

**An Introduction to ‘The Reward of Virtue; Or, The History of Miss Polly  
Graham’**

Published anonymously in 1769, *The Reward of Virtue* was scathingly, but succinctly, reviewed in the December issue of the *Monthly Review* of that same year as ‘a jumble of improbable and ill-connected tales’.<sup>1</sup> This dismissive, single sentence evaluation not only reflects the brevity of this slender, one-volume publication, but also suggests its lack of acclaim and impact on the literary marketplace.

Indeed, there is an aura of ephemerality about *The Reward of Virtue*, which suggests that its author may have intended it for immediate commercial impact, a source of light entertainment, rather than posthumous canonisation. Even the full title appears to be designed to maximise its potential target market by appealing to readers of Samuel Richardson, resembling *Pamela’s* alternative title, *Virtue Rewarded*, and Henry Fielding’s “histories” of *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones*. However, behind this façade, *The Reward’s* plot bears little resemblance to these hugely popular works or, indeed, any novels by Richardson or Fielding. Rather it draws from a genre which emerges towards the latter half of the eighteenth century which subverts patriarchy and envisages a utopian female community, such as Sarah Scott’s *Millenium Hall* (1762) and Mary Hamilton’s *Munster Village* (1778). Therefore, following a discussion of the physical book, the publishing history and a brief plot summary, the first section of this introduction will address the relationship of *The Reward* to the female utopia genre and discuss its parallels with *Millenium Hall*. I will then consider the representation of character, paying particular attention to the question of whether

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<sup>1</sup> Anon, ‘The Reward of Virtue’ in *Monthly Review*, 41 (1769) p.479.

characters in *The Reward* are flat, mere copies or types, or whether they are simply defined by their experiences. My final section will place *The Reward* in the context of the georgic mode, a popular genre throughout the eighteenth century which emphasises labour as a means of self-improvement.

~ *The Physical Book* ~

The copy of *The Reward* upon which I am basing my study is held at Chawton House Library, and is printed in one 212 page volume in duodecimo format which has survived in good condition. The paper is thick, of good quality, and bears only a minimal amount of foxing. It is robustly and rather plainly bound in contemporary gilt-ruled calfskin, which was one of the most common forms of binding in the eighteenth century. The slenderness of the volume means that there is no space on the spine for the title or any other detail which means, when positioned in a bookshelf, it does not stand out or radiate any sort of elegance. Indeed, there are no bookplates or illustrations; the book is solely comprised of text. There is also no preface or introduction which, aside from indicating that the publication is rather plain and unpretentious, may also suggest that authors and publishers had become aware by the latter part of the century that readers needed little introduction to the concept of the novel. Its price of two shillings and sixpence just undercuts the standard price of three shillings for a single volume.

Despite its humble appearance, the book would appear to have been the proud property of a Miss Nancy Appleton, whose name is inscribed on the half-title. The flourish itself is fairly inelegant and unrefined, which may hint that the book belonged to a younger, lower-class reader, a servant or maid perhaps. Further still, the size of

the flourish suggests Nancy's pride in her possession, which an owner from a higher social class would probably not take time to do.

~ *Publishing History* ~

*The Reward* was printed for John Roson at St. Martin's-le-Grand, C. Pyne at Pater-Noster-Row, and William Cooke's circulating library at Mayfair in 1769. Although there is very little information available on the latter two publishers, Roson is an interesting figure who, despite also being relatively unknown, illuminates some aspects of the novel's history. Indeed, from the lack of information, and James Raven's persistent misspelling of his name as 'Robson' in *The English Novel 1770-1829*, it would appear that Roson is not a particularly well-known to modern critics and that details of his life remain obscure. Edward Jacobs sheds some light on the nature of his business, highlighting that Roson 'both ran a circulating library and published books', which 'makes him another illustration of the important...role played by circulating libraries in the publishing – as well as distribution – of books in eighteenth century Britain'.<sup>2</sup> It is curious, therefore, that there is no mention of Roson's circulating library on the title page of *The Reward*, yet it states that it is printed specifically for Cooke's library.

Nevertheless, it seems clear that *The Reward* was targeted at circulating library proprietors which, again, indicates that it may have been intended for light entertainment rather than canonisation. Roson's circulating library conformed to the standard rates of the period at twelve shillings for a year's subscription or four shillings per quarter. However, Jacobs points out that Roson only allowed his patrons

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<sup>2</sup> Edward Jacobs, 'A Previously Unremarked Circulating Library: John Roson and the Role of Circulating-Library Proprietors as Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain.' *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 89 (1995), pp. 61-71 (p.1).

to withdraw ‘two books at a time’ and that “no subscriber [is] to have more than one new book at a time, nor to keep it more than six days”.<sup>3</sup> By imposing such limitations on his customers, it would appear that Roson’s library had relatively little stock. The restriction on new books, along with Roson’s assertion that he has “purchased editions of such books as are most likely to be wanted, in order to accommodate every reader”, are testimony of Roson’s commercial instincts.<sup>4</sup> Advertising that his stock consists only of the most sought-after products is, quite clearly, an attempt to draw in customers to subscribe. Roson must, therefore, have considered *The Reward* material which would appeal to a wide enough readership in order for him to publish and stock it.

Roson was involved in cooperative publishing, in a circle with Samuel Bladon and, the subsequently highly-successful Thomas Hookham. At the time, Roson and Hookham were only just starting up their businesses, but Bladon had been a publisher, printer and bookseller since the 1730s. Strangely, *The Reward* is listed amongst books “lately printed and sold by S. Bladon”, although his name is not mentioned at all on the title page or in the advertisement printed in the *Monthly Review*. It is possible that *The Reward* was one of Roson’s earliest ventures, and Bladon may have assisted him with the printing, selling, and even funding it, but allowing Roson to take credit if the novel became successful.

Jacobs stipulates that the ‘two “lost books”...appear in Hookham’s 1794 catalogue for his circulating library, as well as the catalogue of M. Heavisides’.<sup>5</sup> One of these lost books is, in fact, *The Reward* which, unbeknownst to Jacobs, is not lost but preserved

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<sup>3</sup> Jacobs, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobs, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Jacobs, p. 6.

at Chawton House Library. It would seem that, despite not surviving in the literary canon, and in spite of its scathing review, *The Reward* did, at least, experience enough success to be stocked in Hookham's catalogue twenty-five years after its publication. Roson, on the other hand, appears to have been somewhat less successful; a 1774 advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser*, printed just five years after the publication of *The Reward*, states that Roson had been declared bankrupt, and that 'all the genuine household furniture and stock in trade' was to be sold at auction.<sup>6</sup>

~ *Plot Summary* ~

The *Reward* is a frame narrative of tales depicting the lives of the inhabitants, patronesses or those merely associated with the charitable, and completely fictitious, institution of Bounty Hall. The omniscient, and completely anonymous, narrator opens with an account of Miss Polly Graham, the founder of Bounty Hall. Polly is denied an inheritance by her cruel, haughty mother who insists on a loveless marriage to the reputable Captain Pierce, despite her infatuation with, and eventual marriage to, the romantic Mr Wilson. Following the latter's death, and marriage to the possessive Mr Jones, from whom she separates, Polly endures poverty before receiving a large charitable donation from a surgeon which he gave free of any ulterior motives against her chastity. This rather fortunate gift sparks the beginning of Polly's own philanthropy; she is able to bestow ten guineas on her impoverished uncle and, more significantly, 'she took a little retired house near Hammersmith, and put up a bill for lodging and board for single and widow ladies' (III), which was to become Bounty Hall.

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<sup>6</sup> Anon, 'Advertisement' in *The Daily Advertiser*, (London), March 15, 1774; Issue 13488

The rest of *The Reward* is comprised of a range of inspirational stories beginning with Polly's uncle, whose disastrous voyage home from Turkey left him in a state of destitution. Sally Thompson, the wife of Polly's son by Mr Wilson, escapes prostitution after she is duped into the clutches of two vile women. The next woman is given no name, but tells of her exploitation at the hands of her brother and sister, who force her into relentless and unrewarded labour following the death of her parents.

Mrs Baldwin's narrative describes her exploitation at the hands of a libertine, referred to simply as Lord G, and subsequent marriage to the inheritance-hungry apothecary, whose death leaves his wife in destitution. Finally, before the description of Bounty Hall itself which constitutes the last chapter, there is the tale of a man dubbed Mr Dennis. He is not a resident or proprietor of Bounty Hall, the final chapter clearly states that it is a female community. His story is told by a lady who claims not to have anything out of the ordinary to complain about. The narrative itself mainly consists of the romance between Mr Dennis' son and Miss Simmonds, whose relationship is complicated by the latter's engagement to a young physician whom she does not love. The narrative concludes with their union, following the convenient death of the physician and the older Mr Dennis, who is proud of his family, receives a large inheritance and is delighted at the birth of his grandson who can continue the family name.

~ *The Female Utopia Novel* ~

*The Reward* was written against the backdrop of the rise in bluestocking feminism in the mid-eighteenth century. As Gary Kelly observes, the bluestockings' concern was with 'securing a place for women within...the cultural revolution' and was a reaction

to the ‘deeply rooted assumption that women were the ‘weak’ element in any class identity’.<sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> The movement rejected the courtly role for women, and instead advocated a better education, in academic as well as practical subjects, albeit with the aim of preparing women for a fruitful lifestyle in the private sphere. Subversive bluestocking “clubs” were established, at which women were encouraged to arrive to meetings sporting their informal, domestic bluestockings instead of their formal, courtly attire. The literary response to the movement was novels such as Scott’s *Millenium Hall* (1762), Hamilton’s *Munster Village* (1778) and, indeed, slotting neatly in between the two, the anonymous *Reward of Virtue* (1769). These novels embody the ideals of the bluestocking feminists and engage with some of the key contemporary issues of gender. Although it is highly likely that the author of *The Reward* was a woman, taking into account that there were no known male-authored female utopia novels, it is interesting that the narrator also remains anonymous. In *Millenium Hall* the narrator is male; Sir Charles discovers and is inspired by the community of women. However, in *The Reward*, the narrator is omniscient, completely impartial, and offers no opinions or indication of character. The stance of the mysterious narrator is, therefore, very much open to interpretation; leaving out this important narrative dimension also indicates a lack of refinement and suggests that the novel may have been rushed. In this section, referring predominantly to *Millenium Hall* as a point of contrast and comparison, I will discuss the utopia novels’ ideas on philanthropy and, in particular, how far they protect their characters from the immorality of commerce as much as they do patriarchal prejudice. I will also consider the idealisation of the novels’ heroines and the recognition of the power of the individual to instigate social and political change.

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<sup>7</sup> Gary Kelly, ‘Bluestocking Feminism’ in *Women, Writing, and the Public Sphere 1700-1830*, ed. by Elizabeth Eger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p. 164.

<sup>8</sup> Kelly, p. 164.

According to Dorice Williams Elliott, 'houses of charity' were 'an eighteenth century innovation' managed 'like commercial enterprises, with a director, a body of governors, and weekly committees'<sup>9</sup>. Further, these organisations were, almost exclusively, 'organised, supervised, and managed by men'.<sup>10</sup> Williams Elliott, therefore, argues that Scott 'strips philanthropy of its specifically masculine component and makes it hospitable to nonsexualized women'.<sup>11</sup> However, I would contend that the female utopia novels go further than simply removing the masculine influence from their depictions of the ideal philanthropic society, insofar as they entirely separate charity from the authority of commerce. Although Williams Elliott does acknowledge the commercialist approach of existing charity houses run by men, she fails to recognise that it is precisely this which Scott, and indeed the author of *The Reward*, endeavour to exclude from their utopias.

The huge growth of trade and consumerism in the eighteenth century, resulting from the rise of the paper economy, are notably absent from these idealised female societies. The systems of internal philanthropy in *The Reward* and *Millenium Hall* ensure that the inhabitants have no need to engage in financial negotiation with the outside world. It is, perhaps, no coincidence that the male narrator who discovers Millenium Hall is a wealthy merchant; his acknowledgement of the success of the society run by mutual obligation can be interpreted as Scott's assertion that her fictional world is superior to the consumerism which pervades reality. This commercial attitude is instilled in the minds of those who oppress the women before their residence at Bounty Hall. Mrs Baldwin, for instance, fell victim to a husband

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<sup>9</sup> Dorice Williams Elliott, 'Sarah Scott's Millenium Hall and Female Philanthropy', in *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 35 (1995) pp. 535-553 (p.535).

<sup>10</sup> Williams Elliot, p. 536.

<sup>11</sup> Williams Elliot, p. 537.

who ‘began to behave very coolly towards [her]’ and ‘grew totally abandoned to drinking and women’ after he learnt his financial profit from the marriage would not even amount to ‘one farthing’ (VII). In a more direct fashion, Sally Thompson is incarcerated by two women with the intent to prostitute her for their own financial gain. Mr Israel’s enquiry as to whether the unnamed women have ‘any new ware’ (V) is announced in such a casual, consumerist manner that it evokes a man asking if a shop has any new stock. The author of *The Reward* was clearly aware of the potential for women to be subjugated in such ways, used as business investments to generate a profit.

The utopian communities protect women from being treated as commodities as much as they do patriarchal prejudice. They are able to do so by participating in idealistic societies of mutual obligation and philanthropy, entirely free from the threat of exploitation. In *Millenium Hall*, Mrs Mancel envisages her community as one which operates under the principles of ‘mutual confidence, reciprocal services, and correspondent affections’.<sup>12</sup> In a similar fashion, the ladies of Bounty Hall make use of their ‘different geniuses’ which caused them to ‘excel in different talents; one in music, another in drawing, and a third in writing and arithmetic’ (IX) and so on, in order to contribute to each other’s learning. This idealistic form of education in which everyone has something to offer means that the women have no need to engage with the external, patriarchal systems of education outside of their community. Furthermore, the inhabitants also rely on one another for companionship, which is presented as their principle pleasure; ‘their pleasures depend solely on others’ and ‘the time which is not passed in company, becomes burdened with all the miseries of

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<sup>12</sup> Sarah Scott, *A Description of Millenium Hall*, ed. by Gary Kelly (Toronto: Broadview Press, 1995) p. 111.

ignorance and idleness' (IX). On the other hand, the ladies live 'a little out of the common taste'; they have no need for luxurious commodities associated with superfluous wealth and pomp or, indeed, the patriarchal male figures which can provide them. Therefore the system of philanthropy in place at Bounty Hall is not merely financial, but incorporates mutual compassion, and is free from the immoralities associated with commercialism.

The utopian novels of the latter part of the eighteenth century recognise the power of the individual to instigate social and political reform. In this sense, they function as a both a reinforcement and a recognition of what women such as Elizabeth Montagu, who founded the bluestocking movement, were trying to achieve. The novels envisage a matriarchal system which is established and inspired by exemplary, even idealised, heroines. Lady Frances of *Munster Village* (1778), another popular utopian fiction, exemplifies female authority by refusing to marry her fiancé unless she is placed in full, autonomous charge of Lord Munster's estate.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, *Millenium Hall* is run, perhaps rather more democratically, by a coalition of six proprietors. However, neither idealises its heroines as much as *The Reward*; the alternative title, *The History of Miss Polly Graham* suggests a novel centred on its female protagonist in the mould of Richardson's *Pamela* or *Clarissa*. Initially this may seem misleading; of the novel's nine chapters, her narrative is only comprised of two, and therefore this elevation of Miss Graham in particular appears unjustified. Nonetheless, she is presented as the mastermind behind the utopia of Bounty Hall.

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<sup>13</sup> Eve Tavor Bannet, *The Domestic Revolution: Enlightenment Feminisms and the Novel* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000) p. 166.

Indeed, Polly's misfortunes inspire the doctrine taught at Bounty Hall to its inhabitants; it is *specifically* her experiences which are alluded to when the narrator specifies the institution's ideology in the final chapter. Her mother's persistent attempts to force her into an unhappy, socioeconomically-driven marriage to Captain Pierce, which causes her such misery that she grew 'quite weary of life, would gladly have embraced death, and often sighed for the hour in which she should be delivered from her present troubles' (I). Inspired by these misfortunes, the proprietors of Bounty Hall teach their inhabitants 'the duties of a mother' and 'the tender ties of maternity' (IX) of which Polly was deprived.

~ *Flat Characters?* ~

One point of distinction between *The Reward* and *Millenium Hall* is the development of their characters. Although the narratives in the latter are not nearly as developed as those of, say, Richardson's Pamela or Defoe's Moll they are, nonetheless, considerably more rounded than those of *The Reward*. Indeed, one of the proprietors of Bounty Hall remains completely anonymous without even adopting a pseudonym. The unnamed narrator simply introduces her narrative with, 'one of them spoke to the following effect' (VI) which, therefore, exemplifies a paradoxical instance of anonymity *within* anonymity. The reader is not even offered a well-rounded heroine in Polly Graham; her narrative provides little insight into her persona and focuses mainly on her actions.

Deidre Lynch stipulates that 'the bureaucratic enterprises that enabled Britain's emergence as an imperial power' which meant that 'copying [became] an aspect of everyday life', could explain the emergence of flat characters in eighteenth-century

novels.<sup>14</sup> In a similar fashion, Jerome Christensen suggests that, because of the printing press, “the particular [could] be redirected into the general, the individual into the social whole”.<sup>15</sup> Lynch and Christensen, therefore, envisage the rise of the flat character as a cultural and historical phenomenon. However, whilst the characters in *The Reward* are not rounded, like those of the romance genre for instance, they are, at the same time, not necessarily copies. Contrary to Lynch and Christensen’s theories, there is no sense of mechanical reproduction in *The Reward* but instead, I would argue, characters are defined by their experiences. Indeed, the narratives are, in spite of their brevity, very intimate accounts of the victimised characters which leave the reader with a sense of confidence, despite knowing nothing of their appearance, mannerisms or, indeed, insight of any real psychological depth. Polly’s uncle, for instance, offers such a detailed chronology of his experiences as a victim of shipwreck that they appear far too particular to be, as Christensen suggests, a generalised character who represents nothing more than a ‘social whole’. For instance, he offers a thoroughly detailed account of his failed mission:

She was a bark of about sixty tuns burthen, and there being no battery at that part of the island where she lay at anchor, we imagined we could very easily board her. She was a Spanish barcalonga, and came from the island of Palma, was bound to Teneriffe, laden with sugar and brandy to put on board a galleon that lay at Santa Cruz. (III)

For such a short, one-chapter narrative the details specified here, particularly as they have little direct significance to the plot, are quite comprehensive. However, this passage also typifies the lack of information the reader is given about Polly’s uncle himself who, quite fittingly, remains nameless.

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<sup>14</sup> Deidre Shauna Lynch, *The Economy Of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) p. 41.

<sup>15</sup> Lynch, p. 41

In a similar way, Polly Graham's narrative appears devoid of emotion and reads as a chronology of events interrupted only by two short letters sent between Polly and Mr Wilson. Indeed, had detailed accounts of Polly's emotions been incorporated, the novel could have been expanded to the length of novels such as *Pamela* and *Moll Flanders*. In one short paragraph for instance, Polly learns of 'the death of her husband', contracts 'a high fever...which terminated in a violent madness', a relation of Mr Wilson's takes care of her children, she recovers from her illness and, finally, she falls into a state of 'complicated distress' (II). Being rich in incident, the paragraph epitomises the remoteness of the narrative and the emotionally-detached nature of the characters. It seems, therefore, that while characters in *The Reward* are flat in a sense that they remain faceless, psychologically unexplored figures, their tales are far too detailed and dynamic to be mere copies or types. Characters are defined, in this case, by their experiences rather than their personas.

~ *A Georgic for Women?* ~

Besides a substantial rise in popularity in the eighteenth-century, which Rachel Crawford acknowledges as an 'uncommon cultural authority and civic approval', the georgic movement significantly broadened its generic boundaries.<sup>16</sup> The genre grew to bear little resemblance to its locus classicus, Virgil's *Georgics*, or, as Dustin Griffin points out, its concern with 'the agricultural foundation of a great nation' at all.<sup>17</sup> Rather a new, more inclusive mode emerged which influenced a wide range of literature, not just poetry, and became more generally concerned with advocating the morality of labour and hard-work as a means of self-improvement, rather than

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<sup>16</sup> Rachel Crawford, 'English Georgic and British Nationhood' in *ELH*, 65 (1998) pp. 123-158 (p. 123).

<sup>17</sup> Dustin Griffin, 'Redefining Georgic: Cowper's Task', in *ELH*, 57 (1990), pp. 865-879 (p.866).

specifically about the benefits of various agricultural practices. William Cowper's poem *The Task* (1784), for example, was considered georgic because of its concern with a 'life of negotium, employment, occupation and work' and the emphasis it places on 'the principle that labour – the unrelenting toil – ultimately conquers all'.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, georgic writing celebrates the potential of labour to regenerate the individual and to underpin the strength of the nation. *The Reward*, I propose, draws heavily from this discourse and, further still, many of its contemporaries would have been aware of this owing to its didactic preoccupation with work and self-improvement.

At the utopian asylum of Bounty Hall, there is a strong, didactic emphasis on the power of work to improve women and, as a result, the employments described are usually feminine in nature. 'The female community was employed...in those fine works which are only proper for female fingers' (VI). At the 'second rank' of female institutions set up by Mrs Jones and the other proprietors, the inhabitants are taught to successfully negotiate life in the private sphere. They are taught 'to make their own gowns, caps etc, besides the most useful parts of needle work' as well as 'cooking', specifically 'how to make jellies, sweet-meats etc' (IX). Even in the world outside Bounty Hall, presented in the various narratives, there is a clear connection between moral characters and labour. Mrs Jones, for instance, was employed as 'a milliner' which she hoped, following the death of her first husband Mr Wilson, would produce enough 'to maintain herself' (II).

Why should we expect that [those who] have fewer advantages of education, should be more capable of resisting temptations, and dedicating themselves solely to the performance of their duties, than persons whose minds are more improved?<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Griffin, p. 869.

<sup>19</sup> Scott, p. 165.

As Mrs Trentham asserts in *Millenium Hall*, the cultivation of the mind is also an important part of self-improvement. The value of mental labour is also stressed in *The Reward*; ladies at Bounty Hall are encouraged to participate in 'reading' which 'instructs the mind...geography and chronology went hand in hand with history. The less abstruse parts of astronomy, natural philosophy, ethics...were admitted to their studies' (IX). In turn, the narrator condemns 'that incoherent desultory manner of reading, too usual in women, which rather confounds and dissipates' as 'no better than a serious kind of idleness' (IX). In other words, reading for entertainment or pleasure is frowned upon, as it is 'productive of little more improvement' (IX). Indeed, one of the main goals of the bluestocking feminists was to achieve equal rights to a full education so, like the proprietors of Bounty Hall, they clearly recognised the importance of mental labour.

*The Reward* not only glorifies labour as a means of self-improvement, but specifically condemns the excessive engagement in idle, leisurely activities as a social and moral flaw. In the description of Bounty Hall, the narrator specifies that 'amusement is too often the business of [the inhabitants'] lives, and in the round of diversions, which they pursue, their children are sometimes forgotten'. Thus, in this instance, fruitless leisure is presented as a domestic evil which leads to neglectful motherhood. Further, an unnamed narrator recounts the details of her strenuous labour whilst in the employment of her brother; 'I was then to teach the children to read, to walk out with them, mend theirs and the family linen, until it was time to give them their suppers and put them to bed' (VI). She protests that her 'strength was not equal to the fatigue [she] underwent' (VI), and deliberately juxtaposes her hardship with her idle brother who, whilst all this was going on, was engaged in 'field amusements' and 'spent a

very small part of the day in the house' (VI). Further still, the author draws a link between idleness and immorality through the portrayal of the younger Mr Scott, who 'soon grew tired of his wife and returned to the bottle, to hunting, gaming, and loose women' (VIII). Therefore, taking everything into account, it would appear that *The Reward* fits into the wide-ranging georgic discourse which was popularised in the eighteenth-century. The author, undoubtedly, would have been aware of the potential literary and commercial success in drawing from a fashionable and commercially successful genre.

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Although *The Reward* fits into the popular female utopia and georgic genres prevalent in the latter half of the eighteenth-century, it did not achieve any kind of lasting recognition and, after Roson went bankrupt, and after floating around in Hookham's circulating library for several decades was never reprinted and, most likely, was subsequently forgotten. *The Reward* gives the impression of having been rushed into the literary marketplace, perhaps by its author for financial reasons, or by Roson who, undoubtedly, would have been desperate for new and exciting material for his library. Indeed, it is certainly not a masterpiece of canonical quality but, nonetheless, should be considered a valuable constituent of the relatively small female utopia genre, and as an unusual example of the influence of the georgic in fiction.

## Appendix I: Bibliographical Description

<p><b>Author</b> (and attribution as it appears on title page, or note of pseudonym or anonymity)</p>	<p>Anonymous</p>
<p><b>Title</b> (as it appears on title page)</p>	<p>The Reward of Virtue; or, The History of Miss Polly Graham. Intermixed with several curious and interesting incidents in the lives of several Persons of both sexes, remarkable for the singular adventures which befell them. To which is added A Brief Description of Bounty Hall, And its Inhabitants.</p>
<p><b>Imprint</b> (Place of publication: publisher, year of publication as they appear on title page)</p>	<p>London: Printed for J. Roson, No. 54, St. Martin's-le-Grand; C.Pyne, No. 20, Pater-Noster-Row; and William Cooke, at his circulating Library in Queen-Street, May-Fair. 1769.</p>
<p><b>Physical description</b> (details relating to all copies, e.g. number of vols., number of pgs, size, price – sometimes shown on title page, quality of paper and printing, illustrations, etc.)</p>	<p>It has one volume of 212 pages and is printed in duodecimo format. Its price is 2 shillings and 6 pence. The paper is of good quality with little foxing. The margins are average sized and the writing is fairly large and, in places, slightly wonky.</p>
<p><b>Physical description</b> (details relating only to this specific copy, e.g. binding &amp; decoration, binding anomalies, annotations etc.)</p>	<p>The volume is too slender to have the title printed on the spine. It is plainly bound in calf-skin. It may have been cheaply bound by the publisher? The printing is fairly elegant, with a larger first letter beginning each chapter.</p>
<p><b>Provenance</b> (e.g. bookplates, inscriptions)</p>	<p>There are no bookplates, however there is a flourish at the front – ‘Nancy Appleton’s Book’.</p>
<p><b>Details of advertisements</b> (you can summarise if there is a long list e.g. genre, price range, a few characteristic or notable titles)</p>	<p>There are no advertisements.</p>
<p><b>Paratext</b> (title page epigraph, subscription list, dedication, preface, introduction, etc. noted or summarised)</p>	<p>There is no paratext at all, only a title page and the novel itself.</p>

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary Text**

Anon, *The Reward of Virtue; or, The History of Miss Polly Graham* (London: J. Roson & William Cooke, 1769)

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