned the plan, instead filling his time with a newfound passion for house-building and landscape design (Ford and Rowland 137).

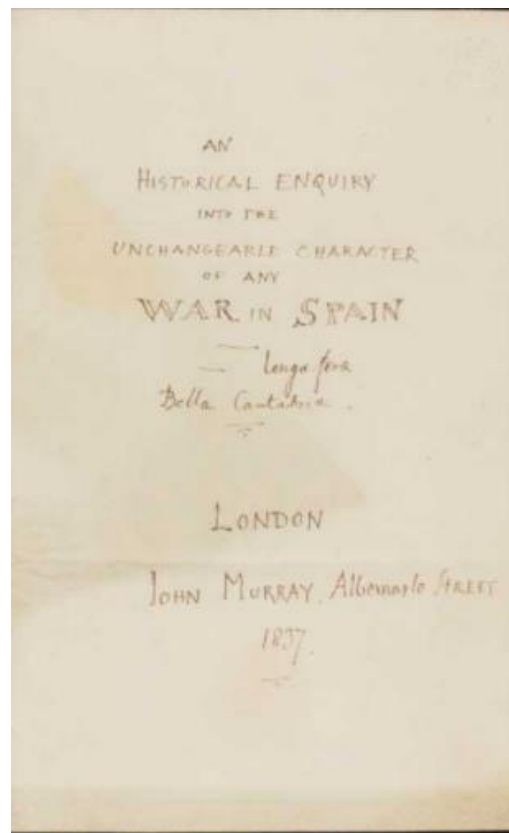
Richard Ford and the House of Murray

The history between Richard Ford and John Murray II and III is not nearly so long and sometimes fraught as it had been between John Murray II and Maria Rundell. In fact, for the first few years of Ford's work with the House of Murray, then known as Murray and Son, Ford did not directly correspond with either Murray at all, instead operating as a fringe author.

Richard Ford's work with the House of Murray began in 1837, when, for his own amusement, he wrote a piece on the cob walls of Devonshire, comparing them to Spanish *tapia* (Ford and Rowland 137). The comparison was apt, as cob was composed primarily of mud and straw, and *tapia* is a clay used for building in much the same manner. The article is likely based on a letter he originally wrote for a friend, in which he explains, "Cob, depend upon it, is indestructible. I am about next week to read a learned paper on that very subject at the Athenaeum, which I will send you, with a chapter on Spanish comedy... I have no news here, -- leading a humdrum life amid my flowers and books, with a clean tongue and dirty hands, *oblitus et obiviscendus*" (Ford and Rowland 155). This letter encapsulates the mind of Ford - a man with too much to do and learn, and too much time on his hands.

That piece, written for Ford's amusement, was the first of over fifty articles and book reviews published in the *Quarterly Review*. One review of particular note is an unsigned review from June 1839. Ford gives a rather scathing review of some of Charles Dickens's early works, including *Sketches of Boz* and *Oliver Twist*. Ford's criticisms are extensive and lengthy

throughout the review, with the occasional compliment paid to Dickens. The review contains criticisms such as “Boz fails whenever he attempts to write for effect; his descriptions of rural felicity and country scenery, of which he clearly knows much less than of London, where he is quite at home and wide awake, are, except when comical, over-laboured and out of nature” (2) and “*Oliver Twist* again, is directed against the poor-law and workhouse system, and in our opinion with much unfairness. The abuses which he ridicules are not only exaggerated, but in nineteen cases out of twenty do not at all exist” (3). After eighteen pages of much the same, the review ends with, “But we are getting tedious,” (18) displaying unusual brevity for Richard Ford. Figure 8. Handwritten design for title page, taken from a letter from Richard Ford, 29 April 1837



It is important to note that during his time writing for the *Quarterly Review*, Ford did not work directly with either Murray, instead working with John Gibson Lockhart, then the editor of the periodical. In addition to his work in the *Quarterly Review*, in 1837 Ford anonymously

published *An Historical Enquiry into the Unchangeable Character of a War in Spain*. This was a 76-page pamphlet that Ford had written as a tory response to Lord Palmerson's *The policy of England towards Spain*. Ford was passionate enough about the project that he took pains to design how he wanted the title page to look upon publication. Murray, a tory himself, took notice of Ford for the first time because of this particular endeavor (Ford and Rowland 150).

It was also during this time, in May of 1837 that Ford's wife Harriet, who had always been in fragile health, died. Of the event, Ford wrote:

You will be sadly shocked with the melancholy import of this letter; indeed I am so overwhelmed that I hardly know how to express myself. My poor wife died yesterday morning! She, as you know, never was well... Last Sunday week she was seized with a sort of paralysis of the brain and loss of speech. She remained a few days sensible and recognising those who came into the room; but on Friday all consciousness was gone, and she yesterday morning at quarter past 9 breathed her last. I am dreadfully afflicted. (Ford and Rowland 157).

After the death of his beloved wife, Ford was left to raise his children alone until his marriage to his second wife a year later.

In 1839, three years after the initial publication of John Murray III's *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, Richard Ford was asked to write a *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* to be a part of the *Handbook* series that the House of Murray would one day be known for (Robertson). He began the work in 1840, and wrote the *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* over the course of four years. Not much is known about this period in Ford's life, other than that he spent much of his time in Italy with his daughters. As was his custom, during this time Murray periodically sent books that the House of Murray was publishing to Ford for reviews. The

relationship that Murray kept with Ford at this time was reminiscent of Murray's relationship with Byron several years prior, after the exile of the poet (Ford, *Gatherings* xi).

Ford completed the *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* and sent it to be printed in late 1844. In February of 1845, however, at some cost to him, Ford called for the printing to be halted when three-quarters of the *Handbook* had already been printed. Ford did so at the counsel of Henry Unwin Addington, a longtime friend of Ford's and the British minister at Madrid. Upon seeing the *Handbook*, Addington found numerous passages throughout what was then dubbed the "Suppressed Edition" that would have offended many Spanish and French readers. "An example of this cancelled edition which has survived—for Ford retained some twenty-five copies for presentation to friends—contains his confirmatory inscription that it was 'rare from the almost entire destruction of the whole impression'" (Robertson). It was in late July of 1845 that the first published edition appeared.

Brinsley Ford, Richard Ford's great-grandson, writes the following of the publication of the *Handbook*:

When, in 1845, the *Handbook* eventually appeared, it was an immediate success. In a review, written for the *Quarterly* but never published, Borrow declared that the *Handbook* was one of the best books ever written about Spain. He praised the iron application that had been required for the task, the years of enormous labour which must have been spent in carrying it into effect even after the necessary materials had been collected. 'But here is the book before us;' he wrote, 'the splendid result of the toil, travel, genius, and learning of one man and that man an Englishman.' He feared that with so unpretentious a title the *Handbook* might never be appreciated at its proper value. 'What a pity that his delightful book does not bear a more romantic sounding title -

“Wanderings in Spain” for example; or yet better, “The Wonders of the Peninsula”.’

(Ford, *Gatherings* xi)

Despite the shortcomings of the title lamented by Borrow, 1389 copies of the *Handbook* were sold in three months. “The book had, in fact, created a sensation. Under its unpretending title it gave a description of Spain, past and present, which no other man living, foreigner or native, could have produced. Men who knew the country intimately... were as enthusiastic as they were unanimous in its praise” (Ford and Rowland 202). It is no wonder that when scholars talk of the reputation that the *Handbook* series brought the House of Murray that Richard Ford is frequently listed as an example.

In spite of its success, Ford realized that the way that the *Handbook* was printed “‘rendered its perusal irksome’ to ladies” (Ford, *Gatherings* xi). The *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* was then reduced by roughly one third, primarily by removing introductory material, and republished as *Gatherings from Spain*. This was published in 1846, and on the topic Ford wrote his friend Addington, who usually read his writing to remove any offensive material, as he did with the first edition of the *Handbook*. Ford’s letter read:

I am glad that *Gatherings* have been deemed worthy of your perusal. The first part has indeed been knocked off *currente calamo*, and almost without my ever seeing the pages in revise. They were written against time, composed, printed, and type distributed in three weeks. This is not fair on the Author, as slips in style must inevitably occur. I have almost written a new book as to half of it. (Ford and Rowland 204)

Gatherings from Spain was just as well received as Ford’s first book, and he later proudly wrote, “The *Gatherings* have taken wonderfully. All the critics praise without exception. So I have sacked 210 pounds by two months’ work, and not damaged my literary reputation.” (Ford and

Rowland 204). Ford's newest publication thus earned him an even greater acclaim, and what had the same buying power as over 26,000 US dollars today (Eliassen).

While *Gatherings from Spain* were written with ladies in mind, it was specifically Ford's second wife, Eliza Linnington, that Ford had in mind upon writing. The dedication of the book reads, "To the honourable Mrs. Ford, These pages, which she has been so good as to peruse and approve of, are dedicated, in the hopes that other readers may follow her example, by her very affectionate husband and servant, Richard Ford" (Ford, *Gatherings* 6). In the Preface, Ford continues, stating his hopes that the book will afford women a few hours of amusement.

However, after the publication of *Gatherings of Spain*, Ford's days of travel were soon over. Ford's second wife, Eliza, soon fell ill, and died January 23, 1849, followed in death mere months afterward by his mother, Lady Ford. Two years afterward, Ford was remarried once again to a woman named Mary Molesworth (Robertson).

Ford spent his later years working on a third edition of his *Handbook* that was published in 1855, the final edition in his lifetime. The book was a product of a more mature, developed writer, and it was more factually correct than the previous two editions had been. However, it had been twenty years since Ford had last seen Spain, and the third edition was not well received at all. It and all later editions were compared to "Niagara passed through a jelly-bag" (Robertson). Three years after the publication of the third edition, Ford died of Bright's disease, and his tombstone was inscribed "*Rerum Hispaniae indigator acerrimus*", which was Latin for "Spain's most active explorer" (Robertson).

Ford's Legacy

Gatherings from Spain makes for a particularly interesting case study for a number of reasons, but primarily because of the audience that Ford was trying to sell to. Many authors

would have been thrilled with the success of the *Handbook* and simply focused on revising it, and potentially adding more material rather than completely restructuring the book for the sake of the female audience. A lot of scholarship simply considers *Gatherings from Spain* to be the renamed second edition of Ford's *Handbook*, but the two books are different enough that the case could be made for them to be separate works.

The most notable difference between Ford's *Handbook* and *Gatherings from Spain* is, first and foremost, the length of the two books. Ford's *Handbook* was long enough that it was published as two volumes, each nearly 400 pages, whereas *Gatherings from Spain* was published as a singular volume, which is 370 pages long. However, the most important difference that would mark the two works as separate is the intention behind the writing. Ford's *Handbook* is just that -- a handbook meant to aid the reader in their prospective travel. Throughout the *Handbook* there are numerous tools such as a guide to Spanish money, detailed explanations of routes the travelers could and should take throughout their journeys, and maps of the country. Ford gives valuable tips for travelers, such as:

It is most important for the traveller to know that the notes of no bank in Spain (*not even those of the Bank of Spain*) are circulable *out* of the city or town in which they are issued; he should therefore insist upon receiving his money in coin, and paper money should be avoided except by those who intend to make a lengthened stay in any of the larger towns, when local bank-notes may be used. (Ford *Handbook* 5).

Meanwhile, in *Gatherings from Spain*, Ford makes no mention of money whatsoever, instead focusing on topics that would be more important to women, such as the cuisine and management of kitchens. For instance, Ford provides an example of how good cooks prepare for the meals of the day:

Having secured his bread, the cook in preparing supper should make enough for the next day's lunch, *las once*, the eleven o'clock meal, as the Spaniards translate *meridie*, twelve or mid-day, whence the correct word for luncheon is derived, *merienda merendar*.

Wherever good dishes are cut up there are good leavings... As the sun gets high, and man and beast hungry and weary, wherever a tempting shady spot with running water occurs, the party draws aside from the high road, like Don Quixote and Sancho Panza... then out with the provision, cold partridge or turkey, sliced ham or *chorizo* (Ford *Gatherings* 130-1).

Despite being over twice as long as *Gatherings from Spain*, whatever mentions of food Ford's *Handbook* are merely made in passing, whereas *Gatherings from Spain* dedicates several pages to the subject.

In Ford's words, "In preparing these compilations for the press much new matter has been added, to supply the place of portions omitted; for, in order to lighten the narrative, the Author has removed much lumber of learning, and has not scrupled occasionally to throw Strabo, and even Saint Isidore himself, overboard" (Ford, *Gatherings* 7). While there is some material that remained the same from the *Handbook* to *Gatherings from Spain*, the deletion of material and addition of even more material is questionable. While Ford presents it in a humorous way, the insinuation that women need the "lumber of learning" removed makes several of his assumptions in writing clear, particularly assumptions about gendered reading. Men get the informative yet witty histories while women get a delightful book that hopes to amuse them for a few hours.

This can be seen as early on in the first chapter of the respective books. The *Handbook* opens the first chapter by explaining:

Since Spain appears, on the map, to be a square and most compact kingdom, politicians and geographers have treated it and its inhabitants as one and the same; practically, however, this treatment of the Peninsula is impossible, since both the political and social instincts of each one independent province vary the one from the other, no less than do the climate and productions themselves. No spick and span constitution, be it printed on parchment or calico, can at once efface traitions and antipathies of a thousand years; the accidents of localities and provincial nationalities, out of which they have sprung, remain too deeply dyed to be forthwith discharged by theorists. (Ford *Handbook* 2)

Ford then goes on to give in-depth explanations of the people, the climate, and social structure of the country as a whole. As his reviewers had previously remarked, his observations and attention to detail truly offer valuable insights into what one might expect from Spain, as well as an informed history of the country.

In direct juxtaposition of the *Handbook*, Ford begins *Gatherings from Spain* in the following manner:

The kingdom of Spain, which looks os compact on the map, is composed of many distinct provinces, each of which in earlier times formed a separate and independent kingdom; and although all are now united under one crown by marriage, inheritance, conquest, and other circumstances, the original distinctions, geographical as well as social, remain almost unaltered. The language, costume, habits, and local character of the natives, vary no less than the climate and productions of the soil. (Ford *Gatherings* 9)

Ford continues to give a condensed version of the information originally written in the *Handbook*, although a number of things he omits altogether, such as his description of the social structure of the Spanish inhabitants.

However, the way that Ford describes Spain is also fundamentally different between the *Handbook* and *Gatherings from Spain*. For instance, in the *Handbook*, Ford provides a very technical description of the climate in various parts of Spain, as well as explanations of why the climate was such in those areas. For example, “As Spain itself is a conglomeration of elevated mountains, the tree-less, denuded interior, scorching and calcined in summer, keen, cold and windblown in winter, is prejudicial to the invalid” (Ford *Handbook* 15). In the *Handbook*, Ford’s observations about the climate span a full page, while in *Gatherings from Spain*, on the topic Ford writes, “The north-western provinces are more rainy than Devonshire, while the centre plains are more calcined than those of the deserts of Arabia, and the littoral south or eastern coasts altogether Algerian” (Ford *Gatherings* 9-10). Gone are Ford’s deep insights and knowledge. Instead, *Gatherings from Spain*, which is explicitly marketed towards women, gives a brief description of the climate, comparing it to places to provide a frame of reference.

On an even broader scale, this can be linked back to the previously mentioned gender roles with travel. Men were able and encouraged to travel for years at a time in their youth, exploring and discovering the world for themselves. Meanwhile women were sometimes able to travel, but even when they did they were unable to experience the locations and cultures as deeply and independently as men were. In the Ford family’s expedition to Spain that they took for Mrs. Ford’s health, Richard Ford was able to go on any number of excursions across the country while his ailing wife was left with the children and the retainers that traveled with them. The privilege of travel free from responsibility was one that was distinctly male at this point in history.

According to Brinsley Ford in the 1970 reprint of *Gatherings from Spain*, since the initial publication in 1846, the book has had four English and two American editions, and a Spanish

translation under the name *Cosas de Espana*, published in Madrid in 1923. Since Brinsley Ford's 1970 edition, it appears that the only newer edition of the book is from 2012, which is not a print edition, but the first and currently only ebook version of the title. It should be noted that the 1966 and 1970 versions of *Gatherings from Spain* were instigated by Brinsley Ford, a direct descendant of the author. Brinsley Ford states his purpose in revitalizing *Gatherings from Spain* as such:

It has long been my hope that Richard Ford's writings on Spain would be reprinted as the difficulty of obtaining copies of his books must have prevented a great many people from reading them... Unfortunately the first edition of the *Handbook* had become so scarce that it could only be bought by rich bibliophiles who were prepared to pay a rarity value for it. Now, however, thanks to the courage of the Centaur Press, the first edition has once again become available... The *Gatherings from Spain* has been out of print for over twenty years, and it is very welcome news that the publishers have decided to reissue their Everyman edition (Ford v).

Throughout the preface, Brinsley Ford keeps an air of enthusiasm about the text being in print once again, but it ties more directly to the legacy of the Ford family, of which he is a member. While *Gatherings from Spain* did hold cultural value at the time, it was one of many travel guidebooks, granted an entertaining one.

In the end, with all things considered, Richard Ford's work behaved roughly as expected. This is not to diminish the success that the *Handbook* or *Gatherings from Spain* had in their lifetimes - indeed, both works have been republished in some format within the last eleven years, which is a commendable feat. Neither had the success of Rundell's sixty-seven editions, but A *New System of Domestic Cookery* was the exception, not the rule. In terms of publishing, works

like Ford's are exactly what a publishing firm depends on in order to keep the business running, dependable books that sell well for a time, but tend to have a natural expiration date. Not every book can sell for over eighty-plus years after its initial publication, but that also means that Murray did not have to wage expensive legal battles for each title he wanted to keep printing.

As for Murray's relationship with Ford, they were hardly more than acquaintances. John Murray II looked after Ford as he did with all of his authors, sending him books and periodically checking in with his work, but the volume of letters from Ford in the John Murray Archive is nowhere near the number of letters from other authors like Rundell or Byron. Even though Richard Ford's works, or even Maria Rundell's works will never be remembered to the same degree as Byron's, or Austen's, they are remembered fondly by some, which, nearly two-hundred years after publication, is more than enough of a legacy.

Conclusion

The legacy of the House of Murray is both long and largely forgotten. What began as John McMurray using his wife's money to buy a business that "blockheads" seemed to be making money in ended as one of the oldest and most respectable publishing firms in the world. The House of Murray is frequently hailed as the first large scale publisher, and John Murray II was instrumental in making that happen.

Uncovering the history of the House of Murray poses a particularly interesting challenge. While there is a push to keep the history alive, it seems ambiguous at best. The House of Murray is known best by the authors that it served, such as Byron, Austen, or Darwin, and while this is the nature of the bookselling business, more context is needed. The issue with the House of Murray, however, is that many researchers and readers alike don't seem to care much about which Murray is in question. I have found a number of articles that refer to the House of Murray publishing both Byron and Darwin, when completely different men stood at the helm of the firm at the time.

The House of Murray still stands today, although only really in name. Known now as the John Murray Press, it stands as a vestige of what it once was. Indeed, the business website for the John Murray Press proudly claims to support "Original Thinking & Distinctive Writing since 1768", and gives the following as an introduction to the history of the press:

In 1768 John McMurray was looking for a business opportunity. Confident that 'total blockheads in the trade' were making fortunes, he invested £700 of his wife's money in publishing. A convivial hustler, Murray's Fleet Street shop soon became a hub of literary life. Following the success of Byron's *Childe Harold*, John Murray moved to Albemarle Street where, a few years later, early cantos of Byron's *Don Juan* were sold from the

window to an eager crowd. Anticipating the needs and desires of the reading public, John Murray were the first publisher to produce a mass-market cookery book as well the first self-help title, the first travel guides and, in Kenneth Clark's *Civilisation*, the first television tie-in. Though much has changed since John Murray published Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, Jane Austen's *Emma*, Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, John Betjeman's *Collected Poems*, and launched 'the greatest travel book of the twentieth century', Patrick Leigh Fermor's *A Time of Gifts*, we remain entrepreneurial, curious and excited about discovering and nurturing new voices that can shape and shake our world. ("About")

While this makes for a fairly effective elevator pitch, it somehow manages to both glorify and erase the family that stood at the center of that legacy. I concede that my interest in the House of Murray is unusual, but I also think that it is fair to say that such a rich business so interwoven into the British literary culture deserves at least slightly more than cherry-picked best-sellers that, by all accounts, seem to have been published by the same man even though the examples were published anywhere from 1812 to 1977.

There is more to the history of this publishing firm than the string of seven Murrays named John and a bestseller or two every generation or so. I would be remiss not to mention the fact that John McMurray's descendents are no longer in possession of the House of Murray - in 2002 John Murray VII sold the publishing firm to Hodder Headline, part of the W.H. Smith group. A news article announcing this development reads as follows:

The Murray name will live on as a separate division of Hodder, though in the long term there are fears that its identity could disappear. John Murray, founded in 1768, is one of the most revered names in British publishing with a long and colourful history. It is

regarded as the last survivor of a gentler time when authors and editors would sit around a fire plotting books with no thought given to the bottom line. John Murray's authors read like a list from a companion to English literature. It published Jane Austen, Lord Byron, Charles Darwin, Arthur Conan Doyle, and John Betjeman. Remarkably, it has always been run by a John Murray. The current chairman is John Murray VII who is in his fifties. He said yesterday that his two grown-up sons, Octavius and Charlie, were not interested in taking over the firm and it had no future as an independent publisher (Carpenter 1-2).

While the House of Murray, particularly under the direction of John Murray II, had a large role in the industrialization of publishing, it was that same industrialization that eventually led to its downfall.

In 2002, after the House of Murray was sold, renowned biographer Humphrey Carpenter was commissioned to tell the story of John Murray. In his book, *The Seven Lives of John Murray: The Story of a Publishing Dynasty*, he does not give the biography of John McMurray who started it all, John Murray II, who transformed the business, or even any of the subsequent John Murrys. Instead, Carpenter chronicles the life of John Murray, the publishing firm, the inescapable amorphous being that none can escape. Throughout the account, Carpenter does an excellent job of differentiating between the John Murrys, but all of the marketing for and in the book makes it clear that the general public is not expected to know or care about which John Murray did what.

Diana Murray, John Murray VII's widow, said the following when the firm was sold: John was not able to tell me. On May the tenth 2002 he asked me to dinner, and he opened the door with tears streaming down his face. He said, 'I signed Murray's away at

half-past seven this morning.’ So I had tears streaming down *my* face - but what could I do but hug him? It was a terrible blow to me, but I think I knew it was coming. I longed for younger people to be involved, but John was determined that his sons should have nothing to do with it. He could foresee nothing but struggle, and he wanted them to be able to lead their own lives. (Carpenter 309)

In many ways, the House of Murray seems to be this all-consuming entity that boldly pushed forward to new and exciting business ventures, but in doing so, the Murray family was lost in exchange. The history is always going to be of the House of Murray and its contributions to the broader literary culture, not the Murrys themselves. As time passes, specifics about the House of Murray will likely be forgotten, occasionally to be uncovered by the most masochistic of scholars. The firm’s publications will remain, immortalized by the publications it spearheaded, but the legacy lives on no more. This may seem in some ways a tragedy, an end of the gentle publishing era, but this might be the best resolution that the House of Murray could have come to. John Murray VII was able to give his sons lives outside of the business, and John McMurray from all of those years ago proved that his wife’s money was money well spent.

Bibliography

- "About John Murray Press." Hachette UK, John Murray Press, 10 Mar. 2021,
<https://www.johnmurraypress.co.uk/imprint/john-murray/page/about-john-murray-press/>.
- "Art market." *Britannica Academic*, Encyclopædia Britannica, 26 Aug. 2021.
academic-eb-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/levels/collegiate/article/art-market/444272#282943.toc. Accessed 31 Mar. 2022.
- Bean, Thomas. "Richard Ford as Picture Collector and Patron in Spain." *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 137, no. 1103, Feb. 1995, pp. 96–107. *EBSCOhost*, <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsjsr&AN=edsjsr.886466&site=eds-live&scope=site>.
- Benjamin, Sarah. "THE AUTHOR, THE BOOKSELLER AND THE COURT CASE: MARIA RUNDELL vs. JOHN MURRAY." *Petits Propos Culinaires*, no. 114, June 2019, pp. 70–85. *EBSCOhost*, <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edo&AN=137062960&site=eds-live&scope=site>.
- Bernard, Stephen. "Alexander Pope, Fame Reputation and Advertising." *Notes & Queries*, vol. 62, no. 2, June 2015, pp. 277–79. *EBSCOhost*.
- Bivins, S.Thomas. *The Southern Cookbook; a Manual of Cooking and List of Menus, Including Recipes Used by Noted Colored Cooks and Prominent Caterers*. Hampton, Va., Press of the Hampton Institite, 1912. *EBSCOhost*, <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edshtl&AN=edshtl.MIU01.008611229&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

B. P. "ART. III.--The Universal Receipt Book, &c./A New System of Domestic Cookery."

Analectic Magazine (Philadelphia, PA), vol. 11, May 1818, pp. 383–91. EBSCOhost,

<https://search-ebscohost->

[com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=h9h&AN=36842803&site=eds](https://search-ebscohost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=h9h&AN=36842803&site=eds)

[-live&scope=site](https://search-ebscohost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=h9h&AN=36842803&site=eds).

Byron, George G. "To Mr. Murray, I. IV. Satiric. ." To Mr. Murray, I. Iv. Satiric. Lord Byron.

1881. Poetry of Byron, Bartleby, 1881, <https://www.bartleby.com/205/101.html>.

Carpenter, Humphrey. *The Seven Lives of John Murray: A Publishing Empire*. John Murray,

2008.

Carrell, Severin. "Archive Reveals Britain's First Domestic Goddess." *The Guardian, Guardian*

News and Media, 26 June 2007,

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/jun/26/books.britishidentity>.

Collins P. CHAPTER 3: Estimates of Dickens's early works: Part 22: [Richard Ford], from, an

unsigned review, Quarterly Review. Charles Dickens (Routledge) [Internet]. 1995 Nov 9

[cited 2022 Mar 31];83–7. Available from: <https://search-ebscohost->

[com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=17447342&site=eds-](https://search-ebscohost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=17447342&site=eds)

[live&scope=site](https://search-ebscohost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=17447342&site=eds)

Das, Nandini, and Tim Youngs. *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*. Cambridge

University Press, 2019.

"domestic, adj. and n." OED Online, Oxford University Press, March 2022,

www.oed.com/view/Entry/56663. Accessed 30 March 2022.

Dyer, Gary. "Publishers and Lawyers." *Wordsworth Circle*, vol. 44, no. 2–3, Mar. 2013, p. 121.

EBSCOhost, <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsclr&AN=edsclr.A345616802&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

Eliassen, Alan. *Historical Currency Conversions*,

<http://www.futureboy.us/fsp/dollar.fsp?quantity=6&cy=guineas&fromYear=1713>.

Ford, Richard. *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain*. London, J. Murray; [etc., etc.], 1882.

EBSCOhost,

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edshtl&AN=edshtl.MIU01.100206094&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

Ford, Richard, Letter to John Murray II, 29 April 1837. *Letters from Richard Ford 1837-1855*.

Nineteenth Century Literary Society: The John Murray Archive, The National Library of Scotland.

Ford, Richard. "Port of the Alhambra from the Dario." *The Art Institute of Chicago*, Art Institute Chicago, <https://www.artic.edu/artists/41562/richard-ford>.

Ford, Richard., and Rowland E.(Rowland Edmund), Baron Ernle, 1851-1937. Prothero. *The Letters of Richard Ford, 1797-1858*. New York, E. P. Dutton and company, 1905.

EBSCOhost, <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edshtl&AN=edshtl.MIU01.006271100&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

Garnett, Richard. "Murray, John (1778–1843)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. .

Oxford University Press. Date of access 13 Mar. 2022, <<https://www-oxforddnb-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/view/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.001.0001/odnb-9780192683120-e-19634>>

Geurts, Anna P. H. "GENDER. CURIOSITY, AND THE GRAND TOUR:

Late-Eighteenth-Century British Travel Writing." *Journeys*, vol. 21, no. 2, Dec. 2020, p.

1. *EBSCOhost*, <https://doi-org.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/10.3167/jys.2020.210201>.

Gilbert, E. W. "Richard Ford and His 'Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain.'" *The Geographical*

Journal, vol. 106, no. 3/4, Sept. 1945, pp. 144–51. *EBSCOhost*, [https://doi-](https://doi-org.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/10.2307/1789266)

[org.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/10.2307/1789266](https://doi-org.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/10.2307/1789266).

Hall, Jordan, et al. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Turkish Embassy Letters: A Survey of

Contemporary Criticism." *Literature Compass*, vol. 14, no. 10, Oct. 2017, p. n/a-N.PAG.

EBSCOhost, <https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12405>.

Hudson, Nicholas. "Literature and Social Class in the Eighteenth Century." *Oxford Handbooks*

Online, 17 Apr. 2015,

<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-007#oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-007-div1-4>.

Johnson, Samuel. "Oats." *A Dictionary of the English Language*. 1755.

Johnson, Samuel, and James T. Boulton. "Chapter 17: Johnson's Letter to Chesterfield 7

February 1755." *Samuel Johnson* (0-415-13435-8), Nov. 1995, pp. 103–04. *EBSCOhost*,

[https://search-ebSCOhost-](https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=17373875&site=eds-live&scope=site)

[com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=17373875&site=eds-live&scope=site](https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=17373875&site=eds-live&scope=site).

Jones, Christine Kenyon. "'He Is a Rogue of Course, But a Civil One': John Murray, Jane

Austen, and Lord Byron." *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal*, vol. 36, Jan. 2014, p.

239. *EBSCOhost*, [https://search-ebSCOhost-](https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=17373875&site=eds-live&scope=site)

com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsglr&AN=edsglr.A4180892
12&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Keighen, Inves M., et al. *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773-1859*. University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Keirstead, Christopher M. "Verse Moves: Poetry, Revision, and Periodical Space in John Murray's European Handbooks for Travellers, 1836–1901." *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 54, no. 1, 2021, pp. 60–88. *EBSCOhost*, <https://doi-org.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/10.1353/vpr.2021.0002>.

Kolkey, Jason. "Mischievous Effects: Byron and Illegitimate Publication." *Byron Journal*, vol. 42, no. 1, June 2014, pp. 21–33. *EBSCOhost*, <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=97018859&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

Livingstone, Justin D. "Crossing Borders in Victorian Travel: Spaces, Nations and Empire." *Nineteenth-Century Prose*, vol. 46, no. 2, Sept. 2019, p. 209. *EBSCOhost*, <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsglr&AN=edsglr.A617722286&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

Lloyd, Amy J. Education, Literacy and the Reading Public - Gale. *Gale Primary Sources*, https://www.gale.com/binaries/content/assets/gale-us-en/primary-sources/intl-gps/intl-gps-essays/full-ghn-contextual-essays/ghn_essay_bln_lloyd3_website.pdf. 2007.

McClay, David. *Dear Mr. Murray: Letters to a Gentleman Publisher*. John Murray, 2018.

McLaverly, J. *Pope, Print and Meaning*. Oxford University Press, 2001.

Monnickendam, Andrew. "Ann Cook versus Hannah Glasse: Gender, Professionalism and

- Readership in the Eighteenth-Century Cookbook.” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 42, no. 2, June 2019, pp. 175–91. *EBSCOhost*, <https://doi-org.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/10.1111/1754-0208.12606>.
- Murray III, John. *A Handbook for Travellers of the Continent: Being a Guide to Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Northern Germany, and the Rhine From Holland to Switzerland*. Eleventh Edition. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1856.
- Notaker, Henry. *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page Over Seven Centuries*. University of California Press, 2017.
- Notaker, Henry. “Printed Cookbooks: Food History, Book History, and Literature”, *Food and History* 10: 2 (2012).
- O’Connell, Mary. *Byron and John Murray: A Poet and His Publisher*. Liverpool University Press, 2014.
- Robertson, Ian Campbell. “Ford, Richard (1796–1858), art connoisseur and author.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 28. Oxford University Press. Date of access 30 Mar. 2022, <<https://www-oxforddnb-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9863>>
- Rundell, Maria Eliza, Letter to John Murray II, 4 July 1806. *Letters from Maria Rundell and Sharon Turner 1806-1823*. Nineteenth Century Literary Society: The John Murray Archive, The National Library of Scotland.
- Rundell, Maria Eliza, Letter to John Murray II, 17 September 1808. *Letters from Maria Rundell and Sharon Turner 1806-1823*. Nineteenth Century Literary Society: The John Murray Archive, The National Library of Scotland.

Rundell, Maria Eliza, Letter to John Murray II, 22 September 1807. *Letters from Maria Rundell and Sharon Turner 1806-1823*. Nineteenth Century Literary Society: The John Murray Archive, The National Library of Scotland.

Rundell, Maria Eliza Ketelby, 1745-1828., and Lady. *A New System of Domestic Cookery : Founded upon Principles of Economy and Adapted to the Use of Private Families*. London : J. Murray, 1842. EBSCOhost, <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edshtl&AN=edshtl.MIU01.008684878&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

Rundell, Maria. *A New System of Domestic Cookery: Founded upon Principles of Economy and Adapted to the Use of Private Families*. London: J. Murray, 1807.

"Samuel Johnson." *Britannica Academic, Encyclopædia Britannica*, 13 Aug. 2018. academic-eb-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/levels/collegiate/article/Samuel-Johnson/108566#14764.toc. Accessed 25 Feb. 2022.

"sound, n.1." OED Online, Oxford University Press, March 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/185122. Accessed 31 March 2022.

Suárez, Ana Maria. "'Richard Ford. Travels in Spain 1830–1833' The Royal Academy of Fine Art of San Fernando in Collaboration with the MAPFRE FOUNDATION Madrid, 25 November 2014-1 February 2015." *The British Art Journal*, vol. 15, no. 2, British Art Journal, 2014, pp. 122–122, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43492124>.

"Spain." *Britannica Academic, Encyclopædia Britannica*, 20 Dec. 2021. academic-eb-com/levels/collegiate/article/Spain/108580. Accessed 30 Mar. 2022.

Tippen, Carrie Helms, et al. "Cookery and Copyright: A History of One Cookbook in Three

Acts.” *Gastronomica*, vol. 19, no. 4, Winter 2019, pp. 1–9. *EBSCOhost*, <https://search-ebscohost-com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=139418527&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

Wilson, Bee. “The Original Domestic Goddess.” *Stella Magazine, England*, 22 Nov. 2009.

Winchester, Ashley. “The World's Oldest-Known Recipes Decoded.” *BBC Travel, BBC*, 4 Nov. 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20191103-the-worlds-oldest-known-recipes-decoded>.