A miser's daughter: awareness of Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet* in nineteenth-century England

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Awareness of the works of Honoré de Balzac in both England and America prior to the collaborative translations of the *Human Comedy* in the closing decades of the nineteenth century was extremely limited and, in the case of the majority of his novels and stories, restricted to those readers who had sufficient French to read them in the original. (It is indeed notable that Balzac's most enthusiastic early English readers were often fellow creative writers or essayists.) Not only was translation of his work slow to establish itself, the titles of his that were Englished before 1880 were few in number. In this connection, it is unsurprising, given its relatively undemanding subject matter and length, that, with the exception of an ephemeral translation of *Ferragus* published simultaneously in Paris and London in 1834 and the still shorter fiction *Les Marana*, which was included in a compendium of 1842,[1] the first of Balzac's novels to be honoured with an English translation published outside the pages of a magazine, in 1843, was *Eugénie Grandet*, a work that was also singled out for translation into Russian by none other than the young Fyodr Dostoevsky.[2] The English version of this, the most celebrated of Balzac's *Scènes de la vie de province*, to which the translator gave the title *Eugenia Grandet*, was the work of Edward Sherman Gould, who, the following year, would go on to translate *Le Père Goriot*. It was, however, published, not in London, but in New York, by the New World Press of J. Winchester, who had formed the project of making available to the American public a number

1. *Scenes from Parisian life*. First series. Translated from the French of M. de Balzac by the translator of the *Recollections of the Marquise de Créquy*, Paris, [G. G.] Bennis, at the English and American Library, rue Neuve-Saint-Augustin, 1834; *Scenes from Parisian Life*. First series. *Ferragus, Chief of the Dévorans*. Translated from the French of M. de Balzac, London, Fraser, 1834; *Mother and Daughter; or La Marana*, translated from the French of M. de Balzac [by William Hazlitt the Younger], *The Romancist and Novelist Library*, vol. 5, London, J. Clements, 1842.
2. See Donald Rayfield, "Dostoyevsky's *Eugénie Grandet*", *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, XX (1984), 133-42.

of contemporary works of French fiction, which he collected in compendia entitled *French Novels*.[3] The first translation of *Eugénie Grandet* to appear in England, anonymously and with a multi-coloured paper cover, did not do so until 1859, though it still constituted the first major work by Balzac to be published in England as a separate volume and in a format that courted mass attention.[4]

It is nonetheless the case that monolingual English readers did not have to await either of these translations of *Eugénie Grandet* in order to acquire familiarity with Balzac's most celebrated sacrificial victim, though they would, for the most part, have been unaware of the fact. For, as will be seen, certain London theatregoers, albeit unbeknown to them, would have encountered the heroine as a stage character in 1835, scarcely more than a year after the publication of the original novel. The picture is, however, complicated by the fact that a work performed on the London stage later the same year bore in this respect a title that seems to have been designed to mislead. The contemporary Londoner who happened to be aware of Balzac's story might indeed have been forgiven for assuming that it was Ancelot and de Comberousse's three-act *comédie*, *L'Ami Grandet* (1834), performed in French at the Royal Olympic Theatre in June 1835,[5] that represented the first adaptation of *Eugénie Grandet* for the stage, not least because scholars have likewise often made that assumption. In reality, this play, which was first performed at the Théâtre du Vaudeville on 24 October 1834 and would enjoy considerable success in France over the course of the next forty years, as well as being judged by Longfellow to have been "well written",[6] was, notwithstanding its title, unconnected to *Eugénie Grandet*, being, instead, loosely based on another of Balzac's fictions from the early 1830s, *La Duchesse de Langeais*, at that point known as *Ne touchez pas la hache*.[7] The playwrights' choice of title may be seen as an attempt to capitalize on Balzac's grow-

3. This translation made its first appearance in *The New World* (extra series, no 64 [March 1843]), a periodical Winchester had founded with the aid of the poet Park Benjamin.
4. Published by Routledge, Warnes & Routledge in London and New York.
5. See the advertisement in *The Times*, 27 June 1835, and the short notice in *The Literary Gazette*, 13 June 1835. The latter notice pronounced Léontine Fay "charming" and (her husband) Volnys "excellent" in their respective roles, but still preferred them as Georgina Barlow and James Morton in *Le Quaker et la danseuse*, a one-act *comédie-vaudeville* of 1831 by Scribe and Paul Duport that was described by the author of the notice as "just the thing for the London boards." The fact that Volnys played the part of Grandet indicates that no heed had been taken of the following note in the published text: "Bien que le rôle de *Grandet* ait été créé à Paris par M. Volnys, les auteurs pensent que ce rôle appartient au premier comique, et que le personnage de *Jumilly* doit être joué en province par le premier rôle" (Ancelot et Alexis de Comberousse, *L'Ami Grandet*, Paris, Marchant, 1834).
6. See *The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, with extracts from his journals and correspondence*, edited by Samuel Longfellow, 3 vols, Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1891, II, p. 46 (diary entry of 18 June 1846).
7. See R. J. B. Clark, "Balzac au théâtre: l'affaire *L'Ami Grandet*", *Œuvres et critiques*, 11 (1986), [287]-96. The play featured not only the Duchesse de Langeais, but also her aunt, the Princesse de Blamont-Chauvry.

ing reputation, while concealing, or pretending to conceal, their true source. Unless, that is, it was adopted in mockery of the novelist, who at this time was quick to denounce the widespread, unacknowledged and still less recompensed theft of literary property, especially by writers for the lucrative popular stage.[8] Whatever the authors' intention, it might be thought to have made difficult the use of the name Grandet in a title by any subsequent playwright who wished to produce a theatrical version of *Eugénie Grandet* itself.

In the event, it was another work for the stage that introduced the character of Eugénie Grandet to London theatre audiences, namely John Gideon Millingen's *The Miser's Daughter*, which, earlier in 1835, had received just two performances at London's Theatre Royal. William Godwin, the author of *Caleb Williams*, was among those present at the opening night, which took place on 24 February.[9] The schoolboy Flaubert, in his make-believe newspaper (*Soirées d'étude. Journal littéraire*), reproduced an announcement from the *Revue du théâtre* informing readers that the production had not been a success.[10] The monthly's London-based correspondent had in fact gone on to claim that it had been rejected by the British public on account of its being profoundly immoral. According to Millingen's impassioned preface to the published edition of the play, the production had coincided with the contest for a Speaker in the House of Commons and certain passages in the play taken to allude to the government. Although the "obnoxious" passages had, together with an "incident which had appeared revolting", immediately been expunged, the play was withdrawn by the management after its second performance.[11] (*The Literary Gazette* of 21 March 1835 was concerned to "intimate that [Dr Millingen, an army surgeon by training] had no better usage to expect from those with whom, in this instance, he had the folly to connect himself. Unless he could be a parasite, a pimp, or a blackleg, he had no business to expect any other treatment.") For all this local controversy, *The Miser's Daughter*, as both Flaubert and his source were aware, was based on *La Fille de l'avare*, a dramatization of *Eugénie Grandet* by Bayard and Duport that, owing in no small measure to Bouffé's interpretation of the miser,[12] had achieved considerable success at the Théâtre du Gymnase (the "theatre of Eugène Scribe") in Paris that January, and which the thirteen-year-old Flaubert had doubtless seen in Rouen some time after 16 February.[13] (For all his sourness over the prevalence of literary theft, Balzac accepted the thea-

8. In November 1834, Balzac would publish, in the *Revue de Paris*, his "Lettre adressée aux écrivains français du XIX^e^ siècle."
9. See Godwin's diary entry for 24 February 1835 (available at http://godwindiary.bodleian.ox.ac.uk, accessed 12 February 2011).
10. Flaubert, *Œuvres de jeunesse*, edited by Claudine Gothot-Mersch and Guy Sagnes, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Paris, Gallimard, 2001, p. 20 & p. 1217, n. 16.
11. See John Gideon Millingen, *The Miser's Daughter*, London, J. Miller, 1835.
12. See R. J. B. Clark, "Un condisciple de Balzac: Paul Duport", *L'Année balzacienne 1967*, [29]-35, which directs the reader to Bouffé's *Souvenirs* (see p. 32). Léontine Fay-Volnys played the part of Eugénie. Bayard was Scribe's nephew by marriage.
13. The Rouen production is mentioned by Sagnes in Flaubert, *Œuvres de jeunesse*, p. 1217, n. 16.

tre manager's invitation to attend the Parisian opening night.[14]) With Bouffé again in the title-role, it would also be performed at St James's Theatre in London in June 1842.[15]

Bayard and Duport had considerably simplified the original and given it a happy (and profoundly un-Balzacian) ending in the form of Eugénie's marriage to her cousin Charles.[16] As for Millingen's version of *La Fille de l'avare*, although it was described by both Flaubert and the correspondent of the *Revue du théâtre* as a "translation", it was, in turn, a free adaptation that departed from the French authors' drama in a number of respects (while retaining the happy ending), and was thus still further removed from Balzac's original. Whereas Bayard and Duport had retained the names of those of the novelist's characters (the majority) they had chosen to take over, Millingen transposed the action to a "Country House near London", and provided all his characters with new, English identities. As in Bayard and Duport's play, there was no role for the miser's wife, though Millingen neglected to follow them in giving the lawyer a nephew (Isidore). His cast thus consisted of the miser, now baptized Isaac Ivy, his daughter Ann, her cousin Charles, the lawyer Flint (named Menu by Bayard and Duport), the servant Sally, and Charles's manservant, Peter Corp. Even those members of the audience at the Theatre Royal who had heard of Balzac's novel would have had little inkling of the fact that the miser's daughter they were watching was Eugénie Grandet in disguise.

A second English version of *La Fille de l'avare* was staged at London's Olympic Theatre in 1853. Entitled *Love and Avarice*, it was, according to Mollie Sands, who does not, however, identify it by title, the work of J. V. Bridgeman.[17] It does not appear to have been published, but the manuscript copy submitted obligatorily to the Lord Chamberlain has survived.[18] This manuscript,

14. See Balzac's letter to Charles-Gaspard Delestre-Poirson of [7 January 1835] in *Correspondance I (1809-1835)*, edited by Roger Pierrot and Hervé Yon, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Paris, Gallimard, 2006, p. 1043.
15. This is noted by Mollie Sands, *Robson of the Olympic*, London, The Society for Theatre Research, 1979, p. 84. Barry Duncan had previously written of Bouffé's performance: "As the miser the actor excelled, his vividness thrilling especially at the discovery of the emptied treasure chest. He staggered back, face blank, voice failing and husky, palsied like his hands at the shock. As Eugénie proclaimed her guilt, the agony of the parent trembled across the footlights. Silent, almost deprived of movement, it was the violent yet impotent gestures of his hands, the desperate incredulity in his features, the eventual slow sinking to the ground, torn and worn by terrific inward passion, that showed the intensity of the miser-father's despair and suffering" (Barry Duncan, *The St James's Theatre. Its Strange and Complete History 1835-1957*, London, Barrie and Rockcliff, 1964, p. 63). Duncan also records that "John Mitchell established The St James's as the legitimate home of the French stage in London. Vernacularly it became known as 'the French theatre' whilst its notepaper was printed 'Théâtre Français, King Street [St James's] à Londres'" (*ibid.*, p. 60).
16. Clark dismisses the play as "une faiblarde adaptation" ("Un condisciple de Balzac", p. 32).
17. See Sands, *Robson of the Olympic*, p. 84.
18. British Library, Add. MS 52940 J.

which does not indicate the author's name and makes no mention of either the original play or the novel on which it was based, shows that the *Times*, in the brief notice it published on 29 June, was justified in referring to the play's being "clothed in an English dress." *Love and Avarice*,[19] which followed Bayard and Duport's original closely and in fairly unremarkable English prose, featured the original characters, but they were again given new, English names: Hoardall, Gaston Herbert [the Charles Grandet figure], Vellum [a lawyer], Jacob Skribble [his nephew], Jessie [Hoardall's daughter] and Margaret [the family servant]. The play was set in an unspecified location, with the dialogue later revealing that the action is in fact situated in Kent ("half the county of Kent belongs to him [Hoardall"]). It was given an enhanced English colouring through such references as "afraid we were going in half an hour to Australia"; "He is a regular California and New South Wales rolled into one"; "Oh, if my friends at the Club could see me now"; and "I [Jacob] looked like the Emperor of Russia or the Correspondent of the *Times*." The *Times* duly opined that "the excellence of the novel [from which the storyline derived] is not transformed to the drama, even in the French original", though it praised the actor and actress who played Hoardall and Jessie, and recorded that on its opening night the production "proved successful." From the perspective of the current discussion, however, what is important is that the newspaper explicitly revealed that the basis of *Love and Avarice* was "Balzac's admirable work *Eugénie Grandet*." Even so, it is unlikely that many members of the audience would have been aware of the play's Balzacian origins, at least in advance of the statement that appeared in *The Times*.

In 1857, as was noted above, the English reading public was still without a translation of *Eugénie Grandet*, except in the case of those individuals, and they cannot have been numerous, who had discovered the existence of the version published in the United States in 1843. Yet this was the year of a third English-language play to have been inspired by *La Fille de l'avare*, namely John Palgrave Simpson's *Daddy Hardacre*, which was premiered at the Royal Olympic Theatre on 26 March. With Frederick Robson ("the English Bouffé") in the title role, it rapidly achieved the success that had been denied the adaptations by Millingen and Bridgeman, as was indicated by the reviews that appeared, for example, in *The Times* (27 March), *The Athenaeum* (4 April),[20] and the *Illustrated London News* (4 April).[21] It kept much closer to Bayard and Duport's play than *The Miser's Daughter* had done, and, like *Love and Avarice*, might indeed have been justified in advertising itself as a translation. Yet although an English journalist writing in the Boston-based *Atlantic Monthly*

19. Its final line was pronounced by the miser: "So long as my *child* is happy, I am still content to mingle Love with Avarice" (f. 107).
20. For mention of these two reviews, see Craven Mackie, "Frederick Robson and the evolution of realistic acting", *Educational Theatre Journal*, 23.2 (May 1971), 160-70 (p. 166).
21. On 18 April 1857, the *Illustrated London News* noted: "Mr Robson, in *Daddy Hardacre*, presents an example of genius in acting which will be cherished in public estimation for many a week to come." For an engraving of the diminutive Robson in this role, see *ibid.*, 25 April, or Sands, *Robson of the Olympic*, between p. 44 & 45.

in 1864 felt able to describe the title character as a "skilful adaptation of the usurer in Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet*",[22] and Henry James later recalled that it was "a two-acts version of a Parisian piece thriftily and coarsely extracted from Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet*,"[23] no indication that *Daddy Hardacre* was anything other than an original creation appeared on the title page. Likewise, Simpson's choice of title gave no hint of either his direct source or the latter's origin in *Eugénie Grandet*, and cannot even be seen as an echo of the translation of *Le Père Goriot* as *Daddy Goriot*, since that was not published until 1860. Even a modern study of Robson's career merely describes *Daddy Hardacre* as being "adapted from the French."[24] The action was again transposed to English shores, this time to an unlocated "farm house", with the *dramatis personae* giving no hint of their French origins: Adam Hardacre, Esther Hardacre (daughter to Adam), Charles Clinton (his nephew), Jobling (an attorney), Adolphus Jobling (his nephew), and Mary (servant to Hardacre). However, the manuscript submitted to the Lord Chamberlain, which was not a fair copy but a working document piecing together fragments from various stages of the composition and containing numerous *pentimenti*, reveals that Simpson had for a while followed Bayard and Duport in retaining the Balzacian names of "Old Papa Grandet", Eugénie, Charles, and Nanon, while Adolphus Jobling, like the lawyer Menu's nephew in the French play, was originally given the forename Isidore.[25] At one point in the redaction, Charles transmuted into Edward Hardacre, but it would appear that the adoption of the name Charles Clinton at a later stage still is an indication that Simpson had initially overlooked the fact that the character was not the nephew of Hardacre himself, but the nephew of his late wife. The temporary retention of the names of Balzac's characters does not in itself prove that Simpson was aware of the fact that Bayard and Duport's play was based on *Eugénie Grandet*. Yet following his studies at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, he had spent fifteen years on the Continent (admittedly mostly in Germany) and

22. George Augustus Sala, "Robson. A Sketch", *The Atlantic Monthly*, XIII, no 80 (June 1864), 715-22 (p. 720), reprinted separately by John Camden Hotten of London the same year.
23. Henry James, *A Small Boy and Others*, chapter XXIII. On Robson's performance, which he doubtless saw during its original run in London around the date of his fourteenth birthday, James noted: "This occasion must have given the real and the finer measure of his highly original talent; so present to me, despite the interval, is the distinctiveness of his little concentrated rustic miser [...] and the prodigious effect of Robson's appalled descent, from an upper floor, his literal headlong tumble and rattle of dismay down a steep staircase occupying the centre of the stage, on his discovery of the rifling of his chest. Long was I to have in my ears the repeated shriek of his alarm, followed by a panting babble of wonder and rage as his impetus hurled him, a prostrate scrap of despair (he was a tiny figure yet 'so held the stage' that in his company you could see nobody else) half way across the room" (*ibid.*). For a discussion of the discrepancies between James's account and the reviews of the first night, see Sands, *Robson of the Olympic*, p. 85.
24. Mackie, "Frederick Robson and the evolution of realistic acting", p. 166. See also, however, Sands, *Robson of the Olympic*, p. 84.
25. See British Library Add. MS 52965 L.

may be presumed to have had more than a passing acquaintance with contemporary European fiction and drama.

In turn, Simpson's play was soon to be itself the origin of another stage production that made no reference to Balzac's novel: J. B. Johnstone's two-act *Avarice, or the Miser's Daughter*. Though apparently never published, it survives in the form of two manuscript copies. The first of these, being the copy submitted to the Lord Chamberlain,[26] reveals that Johnstone's original choice of title was *Father Hardbargain*, and that this was replaced by the simple title *Avarice* in advance of the first performance at the Surrey Theatre in Lambeth on 26 October 1857.[27] The second manuscript, which forms part of the Pettingell Collection at the University of Kent at Canterbury, is the prompt copy used on the occasion of its revival, this time under its definitive title, at the Britannia Theatre (beloved of Charles Dickens and described by him in chapter 4 of *The Un-Commercial Traveller*) in April 1858.[28] It was subsequently revived on the same boards on 9 October 1871.[29] The play, which displays Johnstone's talent as an author for the popular stage, especially with regard to witty dialogue, represents an undoubted simplification of its model. The names of Simpson's characters were further changed, with, in several cases, a familiar humorous intent: Father Hardbargain, Frederick (his nephew), Josiah Stubbins (a lawyer), Stephen Stubbins (his son), Margaret Hardbargain, and Cowslip Cowmeadow.

The unconscious legacy of Balzac's novel possesses, however, a further dimension, the starting point for which is a remark in *Le Charivari* of 2 June 1835, which claimed that the idea for *Eugénie Grandet* had been taken ("empruntée de première main") from "un roman écossais" entitled *The Usurer's Daughter*, which the journalist (Louis Desnoyers?) translated as *La Fille de l'avare*.[30] This was doubtless designed to lend a spurious credence to the journalist's claim, in that Bayard and Duport's original play was, as has been seen, unambiguously connected to *Eugénie Grandet*. (Public awareness of *La Fille de l'avare* in some quarters on the French side of the Channel was, arguably, greater than that of the novel it exploited.) That said, this incom-

26. See British Library Add. MS 52969 A.
27. The existence of the manuscript confirms the supposition made by Allardyce Nicoll in *A History of English Drama: 1600-1900*, 6 vols, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1952-59, V, p. 826.
28. I am grateful to Jane Gallagher, Special Collections Assistant, for providing me with information about this item and for pointing me towards the Gale/Cengage microfilm reproduction of the Pettingell Collection: *Popular Stage: Drama in Nineteenth Century England* (for *Avarice*, see Series One, Part One, Reel 4, AM 54).
29. See Nicoll, *A History of English Drama*, V, p. 826.
30. See Nicole Felkay, "Louis Desnoyers et *Le Charivari*", *L'Année balzacienne 1984*, 107-31 (p. 114). The journalist also refers, rather more appositely, to Molière's *L'Avare* and Plautus's *Aulularia*. Scribe claimed, somewhat unconvincingly, that the sources for *Eugénie Grandet* were his own two plays *Les Premières Amours* (1825) and *Le Mariage d'argent* (1827); see Jean-Claude Yon, *Eugène Scribe. La Fortune et la liberté*, Saint-Genouph, Nizet, 2000, p. 90. Rowlandson had, in 1806, produced a pen and ink and watercolour study entitled *The Usurer's Daughter* (sold at Christie's rooms, South Kensington, 10 November 2010).

plete reference in *Le Charivari* would seem to point to William Pitt Scargill's *The Usurer's Daughter*, which had been published in 1832 [1831] as a work by "a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*." Scargill was a Unitarian Minister who had fallen foul of his congregation in Bury St Edmunds as a result of writing for the Tory press. In 1832 he would resign his charge and become a member of the established church.[31] *The Usurer's Daughter* was widely praised, for example by the *Athenaeum* (24 December 1831), which claimed that it was "the cleverest novel we have met with for some time." The *Literary Gazette* had earlier remarked (26 November 1831) that the "Usurer is a very original and forcibly drawn character."[32] The action of Scargill's novel was set in London, not Scotland, but the context was the anti-Catholic Gordon Riots of 1780, which had an obvious Scottish connexion. The term "roman écossais" was, nonetheless, familiar in France as a "marketing device", not merely in the wake of the *Waverley Novels* (e.g. *Sir André Wylie, roman écossais*, an 1823 translation of the novel by John Galt) but also, as at least the title of Mme Cottin's *Malvina, roman écossais* of 1800 was there to show, in the earlier context of the vogue for Ossian. The Scottish setting had thereafter been popularized by works such as Mme de Staël's *Corinne* and Charles Nodier's *Trilby*.[33] The fact remains that the monolingual Balzac would not have been able to read *The Usurer's Daughter*, which was translated into German, but not, apparently, into French. A comparison of the novel with *Eugénie Grandet* reveals, moreover, a striking lack of similarity between the two works.

On both sides of the Atlantic, however, the usurer's daughter or miser's daughter became something of a generic figure, spawning a number of fictions and dramas that, unlike Millingen, Bridgeman, Simpson and Johnstone's adaptations of Bayard and Duport's play, did not derive from Balzac's story of the daughter of the miser Grandet. Thus, in 1839 Isaac Clark Pray had printed in New York a five-act "tragedy" entitled *Julietta Gordini, the Miser's Daughter*, the plot of which was said to come from "an Italian story." The same year saw the publication in England of the sixteen-year-old John Purchas's five-act comedy, chiefly in verse: *The Miser's Daughter, or, The Lover's Curse*. In 1842, the prolific author of romances W. Harrison Ainsworth (whom Thackeray described, somewhat less than accurately, as the "immortal Ainsworth"[34]) published *The Miser's Daughter*, with illustrations by George Cruickshank, who later claimed that the conception of the novel had been his.[35] His biographer describes it as "a picturesque costume-romance of eighteenth-century

31. See the *DNB*.
32. The *New Monthly Magazine* for January 1832 considered it worthy of the author of *Caleb Williams*.
33. See also Margaret I. Bain, *Les Voyageurs français en Écosse 1770-1830 et leurs curiosités intellectuelles*, Paris, Champion, 1931.
34. In a letter of 1848 to Lady Blessington quoted by Lewis Melville, *William Makepeace Thackeray. A Biography*, London, John Lane, 1910, p. 171.
35. See the letters Cruickshank and Ainsworth wrote to the Editor of *The Times* in April 1872, as well as Cruickshank's pamphlet, *The Artist and the Author*, London, Bell and Daldy, 1872.

life and manners."[36] Two separate theatrical versions of his novel, by Edward Stirling and Thomas Proclus Taylor, appeared that same year.[37] In 1841, Mary E. Bennett published *The Gypsey Bride, or the Miser's Daughter, a tale of the sixteenth century*. Five years later, the Bostonian socialite Emily Appleton published *The Miser's Daughter, or The Coined Heart*. This was followed, in 1853, by *The Demon of Gold, or the Miser's Daughter, a Romance of Boston* by the prolific antebellum author of sensational pulp fiction, George Thompson ("Greenhorn"), who appears also to have published novels under the name… "Charles Paul de Kock"![38] Mrs Kemp's *Rachel Cohen, or the Miser's Daughter* (London, Ward, Lock & Tyler, 1860) had previously been published under the title *Rachel Cohen: the Usurer's Daughter*; an explicit treatment of the "Jewish question", it was addressed to "the ladies of Christian England." A "playlette in one scene" by Arthur Williams and Harold Whyte entitled *Avarice!* featured a miser and his (married) daughter.[39] Other treatments of the figure, including a third adaptation for the stage of Ainsworth's novel by Andrew Halliday, a work he entitled *Hilda; or The Miser's Daughter* (1872) and which was at least partly responsible for prompting Cruickshank's controversy with Ainsworth, ensued during the second half of the century, which provided a clear indication that the title or sub-title was thought likely to provoke interest amongst potential readers or theatre-goers.[40] Yet if this fictional and dramatic strand may be presumed to be independent of Balzac's novel and had origins that, as has been seen, in fact predated *Eugénie Grandet*,[41] it may nonetheless have been at least partly responsible for the fact that Edward Sherman Gould

36. S. M. Ellis, *William Harrison Ainsworth and his Friends*, 2 vols, London & New York, John Lane, 1911, II, p. 50. Not only does Ainsworth's novel owe nothing to *Eugénie Grandet*, but as early as 21 April 1830, he is to be found informing his friend James Crossley: "I intend to employ these [i.e. Jealousy and Poverty], and moreover Avarice, and fancy a very appalling character might be drawn of a miser; but I have as yet no plot—no *groundwork*. … I wish you could help me" (*ibid.*, I, p. 189). He was nonetheless a frequent visitor to Paris and was familiar with a wide range of French and European literature. His 1849 Preface to his first novel *Rookwood* (1834) refers to "Romance" being "modified by the German and French writers—by Hoffmann, Tieck, Hugo, Dumas, Balzac and Paul Lecroix [*sic*] (*le Bibliophile Jacob*)". The cast of his novel *Crichton* (1837, though begun in 1835) includes Cosmo Ruggieri, who had featured in Balzac's *Le Secret des Ruggieri*, which was serialized in *La Chronique de Paris* in December 1836 and January 1837.
37. See Jonathan E. Hill, "Cruickshank, Ainsworth and tableau illustration", *Victorian Studies*, 23.4 (1980), 429-59 (p. 456).
38. See George Thompson, *Venus in Boston and Other Tales of Nineteenth-Century City Life*, edited by David S. Reynolds and Kimberly R. Gladman, Amherst and Boston, University of Massachusetts Press, 2002, p. 384. The only surviving copy of *The Demon of Gold*, which I have not had the opportunity to consult, appears to be in the Huntington Library.
39. See *The Popular Stage*, Series One, Part I, reel 4, AM 55. The Pettingell manuscript of Johnstone's *Avarice* bears the ownership stamp of Arthur Williams, who was an actor as well as a playwright.
40. See Hill, "Cruickshank, Ainsworth and tableau illustration", p. 458.
41. Prior to Scargill's novel, E. H. Macleod (as Miss M'Leod) had published a romance entitled *The Miser's Daughter. A Tale* as part of the second series of her *Tales of Ton* (London, A. K. Newman, 1821).

saw fit to give his 1843 translation of the novel the "alternative title" of… *The Miser's Daughter*.[42]

It remains unclear whether Millingen, Bridgeman, Simpson, and Johnstone were initially aware of the fact that Bayard and Duport's *La Fille de l'avare* was derived from *Eugénie Grandet*, in spite of the French playwrights' retention of the names Balzac had given his characters, though, as was noted earlier, the French original was performed in London in 1842 and *The Times* made explicit the link some eleven years later. Nor is it clear why Charles Grandet in the versions of the first, third and fourth of these English playwrights was, alone among the characters, allowed to retain at least his Christian name. What is abundantly apparent, however, is that English theatre-goers had very little reason to associate *The Miser's Daughter, Daddy Hardacre*, or *Avarice, or The Miser's Daughter* with Balzac. It would appear also that in these three cases, in contrast to that of Bridgeman's *Love and Avarice*, critics, at least initially, failed to enlighten them. Although as time went on, awareness in England of *Eugénie Grandet*, whether in French or in English, made the identification increasingly likely, the transference of *La Fille de l'avare* to English settings, together with the existence of a parallel indigenous tradition of misers' daughters, may be regarded as having, for some time at least, contributed to the dampening of any awareness that Ann Ivy, Jessie Hoardall, Esther Hardacre, and Margaret Hardbargain had started life on the banks of the Loire.

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42. To which he added the sub-title "A tale of every day life in France in the nineteenth century."