

The Poetics of 1814: Representations of Norway, Norwegian Politics and Norwegian Culture in *The Recluse of Norway* by Anna Maria Porter

Elettra Carbone

UCL

Abstract

Few British writers visited and/or wrote literary texts about Norway in the nineteenth century. What then attracted the attention of those who did write about this 'exotic' Nordic country? Was it its landscape, its traditions or its complex political situation? Taking as my starting point C. B. Burchardt's *Norwegian Life and Literature* (1920), an early account on the representation of Norwegians in British literature, this article addresses these questions focusing primarily on the novel *The Recluse of Norway* written by Anna Maria Porter (1780-1832) and published for the first time in 1814. Despite being set at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the novel's historical references inform and are informed by the historical events of 1814, which resulted in the Norwegian Constitution and in the cession of Norway to Sweden. More generally, this novel casts light on British representations of Norway at the beginning of the century.

Keywords

The Recluse of Norway, Anna Maria Porter, historical novel, Norway in British fiction, 'Norwegian Savage'

While the last decades of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century were characterised by a wealth of travel accounts by British travellers, few British writers visited and wrote literary texts about Norway in this same period (Burchardt 1920: 57; Fjågesund and Symes 2003: 14). What then attracted the attention of those who did write fictional texts about this Nordic country?

Broadly speaking, this article falls under the domain of 'image studies' or 'imagology', namely the study of one nation's images of another in literature. The entry on 'Norwegians' included in *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Character* (Beller & Leerssen 2007) points in particular to the recurrent literary representation – at least from the eighteenth century onwards – of Norwegian peasants as 'honest' and 'austere', an image that was often opposed to that of the 'urbanised classes' as 'materialistic' and 'un-national' (Spring 2007: 215). In her entry on Norway, Ulrike Spring argues that the image of the 'enlightened' peasantry and of the 'rational and democratic Norwegian' was strengthened by the historical events of 1814 – which resulted in the cession of Norway to Sweden and in the Norwegian Constitution – and by what was generally perceived as the 'pacific separation from Sweden' in 1905 (Spring 2007: 215).

In their imagological study on the British perceptions of Norway, Fjågesund and Symes observe that, while the poetic treatment of 1814 – in line with the general attitude of the British people – was characterised by 'an unambiguous celebration of the ideals of the American and French revolutions', most travel accounts tried to balance their empathy for the Norwegian cause with a certain degree of caution (Fjågesund and Symes 2003: 108). Within a British context the events of 1814 caused, in fact, a split between the British government and the British people. While the government was generally in favour of the union between Sweden and Norway, the people supported the Norwegian independence.¹ Nature, as remote and untouched as possible, remained, however, the greatest attraction for British travellers, who appeared to consider Norway as their safe haven where they could escape from modernity (Fjågesund and Symes 2003: 237). Yet, to what extent did Norway's landscape, its traditions or its complex political situation dominate the representations of the country and its

people in the novel *The Recluse of Norway* written by British writer Anna Maria Porter (1780-1832) and published in fact for the first time in 1814? Despite being set at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the novel's historical references inform and are informed by the historical events of 1814, which resulted in the cession of Norway to the Swedish King and in the Norwegian Constitution. More generally, this novel casts light on British representations of Norway at the beginning of the century. Which personal qualities and traditions are considered 'typically Norwegian'? How does the main character, Spanish-born Theodore, develop from 'Norwegian savage' to Spanish aristocrat? How do representations of Norway and Norwegian culture fit within the plot of the novel?

Taking as my starting point C. B. Burchardt's *Norwegian Life and Literature* (1920), an early account of the representation of Norwegians in British literature, I will try to establish whether the images and narrative techniques emerging in Porter's novel are representative of the way Norway was portrayed in British literature throughout the nineteenth century and whether they support the image of Norwegians as 'enlightened', 'rational' and 'democratic'.

Constructing a Historical Story

In his *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination of Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Hayden White states that 'the same event can serve as a different kind of element of many different historical stories, depending on the role it is assigned in a specific motific characterization of the set to which it belongs' (White 1973: 7). Following Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism*, he argues that the way the event is used in a narrative can be identified by examining three different aspects: the emplotment, namely the kind of story (romance, tragedy, comedy or satire), which can be determined by analysing how the events are fashioned to create a story; the formal argument, or the point of it all, which can be traced by finding explanations for the events in the story, creating a deductive argument, laying out the putative laws that govern the historical narrative and thus shape the process of development leading from one situation to another; the ideological implication, i.e.

the prescriptions for taking a position in the present world of social praxis and the implications derived from this (White 1973: 6-29).

This strategy for analysing the use of a historical event can be applied to both 'the literature of facts' or 'the fictions of factual representation' because the discourse of the historians and of the imaginative writers overlap, and because 'the techniques or strategies that they use in the composition of their discourses can be shown to be substantially the same, however different they may appear on a purely surface, or dictional, level' (White 1973: 24). White never disputes that there are historical facts: he simply reminds us that chronicles and annals provide just such raw material for historians to shape into their stories and histories, and reminds us that the clear-cut distinction between history writing and fiction (and in particular novel writing) arose in fact at the beginning of the nineteenth century (White 1973: 25). It is with White's discussion of the construction of the historical narrative in mind that we should approach an analysis of any literary text which uses, directly or indirectly, the historical events in Norway in 1814.

In his *Norwegian Life and Literature* (published in 1920) C. B. Burchardt analyses the representation of Norwegians in British literature. Mapping out the phases of British interest in Norway and Norwegian culture Burchardt points out that representations of Norway in British literature were indeed rather limited at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Apart from a short period of travels to Northern Europe and subsequent accounts, few English poets visited Norway: as Burchardt puts it, poets were too busy glorifying Italy, and thus only the 'tourists'² travelled to Norway (Burchardt 1920: 57; 191-192). Burchardt is extremely critical of the quality of British literary texts portraying Norway, while at the same time acknowledging a certain variety in the topics dealt with in these. In his account of which periods of Norwegian history have attracted greater interest in Great Britain, Burchardt dedicates an entire chapter to the events of 1814, emphasising what he defines as 'the curious contrast between the British Government and the general sentiment of the English people', hence acknowledging the divided opinions concerning cession of Norway to Sweden (Burchardt 1920: 13-14). In connection with this, Burchardt refers to the travel account published by Jens Wolff (1736-

1827) in 1814, *Sketches on a Tour to Copenhagen through Norway and Sweden*, which, besides containing a number of anecdotes of historical and private character, also included an appendix on 'The Present Political State of Norway'. Jens Wolff had close connections with Norway: the son of Norwegian-born Georg Wolff – a merchant who also served as Danish Consul to Great Britain between 1787 and 1804 – he was appointed Adjunct and later Acting Consul until the consulate closed in 1807, following the Bombardment of Copenhagen by the Royal Navy. Wolff dedicates his book to 'The King of Norway' and expresses his sympathies for 'the brave Norwegians' in their 'struggle for independence' (Wolff 1814: 225). He abstains from mentioning the political events of 1814 – focusing instead on Norwegian customs – until the introduction to the appendix, which, as Hemstad points out, 'was a channel for republishing a range of proclamations and other publications, which had been circulated during the spring [of 1814], including Earl Grey's speech³ in the House of Lords and a translation of the Norwegian constitution' (Hemstad 2014: 581). He was, in other words, an advocate of the Norwegian cause which had been a topic of discussion in Great Britain since The Treaty of Stockholm from 3 March 1813 when Britain accepted not to oppose the annexation of the Kingdom of Norway to the Kingdom of Sweden (Hemstad 2014: 19). Published in August 1814, Wolff's book appeared after a year of debates which saw the opposition and the liberal press siding with Norway against the Tory government (Hemstad 2014: 29).

In his appendix, Wolff calls his 'observations, founded on truth and matter of fact', on the 'interesting events which have so recently occurred' (Wolff 1814: 225). By presenting us with a number of documents and declarations, Wolff aims at displaying the wrongs done to the nation of Norway. He frames these documents in a short account of the history of Norway which opens with the statement: 'Norwegians have, from the earliest period, been a brave and warlike people, but at times prone to cruelty and revenge' (Wolff 1814: iv). The bravery of Norwegians has, however, not been enough to keep them free from what Wolff refers to as the 'tyranny' and 'despotism' of the neighbouring countries. This representation of Norwegians is reiterated throughout this appendix and seems to culminate in the

sentence:

The Norwegian people, although the most pacific in their habits, are brave, hardy and able bodied – endowed with every good quality of mind and frame that belongs to free, frugal and unvitiated men' (Wolff 1814: lxxxiii).

Stressing the virtuousness of the Norwegians, Wolff clearly amplifies the cruelty and injustice this people has and will suffer.

Creating a contrast between the bravery and honesty of Norwegians and the unfairness they were enduring is, to a certain extent, the same strategy adopted by Anne Marie Porter in her novel *The Recluse of Norway* to make the reader sympathise with the Norwegian cause. Anne Marie Porter, the sister of the probably better known author Jane Porter, was a very prolific writer and, though she wrote poems and short stories, she remains renowned today for the number of historical romances she produced (30 stories, totalling 54 volumes). Her stories span across a range of settings in different European countries and are characterised by an interesting blend of conservative politics and more progressive ideology (Kasmer 2012: 158). Divided into four volumes of just under 300 pages each, *The Recluse of Norway*, which – incidentally – is not even mentioned in Burchardt's account, is a historical novel set during the period of the Great Northern War (1700-1721), when a coalition led by Russia – and including Fredrick IV of Denmark-Norway – contested the supremacy of the Swedish Empire in Europe. The novel received mostly positive reviews and was praised for its delineation of the characters and scenes of domestic life ('Art. IV. *The Recluse of Norway*' 1815: 106-110). Criticism, on the other hand, focused on two aspects: the Norwegian-sounding names which, as a reviewer puts this, do not sound harmonious to an English reader; the lack of originality in the plot, which, despite the narrator's claims, was perceived as lacking in local character ('Art. 25. *The Recluse of Norway*' 1815: 423-424; 'Porter, Anna Maria. *Recluse of Norway, The* (1814)' 1815: 212).

The narration starts in 1690, when the Norwegian sailor Dofrestom, having lived in the French West Indies for 15 years and having lost his wife there, decides to come back home to his Stone Cottage in

Aardal with his son. During his journey he saves a Spanish baby, Theodore, from a shipwreck and brings him to Aardal with him. Here Theodore is brought up by Dofrestom and his sister. He is educated by Professor Sergendal and thus becomes a learned man with very high standards of morality. Discovered by the Danish Count Lauvenheim, who was accompanying the hereditary Prince of Denmark during a tour of Norway, Theodore is taken to Copenhagen to become Count Lauvenheim's secretary. There he falls in love with one of the Count's daughters, Ellesif. Their union is however hindered for two reasons, a social one and a political one. Firstly, Theodore is unaware of who his real Spanish parents are. Although he thinks his parents might be members of the Spanish aristocracy, he needs to have his claims recognised before he can ask for Ellesif's hand. Secondly Theodore refuses to support Ellesif's father in a complot that will betray the Danish King and allow Sweden to invade Norway, something that the King of Sweden, Charles XII, did indeed attempt repeatedly between 1716 and 1718. The last two volumes follow the story of Theodore trying to affirm his claims to his Spanish title – as he is in fact the grandson and heir of the Conde Rochevalles – and, after the ruin of Count Lauvenheim, conclude with his reunion with Ellesif in Spain.

The Norwegian Savage

What does 1814 have to do with the story of Theodore and, more generally, how do the political events and changes of this year affect the representation of Norwegians in the book? In her preface Anna Maria Porter disclaims any connection between her novel and the events of 1814 stating:

I cannot conclude this short preface without utterly disclaiming every idea of alluding to the politics of the day, in any part of the following Romance. I began to write it early in the March of the present year; and pitched upon Norway as the principal scene of its action, merely because it was ground untrodden by other novel-writers. If I recollect aright, the dispute between Norway and Sweden was not then agitated; therefore, by ascertaining

the date of my production, I place my sincerity beyond a doubt (Porter 1814, vol. 1: vii-viii).

Whether or not we believe Porter's disclaimer is irrelevant, as there are a number of elements that connect this novel with the historical events of 1814. *The Recluse of Norway* is in fact entirely based on a representation of the politics and conflicts between the two Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden that goes beyond individual historical events and where Norway is clearly represented as a pawn used in the power struggle between the two kingdoms. Regardless of the benevolence of its ruler, Norway remains the province of another kingdom that can be disposed of as its rulers wish. As Theodore observes during the Norwegian visit of the Hereditary Danish Prince, even though the Prince was friendly towards his Norwegian peasant hosts 'all his good-humoured tyranny was tyranny still' (Porter 1814, vol. 1: 171). The subordinate role played by Norway becomes extremely clear in the plot devised by Count Lauenheim and is summarised with the following words: 'at any rate, Norway would become the prize of Sweden' (Porter 1814, vol. 2: 290).

It should also be pointed out at this stage that Porter was not alien to the strategy of using a narrative frame of some kind to remind the reader of current historical events in order to then move on to a story set in a distant past that bears a number of resemblances with current affairs: in this way the frame gives important clues to understanding the novel and vice versa (Stevens 2013: 28-29). In her *Don Sebastian* published in 1809, for example, she creates a frame set in 1807 where the Portuguese Royal Family are escaping Napoleon, but then moves on to a story set in the sixteenth century where the main character is indeed the then King of Portugal.

The idea to write specifically about Norway, which she considers an 'original' topic that would attract the curiosity of her British readers, may have been inspired by her brother, the diplomat, traveller and author Sir Robert Ker Porter (1777-1842). Sir Porter did in fact publish an account of his travels through Russia and Sweden in 1809 in the form of a collection of letters (*Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden during the years 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808*) and, though he did

not dwell on Norway for very long, this might have been an additional source of inspiration.

In her preface, as in the introduction to many of her historical novels, Porter is also keen to stress the authenticity of her work, pointing out that:

Wherever public characters are introduced, or political events alluded to, I have been faithful to the generally-received authorities: for it is, and has always been my principle, never to violate historical truth (Porter 1814, vol. 1: iv).

At the same time, Porter never hides that her narrative is indeed a combination of fictional and factual. If we analyse her narrative techniques according to White's above-mentioned categories – emplotment, formal argument and ideological implications – we can also reach a deeper understanding of how the fictional characters are intertwined with the historical background.

Let us start with her 'emplotment' (or the kind of story she is telling). *The Recluse of Norway* is a romance, namely 'a drama of self-identification symbolised by the hero's transcendence of the world of experience' (White 1973: xx). On a general narrative level, Porter's novel is a story about the triumph of good over evil, about Theodore's victory over the world, his struggle to be re-instated to the status that is rightfully his, that of heir of the Comde Ronchevalles. A combination of individual interests (represented for instance by the other Ronchevalles' claims to the Comde's inheritance), historical conflicts (the treason plot by Count Lauvenheim and the Spanish War of Succession in 1701-1714) and fate (the shipwreck) hinder him in his struggle for self-identification until he finally regains his position.

The representation of Theodore and of his struggle towards self-identification is particularly interesting, as the main character is a mix of Norwegian-ness and Spanish-ness: as the narrator effectively puts this, 'Norway had been his nurse; but Spain was his real parent' (Porter 1814, vol. 1: 148). His physical appearance clearly gives away his Spanish origins:

Instead of the massy limbs and white skin of northern climates, he saw before him the noble contours of Greece, joined to the complexion and the elegant proportions of Spain (Porter 1814, vol. 1: 153).

Yet his behaviour is represented as being ‘typically’ Norwegian, and not just because, in a rather amusing scene, he is represented making what might appear to be waffles for a group of eminent visitors:

He found him busily employed, and violently amused as he was taking his last lesson in the art of making Guldbrandal wafers, a species of cake, in which Catherine [Theodore’s adoptive mother] particularly excelled (Porter 1814, vol.1: 153).

While this passage appears to be referring to the ‘triumvirate of honesty, hospitality and simplicity’ often singled out by British observers as typical of the Norwegian character, Theodore’s untamed passion for freedom and morality are also represented as distinctively Norwegian (Fjågesund and Symes 2003: 168, 171). Throughout the novel, Norwegians are associated with bravery, morality and freedom and are often seen in opposition to the frivolous high-society of Copenhagen.

Theodore has traits that remind us of ‘the noble savage’. When in Copenhagen Theodore is even addressed as the ‘Norwegian savage’, but the connection between his representation and the nineteenth century concept of the ‘natural gentleman’ goes beyond terminology (Porter 1814, vol. 2: 19). The term ‘noble savage’ is in fact thought to derive from the heroic drama by John Dryden called *The Conquest of Granada* (1672) and dealing in fact with the Spanish conquest of Granada in 1492 (Ellingsen 2001: 8). In this drama the Spanish Muslim main character, Almanzor – who discovers at the end that he is a Spanish Christian Duke, the Duke of Arcos – calls himself a ‘noble savage’:

I am as free as nature first made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When wild in woods the noble savage ran (Dryden 1672: 7).

In this text, as in later literature, the image of the 'noble savage' becomes an allegory of freedom associated with 'wilderness and nature' and contrasted to 'servitude linked to law' (Ellingson 2001: 8). Although superficially attributed to his inability to play games, music and drawing – and thus to general 'simplicity' in all aspects of cultural life (Fjågesund and Symes 2003: 181) – Theodore's so-called 'barbarism' is in fact rooted in the Norwegians' high respect for freedom. This respect is, in its turn, derived from historical socio-political laws that have left a permanent stamp on this people's behaviour and way of life. Referring to the lack of feudalism in Norway and to the independence of Norwegian farmers (Fjågesund and Symes 2003: 180-181), the Danish delegation staying at Dofrestom's acknowledges this by stating that they were not 'in Denmark with a peasant bound to the soil, but under the roof of a free Norwegian' (Porter 1814, vol. 1: 163). This representation of the free Norwegians appears to be in line with later representations emerging in British fiction and travel literature during the nineteenth century and focusing in particular on the perceived lack of social distinctions within Norwegian society (Fjågesund and Symes 2003: 184).

In the novel, Theodore is constantly represented as deserving triumph, but how are the events that lead to his triumph linked together? What is the formal argument that governs this narration? Porter's approach appears to be 'organicist', meaning that within the text both microcosmic relationships, relating to the individual characters, and macrocosmic relationships, relating to the historical events and processes, develop towards one ultimate end or purpose (White 1973: 15). The final purpose – that can be interpreted as God's purpose – is never clearly expressed, or at least not until the very end when the narrator concludes:

Theodore and Ellesif continued to [...] adore the gracious Providence which had thus led them to virtue, honour and happiness, through a few brief years of painful trials (Porter 1814, vol. 4: 333).

In the course of the novel we are instead presented with a number

of intermediary, integrative ends such as the loyalty towards one's family and country. All the characters hindering Theodore's success or attempting to betray their own family or country perish, one way or the other, and their defeat is represented as a form of divine retribution. This is the destiny that attends Heinrich, Dofrestom's liberal son, Count Lauvenheim and his older daughter Anastasia, also involved in the conspiracy plotted by her father.

The ideological implications behind the narration are communicated to the reader in the form of a moral, a general message about codes of conduct and morality. On the one level, from a social and political point of view, the story tends towards conservatism. The novel refuses to acknowledge any ideologically inspired effort to transform the social order. Before Theodore can get his Ellesif, his claims to his aristocratic status have to be fully acknowledged. Similarly, Count Lauvenheim's attempt of treason is vain and the *status quo* of the countries and kingdoms restored. Yet, the principles of freedom and self-determination are asserted, both on the individual level, with the happy ending of Theodore's story, but also on a political level in the relationship between nations. Echoing Earl Grey's words against the cession of Norway accusing sovereigns of treating people 'like cattle attached to the soil', Theodore's friend de Roye states that 'kingdoms are not to be transferred like vineyards' (Porter 1814, vol. 3: 215). Like Earl Grey's speech of 10 May 1814, this statement in Porter's novel evokes the principles of The Law of Nations according to which no sovereign had the right to transfer people from one owner to another (Hemstad 2014: 64). And yet, as Porter's contemporary readers may have realised while reading the novel, this was what was happening to the Norwegians in 1814 and what the British government was supporting by standing by the decisions of the Treaty of Stockholm.

Conclusion

The Recluse of Norway is characterised by the same combination of caution and empathy identified by Fjågesund and Symes in other poetic representations of the events of 1814. Although this novel does not directly deal with the Norwegian cause, it addresses a number of

themes and topics that must have felt extremely familiar to its readers when it was published in 1814. Besides reinforcing the representation of Norwegians as 'primitive', as children who, despite their positive characteristics, 'had yet to grow wise in the ways of the world' (Fjågesund & Symes 2003: 2003), the novel is also enriched by a complex political background made of conflicts between the Nordic kingdoms and plots to subvert the European *status quo*. Behind the romance of Theodore's self-discovery, there are several stories of struggles for freedom that do not directly involve Norway and Norwegians but induce the readers to make associations with the events of 1814. By the end of the novel Theodore leaves Norway to start his new life in Spain. With him he also takes his adoptive Norwegian parents and Ellesif. Once his formative process is concluded, Theodore is not 'the recluse of Norway' any more. Having grown out of his state of 'noble savage', he cannot go back to Norway, a country that can – as he himself puts it – satisfy modest needs, but not those of a Spanish aristocrat like him.

Endnotes

¹ The parliamentary and public debates in Great Britain regarding the cession of Norway in 1813-1814 have been amply discussed and examined by Ruth Hemstad in her recent publication «*Like a Herd of Cattle*». *Parliamentary and Public Debates Regarding the Cession of Norway, 1813-1814* (Hemstad 2014).

² The word 'tourist' is here used in derogatory terms. In his *The Beaten Track*, James Buzard explains that, with changes in society and transportation throughout the nineteenth century, the distinction between the 'real' traveller and the tourist emerged. Unlike the tourist, the genuine traveller – placed outside his/her ordinary social life – was able to develop and achieve a new degree of autonomy and creativity, but he/she was also able to resume his/her role in the home country once the journey had come to an end (Buzard 1993:81-82).

³ During a speech given in the House of Lords on 10 May 1814, Earl Grey, leader of the Whig Party who later became Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1830, stated that 'The King of Denmark [...] had no right to alienate the sovereignty of Norway without the consent of the people' (quoted in Hemstad 2014: 164).

References

'Art. IV. *The Recluse of Norway*; By Miss Anna Maria Porter. In four volumes: London, Longman and Co. 1814' (1815). Book review in *The Augustan Review; A Monthly Production*, For May to December, vol. 1. London: A. J. Valpy, pp.106-110.

'Art. 25. *The Recluse of Norway*; by Anna Maria Porter. 4 vols. Longman & Co. 1815' (1815). Book review in Simpkin, W. and Marshall, R., *The Critical Review; or Annals of Literature*, London: G. & S. Robinson, Paternoster Row, pp.423-424.

Beller, M. and Leerssen, J. (eds.) (2007). *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters: A Critical Survey*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Burchardt, C. J. B. (1920). *Norwegian Life and Literature. English Accounts and Views, Especially in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Oxford University Press.

Buzard, J. (1993). *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dryden, J. (1672). *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards in Two Parts: Acted at the Theatre Royall*. London: Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman.

Ellingson, T. J. (2001). *The Myth of the Noble Savage*. Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press.

Fjågesund, P. and Symes, R. A. (2003). *The Northern Utopia: British Perceptions of Norway in the Nineteenth Century*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Hemstad, R. (ed.) (2014). 'Like a Herd of Cattle'. *Parliamentary and Public Debates Regarding the Cession of Norway, 1813-1814*. Oslo: Akademisk Publiserings.

Kasmer, L. (2012). *Novel Histories: British Women Writing History, 1760-1830*. Madison [N.J.]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Porter, A. M. (1839). *Don Sebastian: or, The House of Braganza. An Historical Tale*. London: J. Cunningham.

Porter, A. M. (1814). *The Recluse of Norway* (4 vols). London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row.

Porter, Sir R. K. (1813) [1809]. *Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden, During the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808*. London: John Stockdale.

'Porter, Anna Maria. *Recluse of Norway, The* (1814)' (1815). Book review in Griffiths, R. and Griffiths, G. E., *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal, Enlarged, From May to August*, vol. 77. London: J. Porter, p.212.

Spring, U. (2007). 'Norwegians', in Beller, M. and Leerssen, J. (eds.), *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters: A Critical Survey*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp.214-215.

Stevens, A. H. (2013). 'Learning to Read the past in the Early Historical Novel', in Mitchell, K. and Parsons, N., *Reading Historical Fiction: The Revenant and Remembered Past*. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.19-32.

White, H. (1973). *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*. Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wolff, J. (1814). *Sketches on a Tour to Copenhagen, through Norway and Sweden; Interspersed with Historical and Other Anecdotes of Public and Private Characters. To Which is Added a Political Appendix Relative to the Union of the Two Latter Kingdoms*. London: Printed by H. Lyon, for Baldwyn and Co.