IDENTITY POLITICS IN THE WORKS OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU

By

Carolyn Joy Creed

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

PH.D.

Department of English
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

*****

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION PAGE

IDENTITY POLITICS IN THE WORKS OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU

BY

CAROLYN CREED

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree

of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Carolyn Joy Creed
University of Manitoba

Identity Politics in the Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

Dissertation Abstract

The thesis defines Lady Mary's evolving "I am" statement from its first appearance in juvenilia to its last, novel-based. Using feminist and new historicist methods, the study penetrates a multi-voiced epistolary self to her imaginary works' personae.

The early chapters are arranged in the following order. Chapter 1 assesses the proto-feminist standing claimed for Lady Mary, a tentative positioning against traditional and male-authorized aspects of her identity. Chapter 2 locates early models, Virgilian or Scuderian, by imitation of which Lady Mary gains selfhood. Experiments with forms and poses lead to the woman writer's identity. Chapter 3 declares the Language of Flowers an emblematizing of identity. The self-image in the Turkish Embassy Letters admits secret codes and adopts pro-Turkish attitudes. Chapter 4 examines Lady Mary's right to the "Court Wit" title given to Rochester or Gay. The *Court Eclogs* and the answer poems to Pope's *Dunciad* expose a shifting literary figure.

The later chapters demonstrate mature selfhood. Chapter 5 treats the marriage comedy, *Simplicity*, as a role-playing matrix for Lady Mary as mother/daughter, then compares her letters to Lady Bute with other parent-child discourses. Chapter 6 renders the physical identity, the body-image of the intellectual: Lady Mary's frequent portrayals, disguised, enhanced or "barefaced," inform the chapter. Chapter 7 concludes by aligning the quixotic Lady Mary with other Quixotes including her own Princess Docile, to profile the ultimately majestic figure of the author herself.

Identity Politics in the Works
of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

CONTENTS

Identity Politics in the Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

Introduction

A philosophical individual, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) sought her personal peace in lifelong learning. "Whoever will cultivate their own mind will find full employment" she observed in a 1753 letter to her daughter, adding, "the search after knowledge (every branch of which is entertaining) [renders] the longest Life . . . too short for the persuit [sic] of it" (*Letters* 3.25).[1] Like Lady Mary, this study searches to know, locating her personality in the small events and quotidian actions, as well as the vast, life-shaping movements which she recorded. Most of the identity-revealing poems and prose treated in this study have arisen from simple inspiration: self-entertainment, sister-diversion, daughter-instruction all constitute sources and ends. Even the mighty features of Lady Mary's life--the invitation to the royal inner circle of Princess Caroline, the near-death experience of smallpox, the Turkish journey, the European self-exile--reach the reader's emotions because Lady Mary felt friends or relatives should share her thoughts on the experiences. Her mostly private production has had an ironically vast and public effect, spanning out from her own aristocratic circle to reach the fans of popular literature; for a period from fifty years before her death to fifty years after it, the cluster of available poems and essays, together

with the posthumously published *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763), touched thousands, going through seven editions by 1861 to meet popular demand (*Letters* 1.xvii-xix). This study establishes the basis for the positive response in Lady Mary's century, and locates her power within the identity born of her work's multiple discourses. The selfhood of the author emerges in the drama and long fiction which has finally reached publication; the imaginative works' wider circulation--when compared to hand-copied, singly delivered manuscripts that were their dominant form of transmission in her era--is currently altering critical understanding of Lady Mary's literary contribution to the eighteenth century.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, née Pierrepont, wrote hundreds of pages of letters, twelve hundred surviving in manuscript and print, over a lifetime of regular correspondence with friends and relatives. About ninety-seven percent of her letters were published in 1837 under the editorship of Lady Mary's descendant, Lord Wharncliffe, though an exchange then suppressed, due to its adulterous suggestions, joins the more recent three-volume collection published by Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy (1965). Twenty-five of these hushed-up letters from Lady Mary to Count Francesco Algarotti, written between 1736 and 1741, now number among her publicly-available epistolary works. Of the letters in the two major collections, Lady Mary herself prepared only fifty-two for publication: the *Turkish Embassy Letters*, written over a two-year period between 1716 and 1718 while her husband Edward Wortley served as Turkey's British ambassador.

The letters, for which she is best known, constitute just one type of writing that reveals Lady Mary's identity; she also wrote in every other major literary genre. Her play, *Simplicity*, probably written in 1734 (not performed in her time but preserved in manuscript form), adapts the 1730 comedy by Marivaux, *Le jeu de l'amour et du hasard*. Her poems, over a hundred written between 1703 and 1757 (besides at least a dozen dubiously attributed to her), deal mainly with social issues, and may take the form of updated Horatian odes, verse satires or personal lampoons. Other forms, common in the poetry that bore less of a political purpose for her, include epigrams, epistolary poems and panegyrics. Among the most famous poems are her *Eclogues*, written between 1715 and 1716 with Alexander Pope and John Gay. Along with the poetry, Lady Mary acknowledged (sometimes in her closest circle only) fourteen essays or essay-series, dated from 1713 to 1741; the essays were finally recognized, and published, in 1977 as an important part of her body of work. Of Lady Mary's political standing due to the distribution of these essays, Isobel Grundy says, "She belatedly assumes this new [essayist's] role in the twentieth century, for her essays had either been published anonymously during her lifetime or have remained in manuscript among her family papers" (*EP* 3). Last, the romantic novel, written in French but made available in mid-1996 in English translation as *Princess Docile*, encompasses long fiction as an addition to the genres of Lady Mary's work.

Criticism giving respectful attention to Lady Mary's writing remained in short supply until the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Besides the analysis provided by Mary Wortley Montagu's two major twentieth-century critics and biographers, Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy, her letters received only glancing, non-academic consideration before the early 1970s, with no critical text centrally concerned with her until Cynthia Lowenthal's *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter* in 1993. A survey of *The Modern Language Association International Bibliography* (*MLAIB*) for the years 1965-1969 reveals that apart from Halsband's edition of the letters (3 vols.), only Halsband himself--who published three articles over the period--produced criticism in English which focused on Lady Mary's work; she also received some attention in the Ehrenpreis, Anderson and Daghlian collaboration, *The Familiar Letter in the Eighteenth Century* (1966). Examples of the sixties' notice of Lady Mary can be found in Elizabeth Drew's 1964 epistolary overview, *The Literature of Gossip*, and in the 1969 survey undertaken by Ehrenpreis and Halsband, *The Lady of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*. The seventies provided two feminist "discoverers" of Lady Mary, Alice Anderson Hufstader (*Sisters of the Quill*, 1978) and Katharine Rogers (*Before their Time*, 1979). In the past two decades, the concerted attention of three critics to the interpretation of Lady Mary's writing has made a difference to modern criticism of eighteenth-century literature: Cynthia Lowenthal (*Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter*, 1993); Bruce Redford (*The Converse of the Pen*, 1986); Patricia Meyer Spacks (*Gossip*, 1985). Both Lisa Lowe's *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (1991), and a related essay by

Srinavas Aravamudan, "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the *Hammam*: Masquerade, Womanliness, and Levantinization" (1995) examine her position within the conventions of the familiar letter, and single out the relationship of Lady Mary to other Orientalists of her time. Joseph Lew (1990) and Anna-Francesca Valconover (1986) treat the Turkish writings with emphasis on their sensual elements. Jill Campbell, in "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Historical Machinery of Female Identity" (in Beth Fowkes Tobin's *History, Gender and Eighteenth-Century Literature* [1994]), and Marcia Pointon, in a chapter of *Hanging the Head* (1995), join Lew and Valconover in exploring questions of femininity; they interpret Lady Mary's work of the Turkish Embassy period with reference to feminist issues of self and other. Bridget Orr locates Lady Mary's identity confusion in the colonialist "baggage" she carries to Turkey; Orr treats the same Turkish period as Campbell and Pointon do, in "'The Only Free People in the Empire'" (1994), a chapter of the historicist collection, *De-Scribing Empire*, edited by Alan Lawson and Chris Tiffin.

The questions posed by these critics have raised three main issues. The first concerns the contribution Lady Mary's letters make to the epistolary genre, and to modern understanding of life-writing as a whole. The second involves Orientalism, wherein a sense of "Other" in relation to faraway cultures is examined. The last positions Mary Wortley Montagu's work in relation to "proto-feminist" women's writing. All issues are current among the critical concerns in eighteenth-century studies, and none will be overlooked here. An overview of the

criticism on Lady Mary likewise shows an increasing interest in Lady Mary primarily as author instead of subject. Of the entries under the heading "Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley" in the *MLAIB* CD-ROM covering 1963 to 1980, a total of thirty-two--many of them generated by Halsband and Grundy--cover the writer and her work. From January 1981 to March of 1998, fifty-three entries stand, most having been published in the first five years of the 1990s. The striking quality of the recent work is the international, multi-disciplined milieu of its contributors; Valconover's dissertation out of Florence, mentioned above, and Michèle Plaisant's 1983 work, "Les Lettres Turques de Lady Mary Wortley Montagu," herald fresh notice of European attention fixed upon the roving Englishwoman.

Criticism of the early 1980s remarked mainly upon the significance of the fact that Mary Wortley Montagu wrote at all. Today, the attention is to Lady Mary's Orientalism, as well as to her positioning in relation to feminist thought, of her own time and of ours. Ruth Perry's "Two Forgotten Wits" in the *Antioch Review* is a typical article of 1981, showing Lady Mary and Mary Astell as writers who should be rediscovered. Cynthia Wall's article, "Editing Desire: Pope's Correspondence with (and without) Lady Mary" (1992) raises the modern concern with female voice as embodied in the *Turkish Embassy Letters,* and with the interpreting of that voice by Lady Mary's famous contemporary. Recent criticism tends to give prominence to Lady Mary's purpose in writing, bringing out such dualities in the exchanges she had with her correspondents as submission to/subversion of authority,

and candour/masking of meaning.

The main question this thesis poses asks how manifestations of a woman's "image" are observed and depicted by Lady Mary; the study explores both the literal and figurative senses of "image." Working outward from the symbolic objects that comprise the "Turkish Love-letter" sent to England by Turkish "ambassadress" Lady Mary, the thesis answers the question of how image--for which one could read "emblem" but also "reputation"--is created. A sense of self-image informs Lady Mary's writing, both epistolary and creative. The reader to whom Lady Mary addressed the image-reliant Turkish Love-Letter (1716), unidentified for us except as "Lady ____," received physical items which made up a coded collection, and a simple code to decipher the objects' meanings. Lady Mary describes the things she put together to form the sought-after love-letter as placed in "a little Box, and order'd . . . deliver[ed] to you with this letter" (*Letters* 1.388). Because the symbols collected in the letter, which range from rose to pearl, also stand for aspects of the womanly self, they are needed for a study of female identity politics--"I am" statements, as Isobel Grundy calls them ("Books" 13). Lady Mary's work, from her earliest to latest-recorded points of view, makes these statements. Onto the chronological framework, the personal-political inquiry builds; such a study has not specifically been undertaken by other critics who have examined Lady Mary's work, though the section of Lowenthal's letter analysis on identities receives acknowledgment and attention.

The question of "character," complementary to the one of

"image," is articulated by Ellen Pollak in her essay, "Pope and Sexual Difference" (1984):

> The concept of character was protean in the eighteenth century, the term having current and historical associations, not only with a particular literary genre, but with the techniques of writing, hieroglyphics, engraving, coin-making, and painting as well. (462)

This conflation of the physical and spiritual manifestations of character leads to exploration of both character-as-personality, and character-as-carven-symbol. Thus, the Love-Letter's contents and even Lady Mary's involvement in the battle for inoculation, definitively treated in Grundy's 1994 *Lumen* article, "Medical Advance and Female Fame," associate the struggle against the medical establishment with the essence of Lady Mary's female character.

To examine the theme of woman's image as it is addressed by Mary Wortley Montagu, the present study uses both her life-writing and imaginative writing, privileging neither type. Likewise, the thesis explores the nature of "character"--its etymology from the Greek root "charássein," to engrave--and connects it not only with her writing but also with her life-choices, each aspect of social activity helping to define her character. For example, Lady Mary's championing of the process of inoculation, the public advocacy a daring act in England in

her time, reveals part of the picture of her "character." One critic has even drawn a comparison that initially appears to be a non sequitur, between this promoting of inoculation and Mary Wortley Montagu's "classicist recuperation," her literary effort to renew interest in Greek and Latin narratives; the analogy eventually succeeds in representing of her "injecting" of the stuff of an exotic culture into English (Aravamudan 72). Lady Mary's physical quests match her spiritual ones, and so performative gestures--the donning of a *harem* costume, the adopting of a Sultan's voice--append their discourse to other daring displays which infuse her life and her art.

The addition this thesis makes to the criticism on Lady Mary's writing is partly one of perspective: rather than the imaginative works' being placed in the background, as those who have analyzed the letters place them, her poetry, drama and novel come to share the foreground of this study. Definitions of image and character, as they are related to individual women, dominate Lady Mary's fiction, drama and poetry. Critical theorists' definitions of "representation," "gender," "author" and "value" help integrate the imaginative work with the life-writing. All the terms above, defined and linked to the literary work, can be built around the central idea of Lady Mary's identity. Masking and other kinds of disguise also inform the study, constituting another facet of Lady Mary's self-representation.

Lady Mary's identity gains substance in the outward and inward qualities which she chooses to reveal to her contemporaries; the image is projected, and the character builds

from within. Both "image" and "character" are sub-*topoi* within the term "representation," described by W.J.T. Mitchell as "an extremely elastic notion which extends all the way from a stone representing a man to a novel representing a day in the life" (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 13). The image projected by a person, or created within that person's prose or poetry, indicates a "*relationship* between the representational material and that which it represents" (14). Likewise, a "character" had been established in seventeenth-century England, on the classical principles of Theophrastus, as a *type* of person, suggesting others who resembled him or her; an example of the "let this stand for that" (15) representation is "A Fayre and Happy Milkmaid" by Sir Thomas Overbury (1615), in which the girl, along with others like her, has dreams "so chaste that she dare tell them" (see appendix).

The femaleness of Lady Mary's projected self also configures her identity politics. The term "gender," related to "image" and "character," has been treated by Myra Jehlen as a linguistic signal with deep implications for reading. Jehlen asserts that "the character conventionally assigned men and women in novels reflects history and culture rather than nature, and novels, poems and plays are neither timeless nor transcendent" (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 264). In that Lady Mary often serves as her own subject, the instability of the character on the page, as well as of its gender, has implications for readers. As soon as the question of gender is raised, "contingencies" arise in connections among cultural associations and readers' assumptions.

Eighteenth-century writing in which gender assumptions colour conclusions--in Lady Mary's work, as well as in the essays and fiction of her peers--abounds.

As an author, Lady Mary assumes every author's place as creator of text, but she also adopts a unique persona as explorer of her own lived identity through its fictionalized facets (exemplified by the Turkey Merchant, one voice of her fight for inoculation [1722]). The authorial role has attached features of *authority*, and also of originality. Donald E. Pease points out that in medieval times, writers thought they had heavenly inspiration, with a divine "auctor" (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 107) informing the work from above. The individual could take credit for his or her writing by the eighteenth century, according to Pease, but then questions about genuine originality or cultural "contamination" by the author's milieu arise. Since Mary Wortley Montagu is frequently the subject of her own work, she can often be seen as "actor" in her own text, changing experience into account (process into product) and thus carrying out "the determining cultural practice of the fundamental author" (Pease 115). On these grounds, Lady Mary's life-activities, as recorded by herself and others, carry "textual" validity alongside her work.

Lady Mary's aesthetic sense shapes her assessment of women's projected selves, and so a final term that requires defining is "value/evaluation." Barbara Herrnstein Smith notes that the term "value" has "as one of its central senses, the extent to which

something is 'held in esteem' (presumably by people)" and goes on to suggest that value may be perceived as existing within a thing itself (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 179). Related ideas concern "purely sensory/perceptual gratification" provided by something--or someone--and raise concepts of the nature of beauty. All of these definitions of value elucidate an aesthetic mission of Lady Mary's, to relate to her correspondents the beautiful things and people she came upon.

This study resolves an aesthetic issue of text as part of its exploration of the author's identity. Two features of Lady Mary's individuality contribute an appearance to her written text which is distinct even from the look of her contemporaries' work: spelling and punctuation. In quoting from Lady Mary's manuscripts and printed work, this study retains the spelling and punctuation which appear on the original page, except in cases where the omitted punctuation or misspellings obscure meaning. Here are samples from a pair of contemporary cases, of the writers Fanny Burney and Hester Thrale, whose works, quoted by Katharine Rogers and Dale McCarthy, also show distinct appearances:

> BURNEY. And so I suppose you are staring at the torn paper and unconnected sentence--I don't much wonder--I'll tell you what happened . . . when I have wrote [my journal] half full I join it to the rest, and take another sheet--and so on. (Rogers and McCarthy 280)

> THRALE. I mentioned an event which might have greatly injured Mr. Thrale once! and said, "if it had happened now," said I--"how sorry you would have been!"--"I *hope*," replies he gravely, and after a pause--"that I should have been *very sorry*." (Rogers and McCarthy 234)

Like the women whose individualized notation appears above, Lady Mary wrote for hours of most of her days, making her way through quills and paper and rarely pausing for much correction; she produced hundreds of pages of blot-and-scribble-free letters, four of which might have been written in a given day (*HMS* 74). A sense of the flow of Lady Mary's writing is retained, along with the spelling and punctuation; for instance, her lifelong spelling of "friend" as "freind" shows a habit uncorrected over time. In view of the near-absence during most of her life of a norm-setting reference for spelling such as Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), Lady Mary can be understood by her modern readers as following the spelling fashions of her circle, while keeping some flourishes of expression as her own.[z]

The present study enlarges the field of critical exploration in treating Lady Mary's imaginative writing as a serious literary endeavour, sometimes resembling the light, entertaining work of her contemporaries, yet at other times diverging from this accustomed tone and purpose. Upper-class contemporaries might use their poetry to amuse peers collected in a garden, and to mark the enjoyment experienced in each other's company; once the

immediate occasion was captured, they would have fulfilled the demands of the moment. Such a pair, Orinda (Katherine Fowler Philips) and Ardelia (another Society of Friendship member), express their thoughts with exuberance and immediacy; the effect is to show the sisterly nature of the exercise (Ferguson 102-113). By contrast, the *Nonsense of Common-Sense* essay series, which Lady Mary published anonymously, circulated to raise the political consciousness of readers, thus departing from writing as garden-party diversion (Lady Mary also rose to this occasion.)

The Turkish Love-Letter (mentioned above) which draws attention to the chance for new primary research was originally contained in the forty-third letter of the *Turkish Embassy Letters* series. It passes on the code of symbols which Lady Mary learned (through a translator) from Turkish ladies and their serving women. The association of the physical things within the box with the emblems which were still popular in Lady Mary's day, reveals dimensions beyond the physical: edifying mottos correlated with pictures, cameos, coins and lockets bear a resemblance to the messages of the Turkish Love-Letter. The code of the emblems is twinned by the code of the Oriental flower language. This Turkish reifying of love messages can be matched to the symbolic language current in England since the Renaissance; through such currency of emblem-fashion the popularity of the specifically Eastern "Language of Flowers" can be explained. Since Lady Mary arranged the European export of the secret language, she can be claimed not only as a deliverer of bold personal messages, but also as a carrier of exotic

semiotics.

The thesis arranges its chapters in a loosely chronological way, once concerns of feminist criticism are addressed. The introductory chapter treats the problems which are generated by Lady Mary's unorthodox styles of writing and living. Though potentially a "first feminist" (to borrow Moira Ferguson's title phrase), Lady Mary Wortley Montagu sometimes allowed her life and work to be framed and constricted by male authority, showing only occasional self-determination, and thus leaving her feminist supporters without consistent evidence of her validating female independence in thought and action. Once the first chapter has covered problems with a feminist reading of Lady Mary's work, given context by related eighteenth-century feminist criticism, it will also study eighteenth-century and current definitions of "image" and "character," as they involve the creating of a reputation. Lady Mary's involvement with male authors, her attraction to the Turkishwomen's "freedom," the campaign she mounted to provide smallpox inoculation to the British, and her mid-life retirement to the European continent all demonstrate the proto-feminism which some feminist critics (Looser and Ferguson, for instance) grant her only grudgingly.

The second chapter examines Lady Mary's juvenile writings, providing foundation material for a view of the writer Lady Mary would become, through prefiguring elements in early fiction and poetry. Taken into account is the critical view on Lady Mary's juvenilia as a source of valuable primary material. Early influences are exerted by classical authors Virgil, Ovid, Homer

and Horace, as well as by French romance writers like Lafayette and Scudéry; the thesis foregrounds these models. Independent learning tasks (with resultant expressive maturity) demonstrate the formative value of the juvenile efforts of Lady Mary Pierrepont. Preserved in the Sandon Hall Archives, the manuscript pages of juvenilia uncover an imaginative writer.

Chapter 3 considers the question of Orientalism as an approach to the "Other" practiced by Lady Mary, English ambassadress to Constantinople (1716-18). Life in the *Hammam*, as witnessed and interpreted by an Englishwoman, provides much insight into the image and character of woman, allowing exotic upper-class womanhood to become known through the viewpoint of the British aristocrat. The present study's argument is based upon scholarship which considers Lady Mary as a proponent of enlightened thought, and also as a supporter of Turkish-style masquerade for the keeping of women's secrets. The sense of masked meaning and identity in the *Turkish Embassy Letters* can be located among the manifestations of "Otherness" shown by the author herself during her courtship, as well as by the Turkish women Lady Mary met. The Turkish Love-letter--the game of flower-symbols with secret meanings mentioned above--joins veiling and other forms of dress as focus for the chapter's inquiry. The design of this chapter is governed by the encoding of love-messages adopted by Lady Mary.

Next, Chapter 4 studies the witty works of Lady Mary's court-centred periods. This chapter includes poetry and essays from before and after the Turkish trip, treating both the

Eclogues (1716) and the answering poems to those by Pope and Swift which offered personal offense (1729-34). Lady Mary's interpreting of the role of women as targets for male desire, and seekers after male affection, shows the effect both of Restoration wit and eighteenth-century satire on the imaginative works she produced. The letters to Lady Mar, her exiled sister, provide a rounding-out of the discussion of "Court Works," since these historically-valuable glimpses into court life (and Lady Mary's part in it) also show a theatrical impulse within the correspondent-from-court, often consisting of mini-dramas.

In Chapter 5, the didactic aspects of Lady Mary's letters to her daughter Lady Bute connect with the play, *Simplicity* (1734)--along with its original, Marivaux's 1730 comedy, *Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard*--as examples of Lady Mary's articulation of the parenting dilemmas involved in education and in overseeing the courtship of a daughter. The letters, prolifically written during the mother's self-imposed exile from England (1739-1762), provide a showcase of mother-daughter correspondence, giving expression to Lady Mary's motherly and grandmotherly feelings. They also link by intention and theme to Madame de Sévigné's correspondence with her daughter, Madame de Grignan (c.1640-1696). A resolution of decision-making issues (conflicts specifically related to male familial figures) coalesces in the play. By contrast to the crisis-driven handling of courtship concerns--dazzlingly light-hearted, despite concurrent life issues--the letters from abroad adopt a leisurely tone. Independent from many of the patriarchal controls that had

dominated her life-choices until the era of her French and Italian sojourns, the letters to her daughter demonstrate that Lady Mary could articulate clearly the view from outside. The consistent expression of hope for women, fashioned from their self-discovery, forms the theme for this set of letters. The thematic argument, located in the linking of the plays and the letters, concerns parental authority wielded in marriage-comedy-like conditions. The chapter also uses current interpretation, by Altman and Nussbaum (among other critics) of how inter-generational letters function as locutionary acts evoking worlds for absent but beloved readers.

Chapter 6 concerns the metaphor central to Mary Wortley Montagu's self-discovery; the overview given by mirrors, as a symbol of vanity and self-revelation to which Lady Mary's writings frequently returned, synthesizes themes of feminine appearance, reputation and image. The chapter builds on the analysis of Patricia Meyer Spacks, Jenijoy La Belle and Cynthia Lowenthal, as well as integrating the Lacanian model of society-as-mirror. The letters to Algarotti reveal the mirror's importance in the designed world-view of Mary Wortley Montagu's mid-life, and so these letters serve as focus for the chapter. In addition, the poses she strikes in tales such as *Louisa* (c.1745) and *Docile* (c.1762) attest to her complex selfhood, so these fictions build the chapter's argument. A lifetime of positioning herself, literally and figuratively, before mirrors gave Lady Mary the evidence that a woman could make herself dependent both literally and figuratively on reflective devices.

Chapter 7 examines *Princess Docile*, Lady Mary's novel, which Isobel Grundy has translated from French into English (1996); the novel will form the basis for discussion of Lady Mary's role as a "Female Quixote." Not only does the naming of Docile, the central character of the narrative, plainly allude to Cervantes' heroine, Dulcinea, but the author's frequent references to *Don Quixote* (1615) within the novel (as well as in her other work) also bear analysis. The references, direct and indirect, reveal her awareness of Quixote as a symbolic figure with whom she and her characters may align themselves. The original *Female Quixote* (1752), a comic novel by Charlotte Lennox, pivots discussion on the male/female axis. The Lennox satire of romance readers amused and diverted Lady Mary, though she appreciated it for theme more than for style; she wrote in a marginal comment within her own copy of the text, "Pretty plan, ill executed" (*HMS* 256). Female quixotism, the concept embodied in the life of Lennox's protagonist, manifests itself in a romantic obsession for overdramatizing one's love life, a state brought on by too much reading of women's love-novels; it stands as an equivalent to Don Quixote's obsession over displaying chivalric behaviour, brought on by the same excesses of reading (*DQ* 90). Complementary to Don Quixote's obsession with outmoded chivalric code, Arabella's female quixotism embodies Lennox's answer to Cervantes, in the feminized language of the French romance. Lennox's adaptation of the obsessive-reader metaphor serves as a useful device for examining women's *belles-lettres*.

The conclusion of Chapter 7 synthesizes the chronology of

the images, the character studies, and the role of observer or "spectatress" that Lady Mary adopted. She showed a sense of self which displayed marked insights through her social stages and her literary advances. Her "I am" statements were made in every work she produced, as well as in every cause she took up, and through every material thing of which she claimed ownership. The image of woman thus revealed takes its model from the images of Lady Mary herself. The seven chapters of the thesis examine Lady Mary's literary work for the sense of character and image; findings lead to a conclusive assessment of the identity politics she practiced. The proto-feminist standing her work has been given by some analysts undergoes study, with the goal of placing her in a relationship with the major women writers of her century. Along with examination of Lady Mary's writing, the thesis analyzes her symbolic life-choices, such as the promotion of smallpox inoculation and the advocacy of retreats for women intellectuals, as manifestations of Lady Mary's--the woman's--inner strength.

Preface

Notes

1 Primary source-texts listed below will be referred to in the following chapters by the abbreviations in parentheses:

Wortley Montagu, Mary. ms. Vols. 74-81, 250-256. Harrowby Archives, Sandon Hall, Stafford, England. Used by permission of the Earl of Harrowby (*HMS*).

_____. *Complete Letters*. Ed. Robert Halsband. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965-67 (*Letters*).

_____. *Essays and Poems*. Eds. Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993 (Grundy *EP*).

_____. *Letters and Works*. Ed. Lord Wharncliffe. 2 vols. London: George Bell and Sons, 1898 (Wharncliffe).

_____. *Romance Writings*. Ed. Isobel Grundy. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996 (*RW*).

_____. *Selected Letters*. Ed. Isobel Grundy. London: Penguin, 1997 (Selected Letters).

_____. *Turkish Embassy Letters*. Ed. Malcolm Jack. Introduction by Anita Desai. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1993 (*TEL*).

2 A note must be made on the text concerning the development of tenses which best capture the study's two-sided focus: the biographical elements represent one feature, and the surviving text, together with critical investigation, represents the other. The present study is arranged by the principle that actions and events of the past should be indicated by past-tense verbs, whereas the writing process and its textual products should be rendered with present-tense verbs; thus, "Lady Mary went," but "Lady Mary writes." The tenses handled this way keep the subject's lived experience distinct from the prose and poetry that record it, as well as from the work of critics and analysts whose ideas participate in the thesis-developing discourse.

Acknowledgments

The help of archivists, academics and muses conveys a project on the scale of my Ph.D. dissertation from its scratchy beginnings to its completion. I must thank most warmly the Earl of Harrowby, who bestowed kind permission for my research among the tall volumes in the Sandon Hall archives; Mr. Michael Bosson, who expertly located essential manuscripts of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's prose and poetry and provided library space for their perusal, also earned my heartfelt thanks.

Of the people shaping the thesis itself, Dr. W. John Rempel, my graduate advisor, was most called upon to find patience, aiding in the thesis-writing by judicious comments upon every draft; he also accommodated willingly our many meetings, though we had schedules difficult to coördinate. He deserves sincere thanks for inspiring me with his eighteenth-century fascinations and his methodical approach to the writing, as well as his passionate address to material and context. I would also like to thank Isobel Grundy for authoritative editions and rousing analyses which have made Lady Mary's lifetime of literary production accessible; Professor Grundy's stirring communications by e-mail and post, as well as in person, have elucidated many obscure aspects of Lady Mary's writing for me. Dr. Pam Perkins also made numerous helpful suggestions. And I must thank Dr. Robin Hoople for his help at the very rough spots of thesis organization; he encouraged me to slash through a Gordian knot or two freeing the text from the tangles.

The inspiration of friends and family also requires marking. Sitting in a circle of seven friends, naturalist Jackie Krindle presented me with the Language of Flowers as a popular phenomenon, to which Lady Mary brought the botanical decoding key; Ms. Krindle merits thanks for the way her interest set fertile connections growing. Finally, my husband, Kirk, and my sons, Lex, Cody and Hart have been far more generous in letting Lady Mary's image-self occupy their spaces than Count Palazzi of Italy was when Lady Mary's corporeal self inhabited his spaces; the extent of thanks owed to them is indicated by the fact that they know that story, among dozens of others, as if my thesis subject had transformed herself into a long-term household guest.

Identity Politics in the Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

Chapter 1 The Dilemma of a Feminist Reading

When, in 1979, Katharine Rogers placed Lady Mary Wortley Montagu among the advanced women thinkers in *Before their Time*, she identified a process of reclamation that redrafts Lady Mary's reputation, from colleague of males to independent thinker. The process of historicizing and valorizing continues along the lines recommended by Naomi Schor in her essay, "Feminism and Gender Studies" (1992), a "differencing" that exposes "the role-playing inherent in the very notion of gender" (281). On these grounds, critics uncover roles which Lady Mary consciously played, especially in dealing with the males who shaped her life. Sandra Sherman, Jill Campbell, Ruth Yeazell and Isobel Grundy have all profiled the ambitious, independent and philosophical Lady Mary in 1994-95 essays. These critics identify Lady Mary's production of politically-provocative essays and letters, as well as her life-choice of championing causes such as Turkish-style inoculating of smallpox and dowry-dismantling, as the stuff of "proto-feminism": the surmounting of female restrictions that arise because a woman possesses "a psyche ruled by linguistic and cultural codes and legitimated by the unequal distribution of power between men and women in the society at large" (Schor 265). The four areas of her life and writing in which Lady Mary most successfully overcame social limitations were her eventual freedom from being "enmeshed in dialogue with male writing"

(Grundy, Harbour Towers 7 Oct. 1996), her exposing of Turkish women's paradoxical liberties, her smallpox-inoculation campaign, and her commentary on English mores from Lovere, Avignon and Gottolengo. All four areas of life and writing, together with current critical thought pertaining to them, bear close feminist examination.

The adopting of a feminist perspective from which to regard Lady Mary creates several immediate problems. It presses the reader to ask what "feminist" means in the context of criticism surrounding the work of this eighteenth-century woman writer. "Feminist" means something beyond the mere acknowledgment that because she was born female, Lady Mary must have endured oppression within patriarchal British society; "essentialism" refers in part to this raising up of women's writing purely on the basis of their sex, an inclusive process against which researchers have been cautioned by writers like Cixous and Schweikart, according to Beth Fowkes Tobin.[1] Such a unifying principle generalizes the grounds for acceptable writing by women, and at worst creates a bottomless hold-all that contains work valorized because it is by one sex; Gilbert and Gubar (1996) include works' literary merit in the canon-making, exercising "pedagogical and critical good sense" (xxxv) and thus presenting work of quality in their revised *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*. Feminist text-reclaiming and criticism transcend "centuries of persecution, pathologizing, and erasure" (Schor 264), placing the historical context of women's writing in full view but also seeing "woman" as a term of inferior status in the

social construct. Lady Mary, created *fortunately* unequal by her upbringing as an aristocratic Englishwoman, nonetheless subverts several myths of femininity rendering women unfortunate. The myths, endorsed by dominant society in her time, are embodied in the four reasons Renaissance patriarchs used to bar a woman from public office: "*levitas, fragilitas, imbecillitas, infirmitas* [frivolity, frailty, feeble-mindedness and faint-heartedness]" (Smith 35). The subversion to which Lady Mary subjected all four pronouncements promotes seeing her as a feminist forerunner, and prompts the chapter's overview of her proto-feminist writing and activity.

Lady Mary had the education of an eighteenth-century male, and, for a time, a standing among literary figures equivalent to that of her male contemporaries; though she always valued her learning, she had an increasing certainty that it created social liability for her as a woman. Once associated with Pope and Gay in what Grundy calls a "historically visible connection with male authors" (7 Oct, 1996), she chronicled with them the behaviour of privileged men and women of England. Eventually, Lady Mary surrendered the collegiality with Pope and Gay (to disaffection in both cases, the latter finally termed "a mean poet" [*Letters* 3.83n.2]), giving up the connection that resembled Thrale's, Burney's and Lennox's with Samuel Johnson.[2] She turned from lampooner to lampooned, in the literary battles of the time, but maintained her inclination to discover more about her companions or adversaries, and to display the poetic results of the discoveries. Pope compliments her acute wit in his

correspondence with her between 1716 and 1718, telling her as he sends two versions of a poem, "[I] wish you had been in England to have done this office better" (*Letters* 1.445n.4); like Pope, learned men would enjoy her epistolary productions during her two years at the Turkish embassy and--if remaining in her favour--for the next forty-four years after. The satirical writing that showcased her learning often constituted a breach of social custom--yet even the learning itself defied the conduct-manual advice of the time. Eliza Haywood (1744) depicts a young woman "'educated in the strictest Rudiments of Piety and Virtue'" as representative of a "'Girl of Condition'" (Jones 38, 41); by contrast, Lady Mary's reading of romances, fantasies and epics would be judged as a destabilizing and an "'over-excit[ing]'" influence on a young woman (Jones 16). Warnings by rakish women like Charlotte Charke, who said in 1755 of her own learning that "'it might have been sufficient for a Son instead of a Daughter'" (Ferguson 288), articulate society's cautious attitude to an education like Lady Mary's. The implication is that the educated woman must be a foolish or tragic figure. Lady Mary's practical opinion that she should conceal the extent of her education illustrates the social antagonism to formal learning for women. She pursued new knowledge throughout her life, yet wrote her daughter that a grand-daughter should downplay the same kind of education, even as the girl accumulated it: "The . . . caution . . . is to conceal whatever Learning she attains, with as much solicitude as she would hide crookedness or lameness" (*Letters* 3.22). The grandmotherly stand makes Lady Mary's proto-feminist

status problematic: she has followed in her life's practice the feminist principle of equally rich education for males and females, yet has overturned the principle in her advice to other females. However, another reading of the letter locates the advice in nostalgia for an elusive golden age peopled by authority figures who complimented the learning she received.[3]

Lady Mary's literary status gives further indication of readers' dilemmas in classifying her among feminist thinkers; she attained a wide readership among the educated and sophisticated of her time, yet had her life-writings popularized, rather than turned into the material of academic inquiry, in the Victorian era. On the other hand, her identity politics led to bold actions, including the spectacular intellectual disengagement from Pope, the defiant inoculation campaign, and the extended solitary stay on the European continent. The literary figure recedes, and the exotic person, the "character" remains. If we take an overview of Lady Mary as student, reader and writer, we witness her consistent engagement with the male authority figures who embody erudition for her. The association might spoil her feminist standing in the hindsight of the twentieth century, if surveyers do not also consider the intellectual skirmishes Lady Mary mounted, aimed at these learned men. Interpreting the poetry of the ancients, arguing with revered travel-accounts, accusing doctors of profiting by withholding cures--in all these acts, her self-positioning begins to look willful to her detractors, female-foregrounding to her feminist exponents. The education she may have taken from her brother's tutor opens the

case, since the learning had been intended for the Pierrepont family's male scion, and not for his older sister. Already, she might have used paternal indifference to her activities as the gift it was to an independent daughter, choosing "grammars [over] fathers" in Isobel Grundy's binary (Grundy, "Books" 16). Within her books were lessons on love and power that she knew patriarchal relatives would deny her.

Stubbornness shaped her developing of an individual identity by driving her to take initiative rather than being denied knowledge. The stage of learning beyond what the borrowed tutor provided was a mastery of Latin--secret because learned males like Wortley discouraged her formal training in the ancient language of authority (*Letters* 1.8-9). The learning demonstrates willful acquisition of skills not meant for ladies. What makes her Latin self-teaching especially flamboyant as a maneuver is that Lady Mary went on to display quite publicly the knowledge gained this way. Her letter to Gilbert Burnet, scholar and clergyman, offers disclaimers as to her talent in--or even her right to--Latin scholarship, while enclosing her translation of Epictetus for Burnet's evaluation (1710). Without any trace of acknowledgment of female predecessors, other than the character type of the learned woman, who must be a "tatling, impertinent, vain, and Conceited Creature" (*Letters* 1.45), she proffers her own fair copy: "My only intention in presenting it is to ask your Lordship whither [sic] I have understood Epictetus" (1.44). The pages of her first section of English translation crawl with spiky lines of Burnet's criticism, directed to text and not to

author; yet they also carry the sense that the work must be admired, as he indicates through his check-marks on the manuscript page (*HMS* 252). Though the product appears competent and smooth, Lady Mary's engagement in the process of translating should intrigue feminist inquirers for its indication of an early willingness to engage with forms dominated by male authorities. The address to Burnet establishes her defiant attitude to the expected roles for girls and women. A self-identified character in her "Autobiographical Romance" (c. 1715) represents a departure from the social expectation of her female peers' coquetry, so that when she gave a measured critique of "a new play being then acted," while sitting among "a set of Romps" from whom her young man "did not expect much Conversation" (*EP* 78), Laetitia/Lady Mary attracted his guarded respect.

The person Lady Mary should have been, according to the eighteenth-century social order, obeyed king, bishop, father and finally husband, serving them all unquestioningly. To the extent that she could perform obeisance to these figures without utter compromise of her sense of self, Lady Mary usually did. She paid court in person to the monarch in power in Britain from her late teens onward, briefly presenting inner-court-circle duties between 1714 and 1716. She gave outward signs of religious devotion and loyalty, following the forms of larger ceremonies--"nor thinking it right to make a Jest of Ordinances that are (at least) so far Sacred as they are absolutely necessary in all Civiliz'd Governments" (*Letters* 2.486). She also spoke and wrote with suitable humility and deference to clergymen such as Gilbert

Burnet (1710) and the Abbé Conti (1716)--a skeptic who had given up his church although retaining his title (*Selected Letters* 170n.1). She often engaged male authority figures in debate or other intellectual challenges which conduct books cautioned against, as "ambitious for a young and untutored woman" (Lowenthal 5). Lady Mary invented the secular woman classicist by her own example. In other tasks, she did respond submissively to traditional demands. To her father, widowed early, Lady Mary brought the duties of daughter and surrogate wife on the social circuit: carving of the roast represents this activity, performed by ceremonial strokes (*Life* 8). This custom appears to have established the male head of the table as the person who must be served, especially by the closest relative present at the table. The near-wifely role of roast-carving was given over to his second wife, Lady Bentick, in 1714 (*EP* 30), but the activities attendant upon it show, as they do when Chaucer's Squire performs the same ones for the Knight, a classic obedience to the father-figure (*Canterbury Tales* A99-100).

Lady Mary's attitude toward her husband-to-be, then spouse, Edward Wortley, asserted her identity politics as standing at odds with the custom for brides. Disobedience to her father and husband in matters of courtship and marriage constitutes the heart of this matter; in her divergence from a norm of compliance, Lady Mary made the strongest statement of self in her young life. First, the choice of husband that overturned her father's plans for her risked (and received) the financial penalty of disinheritance. Second, her opinions about Wortley's

chances for preferment, her inspiration for bringing about the Turkish ambassador assignment for Wortley, indicate an ambition that brings to mind Lady Macbeth's designs for her lord (*Letters* 1.214). The fact of her accompanying him to Turkey, with her firstborn under four years of age and a second child on the way, also indicates her willfulness, especially in view of the dangers in the territory to which they were heading.

The assertion of her independence shapes Lady Mary's "mid-life crisis" (Grundy, *Selected Letters* 226), leading to self-liberating identity politics. Long after the marriage expired in all but its outward form, Lady Mary's pursuit of a young nobleman, Algarotti (who had received the somewhat debased title of count in Italy in 1736), raised no scandal due to a socially-acceptable cover story, the idea of seeking the air or the water on the continent to combat ill health (*Letters* 2.151; E-mail message, I. Grundy, 7 June 1998). The subsequent collapse of the affair and relinquishing of the dream, that Algarotti and she had anything beyond epistolary flirtation working for them, could have made her into a pitiable figure, the jilted older woman. However, her resolute occupying thereafter of a "country gentlewoman's" spaces transforms the crisis of the loss of Algarotti into the opportunity for her exercise of individual will, in the relatively solitary, unconventional setting of her European homes. All the life-events summarized here materialize through the will of the woman herself; if hers is a life that frequently curtsies to dominant males, it is equally one which turns its back on them. These events create only the lived part

of the remarkable picture, though; the *written* record of her thoughts on England from Europe, as well as of her stories, essays, poems, novel and play, creates the other part.

A widening critical perspective must accompany a widening access to the products of Lady Mary's creative output. The imaginative works included in *Romance Writings* (1996) give literary treatment to issues that are also the focus of contemporary letters: women's roles, women's social triumphs, women's scandalous defeats. This study's criticism of works other than non-fiction celebrates the greater availability of the fiction under the heading, *Romance Writings*. A characteristic example of the critical focus prior to the release of the fiction collection is Cynthia Lowenthal's; her 1993 publication, the most comprehensive critical work on Lady Mary's writings to date, concentrates on the letters, as is signaled by her book's title, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter*. Lowenthal's look at Montagu's essays and poems, as well as at other writers' novels which Lady Mary owned and read, serves mainly to help identify the enduring insights of the letters. For example, Mary Wortley Montagu's comments on *Pamela*, a copy of which she received in 1741 (*Life* 216), are shown by Lowenthal to relate indirectly to real-life servant uprisings, a concern which dominates several letters (174). Thus, in keeping with the Marxist approach typified in Terry Eagleton's reading of *Pamela*, which credits the novel with a liberating vigour (*The Rape of Clarissa*, 1982), Lady Mary detects the creation within *Pamela* of class-leveling subversion: "[T]he circumstances are so

laid as to inspire tenderness . . . and I look upon . . . Pamela [and *Clarissa*] to be two Books that will do more general mischeif than the Works of Lord Rochester" (*Letters* 3.9). In this, a reader with a delicate sensibility may share Lady Mary's unease, since the mischief of both authors originates in the use of sex to stir up readers. The present thesis treats the material of *Pamela* differently, as a source of contrast within the novel genre for Lady Mary's own narrative.

The identity politics evident in her writing from 1708 onward are declared by her ongoing private study of the viable positioning of girls and women in the upper-class British milieu. Lady Mary manifests a continuing interest in how the women around her occupy themselves. No matter whether she creates fiction or non-fiction, a short tale or a letter, she foregrounds as her theme women's roles, especially in love or in conflict with men. The paradigm forms novelistically in *Princess Docile*, which profiles a character whose mother and husband force her to maintain her assigned role, but whose thinking brain informs her that she deserves a better role. Though *Princess Docile* serves as the culmination of her lifetime observations on women, Lady Mary had profiled women fighting male authority for decades before she wrote the novel. An example of literary treatment of women's roles asserts itself in her satiric declaration that "knocking down Windmils" could gain her more favour than could defending women's reputations (*Letters* 2.33), even though she spends much time in this defense. With her record of the incident in which some "Amazons" she knew,

"resigned sufferers for liberty," stormed the halls of Justice in March, 1739, to demand their right to audit sessions in the House of Lords (*Letters* 2.136-7), she defends somewhat exaggeratedly the women's right to rally to their cause. Although the letter containing this incident represents half of a private exchange, Lady Mary avails herself in her more widely-circulated narratives of the choice indicated by Sidonie Smith: "the discursive authority to interpret herself publicly in a patriarchal culture and [an] androcentric genre that have written stories of woman for her" (45). The medium of letters, as well as of "Accounts" (her *Court of George I* [c.1715] exemplifying this form), gives priority to lived and observed experience; Lady Mary combines action and literary productivity and thus defies expectation. Not the accustomed stand for women but the proto-feminist one, her self-positioning brings female thought--and the projects it can create or describe--to the forefront of eighteenth-century consciousness. Despite its drawbacks, she adopts a multi-layered role that she has designed for herself, and so undertakes in private but also in public a massive project.

Lady Mary's fame in her own time provokes for modern critics the question of her independence. Addressing the letters of Madame de Sévigné, to whom Lady Mary is often compared, Michèle Longino Farrell has said that the works of women famous in their own times present a problem for modern critics because the chances are great that the women have identified themselves with the era's prominent males, and have bound up their successes in patriarchal culture, subservient to rules that modern women do

not honour. Such women's writings, Farrell (paraphrased here) says, "cannot be easily claimed" for the cause of a stronger standing for women, since they will not be "recovered as exemplary feminist texts" (Farrell 1). Having enjoyed Lady Mary's *Turkish Embassy Letters,* Voltaire contrasts her themes with Madame de Sévigné's, finding their scope much greater than the Frenchwoman's (qtd. in Drew 88). As a man of influence, Voltaire exemplifies the literary figure whose endorsement Lady Mary's writing and thought elicited. Attentive to this approval-seeking behaviour and the text it produces, Sidonie Smith (1987) argues that male-identified or male-sanctioned texts by women adhere to "familiar codes of the languagescape [sic] . . . that have been influenced by male models and by male theorizing about female models"; she argues that formalist critics will join the women writers' texts to males' texts and "presume to speak authoritatively about the entire zone" (16). However, Lady Mary breaks or subverts the codes of patriarchy through her letters, as well as her stories and poems, and may not so easily be conjoined to writers inhabiting such a zone.

Lady Mary's identity politics, manifested in how she acted and how she wrote, attracted international attention; her fame in her lifetime rose despite--and sometimes due to--defiant poses she struck, yet the iconoclasm has not always been sufficient to gain her entry to feminist "good books." Attitudes contrary to those of the dominant culture emerge in her stories of males who seduce and mistreat women--"Louisa" (c.1742)--as well as in the exposing of adulterers, in letters to Lady Mar and in the

"Epistle from Mrs. Y[onge]" (1724); these writings convey the sense of a viewpoint unsupportive of male privilege. The activity of inoculation, conducted in public so anyone could learn of it, constitutes an outrageously counter-cultural behaviour. Yet *First Feminists*, a collection taking into account "key areas of discrimination against women" excluded Lady Mary; the editor's focus caused her to select "writers [who] were able to transcend personally difficult circumstances" (Ferguson 9). As a writer whose position and associations assured privilege, Lady Mary was not a woman in personal difficulty of gendered origins. The "ease" of her life does not, however, erase the positioning of the majority of her creative work outside the zone Smith identifies (see p.12, above), of writing done to elicit male approval.[4]

Mary Wortley Montagu's reputation has caused a mixture of reactions among critics who bring her into discussion of early feminism. Katharine Rogers, in *Feminism in Eighteenth-Century England* (1982), asserts Lady Mary's feminism without hesitation (93). Devoney Kay Looser (1994) demonstrates Lady Mary's "sisterhood" with writers like Aphra Behn (44), but argues against the view that Lady Mary's was an advocacy of feminism (Rogers and Spender 45). The sisterhood emerges ironically in conventionally sympathetic accounts of exotic, princely lovers given in Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688)--"Very ready, apt, and quick of comprehension" (Rogers and McCarthy 19)--and in Montagu's Turkish letter describing Ibrahim Bassa as "a Man of Wit and Learning" (*Letters* 1.333). Instead of focusing on the feminist

in these works, says Looser, critics must question whether women authors of other centuries like Lady Mary are naturally "role models and heroines" (52) for our century--surely an anachronistic and oversimplifying notion. Looser concludes that feminist critics must avoid the privileging priority "that puts women--in this case, white aristocratic European women--above the fray of other conflicts and discourses" (52). Obsessions with race, gender and power positioning do shape the American perspective on literary figures of the past; a Canadian feminist's literary consideration (as is this study's) may transcend the temporal struggles with proto-feminist figures--if only by offering greater empathy, colonially inspired, for the occasionally oppressed female aristocrat.

A conflict for aristocrats is "private writing versus public," an issue with political implications that was addressed frequently in the eighteenth century. The venality of writing for pay kept Lady Mary from publishing under her own name. As Lady Mary tells her daughter about a "man of quality," "he should confine himselfe to the Applause of his Freinds" (*Letters* 3.37). Serving as patron and supporter for her cousin, Henry Fielding (and to a lesser extent, his sister, Sarah), Lady Mary had concluded that due to financial constraints in their branch of the family, their living could not come any other way. However, the professional, money-making feature of writing degraded any aristocrat, according to Lady Mary's assessment, and after reading *David Simple* (1744), she sighed over other novels she attributed to Sarah Fielding: "I suppose they proceed from her

pen, and heartily pity her, constrain'd by her Circumstances to seek her bread by a method I do not doubt she despises" (*Letters* 3.67). As for the problems that arise for talented women who make their writing public, Elizabeth Abel (1982) describes the central critical issue: each writer delving into a subject from a past era must make an "analysis of female talent grappling with a male tradition," based on the recognition that a woman with such talent "translates sexual difference into literary differences of genre, structure, voice and plot" (2)--yet probably, in addition, she tries to reach the same audience as male peers.

Though she formed her identity partly through relationships with characters out of popular novels, Lady Mary still monitored the characters' hold on her imagination. Certainly, readers can locate among Lady Mary's choices of narrative vehicle, especially her letters, the departure from genres such as the novel, which she perceives as male-developed. A letter to Sir James Steuart on Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* (1751) exemplifies her tendency to see males as novel-authors/ authorities; she defers to one by mocking her own poetry--"How the great Dr Swift would stare at this vile triplet"--and to another ironically, complimenting "the great Lord Viscount Bolingbroke" for his profitable study of obscurity (*Letters* 3.219). Having (in 1752) praised Lady Vane for the memoirs included in Smollett's novel (*Letters* 3.2), she concedes to public opinion in re-attributing Vane's memoirs in 1759, when she states that "her life is writ by Dr. Smollett" (*Letters* 3.219).[5] As an avid reader of picaresque and romantic

novels, Lady Mary provides correspondents with criticism of the novel and its artifices, especially as the form is practiced by Richardson: "This Richardson is a strange Fellow. I heartily despise him and eagerly read him, nay, sob over his works in a scandalous manner" (*Letters* 3.90). Thus Lowenthal examines Lady Mary's narratives in letters as "antidotes to Richardson's fiction . . . . Rejecting Richardson's methods, she [studies] the dangers of invisible virtue as it is articulated in his fiction" (173). The letter to her daughter on the death of her half-sister, Lady Carolina, who "dishonnour[ed] her Family by her mean marriage" leads meaningfully to a thumbnail profile of so-called progress: "The Heros and Heroines of the age are Coblers and Kitchin Wenches" (*Letters* 3.35). The concept of a dialogue between the tales of her expatriate life in Europe and the fiction of Richardson projects a more subtle picture of the letters to Lady Bute than Lowenthal observes; however, no one can deny that Lady Mary attempts to stir her daughter's analytical and critical skills in reading Richardson, observing for instance that "it is plain he is no better acquainted with [Italy] than he is with the Kingdom of Mancomugi"--the latter given as an Incan name in Halsband's note (*Letters* 3.91&n.)

To her sister Frances, wife of Lord Mar, Lady Mary presents herself as the family representative in London, identified within a colourful and maddening milieu of female courtiers. In her twenties, by contrast to her sixties, Lady Mary uses the narrative form of the letter to pass on stories; she is given a

hyperbole when she recounts London life to her sister ("Mrs. Murray is in open Wars with me" [*Letters* 2.63]), but she stays with facts as the basis for her story-telling. The letters provide a narrative outlet by being the regular and entertaining medium by which Montagu sends court news to please the depressed Lady Mar (*Letters* 2.1-85). The letters through which the sibling is to be diverted from feelings of isolation mingle exaggeration and speculation with adorned fact: "I can't tell whither [whether] you know a Tall, musical, silly, ugly thing, niece to Lady Essex Roberts, who is call'd Miss Leigh" (*Letters* 2.78). With reference to (self-)portraits in this mode, placing Lady Mary among such "silly things," Judith Kegan Gardiner points out that "female identity is a process," directed toward a stable role for the writer and for her portrayed version of self (Abel 179). Katharine Rogers locates in Lady Mary's female-deprecating portrayals an ironic awareness that women, including herself, can carry themselves more forcefully than they do: "Her feminism is typically veiled in apology or flippancy" (*Feminism* 93). Shown as a self-empowering, sister-empowering series, the letters to Lady Mar meet Frances's emotional needs while deepening Lady Mary's sense of her own observer's identity.

As a basis for recognizing an author's identity within a text, Schor discusses the concept of "gendered subjectivity," the writer's self projected, based on his or her own perceived sex-role. Citing the "archaeology" carried out by Virginia Woolf on the literary contribution made by women, Schor says Woolf wished "to theorize and valorize a specifically female subjectivity and

textuality, and that specificity was bound up with the maternal" (Schor 266). When the works of Lady Mary are related to the study of eighteenth-century female selfhood, her maternal self as represented in her letters to her daughter gains a high profile, as do her female protagonists in fictional works such as *Indamora* and *Princess Docile*. Schor secures the position of mother-daughter themes like those expressed by Lady Mary to Lady Bute by calling attention to issues around the term "gender" and specifically, the sub-term, "woman," illustrating by historical and literary instances how the authorities have excluded texts from the canon by marginalizing those of writers whose "sexed bodies" do not belong to heterosexual males. Where Lady Mary's choice of genre or subject has caused her to be overlooked or undervalued as a writer, as with the extended French-fable genre of *Docile* or the controversial topic of Turkish-style inoculation, we can apply Schor's criteria for reconsidering neglected works to the reclamation of Lady Mary's text.

Woman as subject informs the image of woman represented in Lady Mary's work. This subjective positioning locates the central concern of the image-building as unveiling her self-image; the self is revealed through the way she positions herself in analyzing the characters of other women. Lady Mary's sense of image is not an abstraction; it shows itself in portrayals of her friends and enemies, and in self portraits in prose that have their equivalent in the paintings, sketches and etchings that capture Lady Mary from her eighth to her fiftieth years. Image features as a multi-faceted aspect of the author's work.

Together with her recorded impressions of female character, image discussion leads to a sense of her identity politics, her placement of herself among the Others. Isobel Grundy maintains that the "I am" statements come to light in Lady Mary's library, "left by its owner in her works, beginning at fourteen" ("Books" 13). The identity theme defines itself in the terms, "image" and "character," as her own century defines them.[6] Lady Mary summarizes the view of the kind of woman she is at twenty-one, telling Burnet, "There is hardly a character in the world more Despicable or more liable to universal ridicule than that of a Learned Woman" (*Letters* 1.45).

To work within the feminist critical matrix when material dates from the eighteenth century is to rely on meanings for the idea of feminism developed by Lady Mary's mentor, Mary Astell,[7] who influences the younger woman's political writings; as well, the writings of other thinkers, such as Daniel Defoe (*An Essay on Projects* 1697), exert an influence. Moira Ferguson describes Astell's contribution to her era: "She put explicit feminist demands on a firm footing and with rational common sense helped dissolve preposterously unscientific notions about women" (15). An example of such thinking by men, mentioned by seventeenth-century author Owen Felltham (1623), is their imagining "a deceit in all women"--in addition to women's being easily "made ill [and] fearful" (*Resolves* 324). Not only did Mary Astell serve as a model for some of Lady Mary's self-assertion, but more specifically, she also took a stand on issues of dowries and womanly ownership of property which would eventually become Lady

Mary's own: "[P]arents and guardians choose as they think convenient, without ever consulting the young one's inclinations, who must be satisfied, or pretend so at least, upon pain of their displeasure, and that heavy consequence of it, forfeiture of their estate" (Rogers and McCarthy 128). In providing the praise-filled foreword to the *Turkish Embassy Letters*, she affirmed Lady Mary's talent and sentiments: "[A] Lady has the skill to strike out a New Path and to embellish a worn-out Subject with variety of fresh and elegant Entertainment" (Ferguson 198). Extolling her friend's vivacity, spirit and purity of style, she also demotes the status of men who have covered the same ground. This frequent Astell theme, of re-balancing gender roles, sometimes receives more caustic treatment. Astell's outlook on women's thwarted potential may be fixed ironically in her discussion of "chains"--figurative manacles (arguably symbolized in jewellery given by men)--within her essay, "Some Reflections on Marriage" (1700):

> Only let me beg to be informed, to whom we poor Fatherless Maids, and Widows who have lost their Masters, owe Subjection? . . . Women are not so well united as to form an Insurrection. They are for the most part wise enough to love their Chains, and to discern how very becomingly they fit. (Ferguson 195)

Lady Mary learns how to declare her female politics through Astell's maxims; she adopts both the stand and the tone in her

own essays. The irony of the above address to Astell's sisters subverts meaning; in an equivalent obscuring of message, Lady Mary's disguise with the voice of a male, apparently disinterested but kind in addressing women's issues, creates the ironic effect for her prose. The perfect example of this disguise occurs in the political essays published in 1737 and 1738 as *The Nonsense of Common-Sense,* responses to the paper *Common Sense,* instigated by Prime Minister Robert Walpole's opposition in February, 1737. The central essay among the nine *Nonsense* issues, published on January 24, 1738, is identified as her own by the words, "wrote by me MWM," on the surviving manuscript (*HMS* 255), but it is rendered in male voice. Within the essay, the description of women, as if by a sympathetic man, shows Lady Mary playing with a detached view on her sex. She responds to Chesterfield's accusations of women's looseness, made in *Common Sense* ten days before, by maintaining that while

> he recommends to them, Gosiping, Scandal, Lying and a whole troop of Follys instead of [adulterous liaisons], as the only preservatives for their Virtue . . . I am for treating them with more dignity, and as I profess my selfe a protector of all the oppressed I shall look upon them as my peculiar care. (*EP* 131)

Otherness, or alterity, was an issue of growing concern in the eighteenth century broadly and in Lady Mary's work specifically; moreover, it becomes a revisionary issue for

critics and social historians trying to redress the imbalances in the critical view of the eighteenth century. *The New Eighteenth Century* (1991), Nussbaum and Brown's critical manifesto asserting the necessity of giving prominence to women's writing as part of a redefinition of the era, provides a different standard for terms concerning woman's character, terms which signify Otherness in the study of feminist themes. Defining "woman" allows Nussbaum and Brown to take up the cause of feminist re-examining of eighteenth-century texts by authors of both genders:

> ["W]oman" must be read as an historically and culturally produced category that is situated within specific material conditions and is interactive with the complicated problems of class . . . . (Nussbaum and Brown 15)

In Nussbaum's essay, "Heteroclites: The Gender of Character in the Scandalous Memoirs," dealing with the female memoir-writers of the eighteenth century, she speaks of "character" as an understood concept in the early part of the century.[8]

References to the character-study fads of the previous century in England begin Nussbaum's reidentifying of character study with prose portraits by Hall (1608), Overbury (1614) and Earle (1628) making these authors the genre's male "modulators" (146). Using explanatory remarks in the preface of Henry Gally, a contemporary translator of Theophrastus, classical developer of

the exercise, she points to the state wherein "each trait and detail must derive [from] and be expressive of a whole and unified personality" (146). In the process of describing the memoirists' change-making force, provided by the random and scandalous life-stories that defy Theophrastus's--and English society's--defining convention, Nussbaum has identified the classical basis for explorations of character. Such holistic defining of character, she explains, began to seem inadequate when forms such as women's autobiography became prominent. In order to show that the reflection of a woman's interior by her exterior self needed re-examining, and that examples of the refiguring process began to proliferate in the mid seventeen-hundreds, Nussbaum asserts the premise on which female character had been founded, long before:

> For eighteenth-century woman, "character" or selfhood was guaranteed only if the "I" could recreate itself in the images created by man and God, and women's autobiographical writing testifies *in part* to that kind of patriarchally authorized "selfhood" (157).

Despite the presence of a qualifier, here in italics, her identifying of the patriarchal view held throughout the century as the customary definition of a woman's sense of self still holds validity.

Lady Mary's questioning of male authority set the tone of her identity's voice; she was by no means alone in the questions

she raised, yet she risked her reputation in the process of asking. The anti-patriarchal approach emerged, in part, due to the influence of the scandalous memoirists, Charke and Pilkington, who refused to allow a transgressive image formed from models like "Seduced Maiden" or "Fallen Woman" to stand as descriptive of themselves. The equating of "image" with "reputation," argued against at the start of Nussbaum's "Heteroclites," indicates that the outward, public self, especially of the upper-class woman (all-important to her social standing), suffers if she transgresses the patriarchal codes. The woman's highbred characteristics surely remain though her inner-circle status may not. The aristocrat tended to yield to rules of public reputation, choosing approved manners and fashions for outward display--yet not having much free choice, after all. This theme of submission to the opinions of the public, and especially of one's equals, turns up regularly in Lady Mary's letters; after describing a "monstrous fashion" of huge wigs worn by Viennese noblewomen, Lady Mary speculates to her sister on the lack of choice: "Even the Lovely Empresse her selfe is oblig'd to comply in some degree with these absurd Fashions . . . " (*Letters* 1.265).

Reputation serves as one indicator of social standing, present and future, for women who could attend prudently to how they were perceived; equally superficially, a woman like Lady Mary lost standing as she lost her looks. No matter how an aristocratic woman played the social game among peers of reputation/appearances, however, she had power to which women of

no other class could aspire. Aravamudan, in "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the *Hammam*" (1995), demonstrates how Lady Mary allows her social standing as an aristocrat to give her entrée into uncustomary levels of experience; she positions herself with a reputation in relation to art:

> . . . Montagu's self-conscious protofeminism ought to be contextualized by the aristocratic signature that underwrote her intellectual credentials. She was a prominent member of a social class that was familiar with authorship, but even more familiar with patronage.
>
> (Aravamudan 74-75)

Aravamudan should and does attend to the paradox of the author's aristocratically-rigid-yet-sometimes-enlightened outlook, concluding that Lady Mary resists "a full-fledged cultural passage or romance metamorphosis" (71). Isobel Grundy asserts that Lady Mary brought her scarred sense of self to the analysis of *Hammam* life, assessing the images of the gorgeous women she saw through contrast with her own smallpox-afflicted face ("Terrains" 486).[9] Grundy's view is that the "baggage" of her somewhat less than pretty post-smallpox face did not keep Lady Mary from responding naturally and confidently to the women of the *Hammam*. Lady Mary's own accounts confirm the case. Though women's fashion makes multi-layered statements, some part of which may resist male authority, the appeal to what men find attractive renders the ultimate statement pro-patriarchal. As

Jill Campbell demonstrates with the underwear-revealing illustration "The Lady's Disaster" (1746), the "machinery" of fashion, represented by hoops and stays, adorns and supports the body upon which male admirers wish to gaze, as well as the social display designed for male enjoyment (67 [see appendix]).

Physical beauty is a central issue for Lady Mary in terms of her ongoing project of establishing identity politics. Lowenthal introduces, as counterpoint to Lady Mary's selfhood, the allure of Turkish women's attractiveness, their embodiment of sensual delights, adorned by perfumes and pearl ornaments; in them, Lady Mary witnesses the Orient: "Lady Mary is equally fascinated when women treat themselves as aesthetic objects. She arrives in Turkey expecting Turkish women to be more beautiful than their western counterparts, and her expectations are confirmed" (Lowenthal 84). However, the language of her scene at the baths, while frankly admiring of the naked women crowded around her, is not noticeably self-deprecating: "They repeated over and over to me, Uzelle, pek uzelle, which is nothing but,[sic] charming, very charming . . . . The Lady that seem'd the most considerable amongst them entreated me to sit by her and would fain have undress'd me for the bath" (*Letters* 1.313-314).

Her reluctance to give up her costume in this situation contrasts with her willingness to adopt a disguise (as a male) that will readily bring her views to others' attention. After all, undress allows for no disguise at all, though it transforms the viewer's impression (and focus) altogether, with expressive bodies taking attention away from expressive faces. The disguise

represented by her later donning of a veil (as women of the *harem* did), is an aspect of her womanly role studied in detail by Aravamudan, who concludes that "Montagu's travel writing participates at once in feminisms and orientalisms, in a manner that cannot be readily deciphered through ideological litmus tests"(93). Lady Mary has escaped "that infernal machine called orientalism" by "mak[ing] sure to indicate that she is a visitor, ready to bolt or steal away" (88). Because of her ambiguous standing, Lady Mary does not commit the error of "high orientalism" that would be shown in plainly preferring her own nation. Indeed, her view of Turkish manners and mores reaches a position transcendent enough over common British snobbery to give her consideration as a fledgling member of the European Enlightenment movement. Ehrenpreis, Anderson and Daghlian, authors of *The Familiar Letter in the Eighteenth Century* (1966), raise but dismiss the idea now current, that Mary Wortley Montagu figures with Montesquieu and Voltaire as a proponent of Enlightenment thinking:

> One doubts that Lady Mary will ever be enrolled among the philosophers of the Enlightenment . . . but her clear and vivid exposition of the basic assumptions of her time and of her social class gives these informal letters [broad] interest (65).

Over thirty-odd years, more credence has accrued to the perception of Mary Wortley Montagu's enlightenment stance, her positioning founded on her travel correspondence as Britain's

ambassadorial wife. We now regard her as she did herself, not as the female relative who tagged along with Wortley, but as embassy "first lady," Britain's woman in Constantinople. Further, the embassy itself receives attention now because of Lady Mary's social enquiries, rather than for the lacklustre administrative gambits of the ambassador himself. Indeed, like the spouses of modern rock stars--"Mr. Céline Dion," for example--Wortley takes up any attention he does by his affiliation with the celebrity traveller, his wife Lady Mary. The approach to the *Turkish Embassy Letters* which affirms the author as a luminary of the enlightenment owes much to feminist reassessment of the eighteenth century. As the field of enlightenment thinking, newly cast in twentieth-century terms of female empowerment, broadened to include the advances in tolerance and understanding made by a woman, the prospect opened up of locating Lady Mary at the vanguard of a movement that expressed tolerance for a set of beliefs held by "heathens." Lady Mary's challenging of received views on the Other grounded itself in her assertions of the religious and social similarity to her own culture of the one she found among the people with whom she had the most contact in Constantinople: the aristocratic women. Lowenthal characterizes Lady Mary's inquiry by exposing its open-mindedness: "While Lady Mary never escapes from the impulse to see difference as 'other,' she does reject the earlier strategy of relying on European customs as the sole measure of appropriate standards. Instead, she perceives equivalents--a leveling of differences . . . that result[s] in a form of cultural relativism" (89). With this

perspective, Campbell asserts, Lady Mary "use[d] her encounter with cultural difference to figure [calculate] the historical specificity of eighteenth-century English notions of female identity" (66).

The *Turkish Embassy Letters* also help us to see the limitations of Lady Mary's feminism, in her minimal regard for members of other social classes; American feminists will be especially hard-pressed to embrace a figure so allied to her own class. In view of the "People's Princess" designation for the late Lady Diana Spencer, the humanizing effect of loving the "little people" appears to be the way to the hearts of commoners, even academic ones. The irony of her having found tolerance for new ideas rests in her having received confirmation in Turkey of an ancient idea, that the aristocracy of any nation deserved all its prerogatives. Fascinatingly, the idle time for dallying, either in the opulent places that aristocratic women in every culture can afford or in the plainer public baths to which ordinary Turkish women had access, charmed her into recognizing the affinity of her life values and those of her hostesses. The singular luxury of time without men, spent among kindred women and their girl-attendants in the baths (*hammam*), gave potential for Lady Mary's iconoclastic belief that "the object of her reflection, Turkish ladies of quality [among others], are . . . completely unfettered" (Aravamudan 85). Exploring the bath experiences, and the visits among foreign princesses and fatimas, we uncover the erotic, the woman-loving potential in Lady Mary's Turkish sojourn, as well as her accustomed acceptance of servant-

class support. Her presence in the baths reopens the feminist dilemma of Lady Mary's positing Turkish women's "freedoms" in cases that others, of her time and ours, interpret as proof of their enslavement. How she perceives actual slaves and their mistresses reaffirms her class snobbery, even as it illustrates enlightenment in her sense of some women's self-loving, self-governing potential.

Stepping into the Turkish bath-house, Lady Mary acclimates herself to much that differs from, as well as much that echoes, British custom. The closed society of the "bagnio," as Lady Mary calls the first bath-house she enters in Sophia, appeals perfectly to her sense of social decorum--even though its denizens are "stark naked" (*Letters* 1.313). After a greeting by the "portress" at the door, whose tip is a matter of coached protocol (1.313), Lady Mary receives "all the obliging civillity possible. I know no European Court where the Ladys would have behav'd them selves in so polite a manner to a stranger" (1.313). Emphasizing the women of quality present on the scene--obviously well-off, even without the sartorial gradations that would have shown her their social standing outside the bath--Lady Mary accepts the positioning of the young slave women behind their mistresses as apt and fitting. Her feminism must appear askew, here, though it inclines her to accept the reclining ladies as her equals, dressed or undressed. The women are, after all, encouraged to frequent this pleasant but powerless, homogeneous environment by their society's gender-segregating laws; to visit them here as ambassadress from abroad is to convey approval of

their idle, *demi-monde* existence.

The identity politics of this spectator permit her to play favourites: acknowledged ladies of quality receive honour, slaves do not. The patrician attitude, here and elsewhere, locks her in as tightly as do the stays under her garments. The first bath scene in the *Turkish Embassy Letters* allow us to see how consistently an emotional distance is maintained between Lady Mary and members of the servant class. Not only does she describe the slaves kept by Turkishwomen as being akin to English servants, but she also gains her insights into Constantinople's daily life by understanding its discourse through the words of upper class Turkish females, words conveyed to her with the help of translators. She learns that the bodies of women have a treasured status in this place, serving even more than statuary does as the *objets d'art* of the bath (Lowenthal 84). As Lowenthal further indicates, Lady Mary's positive interpretation of Turkish slavery--as "no worse than Servitude all over the world" (*Letters* 1.402)--arises from her third-hand conversational contact with slaves. Through the well-trained translator who interprets the aristocrats' judgment on the happiness of slaves standing right by them, she learns how to regard the servitude. "[S]he speaks positively about the status of Turkish slaves precisely because she records no conversations with slaves themselves" (Lowenthal 94). Through translators, whose services were bought by the masters, such conversing would hardly have been possible; even if it had been carried out, the talk might have invited impertinence among the inferiors, displayed equally

(in the same naked splendour, that is) to the way their mistresses were displayed.

The identity politics exercised among perceived near-equals reveal Lady Mary as tolerant to what she recognizes as analogous, culture to culture. She did receive an indoctrination into the status of princesses and servants, prior to her visit to the bath, through her Turkish contact in Belgrade, Achmet Beg, who confirmed her views on the inferior classes in his description of aristocrats' legal right to drink wine: "the prohibition of wine was a very wise maxim and meant for the common people, being the Source of all disorders amongst them . . . " (1.318). The vice that might have caused her to reject the ladies of the bath, however, to say nothing of their willing servants, is a sexual one; yet it appears not at all before her eyes as she surveys the crowd of cushion-reclined naked women: "there was not the least wanton smile or immodest Gesture amongst 'em" (*Letters* 1.313). The pronouncement of their modesty in these surroundings counters a report on their widespread lesbian activity by a Frenchman. Yeazell quotes Chardin's *Voyages . . . en Perse* (1711) as claiming "Les femmes orientales ont toujours passé pour tribades" (117), this last term defined in singular form in the *OED,* from its first recorded use in English in 1601, as "a woman who practices unnatural vice with other women": Chardin's implication is also Montesquieu's, in the *Lettres Persanes,* that left in female company to find their own diversions, the Turkish women naturally fall into the sin of homo-eroticism (Betts 278). Though suggesting that Lady Mary teases us with "the voyeuristic

aspects of the scopophiliac complex" (84)--looking but not touching, we note--Aravamudan counters the oversimplified vision of the women in Chardin's narrative by describing the locus of their bath on these terms:

> [T]he *hammam* . . . performed the quotidian function of ritual purification, as a propaedeutic, as well as a conclusion, to the business of love. The *hammam* was an antechamber to the mosque, thus becoming the transitional site between the carnal and the spiritual. The *hammam* thereby represents a parasexual space for the unfolding of sexuality, one that helped fix the meaning of sex more than sexual acts themselves. (86-7)

On these architectural yet symbolic terms, this "women's space" explored by Mary Wortley Montagu on her journey to the East could be viewed as the representation of women's sexual self-expression (Aravamudan 87). The experience of other women's nakedness, as Lady Mary remained both clothed and psychologically (as well as physically) modest, conveys a sense of the protected plunge taken into the exotic culture; self-exposure, metaphoric and actual, has been kept under her control.

Critics sympathetic to Lady Mary's political outlook have brought to light her philosophical connections with figures of the Enlightenment such as Montesquieu and Voltaire; the common ground among them is expressed in travel writing that offered an open-minded view of other cultures, along with a skeptical one of

the European writer's own: "Ideologically, the Enlightenment philosophers were xenophiles . . . . The best books of the period--and the most subversive--used foreign visitors or exotic settings to make a satirical point[--] to look at one's own society through fresh and critical eyes" (Solomon 29). Lowe and Lowenthal point out the "levelling" properties of Lady Mary's early letters with a suggestion that she kept an open mind about other races. Lowenthal reveals the cultural understanding that Lady Mary could bring to the Turks she lived among.

> [H]er pronouncements about freedom for Turkish gentlewomen are, on the one hand, genuine appreciations of the different liberties these women enjoyed and, on the other hand, complaints about English gentlewomen's imprisonment . . . the veils, head coverings, and dresses. . . she claims [along with the nakedness of the ladies and slaves of the *hammam*], do not allow one to distinguish a fine lady from her slave.
>
> (Lowenthal 100)

Her eventual uneasiness at the leveling of classes does not appear here; her identity politics have an outlet in her dabbling at role-equalizing pastimes, in exotic environs.

Though the adaptation of the veils mentioned by Lowenthal, above, features more prominently in discussion of the nature of disguise, the treatment of "inferiors" deserves some immediate explication, because of its contribution to the dilemma in our seeing Lady Mary as open to other cultures, specifically to those

of the Africans she encounters. Tolerated cultures had to display unmistakably the cognates of British aristocratic entitlement, or Lady Mary had no consideration to give them. Just as she did with the Turkish slaves, Lady Mary concluded that she observed no obvious royalty among the Africans she saw, and so she consigned them to a lower social order. We locate the dismissive view of other races which emerges in Lady Mary's *Turkish Embassy Letters* at a point where she focuses on a group of African tribeswomen observed from her carriage window; she says, "Their posture in siting [sic], the colour of their skin, their lank black Hair falling on each side of their faces, their features and the shape of their Limbs, differ so little from their own country people, the Baboons, tis hard to fancy them a distinct race . . ." (*Letters* 1.427). The parallel with Swift's Gulliver (1726) on his first view of the Yahoos--"thick hair, some frizzled and others lank" (*Travels* 223)--affirms that the living woman traveller's perspective shares some of its cultural assumptions with those of Swift's benighted persona. The "ancient alliances" which the Africans and the baboons may have had, according to Lady Mary (*Letters* 1.427), resemble at least superficially the biological alliances among species in the charts developed by Lady Mary's contemporary, Linnaeus, whose 1758 text, *Systema Naturae*, grouped animals by genus and species. In producing the text of Linnaeus's *Flora Angelica* (1759), William T. Stearn, editor of the 1973 reissue of the work, states that the nomenclature of living things developed by Linnaeus was readily taken up by "keen amateurs" (Stearn xx), as was the

naming in an earlier publication in the same field by Ray (1724).

The judgment on Africans rendered above issues from an unenlightened part of Lady Mary's psyche; however, the use of a new scientific principle in her classifying of cultures ironically retrieves the activity for her enlightened self, not by its product but by the enactment of its processes. Pride in her skills of observation leads her to pseudo-scientific classifying, an exercise resulting, as is typical for Europeans of her era, in the undervaluing of another race. A generation after her assessment of the black passersby, she reports her affinity for biological classification to her daughter, from her orchard-surrounded home in Italy--and shows greater tolerance (1752):

> Mankind is every where the same: like Cherries or Apples, they may differ in size, shape, or colour, from different soils, climates, or culture, but are still essentially the same species; and . . . the wild naked Negro [is akin] to the fine Figures adorn'd with Coronets and Ribands. (*Letters* 3.15)

The Turkish letters involve such an outlook, according to Lowenthal, wherever Lady Mary witnesses an enhancing of the natural, and claims "the empiricist's imperative--to record in minute detail and observe [as well as to] appreciat[e], especially when Turkish people attempt to modify nature, artificially decorating not only animals but themselves" (84).

The knowledge-seeker's excitement, over places and people only imagined before her journey, has its origins in her well-remembered childhood; yet its effect on the woman experiencing the East is coloured by adult preconceptions. A combination of bedtime tales by a nurse (*Letters* 2.25) and Oriental narratives in her father's library resulted in Lady Mary's early fascination with the cultures of other nations. Though the stories have a fantastical and a sensationalized basis, their Oriental heroes and princesses widened her world awareness and heightened her curiosity over the cultures of the East. Her library contains the works that inspired her particularly female quest for the Turkey to be found in women's spaces: among the inspiring narratives she owned, now in the possession of the Earl of Harrowby, are *La Sultane de Perse* (1707), and Croix's *Mille et un jours* (c.1710). She finds herself living out the exotic fantasies the books gave her; when Aravamudan and Yeazell comment on the alternatively sanctified and evil space of the Turkish bath, they show its duality as part of the attraction of Westerners like Lady Mary to forbidden places. Until the journey took place, she was a traveller informed by books alone. When she set out for the Orient, like virtually all her contemporaries, she was also a "racialist" by Appiah's definition, thus typically thinking that "members of these [other] races shared certain fundamental biologically heritable, moral and intellectual characteristics with each other that they did not share with members of any other race" (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 276).

The learning she came to the East with represented just one aspect of her identity as she adapted to Turkish life; exposing her son Edward, then her daughter Mary (born during her stay) to aspects of a different culture also helped to define the woman she was. Global venture and personal generativity (not only through motherhood but through epistolary creation) came together in Mary Wortley Montagu's early married life, since her son and her letter-writing occupied much of her time when she set out to travel by coach to Constantinople, as well as when she began her life there, pregnant with her second child. A crucial theme raised by Lady Mary in determining the identity of a woman in relation to her child has to do with that woman's willingness to risk that child's health; she did so, not just by travelling with her own children, but also by treating them through a method untested by Western medicine. As she describes the "set of old Women who make it their business to perform the Operation" (*Letters* 1.338), Lady Mary valorizes a smallpox-prevention procedure that has maternal origins, as well as Oriental ones. The fact that she had to support "this import from a cultural and gender Other...by appeal to establishment values, even while it is attacked with multiple snobberies" (Grundy, "Fame" 23) makes her actions a paradigm of proto-feminism. Her "fortuitous, untrained actions" (Grundy "Fame" 15) in carrying the process of inoculation home to England reaffirm her willing acceptance of the wisdom to be gleaned from foreign custom, far beyond the superficial civilities of courtly behaviour, or the gaudy splendour of aristocratic dress. In Aravamudan's terms, the

bringing home of the preventive technique serves as analogy to the larger mission of the distaff side of the Turkish embassy:

> . . . the travels themselves serve a cultural function that resembles, at a symbolic level, the homeopathic act of inoculation, one that stalls a disease by subjecting the body to a weaker version of it. Travel narrative . . . flirt[s] with cultural crossover . . . Montagu's return with the actual technique of inoculation represents a masterstroke, since it coincidentally provides a symbolic model for English cultural retrenchment. (90)

The irony of Aravamudan's perception rests in the concept that the English are inoculated against other cultures, yet Lady Mary scratches at their skin with a new culture-strain that they are forced to admit into their system. Lady Mary's campaign for the use of Turkish-style inoculation does serve the wider cultural purpose hinted at here: it forces the British establishment--medical, scientific and social--to rethink its arrogant stand on the certainty of British superiority. What makes it even more fitting as a subject for feminist investigation, however, is its provocation to Lady Mary to champion its use among her male peers, no matter how much individual initiative the campaign required. She would launch the campaign on the understanding that the class system's tenets should be upheld in every way but the one that the narrow campaign intended to change. To this

end, Lady Mary would call herself a man, a merchant, a disinterested party--and in all these guises, would sell the technique that had allowed her to save her son, as she had not been able to save her brother or herself.

The return from Turkey signaled a change in Lady Mary's identity politics: they now transmitted a wide world-view, along with several plans of action based on acquired knowledge. Out of the Turkish travels, Lady Mary gained a social enlightenment that changed her dress and ornament for years after her return to England. The fashion statement makes a complex contribution to the sense of identity Lady Mary nurtured. As Pointon suggests, "the grandeur of dress that is particular to the women of Constantinople" heightens the impression left by Lady Mary, a woman short of stature (254 n.55). The costume results in an alterity, a disguise, achieved through the layering of these Turkish imports onto her body and the bodies of others; similarly, the act of inoculation simulates a talismanic ritual equally exotic, and gives the body its own transformative power: the power of resistance to a common infection, found locally. Transformation of a victim of the disfiguring disease of smallpox is not achieved just in the adopting of attention-distracting dress, but by her taking away from Turkey of the power of smallpox prophylaxis. Her quest to spread the word that smallpox prevention, as practiced in Turkey, could save the lives of British children, marked her as a revolutionary woman: she brought the procedure for a cure from a foreign source, then promoted it in the public forum, "initiating the smallpox epic by

importing inoculation from east to west" (Grundy, "Fame" 13) regardless of the nay-saying that followed loudly on each demonstration.

Actions taken in Turkey already established Lady Mary's altered identity as a fighter for a cause. The structure of her cause-fighting takes its foundation at the point of the release of the first letter home concerning inoculation, addressed to Sarah Chiswell and dated 1 April, 1717 (see appendix). The reworking of the letter for the collection published posthumously in 1763 as the *Turkish Embassy Letters* shifted the epistle from its original audience, her father, to her friend, Sarah Chiswell. However, it carries a hint of the tone that characterizes letters describing other curiosities of the East (see the dress-observing letter to Lady Mar, 1.325), while focusing, unlike other letters, on the scientific: "The Small Pox so fatal and so general amongst us is here entirely harmless by the invention of engrafting (which is the term they give it)" (1.338). The letter becomes a document advocating the Turkish method of inoculation, with its stern message ready for wider distribution than to a single in-family recipient.

At home in England, the voice and forum have altered again, disguising the author while disseminating her opinion--an opinion wielding great force. The second stage of the new information's written dissemination, the letter from the "Turkey Merchant" (1722), foreshadows Lady Mary's use of male voice for all the unpopular ideas she would eventually espouse, including Walpole's ministry, women's deserving of equal education to men's, and

certain tax-levies. The Turkey Merchant, an Englishman trading with Turkish entrepreneurs, clarifies the practice of engrafting as a long-standing tradition in the country he does business with; he extols its relative safety, and notes the rightness of timing in its introduction to England. "Out of compassion to the Numbers abus'd and deluded by the Knavery and Ignorance of Physicians, I am determin'd to give a true Account of the Manner of Innoculating the Small Pox . . ." (*EP* 95). Not only does the speaker dispel myths concerning the process, but he/she also urges readers to take the logical step toward preparing the bodies of the vulnerable for the all-too-near attack of the smallpox virus--called "virole" by the medics Lady Mary has consulted.

In adopting a male persona, Lady Mary tries on the identity of someone to whom a wide public will listen. The manly voice poses a risk, even though it has a better chance of success than the womanly one which Lady Mary has used so far. The males who control the public sphere, including the Royal Society and the medical establishment, might show the man supporting smallpox prevention more respect than they have shown a woman saying the same thing. The piece is incendiary in its condemnation of the physicians, as well as in the irony of its assertion that its speaker "shall sell no drugs, nor take no Fees" (*EP* 95). However, the taint of the practice's Turkish connection--the xenophobic certainty that the "Other" cannot possibly have a scientific advantage over the community of medically educated English--works against the Turkey Merchant's anonymous

affirmation, just as the taint touches the finer stuff of Lady Mary's aristocratic pleas. Grundy judges that Lady Mary's activity in public carries the greater effect: "Despite [this] one important publication . . . Lady Mary the leader of society was more active over inoculation than Montagu the author (Grundy "Fame" 26). Certainly the link with Princess Caroline forged by the inoculation of her children meant wider awareness of the process than one individual's claims would have received. The princess's endorsement, leading to her daughters' 1722 inoculations, reached the public (which revered its royals) quickly; Grundy maintains that the event of the princesses' inoculation contrasted with any announcement of interest by the medical profession; "Court events were news" she asserts, and therefore reached the streets faster than the pronouncements of learned men ("Fame" 21). Some of these men--male authority figures, the most powerful human agents of change-looked into the process and gained some compromises from the inoculators on procedure. Gradually, the medics allowed news of the prevention's efficacy a chance to spread. However, dissent remained high, and any setbacks among the inoculated led doubters to displays of hysteria ("Fame" 18).[9] The hands-on activity of publicly inoculating the children of aristocrats adds to the list of Lady Mary's assertive moves in conveying her most heartfelt beliefs to the world. In the face of fierce opposition, she made the sheltered island of Britain recognize that a wider world beyond, peopled in part by women wise with centuries of folk knowledge, had valuable, life-saving processes to teach. In

trying to open the eyes of her peers to something from far away, she demonstrated a persistence of campaign action; the staying power was sustained by the cognizance of public need, an awareness that transcended the habitual preoccupation with her relatively small circle of peers.

As a social leader (and an underground pamphleteer), Lady Mary undertook to improve medical access; as an author willing to acknowledge her work, she inclined toward creating sources of amusement for whatever circle of friends she currently held. Inconsistencies in her identity as an author occur to the detriment of her literary proto-feminism. Adherence to traditional forms results, for Lady Mary, in what Lisa Lowe describes as "interventions of praise [framed] by means of male literary and rhetorical models, such as courtly love poetry, which are not without their own methods of female objectification and subordination" (48). The inclination to adopt these models makes Lady Mary a less-than-ideal feminist forerunner; for example, the poem written at Pera (1718) closely follows the form of the Horatian satire. The poet may be a British female, writing, "Give me, Great God (said I) a little Farm / In Summer shady and in Winter warm" (*EP* 1-2) in Constantinople, but the locus of the poetic creation and the identity of its creator do not overturn the classical model it follows (Horace's satire 6.2 [Grundy, *EP* 206 n.1]), nor the tribute it provides to classical imitation among her male peers. In the recalled opening address to the deity, she has already retained a key element of the classical model; the adopting of these elements stays consistent

through the poem, as this study's fourth chapter confirms.

Lady Mary's self-exile to the continent from 1739 to 1762 represents the last major phase of her self-creating politics. Partly as an active response to the closing off of literary equals' welcome, but with self-interest at the forefront, Lady Mary left England for the European continent; she left "for my health" with her husband's tacit consent, and maintained herself on an annuity from him (*Selected Letters* 247 n.1). Her voluntary undertaking pleases feminists, who praise its solo, self-maintaining features. By removing herself from her duties as aristocratic matron, she was able to establish her own identity. Having fallen into the error of pursuing a younger man in her own middle age, she developed more sympathy abroad than she had displayed in her own gossipy youth. No longer did she mock aging transgressors of the unwritten rule that the young should be left to their own age-cohort. In both words and actions, she explored new roles to replace the accustomed ones at home. Despite the core purpose of the relocating as romantic pursuit, the period of relative self-sufficiency stands as Lady Mary's plainest retirement from convention. In the resettling, she gains proto-feminist status, similar to the positioning which feminists have granted to outcasts like Charlotte Charke. Becoming a country gentlewoman, she located her rebellion against conformity at a distance from old haunts and old habits. She occasionally referred to herself as one of the "Old Beauties" of European society, suggesting that she knew herself to be attractive still, though she had aged since her days as a court

lady. However, in her late sixties, she made the enigmatic declaration that she had not looked in a mirror for years, thus proclaiming (whether based on fact or not) a release from the spell cast by its reflection. This removal of the reflection of her usual self has symbolic import, especially as she writes vehemently of the banishing of her mirrors, giving the banishment narrative impact (*Letters* 3.135).

The question of the evolution of Lady Mary's image must be answered, not just in its physical aspect but also in its psychological one: self-representation, the creating of a public image, contributes to the forming of a woman's reputation. Lowenthal dwells on the question of Lady Mary's reputation, with emphasis on how the author herself judged other women's images (132). Much of what Lady Mary passed on to her sister, Lady Mar, took the form of image-bashing gossip, of the kind defined by Patricia Meyer Spacks. In *Gossip,* Spacks concentrates on close study of these letters of information Lady Mary wrote to her absent sister. Spacks asserts that the "subordinated" members of society can use gossip to create bonds, allowing it to provide "a crucial form of solidarity" as the correspondence between Lady Mary and her sister does (Spacks 5). Ironically, the image of the unkempt loner, Mary Wortley Montagu, as "Sappho" in Pope's satirical sally against her in "Of the Characters of Women," remains a dominant impression: " . . . Sappho's diamonds with her dirty smock,/ Or Sappho at her toilet's greazy task / With Sappho fragrant at an evening Mask" (24-26). It is an image supplemented by Horace Walpole's letter describing her as "partly

covered with a plaister, and partly with white paint" (qtd. in *Life* 204), foul and greasy. Further unflattering descriptions can be found in other anecdotes of Walpole's, notably in one detailing the "galimateas"--tawdry rag-layers--of her dress, which he then indicates to be analogous to her learning (Melville 104). Neither Walpole nor Pope was using plain, straightforward objectivity in his portraits of her; however, the ill reputation stands on their descriptions. The connotations which these men attached to her physical presence descend to the level of constant metonymic affiliation with dirt and filth; it is tempting to read her as each one's private model of Swift's Celia, in the stomach-turning satire, "The Lady's Dressing Room" (1730). Fitting earlier definitions of character in the present study (see p.19 above) to her case, we can picture Lady Mary as a woman with a damaged reputation, who speaks out against her foes rather than silently tolerating a compromised social status; she protests that more exists of her than what rumour-mongers are spreading: on Dec. 11, 1731, for example, she remarks on the stories spreading about her treatment of her ailing sister. Defensive though her self-description sometimes is, she gains reader/followers who accept the delineation of her personality offered in her writing. Whatever her self-declared role, certain supporters--the Steuarts, for example, with whom she corresponds from Gottolengo--maintain an interest in her self-representation, and in the actions that have given rise to the words.

As we might expect, Lady Mary is not alone in defending herself; open-minded proponents exist in her age and beyond, to

reinforce her self-image. Among Lady Mary's supporters are numerous high-profile male authors, both contemporaries and members of successive generations. Lowenthal cites men whose standing as authors and social commentators makes their endorsement remarkable: Smollett, Johnson, Gibbon and Voltaire figure on her list (82-3). Responding to her style as charming and pleasant, her observations of human nature as enchanting, the men who are patriarchal models accept her Turkish letters as part of the voice of their generation. From Smollett, she even receives the compliment that--like modern-day salty snacks--no one can partake of just a single Turkish Embassy Letter, without needing to consume all the rest (Lowenthal 83). A different set of letters attracts a literary personality from the Romantic era: the correspondence of Lady Mary and Francesco Algarotti. Taking Lord Byron as an English equal of Lady Mary's in another generation, we find a sympathetic critic and collector of Lady Mary's work, one who noted that she chose a striking role for herself in later life: a female Quixote. The tribute of Byron's fascination heralds the modern appreciation for Lady Mary's code-breaking life and work.

It was Lord Byron who uncovered her ill-starred journey toward Count Francesco Algarotti (Drew 16-17), the man whom she characterizes (cross-dressing her persona once again) as her Dulcinea. Algarotti the Italian scholar (1712-1764), who caught Lady Mary's attention, also captured the attention of her neighbour, Lord Hervey (by what Ehrenpreis calls his "opportunistic and sexually ambivalent" manner, in coming to

England in 1736 "to make his fortune" at the age of twenty-four [54]). We find Lady Mary "not only fail[ing] to identify herself as a woman writer but also seem[ing] to take on a distinctively male point of view" (Campbell 70) at the height of her epistolary pursuit of Algarotti, thus later bewitching Byron through her distinctly unconventional self-representation. The reference to herself as Quixote, her beloved as Dulcinea, casts the affair in a less impressionistic, more focused light, than a similar reference to herself as supplicant, and Algarotti as the Virgin Mary (*Letters* 2.111). Careful reading reveals Lady Mary's frequent references to Cervantes, more often with herself in the quixotic role than otherwise: "Je me recommande a vous dans tous les perils comme Don Quichotte a sa Dulcinée, et je n'ai pas l'imagination moins échauffée que lui" ("I recommend myself to you in all these dangers, as Don Quixote [presents himself] to his Dulcinea, and I have no less inflamed an imagination than his") (*Letters* 2.147). Embodying quixotism, she lures Byron to fantasize on the passionate aristocrat she must have been. He, like any reader of her letters at their posthumous release, extols her bold, questing, woman's strength.

In composing her romantic fantasy, *Princess Docile*, Mary Wortley Montagu reveals a last aspect of the character of woman--and one more image of herself--which emerges from her imagination: Docile, a central figure acted upon and pining for change, starts by resembling the females sought by "Strephon," the hero of Lady Mary's juvenile prose. She differs from them by the end of the novel, though, in that she represents the actor, a

Telemachus refusing to wait for adventure, rather than the acted-upon, a reacting type who waits before taking any remedies against oppressors (*HMS* 256). In the vigour of her actions, and also in their saddening, humbling outcome for her, Docile may be matched to Lady Mary's mature persona. Patterns through the life-work of Mary Wortley Montagu include romantic posturing, autobiographical yearning, unrestrained gossip, and philosophical conjecture on women's potential. Though the role reversal Lady Mary took on, of Quixote in pursuit of Dulcinea, looks to be a different guise from membership among the Old Beauties of Europe, it is not so much a departure as a return, to the adventuresome knight and shepherd figures in whose voice the young Lady Mary had written.

A juvenile writer as prolific and romantic as Mary Pierrepont should be studied as the original literary presence she was. From young womanhood, Lady Mary acknowledged the limitations imposed by her society on those who were born female. The perfect example of this awareness is her inscription in the first volume of her writing, asking forgiveness for its "faults" on three grounds:

> 1 I am a Woman
> 2 without any advantage of Education
> 3 all these was writ at the age of 14
> (*HMS* 250).

However, from that same era of her literary and political

awareness, she began to defy the conventions that were intended to hold her in place. The list of violations begins early and ends late: self-taught in Latin, headed to Constantinople overland when even men of England avoided the route, willfully separated from a husband she could not live with (and in chase of the marriage breakdown's co-conspirator, a bisexual count), convinced of the worth of a "heathen" inoculation for a disease killing thousands of the English. Add the retreat of the country gentlewoman on the Continent (of a type that Astell petitioned the women of England to consider), and the portrait of a subversive emerges. The writing which accompanies these actions and beliefs has similar elements of questioning established authority, from her orientalist support for some social, religious and aesthetic choices made by Eastern "barbarians," through her novel-writing, which poses the questions by the use of elements such as fantasy, magic, romance and allegory. As Mrs. Thrale said, on reading the five-volume edition of Lady Mary's *Works*, "What a fascinating Creature *'tis*!!" (*Life* 290).

Lady Mary's life and writing resist appropriation by feminists seeking a model; her identity politics may place her in the category "before her time," as Katharine Rogers suggests, yet such a placement creates more problems than it solves. We must not ignore the caution put forward by Devoney Looser, that modern critics make a mistake to locate the women's movement in *some* acts of *some* eighteenth-century women. "This kind of critical practice--claiming halcyon lost origins--makes it difficult to read Montagu with anything but feminist nostalgia" (53). These

are the critics (Moira Ferguson among them) who undervalue Lady Mary's poetry and prose whenever this writing affirms current world order, while grasping at her occasional proto-feminist prose, as when she urges retreat and retirement on intellectual women, taking her cue from Astell. In positioning Lady Mary among eighteenth-century authors of her gender, we can discover thought and expression that give currency to many of her views, and legitimacy to the idea that she is an observant recorder of some vital details of her era's upper-class existence. Lady Mary's writing frequently shows energy and creativity, and while neither prose nor poetry needs to have these qualities to be considered in a doctoral thesis, their presence overturns the sense of her contribution as a glorified laundry list, an estimate some critics have offered while citing her impulsive, dashed-off verse as unworthy of critical notice (Grundy, *EP* v). An example of her flair for phrasing shines in her chiding of Anne Wortley for epistolary neglect; Lady Mary tells this young woman, the earliest correspondent whose exchange with her survives, that "such conduct is full as base as beating a poor wretch who has his hands tied; and mercy to the distressed is a mark of divine goodness" (*Letters* 1.2). The open-mindedness of a feminist reader prevents critical ill treatment of a similar kind.

The critical approaches of this thesis use a new historicist viewpoint, informed by feminist critical theory, to examine Lady Mary's identity politics. The combination allows a sense of recasting the canon of eighteenth-century literature to include

the "other" eighteenth century (as Robert Uphaus and Gretchen Foster entitle it), which involves women's perspectives on social action and historical event. The writing which admits examination on these grounds no longer exclusively involves the poetry, novels and essays of the mature author; now, juvenilia, letters and journals--the writing prescribed to women as safe, domestic diversion and distraction--invites the level of critical attention formerly reserved for imaginative or philosophical work by adult males. Insofar as "identity politics" demand a political stance, a modified Marxist approach--that is, a recognition of class as a factor in Mary Wortley Montagu's outlook, without a declared wish to have seen her beheaded for this attitude--has been adopted. A holistic engagement with Lady Mary's self-representation--encompassing even her choice in the composition of a self-portrait, carried out by a painter she has selected--constitutes the larger consideration. Through these critical filters, the present study attains its sense of Lady Mary the person, as well as Lady Mary the writer.

Chapter 1
Notes

1 Tobin, presenting the essentialism debate, notes Schweikart's psychologizing of women-as-relationship-maintainers as "assuming a universal and transhistorical human nature... profoundly ahistorical and acultural"; Tobin prefers the "turning away from psychology and toward history that Cixous advocates" (2-3).

2 Hester Thrale Piozzi (1741-1821), Fanny Burney (1752-1840) and Charlotte Lennox (1720-1804) all received encouragement in their writing from Dr. Samuel Johnson, author and lexicographer. Ann Messenger records being exposed just briefly to these writers during mid-twentieth century "traditional training" on literature of the eighteenth: Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea, was "the only woman represented in the eighteenth-century anthologies"(3).

3 If Lady Mary's validated approach to Burnet, with her Latin translation offered for his consideration, is termed the "Golden Age" of Lady Mary's being taken seriously as a young reader of other languages, then her pining over the loss of such liberties may locate itself in an easier time. Dr. Pam Perkins has pointed out that perhaps not the state of the current time but a nostalgia for her own youthful power lies behind Lady Mary's cautions to her grand-daughter. However, the translation was no better accepted in the time-frame of its (limited) favour than it would be in this supposedly harsher time for intellectual young women.

4 Ros Ballaster affirms that feminists' primary focus is "the means by which gender identity is discursively produced as a form of social control in a given culture and the ways in which women as historical subjects and agents have negotiated their relation to that discourse" (11). A "negotiator" such as Lady Mary does not appear at a disadvantage, yet control over her standing, her self as subject, was often wrenched from her by detractors such

as Pope and Walpole. Her novel, *Princess Docile*, constitutes one response that reclaims the subject of her gendered self.

5 Grundy emphasizes Lady Mary's individualized decision-making on the Vane-Smollett issue--the former could not have written the memoirs as they appeared in *Peregrine Pickle*, as they were "too well written to be by her" (*Letters* 2.120-21 n.3). In her 1748 edition of *Memoirs of Mrs. Pilkington*, Lady Mary wrote "as good Poetry as Pope's" (*HMS* 81)--but by then, her estimation of Pope's work had dropped, and therefore the comment casts more insult on the male poet than praise upon the female one. Other contemporaries involved in the debate were Thomas Gray, Horace Walpole (of course) and John Hill; this last writer queried "The term Genuine, an odd word ascrib'd to the Lady's Memoirs" (Kelly 72).

6 Theophrastus "designed [the character study] to encapsulate an identifiable type," and yet even these models "threaten[ed] to exceed the prescribed limitations of the generic paradigm" (Nussbaum and Brown 146). Eighteenth-century modulators felt a unified "type" must avoid exaggerated or inconsistent features.

7 Mary Astell (1688-1731), Tory, essayist and philosopher, adopted Lady Mary's Turkish letters as a project, writing the preface long before they were to be published, and coaxing Lady Mary to consider the letter-collection as an enduring document.

8 Nussbaum argues that eighteenth-century thinkers defined character one way in the first half of the century (holistic) and another after mid-century (multi-layered) (146).

9 This study has chosen the viewpoint expressed in Isobel Grundy's review of Lisa Lowe's *Critical Terrains*. Lowe's comments, on Lady Mary's smallpox as a liability during her Turkish voyage (36 & n.), raise the issue and so deserve mention here.

10 Jonathan Edwards's death following smallpox inoculation in 1758 led to hysteria that exemplifies public reaction leading to the setbacks in the battle for inoculation.

Chapter 2 Juvenilia: The Woman in the Girl

Research into the juvenilia of an established writer like Lady Mary can contribute productively to critical understanding, securing a sense of her identity in formative stages. Juliet McMaster inquires into female authors' juvenilia as "cradles of creativity." She explains that "The field of children's writing is a largely undiscovered continent, with its own geography and its own conventions that invite discovery and elucidation" ("Apprentice" 14). Lady Mary's juvenile work not only provides the foundation for the themes and structures of her adult work, but it also yields engaging fiction and poetry that merit close reading. Juvenilia provide a biographical depth for apprehending of the author's later choices of form and motif; also, close reading--of poems, published and unpublished, and of the early novelette, *Indamora to Lindamira*--locates the author's early voice, which has core features consistent with those seen in the adult writer's voice. Mary Pierrepont's individualistic interpretations arising from her engagement with drama and romance, as well as her ink-play on manuscript pages, hint at the inventiveness the author will display in her collaborations and solo projects as an adult.

Identity politics establish themselves concurrently with identity itself; at the inception of her writing identity, Lady Mary owed her observer's stance to several factors, internal and external. First, at the age of four she lost her mother, a potential role model of young, aristocratic matronhood which she

might have emulated. In the motherless years of her girlhood, she joined her brother in his governess-taught lessons; and due to activities such as the reading and writing of poems and stories, she became a different kind of young woman from the one her mother would have raised. In "Transgressive Youth" (1995), Lois Chaber delineates the conditions that created the alternative filial female role: "she [did not] have the personal family warmth, encouragement and shared interest in literature that Austen (and Alcott) had" (82). She created her texts--letters, poetry, fiction--from an inner drive; but under later influences, she paid what Ellen Pollak calls, in *The Poetics of Sexual Myth* (1985), "The bleakly ironic price of self-denial" (51). In part, this cost involves playing down her learning before her female progeny. A second factor which turned her into an observer and writer was the circumstance which left her few amusements outside the library; her father and grandmother had other concerns besides the raising of children. A third condition was inherent; she was a bookworm by nature, so she used her access to her father's library with a reader's zeal. According to Isobel Grundy's "Books and the Woman," "Lady Mary as a child spent five or six hours a day in the stupendous library of her father" (3).

Her imagination did not rest with the romantic or heroic figures of her reading, though she read prodigious quantities of romance and drama; the identity politics of the teenager involved practicing the styles she admired, an example being the Ovidian love poem answered in her "Julia to Ovid" (c. 1701). Ovid writes

of forbidden love in the *Epistles*, but also of successful wooing through the power of words in *Ars Amatoria*, and Julia/Mary responds to both: "Of that soft passion when you teach the Art / In gentle Sounds it steals into the Heart" (*EP* 19-20). The budding poet's dramatic tastes ranged among comedies and tragedies as diverse as Rowe's "Tamerlane" (1702), Otway's *Venice Preserved* (1682), Dryden's *All for Love* (1678), and Aphra Behn's "Emperor of the Moon" (1687), each of which has at least secondary focus on loves won and lost. All are plays she recorded having read (*Letters* 1.296, 327; *HMS* 250), and most appear quoted as references in her letters on love or politics. At fourteen, she set about imitating her most beloved texts, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Virgil's *Eclogues*, practicing their styles while at the same time defining her own. She thus followed the tradition of "classicism" established by Dryden and Pope, as analyzed in the criticism of Brower (*Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion* [1966]), as well as Battestin's *The Providence of Wit* (1974), Segal's *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral* (1981), and Patterson's *Pastoral and Ideology* (1987). The ease of selecting her reading material from her father's library, with its standard representation of the classics, made her "bookish" (*Life* 7), while the hours of solitude allowed her to explore the stories which arose from her own experience and imagination, as well as from the inspiration of her sources.

The practice of stylistic imitation which flourishes in Dryden's adapted narratives such as *Fables Ancient and Modern* (1700) and in many of his plays, including *Oedipus* (1679) and *All*

for Love (1678), attracted the young Lady Mary to try on the imitator's borrowed robes. She admired Dryden enough to list in her personal catalogue the casts of characters from twenty of his plays (*HMS* 250). The classical imitation emerges so strongly in her own writing that a close reading of a quest in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, placed beside a similar one from Mary Pierrepont's "The Adventurer," demonstrates the texts' parallel tone and content, in a sense of adventurous events of journeying. Here is Ovid's description of Jason's arrival in the kingdom of Medea's father, King Aeetes:

> Now the Minyans were cutting their way through the waters, on board the ship built at Pagasae . . . . At last, when they had come through many danger and difficulties under the leadership of the famous Jason,they reached the swift-flowing waters of the muddy river Phasis. (7 155)

Lady Mary's hero, Strephon, describes his emergence in the wide world in this manner: "Your Curiosity shall bee sattisfy'd--I sett out when Gay And in my blooming Youth I scarse had counted 20 when I saw this isle, the sea round it seems always calm & smooth But Oh! t'is false as crocodiles that Weep . . . In short my Lucidor I enter'd it accompany['d] By crouds" (*HMS* 251). The two combine narrative prose, direct in naming the quest taker's major actions, with colourful personal detail, as Phineas's blind torment and Strephon's gay youth reveal. The effect is to hasten the plotline while keeping a reader's emotions engaged. Not

having crossed the ocean (or reached the age of twenty) herself, Lady Mary still recounts her hero's accomplishment of these things in the mode of classical antecedents by Ovid, Virgil or Horace.

Mary Pierrepont gained her identity as a wit, along with her gender politics, remarkably early. Not her family situation but the Pierrepont social circle gave rise to the precocious voice, when the Kit-Cat Club members, her father's contemporaries in an exclusive men's club, toasted her beauty and wit. In the feminist context, the scene illustrates Lady Mary's historical placement among men. The scene further posed a temptation to female vanity, when her attractive "not yet eight"-year-old self received the fêting and toasting behaviours of society men (*EP* 9). When Spacks judges that "Lady Mary's early letters to Wortley obsessively proclaim their writer's self-definition as an unusual young woman" ("Imaginations" 209), she confirms the lesson Lady Mary learned during the Kit Kat Club incident. The fixed gaze on her beauty by these men and others gave rise to her sense of herself as a revered figure. The image that remains from the Kit-Cat account may be that of a novelty doll, passed around and admired by men who appreciated a fresh presence, yet proof of her value, distinct from female peers in hallowed male society, declared itself by the toast of London's élite. The early formation of a special identity assumes firm shape.[1]

Eighteenth-century feminist criticism has located, in the male gaze upon a beautiful female, ego-soothing self-affirmation. Not only is the female supposed to remain object instead of

observer, but she must also accept inaction in her "perfect" state, embodying the lesser self for which males perform actions. Citing Cixous, Chodorow and Irigaray, feminist authorities on the patriarchal view, Sidonie Smith affirms that the male declaration of the toast, proclaiming Mary as "reigning beauty," is "one more of those cultural discourses that secures and textualizes patriarchal definitions of Woman as the Other through which Man discovers and enhances his own shape" (39).[2] When Lady Mary begins to write, especially with herself as subject, she upsets her status of subordinate, taking for herself the action formerly carried out by her father and his friends, of defining her identity within the dominant culture. Chaber ascribes to the writing of adolescent Lady Mary a sense of threat posed to authority. She cites the passage in Grundy's forthcoming biography of Lady Mary that marks a twenty-page torn-out section (complete with poetic apology) of the 1704 manuscript: "I own I trepass'd [sic] wickedly in Rhime"(82). To Chaber, by contrast to Behn's popular--therefore roguish or rakish--standing as a writer, "Female empowerment is . . . at issue in the edition of Lady Mary's novelette under review . . . [as] there were no precedents like Burney for respectable female success in novel-writing . . . [so] writing was truly transgressive for Lady Mary" (82). The threat of the writing female surely challenges adult male authority.

In addition to the novelette (yet within it, as well), Lady Mary favours the genre of autobiography in her early writing; the life-writing serves to expand the voice of her identity politics

into forms additional to the letters, with their innate autobiographical basis. Among examples of the life-writing of other types co-existing with epistolary writing in the early years, the autobiographical fragment contemporary with the agony of Edward Wortley's courtship, reveals a novelistic urge. Lady Mary writes, intent on imbuing herself (as subject) with both precocity and heightened personal drama. That she believes herself precocious can be seen in the pride with which she displays the knowledge of her young heroine-self, in the fragment described above, to which Halsband and Grundy give the name "Autobiographical romance" (c. 1728): "Laetitia [MWM] took occasion to criticise in a manner so just and knowing, he was as much amaz'd as if he had heard a piece of Waxwork talk on that subject" (Grundy, *EP* 78). This remark from the same source, following the good impression of her intellect on the gentlemen, dramatizes her position: "this Reputation which she did not seek . . . gave her Enviers and consequently Enemys amongst the Girls of her own age" (*EP* 78). The romance fragment foregrounds the author's selfhood as a dramatic construct; Spacks recognizes this sense of personal drama elsewhere, in Lady Mary's letter-writing: "She . . . calls attention to the flavor of fictionality in her most compelling [epistolary] narratives" (Benstock, *Private Self* 183); Lady Mary expends no effort in adopting the role of the romantic heroine. Even at twelve she perceives and characterizes her life by means of fictional models, as when she writes "Julia to Ovid" (mentioned above) in the voice of a noble young woman addressing her poet-lover: "Will you not sigh and hate the

wretched Maid,/ Whose fatal Love your safety has betraid?" (*EP* 177; 45-6). Lady Mary mimics effectively, capturing the plight of the emperor's daughter in love beneath her station (Grundy *EP* 45n.).

Tom Cleary (1995) has criticized favourably Lady Mary's early politically exploratory writings that also imitate literary models. He observes that all of them have elements of autobiography, yet bear relation to contemporary imitations of the era, including the grown-up genre-examples they follow. Grundy also alludes to the promise shown by the poetic voice, speaking in one poem of "Bleak drowned plains" with the assurance of a more mature pastoral poet; indeed, the echo of Titania's line, "The fold stands empty in the drowned field" (2.ii 96) in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* gives Shakespearean resonance to the landscape, and hints at the allusive power of Lady Mary's reading.[3] Such power also exists in her engagement with the novella's original; Grundy states that the Tom Brown narrative, *Adventures of Lindamira* (1702), conveys an adventure of comparable appeal (*EP* viii).

On the conceptual model that presents Lady Mary acting out the scenes of her narrative, the authoring of *Indamora* becomes a private audition for a romantic part. Through her imaginary correspondence, the young author mimics French as well as English romances, and adopts a dual-voiced role. Katherine Duncan-Jones (1992) calls *Indamora* "an efficiently accurate miniature of a Scudéry-esque romance" (400)--a type of narrative reliant on the lover's urgent letter as part of its suspense-building. Though

superficially resembling Brown's *Lindamira*, the work has its own distinctive devices, such as the awareness of Lindamira's point of view as well as Indamira's own: "I'me too asur'd of your Freindship to beleive you will ever discover any thing that I have a mind to keep secret. Without Ceremony I'le begin (in your immitation) at my 16 year" (*RW* 2). Irene Tucker illustrates through the use of Fanny Burney's *Evelina* that the double viewpoint gives insight to the fictional letter-writer's character. She uses "the sociality of the letter form" (426) in identifying how aware the writer must be of the letter's receiver. Just as Evelina, in writing to her guardian, Reverend Villars, takes care to address him in the humble tone that respects his paternal standing "With the utmost affection, gratitude and duty" (Burney 24), so, too, does Indamora make Lindamira's eager listening the guide to her breathless uncovering of events--"my Dear you must not exspect to see so much Wit in my letters as I find in yours" begins one variant on her first letter's audience-identification (*RW* 2n.). Tucker also uncovers letters' "temporal doubleness," giving a sense that conditions at the time of writing and at the time of reading both influence a letter's meaning. Lady Mary conveys a strong awareness of the dual time-frame as Indamora reminds Lindamira of a time when they were united, and therefore relieved of the necessity of writing: "I never pass'd 3 weeks pleasanter, I heard oft from Cleonidas and enjoy'd the Companny of my ever dear Lindamira Who will allways Possess the Largest share of the Freindship of [--]Indamora" (*RW* 7). When they are parted, the

narrative resumes with "Somewhile after my Dear Lindamira Left Lauretta" (*RW* 8), evoking the sense of the parted, but still communicating, friends.

A prose narrative of Indamora's romantic adventures and responses to Lindamira's tale by Indamora, the work casts an adventuresome heroine, half-orphaned like her creator, among exotic temptations and threats. Assessing this set of fictional letters created by Lady Mary, Grundy asserts, "It compares well in quality with its original [*Lindamira*], which went on being reprinted till 1751" (*EP* viii). An example of this comparison is found in each book's treatment of picturesque views in France, where Lindamira in the original describes Fontainebleau at second hand as "the most delightful and charming place in the world," causing Lady Mary's Indamora to refuse to describe it (*RW* 9 & n.2). Indamora's alternative response is to describe her trip to France in breathless prose: "Wee landed happyly, and without anny Accident arriv'd At Paris" (*RW* 8). The first has recounted sights as viewed by a cousin, where the second has used a more direct approach, connected with the central character's own feelings. Apart from the sense of "self in place" imparted by these descriptions, the remarkable feature of setting in *Indamora* is that its untried author constructs her worldly protagonists's continental experience based on her reading; a resulting sense of every European country's being arrived at only by boat illustrates her untravelled state, as well as her sense of melodrama: "[In Cleonidas's] flight [from France] to Holland . . . the sea proved as fatal to him as the Land, the ship Sunk" (*RW*

9). Grundy speculates, "Did Lady Mary suppose that to reach another country *must* involve a sea crossing, or did she plan a voyage down the Seine and through the straits of Dover?" (*RW* 9 n.6).

The Entire Works of Clarinda (1702) contains more writing based on European models into which Lady Mary injects herself; the piece called "The Adventurer" stands out as a mingling of individual thought and received opinion. Like a lament from the same volume, "The Adventurer" imagines a jaded world no longer Edenic; here are stanzas of similar complaint from "The Penitent": "Curst bee the hour, I Left my Native plain / . . . And unto every God [and] power I've Swore / I'le wish to see the Dangerous Town no more" (*HMS* 251). Like the speaker in the short poem, the hero of the narrative assumes a sophisticated view; in this case, it concerns marriage as incompatible with love, requiring the mythic figure, "the Giant Divorce [to] deliver . . . Poor Wretches" (*HMS* 251). Anna-Francesca Valconover (1986) argues that since Lady Mary had done the bedroom reading of adolescent girls of her time, including romance novels epitomized by the ten volumes of de Scudéry's *Artamène or the Grand Cyrus* (1653), she had developed attitudes that reflected the romances (Valconover 135). The Restoration comedy's treatment of marriage displays the blasé attitudes which definitely colour tone and theme in Lady Mary's juvenilia, confirming that contemporary work, along with the classical, influenced the young author. Dennis Davison describes the attitudes underneath the "surface moral feigning and hectic rendezvous" (xi) in a play like

Etherege's *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (1668) as suppressing a "muddled, romantic, sensual, rational plea for 'wedded love' struggling to escape" (xiv). Though not all Restoration plays mock marriage, Lady Mary's own view, present in her shepherds' despair over flighty lovers, conforms with the more toughened comedic messages concerning relations between men and women--as with Ariana's query on the pair of young gallants giving chase in *She Wou'd if She Cou'd,* "[H]ad we once been Deluded into an Opinion they had been faithful, who Knows into what Inconveniences that Error might have Drawn us?" (1.2). The cynicism shown in the scene, and emulated by Lady Mary's shepherd, apparently contradicts the romantic aspirations that Lady Mary had in her late adolescence and early adulthood. Etherege uses the cynical tone to illustrate the preoccupation Ariana has with courtship and marriage as governing loci in an adult woman's life; Lady Mary's protagonist replies that the site of Marriage is "kept by Hymen [where] discord Strife & uneasyness is it's continuall Inhabitants" (*HMS* 251).

The "castle of Marriage" pointed out earlier contains some of the cynicism that constitutes an early fashion tried on by Lady Mary; her identity politics form out of observation, which consequently adjusts her actions. For instance, she observes ladies pining for their lords at war and relying on presents and keepsakes--"these good ladies take up with the shadows of [their men]" (*Letters* 1.18)--and so her initial communication with the absent Wortley, resolutely unsentimental, is declaredly "not Acting in Form" (*Letters* 1.21). The place she contemplates years

before arriving there, the Castle of Marriage, is a trap for most who enter, even if they start out by being romantically drawn to each other (*HMS* 251). Thus, even the starry-eyed Strephon, who enters as representative of the young Lady Mary's views, finds dangers and minimal rewards. After losing his shepherdess-lover to another man, he "retir'd to the sad Desart of Remembrance" (*HMS* 251). We are reminded of the tragedy of love lost that has shaped the author's own childhood: the death of Lady Mary's mother. The bereft daughter's perception of marriage and subsequent childbearing as risks to women works one effect among many, and that is a wariness to plunge into the state of marriage, lest it rob the young woman of single life's pleasures, as well as ruining the health (*EP* 77).

* * *

The tone of the early writings changes when Mary Pierrepont herself becomes the receiver of young men's attentions. By contrast to the guarded heart of Lady Mary, the "Adventurer" storyteller, Lady Mary the courted maiden receives flutteringly the suits of love proferred by young men. "To day, my Dear Phil, Feb. 6 [1712], am I fancying I see all the Beaux . . . Your Paradise [perfect suitor, in code], and several other paradises, in Fring'd Gloves, embrodier'd Coats, and powder'd wigs in irresistable Curl" (*Letters* 1.115). Her exchange with Phillipa Mundy during her involvement with Edward Wortley Montagu, shows that anticipation of marriage has become a fixation within the friendship. Consistently playful in its attitude, the exchange (which has the two young women playing the game in which marriage

is Heaven, Purgatory or Hell) demonstrates all the symbolic charging of the marital state with electric significance. Where the fourteen-year-old Mary Pierrepont sounded blasé about the institution, we have no transitional imaginative writings to lead up to her changed viewpoint as a nineteen-year-old belle who finds it a magically heightened state. In the letters that mark this level of awareness, a different set of expectations greets marriage. Far from giving the chosen girl strife to contend with, the romantically inspired marriage will relieve her of the discontent and emotional peril that the single self must contend with:

> Realy, my dear Philippa, tho' nobody can have more exalted Notions of Paradise than my selfe, yet if Hell is very tempting, I cannot advise you to resist it, since Virtue, in this wicked World, is seldom any thing but its own reward . . . I give you better Counsell than I can take my selfe, for I have that Aversion to Hell, I shall resist it all my Life, tho' without Hope of Paradise. (*Letters* 1.109)

The extended metaphor reveals courting aspirations of divine heights, out of which Mary Pierrepont makes absolute declarations right up until the day of her elopement with Wortley. She would rather die a spinster than make a marriage romantically uninspired. No matter how the "boy-crazy" exchange creates its signifiers, it piques interest in the two correspondents' male-identified early selves.

An aspect of romantic inspiration sharply defines the identity politics experimented with in a literary project conjoined to "The Adventurer" in the *Entire Works of Clarinda* volume (*HMS* 251); it reveals the young Lady Mary as a systematic examiner of the volumes of plays she found and read in her father's library. In analyzing plays as she does, she performs the function that Dryden urged on his fellow critics and playwrights, in the "Defense of the Epilogue" (1672): "[L]et us render to our Predecessors what is their due, without confineing our selves to a servile imitation of all they writ" (Guffey and Roper 218). Content to base her first dramatic exercises on the classical models as translated by Dryden, Lady Mary eventually marks, admiringly, extremes of interpretation, describing the hero of *Amphitryon* (1690) as "flying to Alcmena with the raptures Mr. Dryden puts into his mouth" (*Letters* 1.264). As an adolescent, she follows a personal impulse to categorize the dramas, an activity which informs the work of a modern critic like Derek Cohen, in his separating of farce pattern from comedy-of-manners pattern (Cohen 268)--only her patterning is based on a play's placement of *female* characters in relation to others within it. She creates her dramatic categories, says Grundy in "Books and the Woman," with "no canon, no syllabus, no signposts" (10). The section dealing with dramas and romances, toward the end of the volume collected from Lady Mary's mid-teens, lists comedies and dramas by English playwrights and then by French ones, occupying seven dense pages of handwriting. Simple character lists for the romances *Grand Cyrus* and *Pharamond* follow

upon the annotated drama lists. What distinguishes the task undertaken with the dramas from the doodles, "acrossticks" and other games on the teenaged girl's pages is the powerful concentration on analyzing relationships. The labour illustrates a first stage in her literary approach to drama, an approach that will lead to criticism, but that currently reflects her nascent ambition to perform theatrically (though only in masquerade, and in a behind-the-scenes function, will she execute the project).

Lady Mary's scribbles on the page characterize her either as a daydreamer or as a doodler--or as a ceaseless experimenter in new forms for communicating her selfhood. The doodles and small exercises in the archival material include scribbled sections that may have been a practice of marks such as periods, brackets and slashes, as well as long lines of ink like the ruling of paper, not topped by any writing. These ink marks of Lady Mary's mid-teens have an appealingly fluid appearance. Near them are more coherent exercises; in addition to taking up dense rows of script, her groupings of names and titles appear spontaneous, and motivated by the love of collecting, like the tallying of baseball statistics carried on by pre-teens now. The ivory fabric-covered volume that contains *Clarinda* also abounds in page-bottoms full of X's and T's, having the possible purpose of decoration (especially four lines deep, as in one spot), or as practice marks for a troublesome or recently-dipped pen. More focused are word games such as an "acrosstick," which requires Mary Pierrepont to create a poem out of a classical name, using each of its letters to start off a line of rhymed verse. Another

section of the manuscript volume contains several standard names of swains and shepherdesses, forming a distinctive list structured as if it were lines of poetry:

> Lysimena Silvia Clemena Malantha
> Amatrillis Artemira Anronia Parthenia Orinda Lacasia (*HMS* 251).

The list resembles a cryptic epigram in its block-positioning on the page, but turns out to be a practical collection of the heroines of bucolic love poetry and drama, to be drawn from as needed. From this gathering exercise, Lady Mary moves on to the more demanding task of categorizing the plays she has read, divided by author and by language of execution, with English and French as her foremost divisions. Such early classifying of plays, and of roles within them, prepares for Lady Mary's later dramatic criticism, such as her review of Addison's *Cato* (Grundy, *EP* 62-68).

Beginning the classifying operation, Lady Mary reveals that the familiar serves as her first self-identification: English plays begin the list. She lists Beaumont and Fletcher, Dryden, "Mr Rows [Rowe's] plays" and "Mr Lees [Lee's]"; further down the second page of listings are "Mrs Behns [Behn's]" plays, followed by "Mr Shads [Shadwell's] plays" (*HMS* 251). The order looks to be dictated by which plays came to mind first. However, order and system assert themselves in the next dimension of the exercise; for most plays listed, the heroine comes first. Only after the heroine's name has been placed on the page are the male

characters listed, and crucially, they are all defined by their social relationships with the central female. An exception, Dryden's *Oedipus*, contains the listing of "Oeidipus [sic]" followed by "his wife Jocasta," by which title Lady Mary omits Jocasta's other role in relation to her husband: mother. The choice demonstrates Lady Mary's adhering to the roles assigned Jocasta and Oedipus in all but their post-revelation scenes; the play's central figure so garners the young critic's empathy that in keeping with the prophetic mood of the tragedy, she allows his role to crowd aside his wife's/mother's--and Lady Mary's positioning of Jocasta maintains the illusion of Oedipus that his marriage to her has the blessing of the gods.

In singling out female characters to name first, in the vast majority of the plays, followed by "her husband" or "her lover," Lady Mary shows her privileging of a play's female characters, even if they have not been thus positioned by the playwrights. She is overturning patriarchal artistic structure in favour of her own female-centered vision. In this activity, she is remarkably forward looking, as she performs privately a "re-visioning [of] the cultural productions of patriarchy" similar to the one which Schor records feminists of the 1970s as carrying out (266). We should view Lady Mary's withdrawal into the library as the creation of Mary Louise Pratt's "feminotopia," defined as "an idealized world of female self-determination and enjoyment" (qtd. in Ferguson 484).[4] Every central woman or girl serves as a potential role to be played by the arranger of her story, and so the female lead's standing at the front of each

play's cast of characters creates a wish-list of identities into which Lady Mary might step.

Yet to the dramatist-in-training, not all the women's roles present a desirable prospect for self-identifying. A theme among secondary characters is "ambitious step-mother," the role of Amestris in the list of "Mr Rows plays." As with all the selections of plays and prominent placement of roles, the foregrounding of this one shows definite idiosyncrasy. Halsband and Grundy make clear that Lady Mary's approach to her reading was highly individualistic, that of the auto-didact. The compiling of the dramatic list confirms their assertion regarding "The family library where Lady Mary Pierrepont laboured at self-education" (*EP* vii). According to Grundy, Lady Mary relied on her own understanding of materials, to the point of interpreting what she read in the manner of "question[ing] every convention she uses" (*EP* viii). Thus, the stepmother whose ambitions for the stepchild create tensions becomes singled out for notice by the vulnerable stepchild/author.

The strongest example of the convention-questioning identity politics arises from the focus on each play's major female character, regardless of the character's prominence within the play. Beth Fowkes Tobin has conveyed the traditionally correct approach within an epic-influenced drama as "the heroic formula of male glory rewarded by female love" (5). In her repetitive arrangement of heroine and "her lover," Lady Mary shifts importance away from the male characters. She also exhibits a preoccupation with figures who say something to her about her own

role in life. A singling out of heroic females in the early solo rehearsal, then, does for Lady Mary what adoption of the epistolary form does for the young Jane Austen: it allows her to find "her heroine's voices in . . . her juvenile writings" (Epstein 402). Practicing in the voice of the woman she wishes to be, Lady Mary revels in the mimetic name, "Indamora," taken for its heroic female essence from the character in Dryden's *Aureng-Zebe* (1675); her title page asserts "--I Desire the Reader wou'd compare / the 2 lives" (*RW* 1), thus asking not only for a comparison of Lindamira's life and Indamora's, but also of her life and Indamora's. Grundy indicates that the naming may have derived from several sources (*RW* 1 n.1), and yet the tragic-romantic cast to the Dryden play argues for his Indamora as immediate inspiration. Lady Mary gives a tragic cast to Indamora's life out of her own life, referring to "the misfortune of loseing a vertuous and tender mother" (*RW* 2), though her ostensible audience, the letter-receiving Lindamira, must know of the loss; Indamora confesses that it "very sensibly griev[es]" her. In pinpointing the status of the women and their love-pairings and triangles, privileging them on the page during the play-list exercise, she documents her fellow feeling for bereaved lovers, daughters, mothers and wives.

The attentive encapsulating of the plays' role-distribution reveals equally the sophistication of the young reader: as she moves to the French playwrights, Lady Mary also shifts to French notation, so that on the list's fourth page, "Clelie Les nommes la dedans" matches her introductory style for the English

entries. Combined with apparent wide reading in French, among writers such as Corneille (whose "Horace," featuring a military father and son named Horace the senior and the junior, she recorded reading), comes blithe misspelling of names, so that Molière becomes "Moleire," and "L'Imposteur" is rendered as "L'Impostour." A lifetime of quirky spelling can be seen either as a feature of charm or nuisance in Lady Mary's style, but in her early writing, the trait is noteworthy. In Katherine Duncan-Jones's review of *Indamora*, she refers to the "touches of individualization" (400) that make juvenile work an indicator of the young author's early bid for individual expression. Although Duncan-Jones goes on to declare that no particular artistic expression can be detected, we can find ample amounts of it, from the flamboyant characterization of Indamora, whose maid "knew by my undisembling eyes I was not so angry as I pretended" (*RW* 6) to the naming and renaming of characters--the father, originally "Araxis," then Diphilus, "twice-loving" as he remarries in widowerhood (like Lord Dorchester) and tugs his affections away from his children (*RW* 2 n.5). Thomas Tausky maintains that children who write autobiographically express, frequently, the need to feel their father's approval (41); Mary Pierrepont is no exception.

Juliet McMaster, publisher of Lady Mary's *Indamora* and other juvenile works, is "intrigued by how the work and identity of these child authors related to their work and identity as adults" (qtd. in Takach 12). The early work relates chiefly through Lady Mary's fascination, lasting a lifetime, with the customs of other

countries, customs which nonetheless yield before the universal truths of conjugal and parental love. Juliet McMaster has declared in private conversation that sometimes a juvenile narrative will show "achieved brilliance," in its own right; in Lady Mary's first fictions, an occasional turn of phrase delivers a charged line of self-aware romance (Telephone interview 9 May 1996). As the two central lovers court secretly in the night, "He entertain'd mee in the moveingst Terms and oft swore Etternal fidelity. Light Appear'd (or if you please Aurora) and wee must separate" (*RW* 7). The "if you please" may refer to Lindamira's (the intended reader's) preference, but the classical reference works to poke fun at the formula that saw Dido and Aeneas parted under the same dawn sky (*Aeneid* 4 584). Indamora/Lady Mary nods archly to the tradition of the fresh-rising Aurora.

Similarly indicative of the quality of Lady Mary's early imaginative work is a pastoral poem written in an assumed male identity under two titles, "Recanting," and "The Complaint." Mack introduces similar pastoral work by the young Alexander Pope as "a kind of poem that the example of Vergil . . . had marked out as an appropriate first test for aspiring poets" (133); Lady Mary obviously shares the aspiration. The poem "Recanting" has its second incarnation as part of the poetic response of Strephon to his friend Lucidor, in the most extended single writing project of the first manuscript volumes, at forty-three lines. The theme concerns deciding to take action against an unfair lover, by taking back vows of undying love that have been uttered. Based on the conversation between shepherds in Virgil's

First Eclogue, the poem is adapted by Lady Mary to single out a romantic theme from among "themes of dispossession, unrequited love, poetry, friendship and rural peace" (Lee, *Virgil's ECLOGUES* 4). For some of Virgil's speakers in the original pastorals, such as Corydon in the second, the anxiety of pursuing love to the detriment of duty (an ancient theme indeed) forms the sub-text of the sighing shepherd's unrequited feelings; yet Lady Mary promotes the love story as the central concern, allowing the landscape and sky of the lover's own features to create pathetic fallacy--weather within the images conveying human emotions--to the lover's lament.

The first verse of each poem-draft contains the gist of the narrative, a protest against the fickle love of the shepherdess, Hermensilde. For the purpose of comparing the two drafts, the opening score of lines is quoted, constituting the first verse of each:

Recanting (circa 1703)

I doe recant--you are not fair
You have no Beauties in your face or air
I own I said nay I did vow you were
But I am not forsworn tho I did vow
I Thought you fair & so I shou'd do now 5
But you are perjurd & your Charms are gone
T'was by your seeming Truth my heart was won
No more your eyes that charming Lustre wear
No more you look all innocent and Fair }

No more, your'e so Engageing in your Air 10
Those Charms all vanish when your not Sincere
No more, there's charming terror in your frown
Noe, fair Ungratefull all your Charms are Gone
Noe more, there's peirceing Lightening in y^{r} Eyes
Where thousand little Cupids Basking Lies 15
The Laughing Cupids all are fled
And every Charm begin's to fade
No more, your Breasts like snowy hills appear
Your'e Perjur'd--& no more are fair.

(*HMS* 250)

The twinned verse in "The Adventurer" follows prose narrative, a story of Strephon's quest for a place of peace which will take him beyond safe meadows and familiar companions; the poem now bears a different title:

The Complaint (circa 1704)

I doe recant--you are not fair
You have no beauties in y^{r} shape or air
I own I said nay I did vow you were
But I Am not forsworn tho' I did Vow
I thought you fair & soe I shou'd doe now 5
But you are perjur'd & your charms are gone
T'was by your seeming Truth my heart was Won
No more your eyes that charming Lustre wear
No more you look all innocent and Fair

These charms all Vanish now your'e not Sincere 10
No more theres Lovely Terror in your Frown
No! Fair ungratefull all y^{r} charms are Gone
No! more there's killing Lightening in them eyes
Where thousand Little Cupids Lies
The Laughing Cupids all are fled 15
And every Charm begins to fade
No more your Breasts Like Snowy Hills appear
Your'e perjur'd--and no more are fair.

(*HMS* 251)

Chronological ordering of the volumes, 250 and 251, provides a fair certainty that "The Complaint" followed "Recanting." Other factors, such as refinement of images, also suggest this order, even though meter is still choppy and rhyme occasionally false in the second version of the poem. Some revisions have an appearance of haste, while others seem more thoughtful. Line-by-line analysis can show both types of changes.

In the first triplet of each poem, Lady Mary the classicist establishes the cause for protest--words have been said that must be taken back. The nature of the vow is explored, a vow which began as a mere statement of the loved one's "fair" self, but turned to a sworn utterance. The word-play on "fair," as a description of both appearance and soul (or sense of justice), continues for several lines. The change from "face" in the first draft to "shape" in the second creates a wider sense of the

"beauties" possessed by the fickle lover, giving the visage a chance to emerge later as the locus of the lover's major alteration (and perhaps suggesting that her inner shape does some shifting, along with her moods).

The lovelorn speaker, identified as "Strephon" in the prose leading to the second poem-draft, responds angrily to the loved one's lies. He considers that he is not "forsworn" because his lady love is "perjur'd"--his original vow cannot be held against him because it was uttered while he was placed by Hermensilde in a deluded state. Her "seeming truth" has led him astray in both versions. An omission in draft one, of the bracket which would have joined the second triplet (following a pair of couplets), has been restored by the creation of a tighter rhyme in the later version of the poem. Instead of "wear," "Fair" and "Air" as the repetitious line endings, Lady Mary has brought the powerful "Sincere" inside the brackets, rather than leaving it, as in version one, as l.11. In creating the triplet, she omits "No more, you're so Engageing in your Air." Originally tagging after the triplet, "These charms all Vanish now your'e ["when your" in the first draft] not Sincere" provides a closure, previously less emphatic, to the idea of betrayal.

Another improvement, semantic rather than structural, involves the near-oxymoron "Lovely Terror," which had been "charming terror" in the first version, diluted by the presence of a half-dozen "charm" references in the surrounding lines. Even if meter has not become more regular in the later draft, a sense of careful revision is apparent. The somewhat fleshy image

which closes the first verse--the "Snowy Hills" of breasts--has an aptness of presence in completing the body-as-landscape picture which has emerged better in "The Complaint," with the early reference to "beauties of shape" no longer possessed by Hermensilde. If the eyes have "Light'ning" in them, then that natural terror glows fittingly on "hills" below.

The revisions from other sections of "Recanting" to those in "The Complaint" show Lady Mary's carry-over of the poem's central images, and retention of the shepherd's voice. Either separate or integrated with narrative, the poem about recanting brings out the young Lady Mary's opinion on the cruel changeability of women. Making reference as it does to a swain named "Melibeus," the poem's model can be identified as the first of the eclogues of Virgil (*Letters* 2.316). Lady Mary's Melibeus, a third man whom Hermensilde betrayed, has been wronged by a pretty maid whom he trusted too well.

> I knew that Meliboeus Lov'd her first
> She, wth deceiveing Hopes his pasion Nurst
> T'was he that her first vows receiv'd
> he was the fool that first beleiv'd
> & for my sake was he Deceiv'd. (*HMS* 250)

In the voice of a young man who has believed himself to be the ultimate recipient of these affections, Lady Mary utters the lament as a caution to others: evidence that once a girl's love has proven changeable and the young woman indecisive, the same

behaviour may be expected to repeat itself.

Mary Pierrepont's poem underwent refinements when it became part of the Strephon-to-Lucidor narrative: rhythms were altered, images sometimes clarified: "Noe more there's pierceing Lightening in yr eyes / Where thousand little Cupids Basking Lies" (250) becomes "No! more there's killing Lightening in them eyes / Where thousand Little Cupids Lies" (*HMS* 251). The "Basking" metaphor has been removed, inappropriately languid in view of the approaching electrical storm. And though the grammar is still askew, with "Cupids Lies" as faulty subject-verb agreement, the need to keep nicely-scanned rhyme overrode rigid grammar rules; compare, in "Julia to Ovid," the plaintive lines, "Say that from me your Banishment does come / And Curse the Eyes that have expell'd you Rome?" (*EP* 47-8) Modifications made by a writer-to-be on a youthful effort do give the promise of productive verse-making to come, but they can occasionally display, as McMaster notes, genius in themselves.

The writings of Lady Mary Pierrepont show an author able to manipulate the works of others to make them serve her literary purposes: in cataloguing the plays by heroine plus attached males, she locates herself in the texts she has read. In creating the quest-tale, "The Adventurer," she adopts the male voice comfortably, to experiment with point of view. Even the games she plays on the page reveal how imaginative and resourceful she was with the reading and writing tasks she set for herself. One method of checking on the formative nature of the early exercises is to look ahead to their recasting in later

endeavours. The game of the "acrosstick," compared to the poetic games Lady Mary played with Lord Hervey, reveals the same application of poetic formula works in the guessing exchange that the pair wrote back and forth, starting with Hervey's question, "What is this Secret you'd so fain impart?" (*EP* 286-9). In youth, as well as in adulthood, Lady Mary plays the game with practiced ease.

Indamora to Lindamira crowns this study's profile of the juvenile writing as an ambitious and exuberant body of work; the novelette's publication in 1994 as part of the Juvenilia Press collection attests to the desirable qualities of the early work: romance, humour--intentional, as well as unintentional--and happy endings.[5] Isobel Grundy writes, in her introduction to *Indamora*, about the way central themes in a romance of this type are formed, referring to the comic pronouncement on romance in Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892)--that the good end happily and the bad unhappily, a rule all fictions follow. Grundy adds that the bad characters in *Indamora* fail to adhere to the rule: "Lady Mary's earliest prose work good-humouredly half-satisfies [Lady Windermere's] definition" (*RW* Introduction viii). The "half-satisfaction" refers to the bad characters' ends which are very easily arrived at, thus too short on suffering. Also, these deaths are accompanied by good characters' demises in equal numbers. The "good and true" Indamora is a typical central character who nearly loses her chance to marry her lover through a series of misadventures and calls to duty. Dennis Davison argues that there is one chief obligation of the comedic and

romantic heroines Lady Mary wanted Indamora to resemble: "[They] have to learn the graces and tactics of high society" (xiv) to bring on a "sentimental happy ending for true love" (xi). Accordingly, Indamora must accommodate her elders to achieve her own correct social space. Addressing her fictitious audience, the similarly-tried Lindamira, Lady Mary's Indamora accounts for the times when the two have been apart, relating what befell her when she was separated from this dear friend. The convention of the absent recipient to a life-story on this scale allows the author to assume the tone of a loving correspondent, obliged to hold nothing back from her confidante, "my Dearest Lindamira" (*RW* 1).

A contrast to the protagonist of *La Princesse de Clèves* illustrates the heightened peril of Indamora's life story: born into privilege, the princess has all the personal gifts she can be blessed with, especially a loving and an insightful mother (Lafayette 21). Robbed of this guiding figure in infancy, Indamora must contend with Eurinoe, her stepmother, as a detractor instead of an emotional support (*RW* 6). Both heroines marry the wrong man and contend with agonized feelings for the husband of their hearts (*RW* 13; Lafayette 40)--but Indamora's mistake has a shipwreck as its cause (*RW* 13), whereas the princess has instead yielded to her obligations based on social standing (Lafayette 20). The contrasting transcendence of external to internal forces continues right to the outcome of the narratives: as supremely happy in Indamora's case as it has been miserable till the point of resolution (*RW* 15), and as

restrainedly holding to the "phantom of duty" in the case of Madame de Clèves (Lafayette 147).

The character of Indamora provides insight into Lady Mary's youthful assumptions about ideal womanhood, in that the romantic heroine serves as the paradigm. Her modest flaws include a "malencholy Temper" (1), which causes her to grieve excessively over the early death of her mother. She is also able to "dissemble" feelings which are unbecoming in a young woman (1), so that unsympathetic types such as her stepmother Eurinoe are unable to gauge her moods. In contrast to this idealized heroine, the tragic trait of utter openness befalls Princess Docile (of the eponymous novel written in Lady Mary's last years)--indeed, the inherent inability to hide herself from others causes all Docile's grief. Grundy calls *Indamora* the last simple, happy-ending tale to be written by Lady Mary (*RW* xii); to continue the "last gasp" theme, this heroine naturally resists the social role her creator will soon be locked into, that of the yielding daughter/wife with a yearning beyond the constrictions of her role. Modesty and a sense of filial duty have a strong influence on Indamora's actions, and yet these traits are accompanied by an ability to engender disaster for those who would deny Indamora's ends; Chaber envisions the young heroine in a role of causality, in the catastrophes which befalls her, "laying waste to all around her by the sheer force of (repressed) volition" (83). In fact she does cause the fatal entanglement of her ill-chosen suitor with his rival by innocently suggesting action which turns into a duel; also, she seals the fate of the

husband who marries her when she believes her lover drowned: he is soon besieged by an illness that he might have escaped by avoiding his marriage to Indamora. Chaber clinches the extended metaphor of the fatal Indamora by persuading us that in *Indamora*, "female desire has been covertly figured as lethal to those standing in its way" (84). Indamora's emotions undeniably wield power with mortal physical consequence.

As far as her heroine's actions are concerned, Lady Mary's identity politics yield to familial obligation. To the extent that she can obey her father and stepmother, Indamora does, although she sends her sister as substitute for herself in the marriage to her stepbrother, justifying the action through the deep love felt for each other by the pair. The father figure of romance, according to Juliet McMaster, may take the villainous attitude of "concern . . . not for his daughter's good, but for his own complete dominance over her" ("Romance" 399). For Indamora, as well as for Lady Mary in the earl's choice of her Irish suitor, Clotworthy Skeffington, a father could wield this power without consideration of his daughter's deep feelings. Indamora's father, Diphilus, chooses for his remaining daughter (the other having eloped with the man chosen for her sister) a wealthy and acquisitive man aptly named "Lothario." Here is the scene that illustrates Indamora's resistance to the decision: "I melted in tears at Diphilus feet but it was in vain" (6). An apt account in the anecdotes of Lady Mary by her granddaughter, Louisa Stuart, displays the author herself, as a grown woman, involved in a similar scene with her own father, who entered her

dressing room "'with the authoritative air of a person entitled to admittance at all times; upon which . . . Lady Mary instantly starting up from the toilet-table, dishevelled as she was, fell on her knees to ask his blessing'" (qtd. in *EP* 30). For a grown woman to cower as she did, in the presence of her young daughter, Lady Mary must have felt the authority as a cause to abase her selfhood.

The pragmatic part of Lady Mary's personality emerges as she deals with novelistic loose ends. Indamora loses her father and stepmother to death, once their part in the plot (effective opposition to her wishes) is complete; she heads to the Continent to reunite with her beloved, in hiding for having slain Lothario. Indamora meets the tragic news of her Cleonidas's drowning by hiding away in mourning for two entire months, adding to her misery by "my reading some sad tale of unhappy Lovers" (*RW* 9), apparently to keep her grief fresh. Like the author, her heroine is "bookish" in times when she cannot take action (as was Lady Mary, left on her own by her dead mother, and indifferent father and grandmother); early in *Indamora*, the central figure weeps "till I was weary," and then becomes so diverted by de Scudéry's *Grand Cyrus* that she "was amaz'd to hear Florimel tell me when I left off that 'twas past twelve" (*RW* 5). Lady Mary herself formed such an attachment to *Grand Cyrus* at about Indamora's age that she devoted a massive page of manuscript almost exclusively to the dozens of character names in the ten volumes of the romance (*HMS* 251). In adulthood, the bookishness continued; Lady Mary's eagerness for the next box of novels from her daughter

(*Letters* 3.213) demonstrates her readiness to be diverted again from the loneliness of her continental exile.

Finally, following her love's apparent drowning, Indamora marries the pining Theander, who conveniently dies of a "Pleurisie" (*RW* 14) once Cleonidas has resurfaced, alive and still in love with Indamora; the pair can at last unite without hindrance. Though Cleary calls the ending "contrived, if happy" (479), the reunion has a greater aptness in its justified yielding to a romantic calling than Cleary suggests. The ending answers the dictates of the romance genre, allowing the couple whose destinies intertwine their full due--yet the heroine's hesitations grant it an emotional truth beyond the slap-dash. Indamora proclaims, "I cou'd no longer deny to crown the Wishes of so constant a Lover" (*RW* 15), imprinting the last scene with a reminder of her goodness in resisting the union with Cleonidas till every obstacle has disappeared. At fourteen, Lady Mary promotes heroic forebearance for "the traditional sexually-persecuted heroine of romance" (McMaster, "Romance" 399). She has learned well from her reading of romances.

Indamora has endearing flaws that reveal the partly-formed identity of the author, and the haste of the novelette's unfolding stands foremost among them. When Cleonidas appears to return from the dead, he assures Indamora that she will do right in marrying him, since "in the Last [letter] you honour'd mee with[,] you inform'd mee Diphilus and Eurinoe both are dead" (*RW* 24). The letter, sent to the exiled man during a stretch in which Indamora "heard oft from Cleonidas" (*RW* 13), receives first

mention in this afterthought of an explanation for the lover's certainty that Indamora belongs to him. In spite of--and sometimes because of--such narrative convenience, the fiction moves at a quick pace, with its excesses of feeling amounting to a "pleasant verve" in one reviewer's opinion (Cleary 479).

The identity of the maturing author in Lady Mary manifests itself in imitation, as well as in individualized pursuit of themes close to her heart. What *Indamora to Lindamira* displays is, foremost, the young writer's understanding of narrative conventions, a wisdom shown equally in one of her earliest preserved letters, to Anne Wortley (1709). She says she knows "the voice to faulter when people sing before judges, or, as those arguments are always worst where the orator is in a passion" (*Letters* 1.4), and in a later letter she analyzes her own anti-materialist posturing: "I believe you will expect this letter to be dated from the other world, for sure I am you never heard an inhabitant of this talk so before" (*Letters* 1.7). Self-awareness is also awareness of the common ground in her epistolary narrative.

Lady Mary confesses in a letter in 1758, "when one is haunted (as I am) by the Dæmon of Poesie, it must come out in one shape or another" (*Letters* 3.183); the early writing gives ample evidence that the haunting lasted a lifetime, and that far from remorse over its possession of her, Lady Mary often felt delight that the spirit moved her as it did. The assertion "wrote by me M.W.M.," made at the upper right-hand corner of some manuscripts (Grundy, *EP* 130 n.1), affirms a willingness to own up to writing;

and signing her name, especially when an exercise especially pleases her, means yet more. Her juvenilia exhibit signs of her ownership on page after page, pages which deserve to be admitted as portions of their author's identity.

Juliet McMaster has identified the "particular kind of exercise" formed for scholars by criticism of juvenilia; the task is to find critical context for the work studied, and to make a critical stand based on the analysis ("Apprentice" 14). In the "growth and development" aspect of the context, a sense of selfhood can be conjectured, one that takes its power from the activity of composing, even though the risk of discovery by an authority counts as a possible consequence. Exuberant self-discovery informs *Indamora*, as well as poems that pose Lady Mary as a woman-puzzled male. If, as McMaster proposes, conventions have yet to be established in the study of the "undiscovered continent" of juvenilia, then one convention should be the measure of unfettered self to be taken from early work. Lady Mary's early manuscripts establish this selfhood in ample measure.

Chapter 2
Notes

1 The Kit Cat scene demonstrates, palpably, the stroking behaviours of males, sought-after responses for Lady Mary; yet it also indicates the personal paradigm by which she will shape her identity politics: centre of attention, ruler of the world, only female peer allowed into the domain of the secret club of males. This model should not be underestimated as the sub-text of all her subsequent collaborations and conspiracies with men.

2 Smith's identifying of the ceremonies which privilege male dominance extends the discussion on male privilege by Cixous and other French feminists. See *New French Feminisms: An Anthology,* trans. Marks and de Courtivron (New York: Schocken, 1981).

3 Not only does the Shakespearean influence betoken stylistic shaping of Mary Pierrepont's work by the Bard, but it also recalls the question of her performative self--stager of rosy marriage scenes for her sister during isolated stretches at the Pierreponts' Thoresby estate (See Ch. 3). Given to dramatizing, she mythologizes even the dreariest scenes she depicts.

4 Mary Astell's and Daniel Defoe's women's retreat projects--delineated in essays in 1694 and 1697, respectively) provide forerunners for the "feminotopian" model. As Pratt describes it, such a retirement has benefits as an "idealized world of female autonomy, empowerment, and pleasure" (*Imperial Eyes* 166-7).

5 In Jane Austen's *Love and Freindship* (1790), a novelette among the author's juvenilia of similar dimensions to *Indamora* , the individual touches that bespeak much reading of romances develop Mary Pierrepont's heroine's (and friends') weeping excesses even further; the idea of a pair of females, on hearing bad news, "sigh[ing] and faint[ing] on the sofa" (Letter the 9th) becomes a hilarious hyperbole that conveys a meta-narrative pushing of sensibility--romantic sensitivity--to its hilarious extreme.

Chapter 3 The Language of Flowers: A Garden of Secrets

Sending home a secret from Turkey, the coded floral language in the Turkish Love-Letter, Lady Mary took her cue from codes already mastered, intensifying her role as bearer of arcane knowledge. A preliminary task to the codifying and pose-taking she would learn in Turkey, formed by the Language of Flowers and the body message of veiling, was Lady Mary's adolescent practice of positioning herself by means of codes. The encoded image of woman which takes form in Lady Mary's juvenilia derives mainly from available literary models. Including Hermensilde, the fair-eyed Virgilian shepherdess who is lamented in her juvenile poem, "The Complaint," as well as the jewel-bedecked figure of Indamora in her short romance, *Indamora to Lindamira,* the female personae adhere to classical models, which Lady Mary reads and then re-imagines with individual detail. Lived experience substantiates the models; for example, the "arch-enemy" of Lady Mary's autobiographical romance (c. 1715) boasts as Virgil's warrior princess, Camilla, does, in "conceited vanity" over what she possesses (*The Aeneid* 11.700). Camilla takes pride in her fighting skill, such as the use of her bow, while Mary Wortley Montagu's figure of vanity, Mlle. ____, takes similar pride in *metaphoric* "barbed arrows." Lady Mary writes of her rival, "She had a large fortune, which was enough to draw after her a croud of those that otherwaies would never have thought of her. She fancy'd she triumphed over Lætitia when she related to her the Number of her Conquests" (*EP* 78).

Book-learning offers models, but Lady Mary examines the

character of women further, exhibiting some originality. She attunes herself to female characters through awareness of her own maturing. Like Charlotte Brönte's juvenilia, which Meg Harris Williams characterizes as "prototypal [in their] themes" (29), Lady Mary's autobiographical romance indicates, with a fresh sense of personal possibility, her evolving selfhood: "She was then but newly enter'd into her teens, but never being tall had allready attain'd the height she allways had, and her person was in all the Childish bloom of that Age" (*EP* 78). The self-awareness, as well as the humour, of this passage characterizes her inward insights. The passage gives a sense of both limitation and strength in the author/protagonist's social struggles to make friends and find beaux. Unlike Jane Austen, whose juvenile work relies on the socially sanctioned epistolary structure, embodying "the rhetoric of gallantry" (Epstein 399), Lady Mary formulates her image of self by using autobiography, a relatively unconventional mode of expression. Sidonie Smith identifies confessions of great men--Augustine or Paul--as the acceptable manifestation of self-interest (invoking the godly through the fallibly human), but, using seventeenth-century principles of exclusion, excepts the life stories of less-than-saintly women from the list of the acceptable (49). Thus, Lady Mary's choice of form in the case of the manuscript narrative of her own youthful love-life, constitutes an original approach, contrasting with the Virgilian models that guide other early exercises and with the *confessio* tradition which was almost completely restricted to men.

As she explored her sense of self, Lady Mary also became adept in her early prose at one aspect of the courtship game that requires mastery: the language of the marriageable woman. In her girlhood, Lady Mary exchanged details of hopes and dreams with her sister Frances, (later the Lady Mar, one of her most frequent correspondents), as well as with a few close girlfriends. In addition to using the playful marriage-as-paradise code with Philippa Mundy (discussed in this study's second chapter), Lady Mary also shared the code with her sister. Special uses for language have been discussed in feminist terms as a sign of Mary Pierrepont's symbolic language and thought: "[S]he expresses [her] fears to her friend in heightened descriptive and metaphoric language" (Lowenthal 42-3). This language-pact which Lady Mary and Philippa enter into is the disguising of a set of thoughts too emotionally charged to be spoken out. Examining the code as preparation for Lady Mary's Turkish experience establishes it as a girlhood invention that demonstrates skill and subtlety. In the tension-fraught marriage preliminaries for Mary and Frances, the conveying of the marriage code to each other, as well as to other girls, exerts a form of control over how each will handle the ceremonies and their consequences. Lady Mary reminisces in 1727 over how she and her sister fretted over their uncertainties as spinsters, looking to the married state as an escape from their lonely homelife.

> Don't you remember how miserable we were in the little parlor at Thorsby? We thought marrying would put us at

> once into possession of all we wanted . . . . Tho' after all I am still of Opinion that 'tis extreamly silly to submit to ill Fortune; one should pluck up a Spirit, and live upon Cordials when one can have no other Nourishment.
>
> (*Letters* 2.84)

Mary and Frances Pierrepont had obviously spent companionable time dwelling on their unmarried state, together with their entrapment on a lonely estate where their father had the final say in the choice of friends and suitors. The solidarity of this remembered sisterly time gave way to conflict, however, during Wortley's suit. Halsband describes one disagreement which exposes a weakness in the status of close confidante which Lady Frances would hold in the years after Lady Mary's elopement with Wortley. The sisters' disagreement on courtship protocol occurred at a time when Lady Mary's contact with Wortley placed her standing in the family in extreme danger. In the scene recorded by Halsband, Frances expressed dismay over Mary's rash actions in meeting her secret suitor. Because she had made the first call on Mrs. Steele, a commoner,[1] Lady Mary found herself castigated by Frances as she would be by any other family member: "[The social call] embarrassed her, and on the way home in their coach her sister Frances scolded her for misconduct" (*Life* 18). Frances is filling the role fitted for her, according to one social analyst: "The sister becomes the repository of familial value, hence of social values themselves in a civilization . . . whose self-justification is the

protection of the family" (May 30-31). Since Lady Mary has become engaged in defiance of her father, and since she has no mother to guide her in correct behaviour, her sister has the right to intervene.

The suspenseful tone of the pre-marital plotting carries over from lived conflict to struggles that take written form. In her chapter, "Intimate Negotiations," Cynthia Lowenthal shows why the plot has to be laid so carefully by both Mary Pierrepont and Edward Wortley. She points out that a type of entrapment occurs for a woman who writes to a man: "Custom dictates that she not write to a man unless she is willing to surrender something. The letter itself is a giving over of an emblematic part of the self and could be interpreted as a prelude to other, more physical exchanges" (38). Just as Lady Mary is taking risks by putting her feelings in print, so also is Wortley. Lowenthal observes, "His unease [grew] out of culturally inscribed prejudices about women . . . " (38). Since Wortley is asking Lady Mary to give up her social standing and her home-comforts to be with him, he has justified reservations about how word of the planned marriage might spread.

The coded letters to Philippa Mundy are written concurrently with the ones to Wortley, nearing the day of his and Lady Mary's elopement; a pair of letters typifies the side-by-side timing of Mary Pierrepont's epistles to her two main respondents of 1712, one displaying the paradisical language in Lady Mary's correspondence with Philippa Mundy, and the other containing a new encoding, of details concerning the plans Mary Pierrepont has

to meet Wortley secretly. Both are produced in the month of August, 1712. The coded letter to Wortley hints at the worry caused by the absence of the letter-carrying intermediary between herself and Wortley (*Letters* 1.139); the coded letter to Mundy laments "that your Affairs are not in a posture to expect Paradise" (*Letters* 1.149).

The encoding of plans to meet Wortley serves the practical function of keeping them secret; discovery would lead to humiliation, such as Lady Mary suffered over a letter to Wortley written in 1710, which her father found and made her account for (*Life* 12). The example of the code lies in the phrase, "My Master has not been here this morning" (*Letters* 1.139) which means that the Italian master, Casotti, has not come around as anticipated. The reader is directed by Halsband's note below to a letter written two months earlier, indicating that Lady Mary's tutor in Italian, Casotti, would be asked to convey her next letter to her secret suitor, Wortley: "Direct to Mr. Cassotti, at Mr. Roberts at the Queen's head in Litchfeild street, Soho. He is my Italian master. I have made a kind of plausible pretence to him for one Letter to come that way, but I dare not trust him" (*Letters* 1.125). The desperation that leads to the secret language of the Pierrepont-Wortley correspondence arises from Lady Mary's father's arrangements, already made on her behalf, for a marriage to another suitor, Clotworthy Skeffington (referred to in Chapter 1), son and heir of the Irish lord, Viscount Massareene (*Letters* 1.122 n.1). When letters are sent by unsecured means, they include hidden details, such as the non-

specific but meaningful declaration by Lady Mary, "My Family is resolved to dispose of me where I hate" (*Letters* 1.123), or her worried statement about the wedding licence, "If my F[ather] knows of it 'tis past" (*Life* 26). Wary disguise of true sentiments characterizes much of the courtship correspondence, not just at Lady Mary's end but also at Wortley's.

The public self which takes risks constitutes just as solid a facet of identity politics as the private self that hides behind coded language. As a young woman engaging in social discourse within a number of circles, Lady Mary has a tendency to overlook some physical class barriers--for example, the stricture against entering the home of a commoner, her violation of which caused her sister such distress. The restrictions placed on her urban maneuverings have more psychological than physical force, though; her ignoring of them procures for her the profile of a liberated woman, according to Klein (1995). Using her letters to Wortley as the record of her movements through London in 1712, Klein disputes the "domestic thesis" of feminist historians, who locate the eighteenth-century woman's allowed sphere as in or near their homes. For Klein, Lady Mary's sallies out toward her suitor become the evidence that women's freedoms are greater than the domestic-sphere theory recognizes. However, the paradox resides in the purpose for her visits at the home of Mrs. Steele or the studio of Mr. Casotti (outside of her language lessons)--to fix for herself a position of domestic security, which will be granted to her by Wortley when they wed. All this running around as a public woman works the effect of shifting responsibility for

her protection from her father to her husband, each expecting her to inhabit his domain--the ultimate in a domestic-sphere arrangement.

What Klein has recognized about her movements is that the individual takes her avenues, regardless of patriarchal expectation. In defiance of the traditional stationary mode of the courted maiden, she reveals herself mobile, and inclined toward taking risks. Klein's use of Lady Mary's movements to epitomize the freedoms of the eighteenth-century woman targets the wrong person as paradigm, since few of Lady Mary's independent decisions resemble the choices made by the era's typical marriageable daughters. The aberration that her secret courtship represents can be detected in how her father's reaction--incurring lost income and lessened family standing for her (*Letters* 1.134)--resembles a fictitious father's (Samuel Richardson's conduct-book persona's) outrage over his daughter's ill-advised marriage: "'I took all pains and care my circumstances would admit, and often flattered myself with the hope, that the happy fruits of it would be made [to] appear in her prudent conduct. What she has now done is not *vicious*, but *indiscreet*'" (Jones 37-8). Judging from Lord Dorchester's threats--virtually to cut his daughter off financially--he seems to have considered all the freedoms she took to be not just indiscreet but indeed vicious (*Selected Letters* 68-9).

The private language she adopts to gain freedom from parental oppression does have some liberating features. By her early twenties, Lady Mary has developed the epistolary technique

needed to communicate with Philippa Mundy on their shared goal of a loving marriage; she has also found a way to write to Wortley with more suggested than said. The codes so developed make for a level of self-representation that shares its secretive nature with the "subversive potentials of veiling" (Looser 54), a source of later fascination for Lady Mary. Masking the self, the way female Turks must do in public, allows for anonymity and therefore a potential for secret action, as "the most expansive and controversial vehicle for the shape-shifting impulse in the period" (Castle 83-4). The European engagement in public masquerade links, for Lady Mary, to the veiling of the Turkish women she will meet in Istanbul. Related to this disguise of the body, the stylized form of writing Lady Mary takes up to hide her plans with her husband-to-be from prying eyes offers practice for the codes to come. Also, the language of the letters in which she negotiates the terms of her marriage with Wortley resemble the truce-gambits of warring factions, something Wortley will carry with him as the British ambassador to Turkey (*Life* 79).

Lady Mary's adoption of marriage-planning codes gives early shape to her tendency toward self-disguise. The qualities of "codes" put them on a level of representation that calls for some linguistic analysis. W.J.T. Mitchell (1990) has defined the plural term along these lines: "These 'systems' (tonality, language, representational schemes . . .) may be called 'codes,' by which I simply mean a body of rules for combining and deciphering representational signs" (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 13). As the chapter of feminist inquiry has shown, the

epistolary conversation with Philippa Mundy contained agreed-upon terms that stood for the different kinds of marriages, terms which are easy to master once Paradise, Purgatory and Hell have their meanings assigned. The marriage-contract negotiations with Wortley give Lady Mary a different partner, but a similar chance to encode private terms, allowing a "social agreement" between them (Lentricchia 13) which, for example, allows both to put down the letter "f" to stand for the emotionally loaded term, "father." (In Lady Mary's last few epistles [*Letters* 1.146-66], the "f" person dominates.)

Lady Mary prepares for learning the art of diplomacy demanded of a foreign traveller by learning careful wording of terms required by the conditions of courtship with Wortley. Married in 1712, the couple contract within four years to journey in a manner which Lady Mary declares "has not been undertaken by any Christian since the Time of the Greek Emperours" (*Letters* 1.310). Following Wortley, she leaves for Constantinople in early August of 1716, in a state of mind which Elizabeth Drew describes as "without insularity . . . [as she] possesses an insatiable appetite for new experiences" (72). Lady Mary accomplishes much learning of customs during her stay because she is open to the codes of the new country. The opposition of British culture to the Oriental culture of Turkey forms Lady Mary's assumptions as she travels; however, what Pointon raises as Lady Mary's question of "general cultural valorization" (151) begins with the querying of assumptions about the new culture, in the first of Lady Mary's representations of Turkey.

Two customary practices that come to be familiar to Lady Mary are those of courtly dress and courtly dance; the former involves finding the fashions which will allow her to deepen her identifying with female associates, the Others, through mingling among the princesses and sultanas in her circle--though always with an awareness of having journeyed from elsewhere. In Lowenthal's detailed study of the *Turkish Embassy Letters* in her chapter, "The Veil of Romance," Lady Mary's position is identified: "It is her status as onlooker that leads Lady Mary to transform these women into objets d'art [sic] and her 'othering' lies in the distance of aesthetic appreciation" (Lowenthal 104) Lady Mary writes to her sister, Lady Mar, when she has designed a suitable costume, "I am now in my Turkish Habit, thô I beleive you would be of my Opinion that 'tis admirably becoming" (*Letters* 1.326). Less easily put on than smocks and petticoats are the smooth steps that make up a noblewomen's dance line: "I sometimes make one in the Train, but am not skilfull enough to lead" (*Letters* 1.333). Not just the costumes but also the movement of the graceful bodies around her creates the awe with which she describes her Turkish companions. "For Lady Mary, beauty is embodied quite literally in the physicality of these women" (Lowenthal 103-4). The new perspective afforded by this contact creates a form of re-education; far from being frivolous, the new information locates the essence of these women in her chosen foreign milieu, and gives her temporary admission to their company.

Lowenthal uses "Enlightenment" and "Orientalism" to describe

the philosophical framework of the several-month research project which Lady Mary undertakes while she stays in the British Embassy in Pera, outside Constantinople. Lowenthal states that in the letter-based travelogue, "Lady Mary presents this 'real representation' of Turkey in the rhetorical form . . . characterizing most Western accounts of the Orient" (83-4) and interprets the philosophical stance: "Like her contemporary Voltaire, she positions herself in a broader Enlightenment tradition" (87). Mary Wortley Montagu writes a travel narrative based in letters home, in which the customs of her adopted country are related to those of her own, with herself as the conduit and experimental subject for the testing of similarities and differences. She is following an established tradition of traveller-as-narrator, giving priority to central subjects from the exotic culture:

> That fascination with the strange and unfamiliar practices which organized sexual relations so differently from European custom was doubtless inflamed by the complete inaccessibility to Turkish women . . . [yet she] penetrat[ed] previously unknown female space. (Orr 159)

Like Paul Rycaut, a writer who undertook a similar trip to the Orient and gave his account of it in 1668, she observes what surrounds her; unlike him or Aaron Hill (as she herself points out in a May, 1718 letter), she observes conventional beauty in

the faces of her female hosts, using her own face to set her standard (*Letters* 1.314). Rycaut's *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* can be termed derivative, owing to Rycaut's reliance on received narratives to convey his impression of Turkish women (*Letters* 1.405-6). He says wryly, "I shall to the best of my information write a short account of these Captivated Ladies, how they are treated, immured, educated and prepared for the great achievements of the *Sultans* affection" (qtd. in Orr 158). Lady Mary's account considers her subjects, literally, in the flesh.

Her identity politics almost inevitably broaden into toleration of the new during her journey: the trip exposes her to direct contact with the oriental. Joseph Spence coined "Orientalism" in 1726, in response to Pope's *Odyssey* (Sambrook 187); Edward Said (1979) defines the word as "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience" (1). The changing perception of Eastern cultural traditions gives rise in the eighteenth century to calls for religious and cultural tolerance, such as Lessing's *A Lesson in Religious Toleration* (1779), which contributes a fictional Sultan's viewpoint to Enlightenment literature. The Sultan, Saladin, poses a question in the form of a parable, about the religions that he finds in the world, and the question is answered by his Western interlocutor, Nathan the Wise (Manuel 63). Such a tale indicates the willingness of some Europeans to widen their perspectives through paralleling the Oriental experience with the Occidental one; Lady Mary's perspective widens by exposure. Especially in dealings with Achmet Beg, a

fellow aristocrat, Lady Mary advocates open-minded assessment, a judgment which gives her letters from abroad a relationship with the Orientalist narrative by Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes* (1721). Montesquieu's work is epistolary fiction, while Lady Mary's letters make use of observed fact; nonetheless, parallels have been drawn extensively between Montesquieu and Montagu as Orientalists, notably by Lisa Lowe in *Critical Terrains*. Her discussion of the pair as similarly sympathetic Europeans aligns French and British Orientalisms (35-52).

Like Lady Mary, whose identity politics involve a testing of the accustomed through the agency of the unfamiliar, Montesquieu explores France through the borrowed viewpoint of oriental peers. Montesquieu explains his approach, in response to criticism of his *Lettres Persanes* as sanctioning the beliefs of Muslims, by describing his love for Christian "dogmas and other religious truths" as justification for his central characters' blunt comparisons of the beliefs of the East and West; he concludes with delicate irony (and from a distancing third-person viewpoint) that he allows the characters this freedom of thought out of "respect for the human race, whose tenderest feelings he certainly did not intend to wound" (Davidson 27). Lowe rather humourlessly interprets the respect he claims in this way: "Montesquieu's text displaces internal French struggles into oriental characters and onto oriental spaces" (55). Balance of the philosopher's Orientalism with his Eurocentrism is achieved--the latter a bias which is present, Lowe says, despite the fiction's wider world-view.

The second term, "Enlightenment," has an aptness in relation to views of the Orient expressed by Montesquieu and by Lady Mary. "Aufklärung" ("Enlightening") as Kant (1784) calls it, means having the courage to make use of one's own understanding (Manuel 34). Voltaire (1733) gives the definition "light[ing] up the firebrand of discord," ("illuminer" in the verb's infinitive form) and mentions "Locke, Bayle, Spinoza, Hobbes, the lord Shaftsbury [sic]" as "lumières" of the Enlightenment's intellectual ferment (Manuel 23). The men whom Voltaire has listed have all added to the philosophical canon of the Western world, through works which re-address long-accepted social conventions; Bayle's *Pensées Diverses* (1704), according to Grundy's "Books and the Woman," not only turned up as a text in Lady Mary's library, but it also bore the record of Mary Astell's indignation over its ideas, in annotations which appeared after Lady Mary lent it to her friend (Grundy, "Books" 7).

Though Lady Mary's transformed identity, post-Turkey, does not figure in the Enlightenment analyses of the 1960s, we may place her among male peers whom experts of the defining period identified as enlightened. Scholarship has followed Peter Gay, whose study, *The Enlightenment* (1967), is extensively quoted by 1980s analysts of the Enlightenment.[2] Gay declares of the *philosophes*,

> [their] experience . . . was a dialectical struggle for autonomy, an attempt to assimilate the two pasts they had inherited--Christian and pagan--to pit them against one

> another and thus secure their independence. The Enlightenment may be summed up in two words: criticism and power (Gay xi).

Among the philosophers who questioned European Protestantism as the matrix for interpreting learning, such as Locke and Montesquieu, Lady Mary can take her place as someone whose views advocate free thought on the beliefs and customs of other nations. Her letter introducing Turkish religious character to her correspondent, the Abbé Conti, on April 1, 1717, opens, "'Tis certain we have but very imperfect relations of the manners and Religion of these people, this part of the World being seldom visited but by . . . Travellers who make too short a stay to be able to report any thing exactly of their own knowledge" (*Letters* 1.315). Having established her longer stay and more concerted effort at observation, Lady Mary reveals results of her detailed study. She "condemns the 'extreme stupidity' of previous writers on Turkish women" (Pratt 167) on the basis of her own first-person contact; it is a contact denied to British men. Learning by involving herself directly in the activities of the unfamiliar culture, she makes "[t]he value of experience over theories . . . a cornerstone of [her] advice" (R. Davison 64).

While the Orientalist most often compared to Mary Wortley Montagu is Montesquieu--Lowenthal says that Lady Mary "ironically align[ed] herself with Enlightenment philosophes [sic] such as Voltaire and Montesquieu"(148)--Rycaut and Hill, mentioned above, are two to whose first-hand observations she

compares her own (*Letters* 1.303), telling Lady Mar that she gives "some little scraps of the history of the Towns I have pass'd through" in emulation of Rycaut. For its openness to new experience, the spirit of her inquiry, however, compares with Montesquieu's. Contrasts between the two Orientalists are also easy to point out; first among these is the imaginative form in which Montesquieu's "findings" concerning the role of women in Turkey are rendered. His *Lettres Persanes,* based within the "traveller's tales" genre established by his countrymen Chardin and Tavernier (Davidson *Lettres* Intro. 12), takes creative license with "facts" that Lady Mary is able to relay from first-hand observation. Montesquieu's portrayals of restless *harem*-dwellers such as the "dejected" Fatme who writes to lament her master Usbek's absence (37), contrast with Lady Mary's happy and amused *bagnio* visitors, with "not the least wanton smile or immodest Gesture amongst 'em" (*Letters* 1.313). Nonetheless, sympathy for the "Other," the person from a different culture, remains the strongest point in common within the correspondence produced by the two authors, whose "writing repeatedly reveals both a dependence on and a difference from conventional modes of representation . . . suggest[ing] some collapsing of the distance from [each] one's object" (Orr 157). For both authors, the travelogues of their predecessors provide the model, if only to allow plainly-indicated divergence from what went before. The fictional and factual come into debate here, in the sense that Lady Mary's letters, while edited for her *Turkish Embassy* collection, have a claim to being directly fact-based, while

Montesquieu's are plainly labeled as fiction. Janet Gurkin Altman notes, in *Epistolarity,* that the crossover from real letters to fictional ones is easy to make--that letters already manufacture the presence of the single reader where none exists, and therefore create an imagined dialogue between partners: " . . . the *I* can address only a *you* who is an image persisting from the past; likewise, the *you* who receives the message exists in yet another time" (132). Aravamudan also comments on the relativity of "fact" within the *Turkish Embassy Letters,* by noting that "Montagu's embellished letters, purportedly written on several occasions to historical individuals . . . synthesize the writer's personal interests with the broader appeal of intellectual commentary" (70). The re-construction, like an artist's recasting of a bronze, makes these letters less "authentic" in themselves than found documents with one obvious recipient; however, the letters do what such accounts should, according to J. Hillis Miller (1990): "order and reorder the givens of experience" (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 69). By conflating the accounts in several letters to pack detail into one representative epistle, for example, Lady Mary could avoid repetition. The description through which several actual letters on the same scene would drag a reader of the collection would thus be avoided. Likewise, she could spread the contents of one particularly long and vivid letter among those declaredly sent to several recipients; "she 'edited' by transposing sections and otherwise manipulating them to achieve a more artistic collection (*Letters* 1.xvi).

The Oriental female ("twice other" [Pointon 149]) emerges as a construct within her letter-based text, as well as Montesquieu's, *Turkish Embassy Letters* and *Lettres Persanes*. Mary Wortley Montagu shows a fascination for her hostesses, describing the aristocratic woman named Fatima: "That surprizing Harmony of features! that charming result of the whole! that exact proportion of Body! that lovely bloom of Complexion unsully'd by art!" (*Letters* 1.350). Montesquieu takes a less direct approach in portraying the mysterious creatures who take a prominent role in his epistolary hero Usbek's life: in the extended narrative of a revolt in the harem, Montesquieu uses letters from members of Usbek's seraglio alongside letters from the eunuchs in charge of the women to cast the truth of the slave girls' words into doubt, and in the bigger picture, to posit the relativity of truth (*Lettres Persanes* 278-289). Katharine Rogers assesses the results of this approach in a fashion equally suited to *The Turkish Embassy Letters*:

> Tracing the condition of women in a society to religious, political, economic and climatic factors necessarily undermines the traditional patriarchal theory that women's subordinate status is determined by God and nature (71).

Rogers also singles out one *harem*-dweller's insightful response to Usbek's questioning of his wives' morals; Rogers concludes, "She [Roxane] declares explicitly what has been implicit from the

beginning, that it is debasing virtue to identify it with submission to a husband's whim" (67). Lady Mary's observation of the "modest" behaviour of her female hosts confirms the self-determining natures of any Sultan's wives; she locates their virtue--if they care to maintain it--in their independent acts.

Lady Mary looks into women's sense of themselves on both moral and physical levels; she hopes, with this line of inquiry, to gain an accurate impression of her own response to the womanly paradigm represented in these female paragons. To this self-assessing end, Lady Mary asks herself whether the way women describe beauty is different from their way (or men's way) of describing any other quality. The question arises from her realization that she inclines to hyperbole in her description of her Turkish acquaintances:

> I think I have read somewhere that Women allways speak in rapture when they speak of Beauty, but I can't imagine why they should not be allow'd to do so. I rather think it Virtue to be able to admire without any Mixture of desire or Envy.
>
> (*Letters* 1.351)

The aesthetic evaluation that gives the concept of "beauty" the same features of "social agreement" as other coded language causes readers to recognize the code apparent in the *Turkish Embassy Letters*. An aesthetic evaluator, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) articulated the philosophy adopted by seekers after beauty;

using Kant's *Critique of Judgment* (1790) to equate beauty with "pure aesthetic value," Barbara Herrnstein Smith (1990) notes that critics must question closely whether "the various types of purity of response and experience posited by such notions [as beauty] are possible at all among human beings" (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 180). This question echoes Montesquieu's examination of beauty through the voice of Usbek, master of the harem. Obsessed with his beautiful slave women, the master convinces himself they must be morally impure beneath the perfect surface: "[T]he most beautiful women in Persia . . . this precious treasure of my heart [will be tempted frequently] . . . to depart from their duty" (Betts 41). Montesquieu's querulous master's reservations contrast with Lady Mary's assurances that beauty accompanies natural good, and deserves rapturous response; her judgment can be so free because she has little to lose in making it.

A perception of gendered self and other shapes her reassessment of her own matron's role in one striking encounter. Sheer physical beauty leaves its greatest impression on Mary Wortley Montagu as she responds to "the fair Fatima" mentioned above--lady of the Kahya, Second Officer of the Empire (*Letters* 1.349). The breathtaking presence of this young woman leaves Lady Mary rapturous with her praise, because youth, wealth and cultivated attractiveness came together in this epitome of Turkish womanhood. Strikingly, Lady Mary's correspondent for this description is Lady Mar, as declared in the letterhead preceding the description. Lady Mary wants to entertain her

sister with the most vivid human-interest stories, the juiciest gossip, and so she privileges her sister with this narrative of the meeting with Fatima. The language of beauty figures among the languages of femininity--cultural constructs--explored by Lady Mary in her *Turkish Embassy Letters*, in the months leading to her assembling of the ultimate coded entry, the Turkish Love-Letter. After the account of Fatima, among the first letters dispatched to England from Adrianople (April 18, 1717), Lady Mary rates all other beauties she observes by the yardstick of their loveliness relative to Fatima's. The ideal image of woman in Lady Mary's work achieves an early definition in this description, with a sub-text of "sexually arousing" language, even in the evocation of the "sofa as emblem of decadence" (Pointon 154). Bridget Orr finds Lady Mary "palpably struggling to find a speaking position and lexicon to express her female 'admiration'" (164); however, Lady Mary's own sense that she can convey the extreme feelings without mingling envy with them provides some ease to the disclosure.

Another of the languages of femininity adopted within the *Turkish Embassy Letters* is that of female propriety; Smith characterizes the position occupied by a well-bred woman in patriarchal society as "her place of dependency and subordination" (109). Such considerations were not always prioritized by Lady Mary, but she makes much of the English version of the code, which, when applied in England, elicits the virtues of chastity and moral purity. She refers frequently in the courtship letters to her "innocence" and her ability not to

be affected by the flattery of wretches (*Letters* 1.61). In Turkey, despite sensationalizing accounts in the travel books which preceded her own, ideas of chastity before marriage, and of ceremony and propriety within it, catch Lady Mary's attention. She writes to Pope of a "contracted Wife, whom [her fiancé] is not yet permitted to visit without Witnesses, thô she is gone home to his House" (*Letters* 1.333). Such a fact contradicts previous first-hand recounting of customs (as Lady Mary remarks, herself) calling into doubt writers like Hill and Dumont (*Letters* 1.328), both travellers to the Orient who picture the *harem* as a close-guarded prison for a sultan's wives.

The special form of communication that will become a component of British Orientalism takes hold first of the author's imagination, then of her female peers' imaginations. The Language of Flowers involves the encoding of love-messages, as carried out among the Turkish *harem*-dwellers of Lady Mary's time. Lady Mary sends the diversion to England, probably to be received by Lady Rich, a regular correspondent of Lady Mary's (*Letters* 1.387 n.2). Aravamudan introduces the Turkish Love-Letter by remarking that "Montagu's comments on . . . private language (such as the language of flowers) explore several cross-cultural constructions of femininity" (75). Reaching beyond speech, this language carries the cachet of membership in a romantic élite, attuned to a lover's messages with every sense ready to be addressed. The flowers that carry the language's intimate messages have their analogy in Lady Mary's later fictional narrative, *The Sultan's Tale* (c. 1749); she uses the semiotics of

budding flowers in their representing virginal young women, and exploits the classical fantasy to associate the figurative meaning of "flower" in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the "bloom and vigour," with maidenly virtue.

In the tale, the mythic Diana, Roman goddess of chastity, wishes to gauge accurately her nymphs' sexual activity, so she consults Earth-Goddess Flora, who casts a potent spell: "[Flora] exerted all her divine skill and cull'd the choicest Flowers, on which she conferr'd the Virtue of continuing a whole Day in their Bloom if worn by a Virgin but to fade and dye in a few hours if any other presumed to wear them" (*RW* 18). After contention on Olympus over the nosegay's potential use on wives as well as unmarried women--and on goddesses as well as mortals--Flora tosses the flowers from the heavens, only to see them bewitched by Juno, spreading their powers to blooms below. After struggles among goddesses and women, gardeners replace flowers with "Evergreens" (*RW* 20), to watch them creeping back into favour within mock-chivalric orders of mortal women (*RW* 20 n.5), at last falsely representing sexual purity through a secret bodice-tucked self-watering flower holder or "garde-fleurs," a phrase Grundy attributes to Lady Mary herself (*RW* 25 n.4). Lady Mary's tale trails off to a fragment, but it reveals the mimetic power of floral imagery to speak the language of femininity.

In spite of the obvious dating of the letter with enclosures, prepared on the sixteenth of March, 1718, some researchers place the European transfer of the floral language in the nineteenth century, and credit French travelers with the

discovery. The letter's contents, as well as its translating code, indicate its arrival in Lady Mary's time, with her assembling of the love-letter.

Not only does the floral symbolism of the *Tale* develop as a code for women's secrets, but the Language of Flowers itself also articulates the love-struck messages of young Englishwomen. The coding reaches at a universality of expression, for those women "in the know." For every courted lady of Turkey or England or France who loves roses, an extra element of meaning infuses reception of a rose from a lover: the message, "May you be pleas'd, and all your sorrows mine!" (*Letters* 1.388). The letter's title, as well as its translating code, mark the language's arrival in Europe in Lady Mary's time; she transferred it in her act of assembling the love-letter. Despite the title, this package sent by Mary Wortley Montagu contained no conventional missive of love. Instead, what prompted the sending of the "love letter" was a request by a friend for something new. The sender, Lady Mary, opens,

> I am extremely pleased, my dear lady, that you have at length found a commission for me that I can answer without disappointing your expectation, though I must tell you that it is not so easy as perhaps you think it, and that if my curiosity had not been more diligent than any other stranger's has ever yet been I must have answered you with an excuse, as I was forced to do when you desired me to buy you a Greek slave. I have got for you, as you

desire, a Turkish love letter. (*Letters* 1.388)

Gathering the artifacts that create the new materialist discourse into the letter's "little box," she positions among other items a jonquil to mean, "Have pity on my passion," and a straw to demand that the receiver "Suffer me to be your slave." She also includes a pear, to mean "Give me some hope," and a grape which stands for "My eyes" (*Letters* 1.388-9). (Such items would not travel well over the weeks of sea-journey ahead; for these material things, the thought counts equally to the objects.) Not only does Mary Wortley Montagu send the symbolic fruits and flowers to her correspondent in this letter, but she also placed the language's romantic threads in the fabric of English life by spreading use of its translator's code. The construct which the love-letter becomes relies on the unpackaging, collecting, and code-investing that takes place at the other end. For every enclosure, Lady Mary gives a translation of its meaning, in the original Turkish, and in English, using an interpreter to help her match flower with saying with translated meaning. She starts off, "The first piece you should pull out of the purse is a little Pearl, which is in Turkish call'd <u>ingi</u>, and should be understood in this manner: "Pearl/Ingi - Sensin Uzellerin gingi/Fairest of the young" (*Letters* 1.388).

Lady Mary rivals the romantic translation of this epistle in other Turkish Embassy Letters, particularly in analysis of a Turkish love poem, which was declared in Montagu's letter

translating it for Alexander Pope to be "most wonderfully resembling 'The Song of Solomon'"; a stanza of the poem will illustrate its lyric and its exotic qualities:

> Now Philomel renews her tender strain,
> Indulging all the night her pleasing Pain,
> I sought the Groves to hear the Wanton sing,
> There saw a face more Beauteous than the Spring.
> Your large stag's-eyes where 1,000 glorys play,
> As bright, as Lively, but as wild as they (*Letters* 1.336).

Lowenthal interprets the poem, as translated by Lady Mary, to be "a traditional courtly love complaint, complete with the conventions of the genre" (62), noting with the poet that her own language has far less passion than the original. Lady Mary's motive in the translation is to enlighten her correspondents, pointing out to them the way in which courting is carried out in a country far from theirs. In "Lady Mary's Portable Seraglio," Joseph Lew proposes that "Mary Wortley Montagu drew upon, yet . . . distanced herself from an already flourishing Orientalist discourse" (432). Among eighteenth-century Orientalists, says Lew, Lady Mary stands out as one who familiarizes her correspondents with the unfamiliar; Lew quotes Said as saying that male Orientalist discourse of the same era in English travel- writing "defamiliarizes," and Lew himself goes on to show that Lady Mary chose messages bearing a relation to those current in England (441). One reaction to the same passages of Lady

Mary's letters is to recognize that among her most powerful urges in writing is to re-present to her reader the English views around home, so that the views now stand for the Turkish ones she is experiencing. Lew identifies one passage in which she makes Pope see that the discourse of each distinct social class in Constantinople has its equivalent among dialects of British speech; Lew notes how Lady Mary exposes a reader to parallels. In talking to a commoner, she states, "'tis as ridiculous to make use of the expressions commonly us'd, in speaking to a Great Man or a Lady, as it would be to talk broad Yorkshire or Sommerset shire in the drawing-room" (*Letters* 1.333).

The identity politics evidenced in the letter-exchange place Lady Mary in the position of cultural mapmaker, reading Turkey for homebodies by the easiest codes, and thus bypassing difficulties in understanding. A model to which we can draw a parallel for the Language of Flowers is the floral emblem, still part of the British consciousness in Lady Mary's time. Receivers of her letters in England would have found the encoding of the flower-gifts constructed artificially, yet acceptable because of their familiarity. The flowers, when accompanied by their secret meanings, resemble emblem mottoes. When Beverly Seaton (1983) refers to the "natural typology" of flowers, she is recording just this kind of interest in flowers as symbols of spiritual truth in nature (255).

Emblematic transmissions let Lady Mary pose herself with the new material, representing her selfhood by her choices; she finds a willing audience, already familiar with the discourse. The

trade in emblem books is often perceived as falling off around 1700, but records show continued interest in the texts all through the eighteenth century. Emblem books by Bunyan, Crouch and Harvey, for instance, came out in new editions, variously, in 1721 and 1757. Unfortunately, the classifying convention of the emblem book's heyday as reaching from 1500 to 1700 has misled analysts, says John Manning. Instead of picturing a shrug of disinterest, Manning insists, a reader must avoid "assum[ing] that the emblem disappeared in England during the eighteenth century. This is far from the case" (328). Manning emphatically replaces this impression with reference to a "continuing vitality of the literary emblematic tradition in England in this century" (328).

Lady Mary looked forward, figuratively, in re-interpreting the stylized Turkish symbol-language through the emblem, its material equivalent in England. In the flourishing trade in the emblem book, the usual images are conveyed with picture, motto and caption as their tri-partite composition; through the collections, people comforted themselves with universally accepted "Silent parable[s]" (Green 1). An example may be seen in Emblem 5 of John Hall's *Emblems with Elegant Figures*, issued in 1658 (see appendix): we see a pictured bouquet, and a woman with her mirror, and learn from the motto (Psalm 90.6) that "In the morning it flourisheth and groweth up: in the evening it is cut down and withereth," referring to the earthly beauty of both the woman and her bouquet.

A rose can more vermilion speake
Then any cheeke,
A richer white on Lillies stands,
Then any hands.
(Hall 97)

Like Hall's codebook and others, Lady Mary's writing relies on inspirational sources. The inspiration can take the form of a biblical allusion, or it may be located in the visible daily signs of divine presence such as the splendours of a season. Bruce Redford likens her quest for images to Cowper's: he says both "construct designs for living that are also designs for writing . . . both take strength from an epistolary microcosm that first prefigures and then mirrors a secluded *hortus conclusus*" (14). Redford goes on to say of Lady Mary that, like Cowper, she used growing things in the landscape to stand for her feelings. A poem she wrote while in Pera, outside Constantinople, represents an especially nature-based example among her poetic works, thus providing a focus for looking into Redford's closed-garden image.

In the poem, Lady Mary contrasts the chilly fields of England (and the equally cool protocol of English courts) with the lush courtyards around the embassy she lived in while she was in Constantinople. As she gazes, she longs for a permanent Edenic surrounding, one which she would eventually find in Gottolengo, Italy. The concept of "plastic Nature " shaped Lady Mary's approach to natural objects. According to this theory,

the plant-world responds to God's hand, or to human icon-making, and the result forms part of nature's beauty. Lady Mary's impression of her adopted country takes on such features, creating her reference to "Landschapes" precisely as if including the shaping by God's hand (*Letters* 1.397). The poem "Constantinople" captures that same impression:

> Here Summer reigns with one Eternal Smile,
> And Double Harvests bless the happy Soil.
> Fair, fertile, fields! to whom indulgent Heaven
> Has every charm of every Season given,
> No killing Cold deforms the beauteous year,
> The Springing flowers no comeing winter fear,
> But as the Parent rose decayes and dyes
> The infant buds with brighter collours rise }
> And with fresh Sweets the Mother's-Scent Supplies. (*EP* 54)

Like Mary Wortley Montagu's translation, above, of a poem from a Turkish prince to his lover (who has been kept from his arms by her father in accordance with what the lover considers cruel tradition), "Constantinople" merges the exotic and the familiar. Lady Mary's transmitting of each reinforces the workings of her mapmaker/bridge-builder politics. She remarks on the poem's similarity to the biblical Song of Solomon, telling Pope,

> Eastern manners give a great light into many scripture passages that appear odd to us, their phrases being

> commonly what we should call scripture language. The vulgar Turk is very different from what is spoke at Court . . . amongst . . . people . . . who allways mix so much Arabic and Persian in their discourse that it may very well be called another language. (*Letters* 1.333)

In spite of similarities of address between the two poems, however, the secular piece by the Turkish prince contrasts with the sacred one, the "Song of Solomon," in its identifying of the gender of the speakers: exclusively male in the Turkish poem, yet balanced between the sexes, with each given equal stature, in the Song of Songs. Gollwitzer elaborates on the contrast: "In Arabian love poetry we have large numbers of songs in which the male lover describes and admires the beauty of his beloved; it is rare, however, to find the Arabian woman saying anything comparable to what is said by the woman in Song of Songs" (40). The love and respect within the Turkish poem is directed to a silent object, flower-like in loveliness:

> The Nightingale now wanders in the Vines;
> Her Passion is to seek Roses.
> I went down to admire the beauty of the Vines
> . . . . . .
> The wished possession is delaid from day to day,
> The cruel Sultan Achmet will not permit me to see those cheeks, more vermillion than roses. (*Letters* 1.334)

Lady Mary associates the Turkish work with the biblical one, on the grounds that each emerges from Middle-Eastern sensibility. Isobel Grundy observes that Homer and the Bible "were for her both canonical and oriental"("Terrains" 486), and thus shows the political juxtaposition of these works which Lady Mary has brought into comparison. Mary Wortley Montagu lets her reader make the connection between the two sets of verses on thematic terms, since they have reached her spiritual self through the same sensual channels. Among her readers, Pope gains the classical insights her allusions present to him; as Mack describes his response, Pope imagines himself accompanying her, apparently with "the object of his journey . . . to tread on 'Classic Ground' while he is whispering 'other reasons' in her ear" (*Pope* 304). In emotional contrast, yet with intellectual communion, Lady Mary's answering letter shows how interconnected are her experiences of Homer (through Pope's translation) with the scenes through which her own odyssey carried her.

> I read over your Homer here with an infinite Pleasure, and find several little passages explain'd that I did not before entirely comprehend the Beauty of . . . .I can assure you that the Princesses and great Ladys pass their time at their Looms embrodiering Veils and Robes, surrounded by their Maids, which are allways very numerous, in the same Manner as we find Andromache and Helen describ'd.
>
> (*Letters*. 1.332)

The reference to Trojan romantic tragedy suggests that Lady Mary is viewing "a society as Other as that of the Islamic empire" (Grundy *EP* xiii) through a veil of literary allusion. In the stage beyond her adolescent choice to pose as a classical character, in the person of shepherd or shepherdess, Lady Mary now observes around her, in "the seductive home of the pastoral" (Pointon 147), the living embodiments of her make-believe characters. She does not claim the heroic ideal for herself, at this stage--but then, as Hinz (1987) observes, "the subjects in life-writing documents are invariably treated as special . . . [by being] immortaliz[ed] through print" (x). In designing to have her Turkish letters published, Lady Mary already imparts an epic breadth to her discovered land, and adds her own profile, and sensory witness, to complete the modern-day picture.

Moreover, the image-rich voice within the Song of Solomon matches Lady Mary's sensual one, in the *Turkish Embassy Letters;* the biblical song speaks of the female lover as "the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys," and of the male lover as one who "feedeth among the lilies" (*S of S* 2.1, 2.16) associates the flowers with their larger-than-life messages as clearly as the Turkish verse does. Also, within the love-letter sent by Lady Mary, the clove is placed among the assembled items to stand for this verse: "You are as slender as this clove;/ You are an unblown Rose;/ I have long lov'd you, and you have not known it" (*Letters* 1.388). Another image, one that juxtaposes spiritual representation with the earthly, concerns the imbibing of heavenly liquors: the extended metaphor of the woman's breasts

and grape-heavy vines (7.7-9) and the "spiced wine" taste of the lover's skin reinforce the flower and fruit messages that Lady Mary has discovered in Turkey.

The identity politics of emblem-identification create a familiar reminder-message for Lady Mary's correspondents. Huston Diehl, an expert on the meaning of emblems, quotes Thomas Jenner, author of *The Soules Solace* (an emblem book still going through reprints after the mid-1600s)[3]; Jenner cautions readers of emblem books not to confuse the picture with the thing that it represents. He shows an emblem of a man climbing to grab at a tavern-sign picturing grapes, and urges his readers to "substitute spiritual for physical sight" (66). Unlike the besotted climber, Lady Mary takes the things themselves as her gift to an eager receiver, their code-accessed spirit intact. Juxtaposing the idea of the letter composed in this way and a notion of Hogarth's demonstrates a synchrony of coding. Hogarth once intended, says Mazzaro, to include in *The Analysis of Beauty* the mission statement that declared his determination not to "continue copying objects but rather [to] read the language of them (and if possible find a grammar to it)" (Mazzaro 213). The jonquil placed in Lady Mary's parcel carries its fragrance, as well as its encoded message, to support a double meaning, a "grammar" of the packaged natural object. The jonquil in her poem from Pera, Constantinople, shares the symbolism of the delivered bloom:

The rich Jonquills their golden gleem display

And shine in glory emulating day. (*EP* 54)

The attribution of the Language of Flowers' transmission to Lady Mary--securing her innovator's identity--does not go uncontested. Very wrongheadedly, Beverly Seaton (1982) rejects the idea that anyone traveling prior to the nineteenth century brought the Language of Flowers to Western Europe. Writing from a long tradition of flower symbolism in French literature, she claims the floral imagery that shaped Victorian literature for French discoverers. Such a claim underlies Philip Knight's discussion of Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal*, in which "the floral tradition was challenged by an ironic anti-pastoral stance, when the conventions of 'le langage des fleurs' were stretched to accommodate [Baudelaire's] subversive new aesthetic code" (Haxell 733-4). Seaton argues along these lines in the following passage:

> One of the most commonly mentioned "connecting links" between the general use of flower symbolism and the nineteenth century language of flowers is the Turkish love-letter or *selam* . . . this link is more in the minds of Westerners than in history or literature, for the Oriental "language of flowers" was not a language of flowers, but a language of objects; and not a symbolic language, but a complicated sound game (67).

Yet as soon as she has issued this pronouncement, Seaton offers

the link between bluebells and the message, "constancy," and between pasque-flowers and the message "you have no claim" (67), codes which mimic the ones Lady Mary sent with her bouquet. Though flowers are not the only items given secret meaning within the language Lady Mary has sent, her translated codes match those which Seaton has claimed for Charlotte de Latours, nineteenth-century French author of *Le Langage des Fleurs*.

As an "exploratrice sociale," in Moira Ferguson's coined phrase for eighteenth-century woman travelers, Mary Wortley Montagu intended, at least partly, to make "use of the Other culture to expose the failings of home" (Grundy, *ECS* 486). Lady Mary often contrasts the warmth of Turkish life to the coldness of English life. However, a greater purpose is to allow her correspondents into the pleasures of her adopted world. When she speaks of "no colour, no flower, no weed, no fruit, herb, pebble or feather that has not a verse belonging to it," and boasts of not having to ink her fingers to send "letters of passion, friendship or civility, or even of news," (*Letters* 1.389), Lady Mary employs a tactile analogy for the virtue of this encoding process. Its amusing procedures, occupying fingers and eyes, construct a discourse out of collecting flowers. Clearly, her own creative work receives an enhancing in the exercise of composing and assembling the Turkish love letter. The private language made public in this context is the flirtatious one that composes secret messages encoding woman's image, so that the jonquil wrapped in ribbon has its equivalent in a woman with a love-message on her lips. Lady Mary has extended the code to

include her female correspondent, adding to the coding game a woman-to-woman transmission of its secret language. Lady Mary's awareness of the iconic possibilities in this code goes on to include a "translation" of the icons, first into phonetic Turkish and then into English. Defined in the *OED* as "an image, figure or representation; a portrait," and as "an image in the solid," the icon transcends its earthbound nature; according to Carlo Ginzburg, the icon is "couched in a culturally and stylistically elevated code" (80). Based in myth, the icon contributes elementally to a culture by eliciting from its "reader" sensations which are then linked to the intellectual process of interpretation; knowledge and faith ascend from the thing itself.

Because she styled herself as an interpreter of the material objects in Turkey--including the people--Lady Mary took responsibility for an accurate rendering of meaning, even in the smallest object to which she called the attention of the correspondents back home. The pearl acquires a tangible presence, materially and also spiritually; the opening of the box thus serves as a ritual of reverence, for each item in its "other" significance. With the new language learned, Orr suggests, Lady Mary puts "[l]inguistic and national identity at risk" (162) among her English cohort; at the very least, she has proposed a new system of representation, an icon-making from far away that may be as responsive to British adaptation as systems that already represent the plant world at home.[4]

The secretive behaviour of women in Turkey, as observed by Lady Mary, involved not only the coded message, but also the

personal disguise, entailing the masquerade of the veil. This secretive character of woman, glimpsed behind disguises of paint and plaster or glimpsed behind masks, has been reinforced in the Turkish love letter. It may be seen as "one of the iconic forms of representation that transcend differences between media" (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 13). This definition may refer to emblematic things such as a pair of kissing lips, or a wilted bloom, which people in diverse and widespread cultures may interpret as meaning the same thing; the emblem deepens into archetype--"the original pattern from which copies are made; prototype" (*OED*)--transmitting codes that may be linguistic or non-verbal, but that reach the receiving spirit, whichever medium carries their matrix. Where the icon inclines the viewer to interpret culturally, the archetype evokes even more powerful responses from members of its own culture.

Lady Mary is willing to adopt the symbols of Turkish life, and to adapt them to a state of acceptability among the English. Michèle Plaisant perceives of Turkishwomen, as Lady Mary does, that "L'habit et le voile les dissimulent aux regards indiscrets et un mari jaloux serait incapable de reconnaître sa femme sous ce déguisement" (the robes and veil hide them from indiscreet gazes, and a jealous husband will be unable to recognize his wife in such cloaking apparel) (Plaisant n.p.); Lady Mary translates the activity for her readers into a familiar one, "adventures with our gallants"; she suggests that no difference is present in the impulse--only in the mode of carrying it out (*Letters* I.328). Devoney Looser cautions that when dealing critically with Mary

Wortley Montagu's Orientalism, feminists must "examin[e] complicity as thoroughly as we do resistance" (58). Even though Lady Mary has complied with the class-system in place in Turkey, and accommodated the slave-holding practices that she has observed, she has resisted the easy assumption that Englishwomen are much more free to do as they please than are the women she has seen in the *Hammam*. Having learned first hand about its allure in exotic situations in Turkey, she tells her daughter about the pleasures and dangers of masking (both the already-present and the orientally enhanced version) forty years later: "For myself, I have never spoken a word in Masquerade which I should not have been willing to say bare-faced, and I have not found any cause to repent having been at a masquerade" (*Selected Letters* 426). By bringing back further invitation to self-veiling beyond what Englishwomen had already adopted, as well as the symbol-filled love-letter which her host-country's women have developed, she performs the action of an ambassador, who sees the advantageous use of codes uncovered among the women in Turkey and puts them into practice among women in her own England.

Chapter 3
Notes

1 By involving Richard Steele (co-editor with Joseph Addison of *The Spectator*, 1711-12) and his wife in the covert meetings with Wortley (*Letters* I.37), Lady Mary created an intimate connection between her author acquaintance and her young-adult self, which was striving for independence. The link may have emboldened her to work in journalism, as with the *Nonsense of Common-Sense* essays (1731), the authorship of which was kept as secret as the courtship was.

2 For further explanation regarding Peter Gay's contribution to modern thought on the Enlightenment, see R. Porter, *The Enlightenment* (Princeton: Humanities, 1990). Widespread reference to Gay's definition of the era keeps his book central to discussion, even thirty years later.

3 Reprints of Thomas Jenner's *The Soules Solace* (1626) were launched in 1639 and in 1651, when it was named *Divine Mysteries*, but reissued in its original format. The "grapes on the placard" emblem, #28, bears the caption "The Foolishness of Transubstantiation." (*Soules Solace* reprint--see Manning).

4 Generic classifying in the style of Linnaeus provided just one natural science diversion for Lady Mary. For her thoughts on astronomy, as another source of diversion, see *Princess Docile*, Fragment II (*RW* 189-92). For an ironic treatment of the same star-gazing hobby, the lines in "A Satyr" show Lady Mary's view:

> The Learned She, who makes her wise remarks
> On Whiston's Lectures or on Dr Clark's,
> And quite dispiseing mean Domestic Cares
> Only regards the motions of the Stars.
> A Gilded Telescope oft fills her hand,
> An Orrery does on her Toilet stand,
> New Systems seeks, will all Dark points explore,
> Charm'd with Opinions never heard before . . . .
>
> (*EP* 214; 148-55).

Chapter 4 Court Wit

In *La Princesse de Clèves*, Madame de Lafayette represents the courtiers of sixteenth-century France emblematically, calling them "the flower of court society, both men and women, gathered without fail . . . it seemed as if nature had bestowed her finest gifts on fair princesses and noble princes alike" (4). Identified with the royals of English society for two decades, Lady Mary could be numbered among the "flowers" for just a brief period, between 1714 and 1716. Her presence among the courtiers of England during her mid-twenties inspired her court-centered verses, letters and biographical pieces; each of these accomplished the ends of supporting and entertaining the court circle, if occasionally turning the court into her object of satire. Once smallpox took from her the attractive appearance sought in a favourite, Lady Mary became an observant outsider--at a great distance between 1716 and 1718, while she wrote from her ambassadorial travels, and nearer at hand on her return.

In tracing the shift in Lady Mary's aristocratic identity, from welcomed insider to genteel outcast, this chapter shows that the growing tendency of her output is toward withdrawal of support from the customs of royalty. Rather than extolling in verse the accustomed attitudes and activities (even when these overstepped moral boundaries), Lady Mary shifts, after 1725, to more direct criticism of quarrelsome aristocratic, inner-circle practice. In her poem "While fruitfull Nile ador'd his horned Queen" (c.1734), she assumes this critical stance, denouncing the Prince of Wales and his sycophants for in-fighting, and for

"thought of Flesh pots past" (*EP* 279; 6); though she was amused by similar behaviours in the droll, satirical *Eclogs* which she circulated freely among the ladies of the court in 1718, in her post-embassy years she derives no more amusement. A major source of her disaffection inheres in her falling out with Pope; after the release of the *Dunciad Variorum* in 1729, Lady Mary commences the series of counter-attacks that define her mid-life literary production. She has not ceased to hold her unofficial role as a Court Wit, but has instead assumed one of its sub-roles, as creator (and, with Lord Hervey as well as Henry Fielding, co-creator) of "'answer poems,' either parodies of or responses to other poems" (Vieth and Griffin 37). She composes these answer poems in response to attacks (especially by Alexander Pope) produced within the literary clique to which she formerly belonged. Though neither Pope nor Swift received an unequivocal welcome at court, each had aristocratic friends and Pope received occasional notice from the throne (Butt 352); thus we could declare the pair in the related category of "Town Wit" to allow for their less-stable aristocratic connections (Wilson 5). The answering activity extends by the late 1730s to include "answer essays," such as the *Nonsense of Common Sense* series; thus, the work of Lady Mary in her post-Turkish life in England embodies a stage of identity politics at which she arrives as an outsider. Once fallen out of favour with Pope and others with power over British literary circles, she reacts against them by becoming defender in poetry and prose of herself, as well as of other lampoon-victims. She answers the jibes of the standard-setters.

Lady Mary's court persona acquired the lustre of royal blessing as she wrote for the amusement of the inner circle around Princess Caroline. The fact that Lord Oxford's son carried a copy of her "Monday" eclogue, by which the poem's circulation can be dated in 1715/16, confirms the court-circle custom of copying and distributing her poems (Grundy, *EP* 182). The term, "court wit," carries specific connotations of time, place and person, yet the definition allows for careful extension to this eighteenth-century woman. Vieth and Griffin base their (extendible) definition on J. Harold Wilson's seminal work on the Restoration, *Court Wits* (1948): the phrase refers to a core of clever men who displayed traits such as incisive wit, proficient creativity, and a regard for aristocratic prerogative, no less valued for being satirically undercut. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, created "poetry circulated at the court (if not actually produced there), *about* life at court," and stood among the "intimates and social equals of the king" (Vieth and Griffin 37), qualifying among the court favourites like Sedley and Etherege despite poems like his "Impromptu on Charles II": "We have a pretty witty king,/ Whose word no man relies on;/ He never said a foolish thing / And never did a wise one" (Vieth 120). Rochester attended on Charles II in the era between 1660 (when Rochester was just thirteen) and 1680, dying five years before the monarch's own passing; Lady Mary attended upon the royals of England, King George I and Princess Caroline, between 1714 and 16, and also between 1719 and 27. Like Rochester, she wrote poems for circulation at court that might have caused her

trouble, if not for royal tolerance. Witty and creative, she also mustered respect for the protocol of the court, even when circumstances strained her personal resources. The urgency of following court-rules, and of meeting the responsibilities given to her, emerges in one of Lady Mary's letters from around 1715 to Charlotte Clayton, later Lady Sundon:

> I am extreamly sorry that dear Mrs Clayton did not let me know this morning the favour she intended me. I am this moment going to L[ady] Jekyl's according to promise, and fear I cannot make my Excuse there [in] time enough to come to St James's, and to the Play. If you could meet me at L[ady] Jekyl's it would save time, and I should more decently excuse my breaking my engagement with her. If not I fear I must be unhappy this Evening for want of your company . . . . (*Selected Letters* 130)

Lady Mary's observations on court life from close at hand collect in the *Eclogs* (1715-16), a series of poems based upon a week in the lives of socialites; like Gay's *The Shepherds' Week* (1714), and like similar exercises--Rochester's "Dialogue between Strephon and Daphne" a notable one--produced by the Restoration court wits, the eclogues created by Lady Mary grow from Virgilian models. Lady Mary's eclogues particularly capitalize on the court setting; thus, they distance themselves both from the pastoral idylls of Virgil and from recent imitations by male poets.

In *Pastoral and Ideology*, Annabel Patterson asks how the interpretation of Virgilian models, often evident within an imitation, may position the borrower: "what people think of Virgil's *Eclogues* is key to their cultural assumptions, because the text was so structured as to provoke, consciously or unconsciously, an ideological response"(7). Lady Mary links her identity to that of Virgil's shepherds, as well as to his shepherdesses. As an admiring adolescent, Lady Mary called her lovelorn shepherd "Strephon" in tribute to Virgil; in adopting and adapting the form of the eclogue in 1716, however, she displays her cultural assumptions differently; her *Eclogs* give mature, independent expression to the imitation, and shift the speakers from Virgil's bucolic character-types to familiar court figures, so that the modern is made prominent. She thus positions herself in the front lines of a current literary conflict, the struggle of Ancients and Moderns. As Swift's *Battel of the Books* (1704) demonstrates, in a hands-on-throat fashion, the reverence for Horace and Virgil underwent daily attack by authors who wished to declare the classical form outmoded, and to move on in favour of modern theme and expression (376-96). Engaged in by classical imitators of the eighteenth century, the debate led one of Pope's personæ, the speaker in a *Guardian* essay later attached to the *Dunciad*, to take a stand: the mini-essay included with the 1729 *Dunciad Variorum*, "On the Subject of PASTORALS," maintains that "So easie as Pastoral Writing may seem, (in the *Simplicity* we have described it) yet it requires great *Reading*, both of the *Ancients* and *Moderns*, to be a

master of it" (105).

The locus of desire--along with the nature of the desirable--serves as a central theme in Virgil's *Eclogues;* it receives varying treatment among the eighteenth-century imitators, and Lady Mary's approach to it, contrasted to that of her contemporary, Gay, demonstrates how she interprets Virgil. The emphasis on body/bawdy that colours Gay's *Shepherd's Week* can develop naturally from country symbols; the flower, rosemary, appears in a riddle in Virgil's third eclogue, then as a suggestive query on which flower can "adjoin the Virgin" in Gay's "Monday; or, The Squabble"; both cases display the flower in its countrified setting, at a remove from the royals (mentioned in each poem) who take an interest in its markings: "*What Flow'r is that which Royal Honour craves,/ Adjoin the* Virgin, *and 'tis strown on Graves* (Gay 118-19). Gay has faithfully rendered Virgil's "*Dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina Regum / Nascantur Flores*" (*Eclogues* 3.106-7), to which the suitably bucolic, female-name answer, according to Gay's note, is "Rosemary." In her *Town Eclogs*, Lady Mary shifts the third eclogue out of the rustic setting and right to the courts and dressing tables, bringing the emphasis to the gaudy women-flowers of the city: "The Opera Queens had finish'd halfe their Faces / And City Dames allready taken Places" (*EP* 185 11-12). The coaches, salons, opera houses and dressing rooms of the courtiers replace the fragrant meadows inhabited by Virgil's speakers.

As a three-member eclogue-adapting cohort, Pope, Gay, and Lady Mary used the Virgilian models in demonstrably different

ways, though bibliographic doubt still clings to who-did-what. Lady Mary is believed by Ann Messenger (1986) to have worked first on a poem of fading beauty, "Friday: Lydia" (90); she wrote a version, and Gay wrote a version, and the effect of each strikes the reader differently. According to Pope--though "Roxana" vies for position--the artistic development of the eclogues departed from the point of Gay's co-creation here:

> 'Lydia' in Lady Mary's poems, is almost wholly Gay's, and is published as such in his works. There are only five or six lines new set in it by that lady. It was that which gave the hint and she wrote the other five eclogues to it. (Spence 104)

Though Messenger argues for Lady Mary's having a greater hand than Pope allows, thirty-nine lines to Gay's seventy-five (90-91), the more important feature of the poem's creation is Lady Mary's contribution to tone and theme. Intriguing ideological possibilities arise if "Friday" is the first poem created within the series. The twenty-six-year-old Lady Mary could conduct the testing of a poetic persona, with a sympathetic, established writer or two at her side (Gay's first published poem, mentored by Aaron Hill, appeared seven years earlier); "Lydia," then, could have served as a point of departure into her individual creation. The stamp of Gay's and Pope's approval, given as they involved themselves in the poetic process, resembles Burnet's affirming the worth of her Epictetus translation (1710),

affirmation which probably lent confidence to her critique of Addison's *Cato* as well as to the unperformed epilogue she wrote for the play (1713). In "Friday: Lydia," Lady Mary adopts the voice of a has-been, characterizing Lydia as a jilted paramour who strikes out (against a married man in her version, but not in Gay's) with words as weapons. The point of the patches and perfume is that they embody Lydia's thwarted romantic notions--and Lady Mary's, as well: echoing numerous letters to Wortley, she causes Lydia to ask, "Am I that stupid Thing to bear Neglect / And force a smile, not daring to Suspect?" (*EP* 200; 65-6). And while the author's marriage promises to continue--in contrast to the affair of her creation, Lydia--each resigns herself to faded romance. The sense that in sophisticated London, "All for Love" becomes an untenable ideal, gives the poem a mimetic quality, not only to the source of Lydia's lament (akin to that of Virgil's Corydon), but also to the author's bleak four-year marriage.

In the court wit's borrowing of the Virgilian eclogue for cynical use in urban settings, source and motive for the daring combination--imitated form with contemporary content--can be traced to Jonathan Swift, whose crossing of the pastoral genre with the citified theme in "Description of the Morning" (1709) impressed the other poets with its juxtapositions:

> Now hardly here and there a Hackney Coach
> Appearing show'd the Ruddy morn's approach.
> Now Betty from her Master's Bed had flown,
> And softly stole to discompose her own (*Poetical Works* 1-4).

Like this passage--from the streets and not from fashionable society--but also like the subtext in Pope's Horatian odes, Lady Mary's eclogues strike a balance between the rural classical model and the modern perspective: the green-clothed park of the opening line in Montagu's "Friday," along with Lydia's sigh over the idea that "No Lovers now her morning Hours molest / And catch her at her Toilette halfe undrest" (*EP* 198; 3-4) effect the creation of both edenic and post-fall urban imagery.

We have observed that since her mid-teens, Lady Mary had been using the Roman poets as models; but she had been content to leave the pastorals in bucolic settings, as Virgil had done (even though she placed a heavier emphasis on lost love than the Latin poet had, as is the case with "Recanting" [*HMS* 251] in comparison with its original, Virgil's First Eclogue). In the eclogues created by Pope, Gay, and Lady Mary, new settings provide a fresh viewpoint on the bucolic themes of the originals. Where Amaryllis occupied Strephon's thoughts as he sat on a fence with a shepherd-neighbour, now Strephon sighs over Cœlia between sips at a coffee house, lamenting to his fellow fop, Patch, over the heartless coquette. Gay is credited by Halsband with the inspiration of turning shepherds and shepherdesses into courtiers and ladies, but Swift's altered setting for the mock pastoral, written a half-dozen years earlier than the first *Town Eclog,* sets the tone for other such literary shifts.

The Juvenal epigram of Lady Mary's *Spectator* essay, No. 573 (1714), frames the portrait of the court wit by hinting at one provocation for writing: "*Castigata remordent*" (The castigated

sting back) (*EP* 69). Though the expression applies to the empowerment of the widows in the essay, the epigram also suggests that Lady Mary understood she risked joining the "*castigata*" if she wrote topical barbs, but that writing allowed her, in return, to hurt her critics. She drew a particularly scandalized response when the *Monday* eclogue, which exposed the female sycophants working under Princess Caroline, circulated--and in response to the partly shocked, partly delighted reaction, she continued the series. The half-dozen poems, together with the single essay on the reclaimed power of widows, did not generate enough bad feeling to keep her from being welcomed by the inner circle to express opinions on her peers. What Lady Loudon (informing her clique of gossipers in the letter-excerpt below) chose to exclaim over was the depiction of the vain, selfish type of woman with whom Lady Mary--and Princess Caroline herself--consorted:

> a friend of [Lady Mary's] (I do not know who it was) showed a poem she had entrusted them with[,] writ upon the Court. I have not yet seen it, but I'm told it is very pretty and not a little wicked. . . . The Princess has seen it. Poor Lady Mary will not know how to come to Court again. (*Life* 52)

In Lady Mary's "Monday," the sophisticated life of the urbs that was Rome, glimpsed in Virgil's first eclogue as the most fickle of females in the distance (Davidson *Eclogues and Georgics* 1n.),

transforms to London's close-up sophistications, depicted with jaded cynicism: "Let Iris leave her Paint, and own her Age,/ And Grave Suffolkia wed a giddy Page" (*EP* 184; 51-2). Lady Mary brings the city, and the court within it, to the centre of the discourse, while maintaining Virgil's concern with human interaction as a source of both joy and woe. In Virgil's second eclogue, the shepherd Corydon scolds himself over his infatuation: "Corydon, you're a yokel;/ Alexis scorns your gifts,/ Nor could you beat Iollas in a giving match" (Lee 15; 56-7), but later determines, "If this Alexis sneers at you, you'll find another" (74). The self-reproach shared by the classical speaker and the eighteenth-century one locate in both poems what Maynard Mack identifies as sought-after in the Virgilian eclogue: "a way of life, a power of seeing, a desired condition of things now viewed as lost . . . even though it may never actually have existed or been in fact enjoyed[--]the grass in the last pasture . . . the Earthly Paradise" (Mack 134). As a court wit, Lady Mary shifts the setting but not the emotive base of the classical works.

The ironic tone of poetic exposé, evident in Lady Mary's *Eclogs* and answer poems, corresponds to that of "Birth of a Squire," a John Gay poem which imitates Virgil's fourth eclogue. Though the Dryden translation of the same poem anticipates the arrival of the Christ child (*Works* Vol.6 811-13n.), Gay's interpretation of the material instead follows a newborn noble through temptations and crises. Gay illustrates how little the boy deserves privilege: "How shall his spirit brook the rigid

rules,/ And the long tyranny of grammar schools?/ . . . No, let him never feel that smart disgrace:/ Why should he wiser prove than all his race?" (43-4, 47-8). Adapting Virgil in "P[ope] to Bolingbroke" (c.1735), Lady Mary maintains the male voice and gives up (at least for her speaker) the empowerment of aristocratic entitlement. She uses a Virgilian maxim to underline Alexander Pope's, her persona's, unequal standing to the lord he addresses (Pope himself has employed a similar image in *Essay on Man* [1.36], of himself in relation to Bolingbroke, but this is his prerogative:

> Permit me too, a small attendant Star,
> To twinkle, tho' in a more distant Sphere, }
> Small things with great we Poets oft compare.(*EP* 280; 9-11n.)

The closing line of the triplet copies the sentiment expressed in Virgil's first eclogue that every hierarchy, natural or man-made, shares proportions in the orbiting rel
ationship of the small to the great. The layered irony of the speaker's "smallness" contains, along with the reference to Pope's physical stature, an element of the commoner's relation to the lord; it bespeaks the aristocratic privilege that Lady Mary the poet possesses, but that she emphatically denies the poet who is her speaker. In all cases, Dryden's and Gay's and Lady Mary's, the imitation conveys the basic material of the original, yet it raises issues of specific concern to eighteenth-century Britons.

Lady Mary's use of the Virgilian, Horatian or Juvenalian model enables her to pose as an unhappy lover or a thwarted social climber--but also, and equally, as a judge of that lover's or striver's case. Analyzing the pervasive use of classical allusion by Pope and his contemporaries, Brower contrasts the more subtle, gentle satire modeled on Horace (c.42 B.C.) to the directed invective of Juvenal (c.100 A.D.): "Although on occasion Horace can be as direct in denunciation as Juvenal, indirection is one of his chief characteristics as a moralist and a poet" (175). In at least one eclogue, Lady Mary follows the more direct Juvenalian tradition despite the "political innocence" (Patterson 210) of the pastoral mode; she marks the daily dramas of court life by hard-hitting poetic satire. As in the third of Juvenal's *Satires*, her exposing of aged former beauties evokes "the harlot empress": "foul to the sight and ludicrous, her face / Puffs forth with layers of bread dough" (Juvenal 3.6), Lady Mary ridicules Roxana in "Monday" by reference to her weight, under which her chairmen "groan the cruel load they're doom'd to bear" (*EP* 183; 5).

Lady Mary does not just expose physical limitations; in her "Account of the Court of George I" (c. 1715), she describes the bride of the Prince, son of George I: Princess Caroline of Anspach "was at that time esteem'd a German Beauty, and had that Genius which qualify'd her for the Government of a Fool and made her despicable in the Eyes of all Men of Sense; I mean a Low Cunning which gave her an Inclination to cheat all the people she convers'd with" (*EP* 93). Lady Mary goes on to express some pity

for the woman, who also fooled and cheated herself by believing others to be similar; the effect of the description, though, is to make us recognize that even at the time of observing the flaws in the character of the Princess, Lady Mary positions herself as detached observer of the circle given to fawning over the rulers. Fittingly, each "day" of the eclogues' imaginary week shows the role of women in court-life: a waiting gentlewoman and her rival, the love objects of a pair of rakes, a woman deciding between husband and lover, two vice-ridden women, a beauty fading because of age, and another with looks ruined by disease.

Learning from her company, Lady Mary allows her characters to range outside the court for a deeper sense of their (and her) shepherd-based poetic identity. The *Eclogs*' occasional rustic allusions shift attention away from court life, allowing them to include some features of the type of Horatian ode that Pope emulates; when Roxana "Sighed her soft sorrows at St James's Gate" (*EP* 182; 2), the conflating of mood with the outdoor locus echoes the tone while shifting the placement of the speaker in Horace's solitary stoic in the *Fifth Ode*, imitated by Lady Mary around 1741 (*EP* 302). Similarly, in Pope's adaptation of one of Horace's satires, the *Ninth Ode of the Fourth Book* (c. 1738), the Italian river Aufidus converts to "the silver Thames" (Butt *Imitations* 2); Pope's customary placement of the original text on the page opposite to his interpretation lets readers note the changes immediately; in the following stanza, Milton, Spenser, Waller and Cowley (5-9) replace poets named by Horace: Pindarus, Homer, Alcaeus and Stesichorus (Butt *Imitations* 158). A merging

of eras in which notable figures may be found occurs here: "Sages and Chiefs long since had birth / Ere Cæsar was, or Newton named" (9-10). Finally the ode creates a sense of empires born--without poets to pay them proper homage--and satirizes the proud of every era (16). In his "First Ode of the Fourth Book" (1737), a similar replacement occurs: Paullus, the lover in Horace's version, transforms to Murray; Venus is instructed to "spread round MURRAY all your blooming Loves" (Butt *Imitations* 10). In both cases, the poet urges Venus to visit the "Tumults" of love on another man. Pope deploys the classical allusion that reveals his signature style, exposing the folly of human struggle in truth-divulging satirical constructs.

Horatian or Virgilian imitation inspires the town/court wit who pays tribute to classical forebears, but added to the root-material is the secondary prospect of making a comment about the conditions in the wit's own country and era. Like Pope, Lady Mary selects some classical structures and themes from Virgilian and/or Horatian poems to follow, and places her own constructions upon the skeleton of the original. Her Horatian imitation (of his Ode III) in "Wednesday" causes her persona to observe the "bitter Pleasure" of an affair's consummation to be "So closely follow'd by the Dismal Train / Of cutting Shame, and Guilt's heart peirceing Pain" (*EP* 191; 81-2 &n.) In "Tuesday," she calls upon a noble listener as if he were the classical divine patron: "Oh H[owar]d to my Lays Attention lend" (3) The note below describes Charles Howard, the 3rd Earl of Carlisle as a family friend (Grundy *EP* 185), a modern aristocrat that poetic diction

demands be apostrophized. Use of the term "Lays" for "songs" has emerged from the Renaissance (with its first use to mean "strain or tune" recorded in 1581 [*OED*]), placing the poem within the camp of the moderns; however, the traditional address to the patron locates the opening line as belonging to the ancients, in that it adheres to the Horatian tradition.

In Lady Mary's *Eclogs*, the employment of classical tradition in a contemporary court setting extends beyond the opening address; each of the six poems details a contest, akin to the competitions of the traditional eclogue. Either the contest is staged in verse before us, or it is prophesied--or, as in the case of the first eclogue, it is already lost. Brower refers to the admirable qualities of the warrior, describing Sarpedon in the *Iliad*: "The clear-eyed vigorous choice of action, the fine sense of responsibility to be 'first in Valour' if one is 'first in place'" (109). "Monday: Roxana or The Drawing Room" profiles a defeated character who serves as an unsympathetic narrator; her role is borne out, not just in content but in form, and the framing narrative, in an ABA pattern, delivered by a "superior" narrator, introduces and departs from the protestations of the central figure's lines 7-62 at lines 1-6, then 63-66 (*EP* 182-5). Roxana, cast in the poem's losing role, laments her rival's winning of the post of Lady of the Bedchamber, which her real-life counterpart, the Duchess of Roxburghe, had recently lost to the rival renamed "Coquettilla": the Duchess of Shrewsbury (*EP* 184 n.39). Lady Mary levels obvious criticism at royalty's open activity of playing favourites in the lines, "Yet Coquettilla's

Artifice prevails / When all my Merit and my Duty fails" (*EP* 184; 139-40). Neither the hired nor the spurned gentlewoman draws a reader's sympathy; instead, the author appears distanced from the entire contest. Mary Wortley Montagu, through her framing narrator, shows a greater awareness than does her central speaker, the Duchess of Roxburgh, over why "Roxana" is kept away from the intimate codes of the inner circle to which her replacement, the Duchess of Shrewsbury, has admittance (*Life* 50). On the other hand, the woman hired in Roxana's place has common flaws which Lady Mary allows to be pointed out by the balked accuser: "I know thee, Court! with all thy treacherous wiles,/ Thy false Carreses and undoing smiles!" (*EP* 184; 55-6). The lament's final effect is to cause the reader to dismiss the contest itself as an overwrought display of fawning obsequiousness.

The woman's past standing at court compares not only to the current standing of Lady Mary herself, but to that of Pope's Belinda; Roxana came into court life "In glowing Youth when Nature bids, be Gay,/ And ev'ry Joy of Life before me lay" (*EP* 183; 18-19). And although Roxana's ever-prim attitude to gaiety and earthly joy differs from Belinda's willing involvement in court diversions, Lady Mary's poetic handling of humiliating public crisis demonstrates that Pope's influence (along with that of Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, from which both she and Pope borrow) affects Lady Mary's regard for and treatment of Roxana. *The Rape of the Lock* contains these lines on the spiritual state of the chief of Belinda's faerie protectors, dreading humiliation though

surrounded by the carefree: "All but the *Sylph*--With careful thoughts oppresst,/ Th' impending Woe sate heavy on his Breast" (2.53-4). Our first sight of Lady Mary's Roxana reveals that "Such heavy thoughts lay brooding in her Breast / Not her own Chairmen with more weight oppress'd" (*EP* 182; 3-4). Grundy's note links the couplets, noting more "classical echoes" of the fourth Canto opening in the *Rape:* "But anxious cares the pensive nymph oppressed,/ And secret passions laboured in her breast" (IV.1-2). The more weighty of the two borrowings is the first, in the literal manner of the chair-lifters' "oppression" due to Roxana's physical heaviness. Pope's bright mockery of the classical upper world of sprites and sylphs yields in "Monday" to the more direct satiric attack on the piggish state to which court indulgences can lead a woman who "lets herself go." Further to the material presence of Roxana, we can recognize her ornaments, the "new set . . . Jewells" (*EP* 183; 8), as heavy representations of her former standing, reminders that she once shone in court circles, and now simply drags them down, by both her presence and her prudery. While the laments of the self-exiled women, Lady Mary's Roxana and Pope's Belinda, fall upon similar thematic notes, the pair of banishments from a longed-for milieu lose the commonality at the poems' denouements. "Despis'd Roxana, cease, and try to find / Some other, since the Princesse proves unkind" (*EP* 185; 63-4) advises the scorned lady to seek another patron, having lost the chance to serve her princess. The harsh fate of this contest-loser contrasts to Belinda's, since she regains her standing by exacting snuff-

sneezing revenge on her tormentor, the Baron (V.80-81), and receives the honour due to one whose youth and strength promise great battles to come, not only in the temporal world where Roxana has failed, but in the upper realm, where her lost lock "adds new glory to the shining sphere" (V.142). Lady Mary's older contestant has no such recourse.

In "Tuesday," a different court contest emerges: the one among men for the attention of the most attractive, most heartbreaking coquettes. By contrast to the first eclogue's serious central issue, the casting out of ill-fated Roxana, the second eclogue's concern, the tallying of favours given each courtier by the ladies, has a lighter tone, suited to its irreverent content. Messenger calls the poem "a parody of the pastoral singing contests in which shepherds praise the charms of their mistresses . . . express[ing] a sense of the loss of rural innocence" (102). Rather than parody, "Tuesday" can serve as extension, a sort of <u>argumentum ad absurdum</u> whereby the parameters of the classical contest broaden to allow boasting about sexual gains to become the "singing." The count-up of the gains is a literal one, since both Patch and Silliander keep the numbers of "gifts" they have received in their heads, for later comparison: buckles, love-notes, snuff boxes, kisses, and even drinks delivered to the gentleman in the lady's bed. Patch describes the activity that results from the generosity of these court ladies:

> Women are allways ready to receive,

> 'Tis then a favour when the Sex will give.
> A Lady (but she is too great to name,
> Beauteous in Person, spotless in her Fame)
> With gentle Strugglings let me force this Ring,
> Another Day may give Another Thing. (*EP* 187; 42-47)

Through the crude exchange of boasts, once the pair has established exactly how familiar they are with the club and theatre scene, Patch and Silliander are vying for each other's recognition of the presence of a true rake. The crowning achievement of the contest is one that Halsband and Grundy's note (*EP* 189) identifies as having been detailed in *Spectator* No. 492; it involves the rake's exact descriptions of the colour of his lady love's stockings and garters. The contest has in it the kind of male bonding associated with today's clichéd locker-room boasts; the poem's target is its boastful speakers, in the style of Browning's monologue "My Last Duchess" (1842) which equally reveals its prideful narrator.

Pope noted an association to Virgil's Eclogue III at three points in the manuscript-copy of "Tuesday" (Grundy, *EP* 187-188n.); the suggested source discovers a metaphor that puts the urges of Patch and Silliander into context. While comparing the avid attentions of a bull to inaccessible cows and those of the herdsmen to cruel maidens, Virgil has his speaker Menalcas argue, "Surely love is not the cause with these: they scarcely stick to their bones. Some evil eye or other bewitches my tender lambs" (Davidson *Eclogues and Georgics* 10). This comparison between

wasting love and bewitchment may be seen in Silliander's description of a high-class liaison: "Last night as I stood ogling of her Grace,/ Drinking Delicious Poison from her Face/ The soft Enchantress did that face decline / Nor ever rais'd her eyes to meet with mine" (*EP* 188; 60-61). The Virgilian image has been twisted to let the male seducer claim that love is poisoning him, deliciously.

The role of woman within this exchange is of love object or temptress, with the pair of men admitting to being love slaves one minute, while crowing out their victories over their supposed "conquerors" the next. In the familiar role of smitten suitor, Lady Mary voices her sense that the sexual arena is the place where social battles are waged, with women more often functioning as the prizes than as the contenders. In "Wednesday," she gives her attention to the same gender battle, yet voices the sides more evenly than in the previous eclogue; this time, her male character is "Strephon," a name shared by one of her first recorded personae, and her female character is "Dancinda," whose preoccupation with worldly diversions has already been established by her name before she speaks.

To align Lady Mary's identity politics with one character in this poem is to see the gender of each speaker determining the position held, and thus to recognize the favoured character. Dancinda, member of the "beautifull Sex," has already been taken as one man's prize, and therefore utters her thoughts on the love affair from the position of figurative prisoner: "Is't not enough, Inhuman and unkind!/ I own the secret conflict of my

Mind?" (*EP* 190; 15-16). The wife contemplating adultery thus agonizes (and receives the poet's sympathy) over being made to name her desires. Lady Mary's July 1727 letter to Lady Mar emphasizes the "circumstances extreamly risible in these affairs"; the letter-writer has led in with the ironic opener, "I suppose you have heard how good Lady Lansdowne has pass'd her Time here; she has liv'd publickly with Lord Dunmore, 'Fam'd for their Loves, their mutual happy Loves'" (*Letters* 2.81). Once Lord Lansdowne's continuing absence in France during the affair has been noted, Lady Mary's sense of delicious shock comes plainly across.

Shocked or not by the tempted woman at a crossroads in her affair, Lady Mary plays out her scene to explore the temptation further. Dancinda has not reached Lady Lansdowne's "point of no return" in the intrigue that forms "The Tête à Tête": her caution to her lover is that they must not take the fateful step of consummating their union: "Oh Strephon! if you would continu Just,/If Love be something more than Brutal Lust / Forbear to ask, what I must still deny" (*EP* 191; 77-79). The pleading tone of the request acquaints readers with how much is at risk in the couple's liaison, and with the risks taken already. Strephon speaks at the poem's beginning and at its end, but is mainly represented in their case as Dancinda lays it out before him.

Testing the limits of the poetic disguise, Lady Mary tries on more than one way of closing Dancinda's and Strephon's story. A decision Halsband and Grundy have made, in editing this eclogue, allows analytical study of it at greater depth than the

fair copy alone would provide: they have included a changed ending to the poem, suggested by Lady Mary or by Pope, the piece's second author (*EP* 192-3; 89-92 & n.). The ending which currently stands is the briefer of the two, and the less fair-dealing with the male lover, Strephon: "Madam, if Love--but he could say no more / For Made'moiselle came rapping at the door" (*EP* 192; 85-86). Her knock heralds the return of Dancinda's Lord and the end of the tryst, so that all of the accusations against the young man stay, without his defense to mitigate them. The extended ending allows him to show the gentlemanly side of his nature--at least, where professions of love are concerned: "Madam, if Love could touch that Gentle Breast / With halfe that ardour with which mine's oppress'd,/ You would not blast my more than vestal Fire / And call it Brutal, or impure Desire" (*EP* 192; 1-4). In the total of twenty lines defending Strephon's intentions, he makes the thinking, wishing aspects of human love contrast to the animal ones. A name change, of "Dancinda" to "Delia," hints that the alternative ending has been modified to stand as a poem on its own; however, its similar theme to the one in "Wednesday" places in the spotlight the ending Lady Mary chose. Here is the ending which never appeared attached to the eclogue: "Fair Delia blush'd, while he put out the Light,/ And all that follow'd was Eternal Night" (*EP* 193; 19-20). A hint of damnation for the indulgence of mutual lust lurks in these lines, showing that the contest may not have involved just two lovers--that Satan also had a stake. Importantly, Strephon's chance to respond to Dancinda's sense of entrapment takes precedence, here:

"Oh, take me, press me to your panting breast!/ Let me be now, and I'm forever blest" (*EP* 15-16). The "blessing" Strephon begs for carries a charge of blasphemy, suggesting that the Eternal Night of the final couplet, earned for their sin of idolizing one another, awaits the pair equally.

The temptations that Lady Mary herself usually resists may be indulged in poetic form--and then their consequences may be studied. The theme of yielding to earthy impulses continues to be handled in the "Thursday" eclogue, subtitled "The Bassette Table," which profiles two women with addictions; one, Cardelia, cannot get enough of card-playing, and the other, Smilinda, has a similar obsession with her gallant, Sharper. The comparison shows a balance between the two preoccupations, wherein each has its victim barely able to contain a passion for the object sought--and each promises heartbreak if the pursuit continues. The tale of two-fold woe unfolds, along with a survey of the contenders on the scene around the card tables; for each woman who steals Sharper's attentions from Smilinda, there is another who bests Cardelia at her favourite games, Ombre and Bassette. The women's shared excess is epitomized in this couplet, moaned by Cardelia: "I know the Bite, yet to my ruin run,/ And see the Folly which I cannot shun" (*EP* 196; 70-71). In the middle of Smilinda's tallying of her gallant's attributes, his "several graces," a third character interrupts the exchange: Betty Loveit, a woman whose sentiments do not extend to high romance, nor to obsessive gambling. The name of the jaded coquette of Etherege's *The Man of Mode* combines with the customary name of a

female servant, devaluing the listener by name on two counts. Her chiding voice, heard once before at lines 28-29, closes the piece by dividing the spoils collected by the pair in their twin pursuits: a miniature notions case called an "equipage" (*EP* 195; 30 &n.) and a snuffbox, gift from Sharper, trade owners. Smilinda claims the former, which has been imperiled already by Cardelia's betting; and Cardelia takes the latter, from her friend's lover whose interest has now waned. Betty Loveit turns out to judge as well as Solomon, since neither woman would have parted willingly with the symbol of her costly obsession. Murphy comments that Lady Mary has "a tongue like emery paper and a heart of flint" (26), noting unflatteringly the tone of the observer satirizing human vices.

An additional element to this eclogue is its apparent autobiographical content: Horace Walpole gossiped over Lady Mary's and Lord Stair's presence in the eclogue in the disguises of Smilinda and Sharper (*EP* 193; 4 &n.). This revelation causes readers to re-examine the intimacies between the two characters, and to reflect upon Lady Mary's hints in letters that the keeping of beaux should receive social approval. Resembling the fourth eclogue of Virgil, the poem tallies material goods that the women have been blessed with, as well as trials that await them--these things also await Virgil's just-born aristocrat (Lee 4.18-29). However, unlike the Virgilian poem's approach to theme, the modern treatment of male-female relations makes Smilinda's concerns current with Lady Mary's. Exposing the Viennese custom of "<u>cisisbeismo</u>" to her female correspondents in the English

court, she adopts the trope of the amused bystander, yet a note of fascination undeniably creeps in: "In one word, 'tis the establish'd custom for every Lady to have 2 Husbands, one that bears the Name, and another that performs the Dutys; and these engagements are . . . well-known" (*Letters* 1.270-1).

Lady Mary involves herself at a more personal level in the final pair of eclogues, revealing her own vulnerability by adopting the voices of the dispossessed. If lessons on how the world's plenty is distributed enter the fourth eclogue, they sound even more plainly in the last two. Each poem examines waning beauty and a woman's standing at the court, in the contest of belonging. Each takes the case from one lone person's viewpoint, at a distance from the merriment and artifice of courtly life. Though the first focuses on the ravages of age and the second concentrates on the disfiguring effects of disease, they share their tone--stark in pronouncing the fragility of court-standing, wistful in trying to keep hold of what once came readily.

> Now twenty Springs had cloath'd the Park with Green
> Since Lydia knew the blossom of Fiveteen.
> No Lovers now her morning Hours molest
> And catch her at her Toilette halfe undrest,
> The thundering Knocker wakes the street no more,
> Nor Chairs, nor Coaches, croud the silent door;
> Now at the Window all her mornings pass,
> Or at the dumb Devotion of her Glass.

Reclin'd upon her Arm she pensive sate,
And curst th'Inconstancy of Man, too late.
Oh Youth! Oh spring of Life for ever lost
No more my Name shall reign the fav'rite Toast,
On Glas no more the Di'mond grave my Name,
And Lines mispelt record my Lovers Flame. (*EP* 198; 1-14)

Because Mary Wortley Montagu had hardly reached her twenty-sixth year in the writing of "Friday," her imagination, joined with powers of observation, must be at work in the poignancy of Lydia's self-revelation. Up to the time of her own disfiguring smallpox (at twenty-six), Lady Mary was frequently described as a court beauty at the height of her attractiveness; her understanding of the has-been who needs a lady's maid's compliments to feel beautiful, displays in Halsband's words "her versatile skill and empathy [which] enabled her to express any point of view" (*Life* 50). As a central element in her identity politics, the versatility marks this work of her young womanhood as a banner of her complex selfhood. "Friday" also demonstrates her willingness to show admiration of her co-creators by imitation, as so many obvious reflections of *The Rape of the Lock* appear in this eclogue. Like Roxana and Belinda before her, Lydia must cope with an appearance so altered that it makes her reluctant to face those who formerly welcomed her: "How am I curs'd! unhappy and forlorn,/ My Lover's Triumph, and my Sexes Scorn!" (*EP* 35-6) In *The Rape of the Lock*, Belinda's friend Thalestris asks if Belinda can tolerate the Baron's flaunting of

her scissored lock, "While the Fops envy, and the Ladies stare!" (IV.104). Both outcasts, then, cringe at public gloating over their retirement. Both women have been shown off as their men's ornaments, and now neither retains her former value; Kowaleski-Wallace identifies as typical "Belinda's situation as marketable commodity . . . matched by her status as participant *in* the marketplace" (154). Lydia's equally material participation manifests itself in shopping, her solution to her sadness at being tossed aside (*EP* 199; 27-34). Even more than Belinda does, Lydia deals with the deprivation of one thing (a new gift from a lover) by laying her hands on others, minus the middleman. The two differ primarily as objects to be bought, since a piece of Belinda has already been purchased, so to speak, at a fairly high cost--and as a refurbished model, she remains a hot commodity--while Lydia, leased and returned, now languishes on the shelf.

The common root of Flavia's and Lydia's problems causes the portrayal of Lydia to work well with the autobiographical "Satturday" eclogue. Their laments are not over conditions they have brought on themselves, as are the complaints of Roxana, Cardelia and Smilinda; instead, they suffer because of surface changes which take place through forces of nature outside their control. The current agony reflected in "Satturday" allows readers to assess how important looks were seen to be by Lady Mary in the social whirl of her mid-twenties: they were of vital importance. Both tone and content in the closing eclogue illustrate the deep emotion that smallpox-scarring brought out in the author's situation. Even though the restoring of her health

has been assured, the loss of good looks means (if only briefly) that she believes she might as well be dead. Most biographers cast her changed face in the best light possible--only her eyebrows lost, only a little pitting, just temporary effects, they assert (*Life* 52-3). Though Pointon prefaces her remarks on Lady Mary's appearance by cautioning, "There is no way of describing an image that is not already an act of interpretation" (141), she continues by stressing the opposition of "realities" and flattery "in relation to the mythic body that is staged in portraiture" (141), and so reinforces the sense that the Lady Mary we see in portraits has been flattered by her portrayers from the time of her smallpox onward. The change in point of view begins to occur immediately, as is marked by the smallpox-revealing eclogue's concluding passages: "Monarchs, and Beauties rule with equal sway,/ All strive to serve, and Glory to obey,/ Alike unpity'd when depos'd they grow,/ Men mock the Idol of their Former vow" (*EP* 203-4; 85-88).

Lady Mary's *Eclogs* have a structure worth examining, in that there is a sophisticated "bigger picture" to be discerned in their composition. The number and gender of persons directly involved in each one comes full circle: the set begins with the observed-but-solitary Roxana's banishment; it goes on to the exploits of two men in dialogue, followed by two women (along with an impatient third), similarly in rakish dialogue. A retreat is made to an observed single woman again, briefly joined by the maidservant who will cajole her out of her blue mood; and last, observed alone once more, the figure of Flavia returns to

that of Roxana, resigned to her exile from the magnetic heart of the court. The parting line of Flavia's piece, "My Toilette, Patches, all the Wo<rl>d Adieu" (*EP* 204; 96), waves a fond goodbye to the court scene evoked by the entire series. A symmetry of construction shows polished artistic form matched to narrative; Pope and Gay no doubt contributed to the *Eclogs*' inspiration, but Lady Mary's individual touches abound. As Grundy asserts, "Lady Mary's eclogues have suffered critically from being classified as among her collaborations . . . . But the evidence suggests that, during the time of composing them, Lady Mary was moving rapidly away from the other poets" (*EP* xii). Grundy goes on to describe the court concerns that were uniquely Lady Mary's, such as the status of the waiting gentlewomen, and the tone which resisted outright ridicule of the outcasts. As she characterizes Smilinda, Dancinda and Flavia, we interpose Lady Mary's image on theirs, because their flirtations or agonies of rejection are also hers.

The thematic concerns of the six eclogues in probing a sense of each tested woman's identity were also those of the dozens of letters sent by Lady Mary to her sister Frances, Lady Mar, during the latter's exile to France over her husband's Jacobite activities. The eclogues reveal the complexities of the suffering or satiation with which the courtiers were rewarded; Lady Mar received a less nuanced record of court life. Recognizing that her sister regarded court activities as delightful in their scandal and excitement, but occasionally boring in the waiting games that they entailed, Lady Mary wrote

about the parts that lent themselves to gossip, and so provided her sister (and eventually the rest of the world) with accounts of the behaviour of royalty and attendants; these accounts are notable for their clear vision of all participants.

Lady Mary pours her scorn most strongly on artifice and self-delusion; she makes the hardest case against women who try to appear young, beyond the years when youth is natural. An obvious target is Lady Rich, who "prattled" with giddiness long past the time Lady Mary believed such behaviour became her. Lady Louisa Stuart quotes her grandmother's answer to Lady Rich's ignorant question about the job, Master of the Rolls; Lady Mary describes the task as the distribution of baked French rolls, then in exasperation, finishes, "I grant it a *very* fine thing to continue always fifteen--*that* everybody must approve of; it is quite fair: but, indeed, indeed, one need not be five years old" (qtd. in *Life* 115). Of Lady Rich's attractiveness (despite her faded beauty) to an already-engaged young gallant, Lady Mary writes to her sister within the same year, "Lady Rich is happy in dear Sir Robert's absence and the polite Mr. Holt's return to his allegiance, who . . . appears better with her than ever" (*Letters* 2.23-4). An ambivalent attitude to adultery is based in Lady Mary's sense of its moral incorrectness ("this new institution," she calls it ironically in 1724 [*Letters* 2.40]), combined with her certainty that it is far too widespread a practice to be done away with, even by society's upright members. Since the king himself keeps mistresses, one of whom she has befriended, prudery will only cause her to be excluded from the inner circles. Also,

as the "Wednesday" eclogue hints, Lady Mary probably has personal reasons for condoning others' adultery.

Her identity politics cause her to register a certain level of self-justification concerning scandals; though the distancing efforts can appear to be "protesting too much," she tries not to pick up the taint of the corruption she reports. She records scandalous events, she says, as an observer, rather than a participant. Her Spectatress declaration works at establishing her identity as someone separate from the excesses and follies which fill her accounts. "This woman speak[s her] desire for and . . . resistance to the assigned roles" she has received from her society (Lowenthal 115). For example, leading to the "Virtue in Danger" controversy (1721) with Mrs. Murray, the distancing maneuvers are consistent in Lady Mary's addresses to her friends and relatives, even before she becomes implicated in the social backlash which arises from the court case. The letters that follow the Gray-Murray incident expose her so-called detachment as a construct, showing her direct involvement with the dissemination of scandal-stirring material. Yet in her letter to Lady Mar, two months before the "open wars" with Griselda Murray, Lady Mary says, "This sinfull Town is very populous, and my own affairs very much in a Hurry, but the same things that afford me much matter give me very little time, and I am hardly at Leisure to make observations, much less to write them down" (*Letters* 2.58). The leisure to write poetry, of a type calculated to provoke, must exist, since the two poems that capture Lady Mary's observations on the Murray-Gray scandal (1721) give multiple

voices to the event.

In these verses dealing with Mrs. Murray's ignominy, Lady Mary takes unaccustomed (but not untried) roles. "Virtue in Danger" shares the "Tuesday" eclogue's braggart tone, along with its dabbling in elements of popular culture--the gallants' game of garter-collecting in the eclogue, and in the song, the copying of a nursery-tune's melody and rhythms ("To the Tune of The Children in the Wood" [*EP* 216]). A flippant tone--"Thought he, this Lady Lyes alone,/ I like her comely face" (*EP* 216; 13-14)--gives the "Lamentable Story" its teasing mood of scandal exposed. Compared to the sung stanzas of "Virtue," the sombre plea of the "Epistle From Arthur G[ra]y" (c.1721) profiles the act of the footman, voicing the imagined motivation behind a servant's recklessness. He lifts himself above the "Trifflers" with her heart, insisting, "This is true Passion in my Eyes you see,/ They cannot, no, they cannot, love like me" (*EP* 222; 45-6). Emphasizing that Lady Mary *probably* wrote "Virtue," and quite certainly wrote the "Epistle," Grundy's forthcoming biography of Lady Mary reveals the footman's discredited story of the encounter, involving his coming upon Mrs. Murray with "an illicit lover of her own class [Burnet]" and receiving the blame for the upset his arrival caused (Grundy, *Life* Draft n.pag.). Re-examining the scene portrayed in the two poems, in light of the evidence that circulated during Arthur Gray's trial, leads to attributing an audience-indulging impulse to both poems. Grundy assesses the more sober poem as an "embroidering" upon Gray's Newgate letter, "germ of an Ovidian effusion of passion and

despair: despair at feeling himself superior in worth to the despicable upper-class males he sees besieging his unattainable beloved" (*Life* Draft n.pag.). The author who has assumed Gray's voice would be esteemed a town wit, at least, for entertaining aristocratic circles with current scandal. Though the "Epistle" takes the footman's side of the dispute to which the incident gave rise, it may also be viewed as an audience-aware production. Lady Mary's exposé, mocking her friend's indiscretion through the servant-transgressor's words, gives her a powerful weapon of social admonishment; the poem demonstrates that even a person of this class may judge the careless libertine. Meanwhile, the poet can stand back from her work, deny all involvement and declare herself merely an observer.

The implication of "observing" is that it forms the important role of the mature aristocrat--a role at the core of Lady Mary's identity politics. The judgment she makes on Lady Hervey reinforces the distant-but-interested part Lady Mary plays in relation to a scandal causer contemporary with Mrs. Murray. Careful only to hint at her own part in the social schedule, the "Spectatress" dispenses with the whole element of a scene that might seem to include her as something in which she has been too hurried to participate. Although she does not disappear entirely as subject of her court and town narratives, the foregrounding of her flamboyant peers obscures the extent to which she has joined in the festivities: "But Lady Harvey makes the Top Figure in Town, and is so good as to shew twice a week at the Drawing room and twice more at the Opera for the

Entertainment of the Public. As for my selfe, having nothing to say I say nothing. I insensibly dwindle into a Spectatress" (*Letters* 2.48). By placing Lady Hervey in the centre of attention and drawing back, at least by report, Lady Mary has given the sense of her lack of participation in the frenzy at the heart of the action. A willful self-marginalizing here leaves us witn an impression that the later act of flight from England will confirm.

Invited back into the fray by detractions, of herself or of prominent figures with whose fates she associates her own, Lady Mary emerges from distant-observer status and counter-attacks the critics. Chief among these, Pope elicits her defensive poetry by his masterworks of disparagement, *The Dunciad Variorum* (1729), the *First Satire of the Second Book of Horace* (1733) and *Of the Characters of Women: Epistle to a Lady* (1735). *The Dunciad* raises up the Goddess, Dulness, and all her minions, satirizing the hacks and scribblers whose work devalues literature; as Atkins insists, Pope decides "to be different from the 'plague' of poetasters" (102). Though for Atkins such a plague "exemplif[ies] phallogocentrism" (102), the more obvious imagery concerning writing-as-childbirth places the dabblers among adoptive mothers of text, taking maternal possession of offspring not their own. *The Dunciad*'s first version limits Pope's mock-epic targets to literary enemies, with special Dante-esque fates reserved for the unscrupulous publishers who pirate the poetry of those unwilling to sell it to them. Targeting a wider field of victims, the 1729 release places the *Dunciad* on a grander scale--

complete with its footnotes and short essays of partial explanation ("partial" signifies both incompleteness and a bias against the more hated "dunces.") Lady Mary finds herself lampooned here ("feelingly personated," as Maria of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* would describe it), and she meets the challenge, countering Pope's public display of her foibles with private responses, not only defending herself against scandalous implications, but also coming to the support of others whom Pope has insulted. So begin the answer poems of Lady Mary to Pope, which can be characterized as a positioning on the defensive typical of Lady Mary's mid-life imaginative writing.

Lady Mary must respond to daunting misogyny (along with misanthropy) as she answers Pope and, in the process, exercises self-preserving identity politics. In an analysis of *The Dunciad*, Marilyn Francus adopts the useful strategy of exploring the depth of misogyny beneath the casting of a female deity as the re-producer of Pope's hated dunces. Francus identifies the monstrous birth images as manifestations of two-fold anxiety in Pope, over the fecundity of the female sex in giving birth or in writing, and over the reproductive frenzy that mass publication causes the printed word to undergo. "The acceleration of maternal misogyny is largely a function of the politics of literary culture, in which mass publication, literary paternity and female authorship are sites of conflict" (Francus 830). In the mother-fearing theme, the satire has analogues in both Swift's goddess, Criticism, in the *Battel of the Books*, at whose teat/spleen "a Crew of ugly Monsters were greedily sucking" (387)

and Milton's Sin, giving birth to Death in Book II of *Paradise Lost*.[1] Whether anxiety or ire inspires the mock-epic, Pope definitely bases its list-making in the matrix of mother-love, with each dunce figuring as progeny of the monstrous goddess, Dulness. Answering Pope's images of over-fertility, Lady Mary champions motherhood, reclaiming the offspring/texts from the dung-heap on which Pope places them. While maintaining the mother-role of Dullness, she softens the maternal image in the opening lines of this answer poem:

> Now with fresh vigour Morn her Light displays
> And the glad Birds salute her rising rays,
> The opening Buds confess the Sun's return,
> And rouz'd from Night, all Nature seems new born.
> (*EP* 252-2; 1-4)

If Morn creates so beauteous an act of mothering, then Dullness is simply another mother; her acts of birthing and rearing no longer represent motherhood in general.

The lines above open the second of a pair of responses to Pope's jibes; in the first, Lady Mary turns the imagery back upon the author, placing him at the altar of Dullness-worship, and relocating that altar in his own grotto. Both her responses have self-defense as their basis, yet offense-as-defense characterizes her untitled poem, beginning "Her Palace placed beneath a muddy road" (1729). It positions Dullness in a cave "Adorn'd within by Shells of small expence / (Emblems of tinsel Rhime, and

triffleing Sense)" (*EP* 247; 6-7); the couplet provides poetic mimesis of both the grotto's decoration and the *Dunciad*'s opening description of Dulness's aural surroundings (Grundy, *EP* 247; 1-9 &n.) To situate Dullness upon Pope's own estate is to identify the poet with his creation, and to lift him up as the dubiously honoured chief worshipper of the monster. The answer poems treat *The Dunciad*, their source and provocation, as if it had emerged from one of the ancients--say, from an irksome Juvenal. Young (1993) recognizes Pope's frequent adherence to the classical forms--and to the traditional values within them--as "informed by...[an] explicit and highly charged philosophical and theological resistance" to modern applications altering poetic expression and meaning (436). As Lady Mary responds to Pope's insults in a similar style to the one in which they are formulated, she becomes a match for her tormentor--ironically declaring her uninvolved status as she engages: "While I in silence various Tortures bear / Distracted with the rage of Bosom-War" (*EP* 255; 9-10).

Each of the insults Pope levels at his former friend strikes at a vital aspect of her selfhood. *The Dunciad* refers to toasts for brothel jades "(Whence hapless Monsieur much complains at Paris / Of wrongs from Duchesses and Lady Mary's)" (2.127-28), singling out the near-scandalous incident of Lady Mary's loss of the Frenchman Rémond's fortune. Invested by her at his request in the South Sea speculation which became known as the "South Sea Bubble," his money disappeared by 1721 when investors learned they had lost everything (Plumb 26). Lady Mary's 1721 letter to

her sister, Lady Mar, expresses the mood of desperation caused by Rémond's threats to expose her through her letters to him, "which thô God knows very innocent in the main, yet may admit of ill constructions, besides the monstrousness of being expos'd in such a manner" (*Letters* 2.3). Using the narrow miss of the threats--the fact that Rémond eventually withdrew his compensation demands in exchange for preventing a scandal (*Letters* 2.6-7)--makes Pope an opportunist, in that Lady Mary's confessing of the investment mistake to him would have signaled that she had cast him in the role of confidant, only to lose the confidence in his poetic finger-pointing. The note below the 1735 version of *The Dunciad* accuses her further: "This passage was thought to allude to a famous Lady who cheated a French wit of 5000 pounds in the South-Sea year. But the Author meant it in general of all bragging Travellers and of all Whores and Cheats under the name of Ladies" (Butt 112n.). Removing the possibility of a reference to other "Lady Mary's," Pope creates a specificity where he pretends to generalize the accusation.

The thematic interpreting of Dulness's nature has Lady Mary replacing the allegorical associations of Dulness, so that instead of Chaos and Night as relatives, Dulness gains "Obscenity" and "Prophanation" as aides; here, her identity takes expression in distress over Pope's too-free language. The choices associate passion with the invoked traits--fiery curses and blasphemies. However, these sexual, scatological, or blasphemous features of Pope's creation can also bespeak dullness of imagination. The caution used on posters in Winnipeg high

schools to discourage swearing--that it represents "the effort of a limited mind to lend emphasis"--makes an appeal to the reader as if to someone whose imagination broadens beyond the obvious. Such is Lady Mary's use of these twin minions of Dulness.

The importance of the Rémond reference, which suggests that instead of giving advice, Lady Mary prostituted herself and then cheated her customer, is that it strikes at a source of her pride: even the earliest of her letters, to Anne Wortley or Philippa Mundy, frames news and fancies around a cozy habit of advice-giving, as she reveals in the maxim to Anne, "Nature is seldom in the wrong, Custom allwaies" (*Letters* 1.6). Likewise, the core of her identity rests within her friendships, the next aspect of her personality under seige in Pope's poetry. The *First Satire of the Second Book,* a Horatian adaptation introduced above, contains the lines, "P-x'd by her love,/ and libel'd by her hate" (Butt 83-4), revealing Pope's embittered opinion that each state which elicits Lady Mary's attentions presents equal danger. As Isobel Grundy explains in "Medical Advance and Female Fame," the complex pun of being "poxed" claims not only the whore/syphilis associations, but also the inoculation/ smallpox ones (Grundy "Fame" 15). If they had received information (or misinformation) on her campaign of "engrafting" those vulnerable to smallpox with a small amount of the disease's dead matter, the repugnance of Pope's audience for the condition of syphilis spread through intercourse, would combine with rumour to raise the fear that Lady Mary might willfully spread the other "pox." In her response to the satire, *Verses Address'd to the Imitator*

of the First Satire (1733), Lady Mary (in collaboration with her friend, Lord Hervey) strikes back in criticizing both the form of Pope's poetry and the form of his body. She mocks his placement of Horace's original opposite his imitation, not just for its content--"Where *Roman* Wit is stripe'd with *English* Rage" (*EP* 265; 1-2)--but also for its assumption that the two styles would be similarly pleasing: "His [Horace's] Style is elegant, his Diction pure,/ Whilst none thy crabbed Numbers can endure" (*EP* 18-19). The invoking of "crabbèd" verse--without the required accent, so that the omission serves as part of the rebuff--joins to a more outrageous opinion along the lines of the Doctrine of Signatures, the concept that Pope's bodily presence represents his spiritual one: "It was the Equity of Righteous Heav'n / That such a Soul to such a Form was giv'n" (*EP* 268; 50-51). The personal attack answers, if not exactly in kind (since flaws of her appearance could be changed), the ones which Pope has aimed at her.

In *Of the Characters of Women*, one more insult assails the person of Lady Mary, on the ill agreement of women's tasks with their results, "As *Sappho*'s diamonds with her dirty smock,/ Or *Sappho* at her toilet's greazy task / With *Sappho* fragrant at an evening Mask" (24-6). This time, the attack arrives in what will become a familiar form, in that Lady Mary's appearance engendered much criticism, from Horace Walpole especially. His poem, "The Parish Register at Twickenham" (1784) identifies the town as the place "Where Montagu, with locks dishevel'd,/ (Conflict of dirt and warmth divine),/ Invok'd and scandalis'd the Nine" (Melville

129-30 16-18). The upset which both male authors suffer originates in Lady Mary's living presence; letter-writers both, the men undergo the disturbance of responding to Lady Mary in the flesh. If (as Chapter 1 suggests, above) her appearance conjured the likeness of Swift's Celia, in "The Lady's Dressing Room" (1730), then that repugnant image explains the response of each man to her physical self. Exalted in her absence--represented by ink on paper until she appeared--the all-too-fleshly living woman was hard to tolerate. Walpole's verse-record of the Muses' horror at her ghost speculates on the universality of the disgusted response; Pope's affront bespeaks Lady Mary's presence in the here and now, upsetting to her companions. Curiously associated with a flirtatious young woman's learning ("Rufa" studying Locke has preceded the Sappho lines), Pope's notion of Lady Mary's inappropriate demeanor and image forges the link between appearance and artifice.

The engagement of women in unsuitable tasks returns to the theme of women's inappropriate part in the world of publication, a strong feature of *The Dunciad.* Pope casts the women writers (as well as publishers' assistants) in most unsavoury roles: they serve as depositors of excrement upon much-traveled roads (2.304), or as "slip-shod Muses"--Haywood and Centlivre, foully washed Medusas (3.141-5)--or as fecund, gaudily adorned prizes for the noblest among dunces (2.149-52). Ballaster characterizes Pope's objection to Haywood as to a woman who "inverts natural order by 'displaying' her shameful works (and the shameful works of other women) in public" (161); she suggests that Pope believes

he is championing women against other women's abuses. Considering the frequency of his grotesque use of women's labours and birthings, we can hardly credit the champion role. Lady Mary's response to the unfavourable depictions of other women comes across as neutral or even tolerant, in that she neither recasts the central Goddess figure, nor supports the women--Centlivre, Haywood, Behn and Manley--whom she accepts as "remarkable poetesses and scribblers . . . some of them Esteemed to have given very unfortunate favours to their Friends" (*Letters* 2.97). However, the character of Addison, presented according to Maynard Mack in *Collected in Himself* (1982) as "the tentative, insinuating, never-wholly-committed hollow man who is Atticus" (49) appears ambiguously praised in *An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot* (1734): "Like *Cato*, give his little Senate Laws,/ And sit attentive to his own applause" (209-210). Addison receives defense from Lady Mary, not just in "Her Palace," where "Hostile Adison too late shall find / 'Tis easier to corrupt than Mend Mankind" (*EP* 251; 128-9), but also in "Now with fresh vigour Morn her Light displays" (c. 1729), where we hear

> This Adison, 'tis true (debauch'd in Schools)
> Will sometimes oddly talk of Musty Rules,
> Yet here, and there, I see a Master line,
> I feel, and I Confess the power divine. (*EP* 254; 75-8)

Respect for the man goes further when his character combines with those of associates in an ironically framed list in which Envy

and Impudence "blame the coarseness of Spectator's style,/ Shall swear that Tickell understands not Greek,/ that Adison can't write, nor Walpole speak" (*EP* "Her Palace" 62-4). As with defenses of Robert Walpole in both poetry and prose (*The Nonsense of Common-Sense* serving as a continued answer to the Walpole-criticizing *Common-Sense* in 1737), the anti-*Dunciad* poems take the tone of a mother defending her children from schoolyard bullies--and defending her own position and standing in the process. Her identity aligns itself with those figures attacked by Pope with whom she shares an intellectual, sometimes political, positioning. In this endeavour, of "correcting" the damage caused by a poetic argumentum ad hominem, she joins an ages-old tradition of the oft-beseiged European ruling class--Mark Antony with his "reasonable man" profile comes to mind.

A further aspect of European aristocratic tradition that provoked Lady Mary to make an individualized response was the pressure to participate in court relations. Two poems that answer questions about a woman's reputation and obligation in the court setting relate to the question of how Lady Mary, the Court Wit, contributed to the debate over womanly behaviour. "On a Lady Mistakeing a Dy[e]ing Trader for a Dying Lover" (1723) is on "Mrs Lowther, Lord Lonsdale's Sister"; it tells of the "dying" fabric-tradesman lover who lurks outside the aging Chloris's door to gain admittance through flattery.

As Chloris on her downy Pillow lay,
'Twixt sleep and wake the morning slid away,

> Soft at her Chamber door a tap she heard,
> She listen'd, and again; no one appear'd.
> Who's there? the sprightly Nymph with courage cries.
> Ma'am, 'tis one who for your La'ship *dies*. (*EP* 226; 1-5)

With the central pun established, Lady Mary causes the lover to persist in pleading with the woman, who finally opens the door--but beholds "A wretch who dyes by Trade and not by Love" (29). Shown his bodily self, the living evidence before her eyes, she has a tantrum, then calmly cautions others not to be fooled: "From sad experience I this truth declare,/ I'm now abandon'd, thō I once was Fair" (61-2). Lady Mary has adopted the voice of the sobered old maid, though at thirty-four, she boasts both a steady (if not romantic) marriage and a lively social schedule. Empathetic due to disappointment--a feeling she definitely shares with Chloris--she has reached awareness that fading beauty can make any woman pathetic. In her own voice, she indicates seven years later that a correct attitude to court and its temptations will save a person from self-delusion. Harriet Guest judges "An Answer to a Lady Advising me to Retirement" (1730) to contain "the claim to an interior worth not co-extensive with or bounded by place" and concludes that this worth "is a means to validate public appearance, not to designate a private or domestic sphere of feminine control as constitutive of gendered identity" (497). The sense of personal worth existing outside the world of the court does advance itself in the poem, which disengages its narrator from the scandalous, blame-laying world of the court and

puts forward the "Mercifull and Just" (*EP* 259; 12) Christian God as the only judge that a society matron needs to recognize:

> You little know the Heart that you advise,
> I view this various Scene with equal Eyes.
> In crouded Court I find my selfe alone,
> And pay my Worship to a nobler Throne. (*EP* 258-9; 1-4)

The "I"-statement within this poem asserts itself through a verbal shrug over earthly concerns, ephemeral frock-and-fan cares that preoccupy those women deeply involved in the life of the lady-in-waiting. As Rochester stands in attendance on Charles II while undercutting in poetry the ceremonies he witnesses, so Lady Mary observes, and versifies her observations, but does not fully submit to the processes called for by court life. "Long since the value of this World I know,/ Pity the Madness, and despise the Show" (*EP* 259; 5-6). In her October, 1996, presentation, "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Theatrical Eclogue," Isobel Grundy emphasized the satirical stance of Lady Mary's court-based poetry, demonstrating through the aloof voice of the eclogues the author's lack of attraction to the temptations of the scenes depicted, however vividly these scenes are brought to life by her poetry. An observer of the social whirl, then, in the royal court and on the country estate, Lady Mary asserts her distance from unhealthy involvement in the pettiness and artifice, not least during her retirement from England to Europe within the next six years. Even the closing lines of the "Saturday"

eclogue, lines which Grundy remarks are punning on the farewell to Patch and his ilk (Delta Bessborough Oct. 1996), assert the distance that the author takes from her material and its artifice-laden place of origin.

When, in 1739, Lady Mary takes the retirement she has resisted for nine years, she must circumvent a potential for scandal that would seem apt in a Restoration comedy: she is actually in danger of becoming Congreve's (or her own, in the figure of a Merry Widow [1715]) Lady Wishfort/Waitfort. As in *The Way of the World* (1700), she is potentially a figure of pity. However, in flight to Europe with a plausible excuse, she manages to enter the final phase of her progress away from the English court: first, she inhabited its centre; next, she lingered observantly at its edge; now, she takes her continental retreat from the possibility of re-entering British court-life.

The pastorals and the mock-epic answer poems materialize as poses which Lady Mary adopts--at first to evade the critical voices that would target an author in her high-profile court position, and later to enjoin the literary confrontation that Pope inspires, while escaping public accountability. The position of court wit creates hazards of association, in that the tenor of the court will be associated with its spokesperson, however jesting the tone of the speeches may be. In addressing pastorals as eighteenth-century devices, Hyde (1996) and Casid (1997) expose sub-texts of the rural idyll adopted by court figures and artistic coteries. In "Confounding Conventions," Melissa Hyde examines the pastoral paintings of François Boucher

(1703-1770), observing that the French painter resisted giving his figures the currently approved gender-attributes: "Within the schema . . . female bodies do not act, but are soft, roseate and passive; male bodies are muscular, ruddy, active, and regulated by a self-determining intellect" (38)* Like Boucher, Lady Mary suppresses many of the accustomed "soft" traits of the shepherdess/courtiers, creating Smilinda and Cardelia, for instance, as acquisitive, hard-nosed gamblers in their respective fields; she also imparts some vulnerability to her Strephon, in "Wednesday," plunging him equally with Dancinda into the throes of love.

Lady Mary's identity politics of submission to the current mode cause her to adapt her pastoral poetry to the taste of the circles in which she moves. Carrying the classical adaptation to an extreme, Jill Casid approaches the Georgic tradition by singling out its gender assumptions--and then offers an interpretation of the classical rural scene that promotes homosexual role-playing. In "Queer(y)ing Georgic: Utility, Pleasure and Marie-Antoinette's Ornamental Farm," Casid reveals that the disguise of the trumped-up farm-cottage, with thatched-roof exterior and pleasure-palace interior led to attacks on Marie-Antoinette (1755-1793), "in terms of inversion and perversion from within, that is, on an outside/inside model" (309). The presence of the ornamental farm on royal ground, accessible by French courtiers for an illicit rendezvous, indicates (suggestively) the tangible uses to which the pastoral/georgic tradition may be put; and though Lady Mary's

* Boucher's lean, vigorous heroines defy type.

shepherd/courtiers overturn the naïve (occasionally homosexual) impression that their originals in Virgil leave, she has not given anything other than figurative reality to the concepts. Patch, in "Tuesday," may ogle the lovely Cœlia, "Her Nightgown fasten'd with a single Pin" (*EP* 188; 71), and Dancinda, in "Wednesday," may count up her "Ten thousand Swains" (*EP* 190; 24), but Lady Mary observes current British mores in all their customary winking at heterosexual dalliance. Though she will eventually keep company with the bisexual Lord Hervey, in 1715 her court associations are with a king who openly keeps mistresses, and so she tailors her eclogues to meet the appreciative eye of heterosexual aristocratic readers. Like Rochester before her, Lady Mary pushes the shock value of her writing as far as royal taste will allow; unlike Rochester, whose "Signior Dildo" (1680) met the indulgent approval of the circle in which he exercised his wit,[3] Lady Mary takes libertinism in print only as far as a more constrained court circle allows.

Semi-retired from her Court Wit days, Lady Mary still alters her identity to argue with her children. The writer in her has by no means retired as she withdraws from the inner circle in 1734; upper-class exposé adopts a new medium--the comedy, *Simplicity* (1734), voices her opinions on parental control of grown heirs. The playwright's elegant literary ventriloquism, consisting of the use of an onstage figure as articulator of one's own beliefs and desires, arises from the court poet's testing of roles that please peers; Lady Mary the writer dons a disguise to reflect upon Lady Mary the mother. Combining her

assumption of the playwright's role and the advice-giving grandmother's role, Lady Mary invites a new reckoning of her shape-shifting abilities.

Chapter 4
Notes

1 Further to the Miltonic imagery of monstrous mothers, the passage detailing devouring infants pinpoints the fear of the mother, Sin, who feels her insides ravaged as her progeny by her offspring, Death, feed upon them: "...into the womb / That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw / My bowels, their repast..." (*PL* 2.798-800). In Milton's churning reservoir of verbal signs, the beast-children punish the mother in metaphoric retribution for her incestuous coupling. The equal distribution of the monsters (as opposed to the female parent's predominant monster-role in *The Dunciad*) shows them mothering, fathering, and being bred hourly.

2 Walker establishes the evidence that Rochester's audience went beyond tolerating to encouraging his bawdy poem, "Signior Dildo," by observing that "after Rochester's poem, artificial phalluses were known simply as the 'signior'" (*Poems* 271-2).

Chapter 5 Parent, Child and Marriage Comedy

Parents' reactions to their children's troubling matches configure the alignment of parent, child and marriage comedy; as one more acting part in the lifelong sequence of Lady Mary's performances, the role of playwright/mother-of-script effectively tests her identity, as does the complementary role of marrying daughter/heroine-of-script. The plot-line of Lady Mary's play, *Simplicity* (1734), fictively re-patterns the life-choice of the author and of her daughter, each having married against parental wishes, and both answering parental edicts which, like Madame de Sévigné's epistolary interference with her daughter (1670-95), have manipulated daughterly behaviour in marriage. Seen as a series of parent-child confrontations, *Simplicity* and its French original, Marivaux's *Le jeu de l'amour et du hasard* (1730), along with Lady Mary's and Lady Bute's courtship choices, augment the many-voiced effect of Lady Mary's identity politics. She interprets the French play and thus facilitates her symbolic stand-in for the daughter-figure; through the medium of her English script, she tries to fashion a socially approved marital arrangement. Having identified her letters with de Sévigné's,[1] she fashions further links (through correspondence with Lady Bute) between the two acts of epistolary mothering. Even her spirited engagement with son-figures--in *Simplicity* through the character of Ned, and in life, through the contentious letters to and from Edward Wortley jr.--reinforces the impression she leaves as a belatedly good mother.

Lady Mary and her daughter came to terms as mother and adult

child only after Lady Mary had left England in 1739 for European self-exile; the mothering activity which would define her mid-life identity was effectuated from a distance. Correspondence between Lady Mary and her recently married daughter, Lady Bute, broke through what had been a substantial barrier of conflict, built around the younger Lady Mary's courtship process. The life-theme embodied in the dispute over a marrying daughter's choice of mate conforms with the narrative theme of Lady Mary's only full-length dramatic work, the romantic comedy *Simplicity*. With roots in both Restoration theatre and French comedic tradition, the play joins its antecedents in exposing the comic difficulty of young lovers' marriage-choices (see appendix). Likewise, the sense of maneuvering a daughter into the right marital moves, then having to control the consequences from a distance--"remote-control parenting," as a Manitoban academic has called it--manifests itself in the exchange of the mid 1600s between Madame de Sévigné and her daughter, Madame de Grignan. The French letter-exchange offers a third primary text into which to read the parental discourse following a daughter's relatively appropriate conjugal match. When the daughter is sent out into the world for marrying purposes, issues arise concerning who chooses the groom and who conducts the post-marriage monitoring of his suitability. Each text-based dispute over such choices raises an ironic parallel with Lady Mary's own courtship and elopement (1710-12).

Lady Mary embeds in her play a sense of ongoing mother-daughter struggle over the daughter's spousal choice; such an

underlying theme supports the belief that Lady Mary's comic creation coincided with her lived maternal conflict over the play's central issue. Grundy asserts that "the date she *almost* certainly wrote the play is just when her daughter was going [through] the excruciating courtship experience: her father quite unscrupulously trying to get her into the hands of the highest bidder and out of the hands of the man she'd fallen in love with"; continuing, Grundy posits, "the wish-fulfilment implicit in the way [the heroine] Bel[l]inda is both free and protected is maternal wish-fulfilment" (E-mail to J. Rempel 19 Mar. 1998). This line of reasoning argues that Lady Mary transforms her daughter's unsatisfactory betrothal, using Marivaux's light French comedy as a matrix onto which to write a courtship scene of easily-resolved conflicts. She can enact the roles of marriageable girl, parent-figure, brother and even lover, and she can design each part to fabricate family unity. The heroine Bellinda, apprised of her father Sir John Hearty's proposal to fool her prospective suitor by disguising her as a servant, exclaims, "I am sure it is an Imagination so full of goodness to me that I am ready to throw my selfe at my Father's feet to make my Acknowledgments" (*EP* 322; 1.i). In no other situation of Lady Mary's making, lived or imagined, is the daughter so happy to submit to parental planning.

An initial focus on family as an entity conjoins critical treatment of *Simplicity* with parent-child letter-texts, and stretches the sense of Lady Mary's personal/political status as a mother. Leila S. May's article, "The Violence of the Letter:

Clarissa and Family Bo(u)nds," handles Richardson's *Clarissa* (1748) as a primary family-letters text, but May's analysis also applies to much of the Wortley Montagus' lived experience.[2] The set of letters Lady Mary writes between 1739 and 1741, to and about her stubbornly-married daughter, displays her in the mode of the scolding mother:

> I am sorry your [Wortley's--and her] Daughter continues troubling you concerning me. She cannot beleive, after her behaviour to me the last time she was in Town, that it is possible to persuade me of any real Affection . . . . I am not only conscious of having in every point perform'd my Duty to her, but with a tenderness and Freindship that is not commonly found . . . . [S]he owes me not only the regard due to a Parent, but the Esteem that ought to be paid to a blameless Conduct and the gratitude that is shown by every honest mind to a valuable Freind. (*Letters* 2.168)

This 1740 letter addresses Wortley four years after Lady Mary's daughter's marriage to Lord Bute, yet it captures the resentment and outraged parental dignity of the entire letter-series. Mother-as-friend hardly comes across from Lady Mary's side of the exchange, and Lady Bute's side of the inter-generational dispute is today (mercifully?) non-existent. Ill feeling exudes from the surviving end, and lingers in the destruction of the other end.

The letters which expose Lady Mary's resentment exhibit an

identity altering under pressure, so that the self-explaining daughter-self of her courtship days becomes the intolerant mother-self. In May's view, the difficulty of completing and even maintaining letter-exchanges may reveal several levels of family conflict: "significantly, letters themselves are waylaid, distorted, misinterpreted" (30). This fate meets not only letters between Lady Mary and her daughter, but also one between prospective in-laws in Lady Mary's play: the father-figure, Sir John Hearty, closeted away from his daughter to conspire with his son, draws out the letter that has acquainted him with the special conditions surrounding the arrival of Bellinda's suitor:

> Patience, let me read you part of his father's letter that I have just receiv'd . . . "I have not been able to resist my Son's earnest solicitations, that he might wait on you disguis'd like his footman . . . . I thought my selfe oblig'd to give you a private notice of it, that you may act upon it, as you shall judge proper. (*EP* 324; 1.i)

The revelation of parental plots here signifies Lady Mary's casting of Sir John as the patriarch emotionally removed from his daughter's potential suffering; though he need not try to control events from a physical distance (as Lady Mary does following her daughter's marriage), he assumes a psychological distance from Bellinda, aligning his purposes with those of the suitor's absent father, and also with those of the amused trickster-son, who now shares secret knowledge withheld from the daughter.

In *Simplicity,* because no mothering character exists, the figure most closely allied to the author is the young heroine; Bellinda's outlook approximates the twenty-year-old Lady Mary's, specifically in the high hopes which the heroine expresses; some lines denote the author's dramatized return to that self: "It is more necessary to have a reasonable Husband than a Handsome one. In short, I will not marry but to a Character I can esteem, and that is not so easy to be found" (*EP* 320; 1.i). The voice of the daughter who sets her sights this way represents the literary ventriloquism--verbalizing through a constructed character--by which the nostalgic mother reflects on her own rationale for judging marital suitability. With implications for the Hearty household, as well as the Wortley one(s), May describes a Lacanian "sliding" of signifiers within the family of Richardson's titular heroine Clarissa: her brother acts like a father, her sister imposes mothering on her, and even her lover brings some brotherly elements to his courtship (26). The Lacanian shift of the roles, says May, occurs "along metaphorical and metonymical lines . . . the apparent solidity and irrevocability of the meanings which we assign to the world obscure the natural fluidity of the signifier"--causing "confusion and proliferation of roles" when applied to the relations of kin (29). This set of mixed signifiers and the mismatched roles parallels the grouping of family and lover around the heroine in *Simplicity,* where truth is located not in appearance (with the costume of a different class disguising each lover) but in unguarded utterance which uncloaks the inner self.

Provoked by her maid, Lucy, who has taken license in the lady's disguise, Bellinda flashes her vivid feelings for the man she will marry: "What busyness of yours is it to rail against a poor young Fellow that has behav'd himselfe very well? I am oblig'd in Honour to justify him" (*EP* 345-6; 2.i). And though Bellinda believes she can rely on father and brother, the two (like the uppity social climber, Lucy) secretly revel in her misery. They do so similarly in Marivaux's *Jeu*, but in Lady Mary's adaptation, extra ramifications develop concerning the male relatives' untrustworthiness.

Lady Mary's mothering of her script allows her to present a family dynamic guided toward parental control. Graham Rodmell alerts audiences to the interactions of Marivaux's father and son characters with the heroine, Silvia; he accuses them of going beyond "acceptable family teasing" when they "both derive a good deal of entertainment from Silvia's predicament, which to her is a very real one" (42). Likewise, Ned and Sir John hold out the merry joke on benighted Bellinda longer than kind relatives would. Deep in the thrall of her attraction to the servant William (actually, the master Gaymore disguised), Bellinda hears her father ask, "What's the matter, Bellinda? Your Eyes fix'd on the ground, and your cheeks all flush'd, you seem in some terrible disorder" (*EP* 352; 2.i). And when her brother Ned charges her with listening to "stories" from William, and she claims he misunderstands, Ned insists, "Tis your selfe that grows incomprehensible. What is it you quarrel with me about?" (*EP* 353; 2.i). The males have taunted her with her disordered brain,

all along knowing the source of the malaise. What draws out Bellinda's agony is also what creates misery in the courtship-choice of Lady Mary's daughter: the "right" match is supposed to enhance family standing, so the girl's choosing of a husband transforms into an emotionally-loaded situation. As Irene Fizer remarks of Burney's heroine, "Evelina is taken to be a readily available commodity" (89); likewise, Lady Bute, and her mother before her, were commodified as brides-to-be. Grundy paraphrases the elder Lady Mary's "flippantly held" fear that the younger would marry a servant, and her added remark that such a marriage would be "an experience to ruin the self-esteem of a nicely brought-up girl" (*Life* Draft n.pag.). There could be no safer way to explore the implications of a titled aristocrat's worst possible match than by conveying the comic heroine to the circumstance where only marriage to a servant will bring her happiness.

Lady Mary creates in Sir John Hearty a father figure somewhat resembling her husband Edward Wortley, and perhaps her father, Evelyn Pierrepont--as well as Marivaux's original, M. Orgon; these male parents' assumptions about daughterly obedience generate conflict in the marriage comedy, either lived or staged. (Without dollar-figures in his eyes, however, Sir John surpasses his models in humanity.) Each father apparently acts on his daughter's behalf without considering her feelings; though Bellinda blushes and suffers in Act 2, Sir John decides, "I would have the disguise last some time that nothing may be resolv'd on rashly" (*EP* 338; 2.i). While Marivaux, according to Rodmell, has

limited the abilities of the father and brother to influence the action--"M. Orgon and Mario are *acteurs-témoins* rather than *meneurs de jeu* [led characters, not leaders of the game]" (43)--the parent retains power as the agent of *Simplicity*'s central actions. Indeed, Sir John, unlike M. Orgon in Marivaux's play, suggests his daughter's adopting of the maid disguise (to match the manservant disguise of her suitor); the French father-figure lets his daughter's invention command the scene (*Jeu* 1.ii). M. Orgon's line in that scene, "Explique-toi, ma fille [Explain yourself, my daughter]" leads into Silvia's plan to trade places with her maid, Lisette, and thus grants agency to the daughter. M. Orgon then keeps the coincidentally similar plan of the suitor to himself. The British playwright has given her parent-figure power without empathy, yet has crafted a happy ending for the obedient daughter. Inhabiting Bellinda's psyche, Lady Mary labours through the motions of submission necessary to fulfill the filial ideal, providing Sir John--and all parents of marriageable children--with the younger generation's paradigmatic right answers.

The selfhood of the character Bellinda occupies centre-stage for the entire play, causing at least one production to align the character directly with Lady Mary's own. Isobel Grundy describes the staging:

> *Simplicity* . . . toured in England ending in London (Donmar Warehouse) in 1988. I saw it twice that year (Cambridge and London) and . . .it acts beautifully.

> The production too was excellent, though I thought they did one thing wrong. They sandwiched the play between readings (beforehand) from her courtship letters--optimistic, idealistic--and afterwards from her 1720s letters, cynical about marriage. This all contributed to the notion that she's dramatising her own life-experience . . . .
>
> (E-mail to J.Rempel 19 Mar. 1998)

By framing *Simplicity* with readings from Lady Mary's courtship letters, and leaving out the motherly struggles with Lady Bute, the interpreters have extended the alliance of Bellinda and the playwright who created her beyond the limits of the mothering metaphor this study has employed. Though Lady Mary enters the mind of her heroine as she does with no other character, and creates the conflict outward from Bellinda's wish to explore how one represents oneself before a suitor, the matrix is a maternal one: "How a daughter re-examines her selfhood when she is pressured to marry" summarizes the reflective motif, filled with comic potential. A tantrum over her tortured feelings causes Bellinda to claim her father's accusing voice, wailing ironically, "I am ill temper'd forsooth, and I know not what I say . . . Indeed, Sir, this is not usage for your Daughter, and I declare I can bear it no longer" (*EP* 354 2.i). She finds herself ill-represented, and thus claims a daughter's right of protest; Lady Mary assumes her feelings, but also Sir John's.

Identity politics constitute the core of *Simplicity*, with

every scene foregrounding Lady Mary's own question of self-representation, or the related issue of interpreting the possibly false representation of others. The play promotes free discussion of disguise as a shield against unwilled commitment as well as self-revelation; the story's central device, the masking activity enlists every character in identity debates. Communication gaps inherent in representations, according to W.J.T. Mitchell, create "one of the potential problems that comes up with [these images]: they present a barrier that 'cuts across,' as it were, our lines of communication with others, presenting the possibility of misunderstanding, error, or downright falsehood" (Lentricchia and McLaughlin 12). Out of *Simplicity*'s constant chorus of "Let [this one] represent [that one]" (*EP* 322; 1.i), Bellinda voices the leading theme, a disquisition on the hazards of projecting an image that obscures the inner self--in this case, the image that has compromised Gaymore's position by thrusting him into a relationship with a "chambermaid": "No, I would have his reason *represent* to him all the Refflections that are to be made on that Subject [italics mine]" (*EP* 366; 3.i).

Lady Mary has crafted the compliant daughter-image which Bellinda herself adopts. The playwright thus limits the control over self-representation which the character herself likes to claim: directed by her father, needled by her brother, tricked by her lover and mocked by the servants, Bellinda has assumed a disguise which invites her household to target her for ridicule. Initially objecting to the choices that are made for her,

Bellinda seems only dimly aware that such objections have constituted her only independence--and even this state is clearly compromised by forgone parental conclusions concerning her choice of mate, conclusions which are ultimately, ironically, apt ones.

Lady Mary, residing in England in 1736, could register her disapproval face-to-face when her daughter made the choice of Lord Bute, the poor Scot who would become the British Prime Minister. The atmosphere of displeasure attendant upon the marriage re-ignited in subsequent correspondence; since the mother regarded the union as an isolating and impoverishing one, she resisted accepting her son-in-law. The exchange with Wortley during the early years of Lord Bute's marriage to their daughter suggests that Lady Mary experienced very few unconditional caring moments while she vied for control over the family alliances. She exhibited such reluctance to give the younger Lady Mary her blessing that against her will, the identity of the hard-to-please mother-in-law entrenched itself. Her own belief that as a mother she had yielded control readily to her daughter's husband emerges in this remark to Wortley: "[T]he opinion I had of his Honesty (which is the most essential quality) made me so easily consent to the match" (*Letters* 2.290). However, Grundy explains that "Lady Mary and Wortley had reluctantly--rather than 'easily'--consented" (2.290 n.3); this attitude explains the decade's rancour (1736-1745) of Lady Mary's letters to and about her daughter.

When she substitutes mothering of a pliable script for mothering of a wayward adult child (or two), Lady Mary transforms

the family courtship dynamic; by having Bellinda represent her daughter, as well as her younger self, Lady Mary resolves some of the ambivalence of her parenting. The deliberate mismatch of parental declaration with private view which Sir John Hearty practices in *Simplicity* allows the playwright to reclaim parental control. The duality of proclaimed position and actual position echoes the split essence of Lady Mary's mothering declarations: "I accepted your marriage easily [she might as well be saying] even though I will never accept it." Sir John starts out by teasing Bellinda and Gaymore, supposed maid and manservant, "Now, good people, when you begin to love one Another, you are oblig'd to us for haveing broke the Ice between you" (*EP* 327; 1.i), then later chides the "nonsensical Love" Gaymore makes to his daughter (*EP* 355; 2.i). Conspirator that he is, Sir John draws out the conflict when he could settle it at any moment by acknowledging the couple's shared aristocratic class.

Further to the activity of adopting a daughter's voice, to fret against--yet finally submit to--parental will, Lady Mary uses the medium of *Simplicity* to take up the voice of Ned, Bellinda's brother, briefly occupying herself with the standard charming rogue's role. Thus by fictionalizing, she comes as close as she can to understanding her own son, Edward, whose irksome correspondence is this study's later concern. Edward's usual attitude to her, and reception of her efforts to reach him, have caused her much pain; she has been hurt many times by this son, yet with Ned (uncanny name, since it could serve as a possible nickname for her own boy), she can tolerate and even

endorse rakish ways. Parenting as playwright guarantees success; confidently, she lets Sir John argue with Ned's assessment of marriage as a convenient but indifferent arrangement (strikingly like hers and Wortley's): "Indeed, Ned, I am not so well satisfy'd with your Town breeding to desire your Sister should have a share of it" (*EP* 321; 1.i). Yet the plan, the "reasonable method," to mock Ned's sister for her "unfashionable" beliefs about basing a marriage on love, has both Ned and his father revelling in the challenge to Bellinda's deepest-held beliefs.

Marriage ceases to be comedy where living daughters are to be betrothed; Lady Mary knows this both from the daughter's point of view and the mother's, having agonized in both positions over the issue of control. One aspect of the debate which creates trouble concerning a daughter's disposal into marriage, and which differs from a son's marital arrangements (since he may enter into marriage with no fortune at all), resides in the dowry issue, difficult to resolve no matter how a parent deals with it. The problem the issue raises has been a source of chagrin through Lady Mary's adult life, since arguably, the dowry bidding which her own father welcomed led to her follow-through with her own forbidden elopement as Wortley's bride; she married in haste and (perhaps) repented at leisure. As Fizer affirms in Evelina's case, the dowry issue dominates the marital plans of both Lady Marys, the elder at twenty-one insisting to her fiancé, "You'l think me Mad, but tis indifferent to me whither [sic] I have £10,000 or £50,000, and [I] shall never quarrel with my family by pretending to direct in the matter" (*Letters* 1.69). The

daughter, of course, has no choice of "directing" in this matter; as commodity, she is certainly objectified and thus dehumanized. Parents' attachment of a money-figure to her propounds the union as business deal: marriage to her becomes a bargain. Such an arrangement, often undergone at a vulnerable stage of the young adult's life, must undermine a woman's sense of self. The outcome of each girl's courtship period, Bellinda's and Lady Mary's, as well as Lady Bute's, determines the potential for happiness in each marriage. Bellinda makes the most socially-sanctioned, pre-arranged marriage, but audiences understand her as a fantasy figure, the delightfully marriageable daughter, so her certainty of success is unquestioned. Her father, the parent closest to the completed action of marital arrangement, does not share the bride's sex, so he maintains a certain distance from his daughter's pain. He coolly addresses her statement that she has "a great deal of patience" by answering, "I see indeed that I am much oblig'd to it, for you have a great mind to quarrel with me . . . " (*EP* 354 2.i). Lady Mary's only surviving parent at the time of her own marriage shares gender but not "heartiness" with Sir John Hearty; in trying to bring about a union utterly unsatisfactory to his daughter, he creates such parental distance that she writes to Phillipa Mundy of either taking flight to Africa or submitting herself in a "mighty Sacrifice" to Clotworthy Skeffington: "These alternate Thoughts fight battles in my Breast; mean time I see daily preparations for my journey to Hell" (*Letters* 1.122). The only similar action of Sir John's (compared to Evelyn Pierrepont's) is the withholding of valuable

information from Bellinda, yet in this he, too, acts from the lofty conductor's position, taking ultimate command.

Lady Mary, mother of the text, re-enacts the courtship battles of her early twenties through Bellinda and Gaymore, and concomitantly re-creates her courting self. Conflict within, over finding a compatible love or sinking into self-hate, fuels each scene. The central couple reveal agonies comparable to the young Lady Mary Pierrepont's as they try to resolve what they take for misplaced love; each has an ideal of the love-object, matched in all but social class by the other. When Bellinda learns that she has unwittingly chosen within her own class, after all, she declares (in an aside) "My Life is sav'd" (*EP* 357; 2.i). The previous page of the script gives her the brief soliloquy, "My heart is breaking. I hate every body, *I hate my selfe*, I could tear the whole world to pieces [Italics mine]" (*EP* 356; 2.i), and thus indicates how much selfhood is on the line for this protagonist. In contrasting Bellinda's utterance with that of Silvia in Marivaux's original ("Ah! je vois clair dans mon cœur"), Isobel Grundy calls the scene "[t]he most striking example of this transformation [of] delicately sentimental style (*marivaudage*) into robust, practical English" (*EP* 315). Further illustrating the playwrights' contrasting visions is the difference in metaphor. Seeing into one's heart creates a pleasing but not vivifying sense of abstract self-discovery, whereas audiences might respond viscerally to the urgency of the exclamation, "My Life is sav'd," since it implies that marriage to a servant would have been a form of suicide. Bellinda's

salvation occurs when the effect of their fathers' trick is removed by her beloved male Other; notably, Lady Mary has removed from her climactic scene the parent-perpetrators of the courtship mix-up, as she absented herself from her own father to marry.

In Bellinda, Lady Mary has characterized a dutiful daughter such as neither she nor her own daughter could be, and has thus modeled the ideal marriageable girl-child on paper. Because she never inhabited the role herself, in her lived experience, nor raised such a person as her own child, Lady Mary can take pleasure in occupying Sir John Hearty's role as the enabling and indulgent (if mischievous) father of a traditionally deferential daughter. The dramatic construct Bellinda also allows Lady Mary to spell out authorial identity politics, by uttering speeches that explore self-representation. A heroine's role facilitates literary ventriloquism, especially during moments of crisis: the world challenges the girl, and she speaks the mind of her creator. Bellinda exposes her creator's beliefs about young womanhood in explicitly meta-theatrical language as if she were the younger Lady Mary's about-to-be-uncovered (that is, "discovered") counterpart (italics mine): "I am weary of the *part I act*, and I should have *discover'd* my self [already]" (*EP* 353; 2.i). If the playwright's own daughter were to give up the rebel's pose, as Bellinda longs to dispense with the servant's pose, then the elder Mary could embrace the younger's decisions; yet the image of the willful daughter persists in a way that the disguise of the less stubborn Bellinda does not. Parenting takes far less effort on the manuscript page than on the letter-

page, though neither relies on a mother's presence in the flesh.

The easy mothering of the scripted character Bellinda contrasts with the task as Lady Mary lives it. The distance between mother and living daughter has physical as well as psychological features--that is, it involves hundreds of miles and a body of water, along with a generation gap--so the mother has little ability to influence any aspect of the marriage (of which she continues to disapprove). The disposal of the younger Lady Mary, followed by the inevitable trials of the mother-daughter bond, elucidates the identity politics through which Lady Mary practices parenting from a distance. Her willful assertion of her rights as mother and grandmother, advice-giver and book-recipient/ reviewer effect her growth into entitlement as a parent. The irony of this achievement is its vast physical parent-child separation; the aptness of it must appear in the fact that Lady Mary's closest psychological relationships have always been, and will always be, epistolary ones. The difference between this circumstance and Madame de Sévigné's lies inherently in the latter's tangible attachments to her daughter, for instance when she reaches ecstasy over possible reunion. The Frenchwoman yearns for the physical contact, without which Lady Mary abides, wistful but enduring.

Lady Mary joins an august antecedent in her exchange with her daughter, and in the second-hand exchange with her son-in-law. The European tradition of mother-daughter letters features the de Sévigné correspondence, long a prize in Lady Mary's own collection. Her reading of Madame de Sévigné's letters to Madame

de Grignan inspired this reaction in a 1726 letter to Lady Mar (her sister,Frances), twenty years before the recorded beginnings of the letters to Lady Bute:

> The last pleasure that fell in my way was Madam Sevigny's Letters; very pretty they are, but I assert without the least vanity that mine will be full as entertaining 40 years hence. I advise you therefore to put none of 'em to the use of Wast[e] paper. (*Letters* 2.66)

Her recognition of posterity here suggests a relatively early perceived identity as a famous correspondent akin to the Frenchwoman. Persuasive evidence of their similarity resides in the complementarily challenging letters written to their sons in law; hyperbolic praise for her daughter--"Is it not true that I have given you the prettiest wife in the world? Could anyone be more modest or more equable? Could anyone love you more tenderly?" (*Correspondence* 43)--places Madame de Sévigné's son-in-law at a subordinate level, in need of self-validation. Likewise, the dim regard contained in the second-hand salutation to Lord Bute--"not forgetting your husband," the litotes of grudging recognition--represents Lady Mary's initial approach to her son-in-law, though this attitude eventually mellows.

The Wortley Montagu-Bute correspondence from 1740 to 1762 constitutes a similar activity to the exchange between Lady Mary and Lady Mar: each letter-series characterizes Lady Mary as a

social observer eager to make a younger relative part of the scene she witnesses. However, the establishing of mother-daughter letters underwent more difficulty than sister-sister ones, with the daughter's choice of Lord Bute souring communication. Lady Mary takes a typical I-told-you-so tone on March 3, 1746, providing the broadest hint of having been in her daughter's position once herself: "I will not trouble you with repetitions of my concern for your uneasy Situation [penury in her marriage], which does not touch me the less from having foreseen it many years ago" (*Letters* 2.366). The generational parallel plainly informs the "foresight" from which the younger Mary should benefit; however, some softening eventually leads to her letter of January, 1753, which declares, "I thought I ow'd you the Justice to lay before you all the hazards attending Matrimony. You may recollect I did so in the strongest manner. Perhaps you may have more success in the instructing [of] your Daughter" (*Letters* 3.24).

The marriage comedy theme links Lady Mary with Madame de Sévigné, in that parallel dramatic functions are performed by both mothers as they try to exert influence over their married girls. Two important similarities between the mother-daughter exchanges are each woman's conveying of her frustration over distance, and each one's fretting over the fate of the young matron. Each woman allows herself to express affection for her daughter on paper--the accustomed "My dear child" salutation of both conveys a warmth that we can picture carried into action with hugs and kisses by the Frenchwoman, though the Englishwoman

stays aloof, even on paper. At an extreme, a 1671 letter by Madame de Sévigné declares, "I write to you with pangs in my heart fit to kill me. I am incapable of writing to anyone other than you, because there is no one but you kind enough to share my tenderest feelings" (*Correspondence* 57). Lady Mary similarly tells her daughter about how she, the younger Mary, was "alone in my Family" (*Letters* 3.23)--the only daughter, that is, thus deserving warm feelings from her mother to make up for a dearth of sisters (with the lurking implication that Lady Bute is the only one of her pair of offspring owed such affection).

In a letter exposing the tactile sensation of mother-love, de Sévigné upstages her English counterpart; Allentuch asserts that the Frenchwoman's name has become "emblematic of an ability to give fresh rendering to visual impressions" (121) in letters such as the one constructing a metaphoric empty house to stand for her life in her daughter's absence. This house surrounds the mother as long as her daughter resides elsewhere; it stands as both monument and bitter reminder of Mme. de Grignan's separate existence. Allentuch says the mother "fell in love with her daughter when she 'lost' her and . . . it was Mme. de Grignan's remoteness and otherness, emphasized by her absence, that stimulated Madame de Sévigné's fascination with her" (128). Similarly, Lady Mary reveals herself attracted to the new life her daughter has built as a wife and mother, but by contrast, she uses a geographic "you" to hint at an emotional distance between her daughter and herself: "I can discern spots and inequalitys, but your [England's] Beauties (if you have any) are invisible to

me, your Provinces of Politics, Galantry and litterature all terra Incognita" (*Letters* 3.104). The implicit plea to make the landscape of the daughter's world known resembles Madame de Sévigné's construction of the metaphoric empty house to stand for her life without her daughter's presence. Ironically, Lady Mary's comparison of her daughter's accustomed landscape with the moon glimpsed through a poor telescope positions the young woman so far away that she might as well be an unattainable celestial body--yet "Absence and Distance have not the power to lessen any part of my tenderness for you" (*Letters* 2.492), she insists elsewhere.

The writing mothers' viewpoints on sons-in-law share more than shaded greetings; each daughter's husband has inadequately fulfilled the role of protector and supporter of his fertile wife. The shared belief that the son-in-law cannot lay legitimate claim to the distaff-side lineage launches the grievance; each woman frets, after her daughter's marriage, over the maintenance of the family line. Farrell traces a letter to de Sévigné's correspondent, Bussy, in which the mother "protests too much" over the positive way the marriage has shaped lineage, "as if attempting to justify the match and to counter any possible hint of *mésalliance* [misalliance]" (197). Lady Mary also drops doubting remarks about the ethnic line into which her daughter has married, remarking on the unreliability of the Scottish post (*Letters* 2.223), and on the suspicious way--"Scotch Artifice in the Design" (*Letters* 2.163)--a letter which her daughter has sent to her sits open within an envelope to her

father, so that he can read it and sympathize.

Each mother, tipping her hand as a scolding in-law, assigns blame to the husband for her daughter's frequent hazardous pregnancies: "Madame de Sévigné's daughter's constant, difficult and debilitating pregnancies are regular and serious cause for the mother's concern, and she holds M. Grignan responsible" (Farrell 196). Lady Mary, having relented in the matter of her grandchildren in serving as godmother to the Butes' first child (*Letters* 2.162-3 n.5), nevertheless develops a psychological distance from Lord Bute sometime later, around the births of her many grandchildren. A lone surviving letter to his mother-in-law from Bute, giving notice of the difficult birth of his and his lady's son Edward (1740), receives no recorded answer, nor is mention made of it in Lady Mary's correspondence of the same period (*Letters* 2.219). The mother-in-law's 1750 letter to Wortley conveys the sense that her daughter risks her life in "breeding" Lord Bute's progeny: "I have not had any Letter from my Daughter of [sic] a long time, and am sorry she breeds so fast, fearing it will impair her Constitution" (*Letters* 2.455). Like Madame de Sévigné, "she continues to claim sovereign power over her married daughter, and feels authorized to exercise it . . . " (Farrell 197). In Mme. de Grignan's case, not silence but suspicion greets the daughter's life-endangering childbirth, since "she [Madame de Sévigné] decides the relationship constitutes a threat to her daughter's life" (Farrell 197). Lady Mary identifies herself with her daughter in the risky delivery process--yet agonizes much further over a different sort of

delivery, that of letters. The transference of frantic mothering from the living woman to the dead paper underlines the emotional aloofness of Lady Mary.

Throughout the de Sévigné correspondence, Mme. de Grignan assumes a palpable presence, quite like the house her mother figuratively stares at while wishing the girl to come fill it with her spirit; by contrast, Lady Mary's pose as remote advisor transmits itself most fully when she frets over the product of their exchange--the internationally-transmitted letters--far more than she does over the frequently pregnant mother at the other end. The threat of miscarriage serves as a dominant image--yet the miscarrying of letters elicits more distressed commentary than the potential miscarriage of Lady Bute's many children. Miscarrying, as applied to letters which repeatedly go missing in transit, generates parental anxiety concerning the sending/ delivery process. "I have wrote 5 Letters to my dear Child, of which you have not acknowledg'd the receit. I fear some if not all of them have miscarry'd" (*Letters* 3.18). The idea of losing what she labours over--her "infant" thoughts of the moment--continues to produce chagrin in the mother who relies on these labours to keep her in contact with her daughter. The double use of "miscarry" received common acceptance in the 1700s, with both the loss of child and posted epistle as accustomed meanings (*OED*). Lady Mary employs this double meaning to mother her adult child--and also to brood over lost letters.

Not every creation that Lady Mary sends off is as blessed as a favourite child would be; her identity shines in the finer

creations, she implies, but absents itself from the duller ones. Occasionally, she declares her shame at sending rambling, digressive letters, and in at least one instance, having stated, "This Letter is so incomparably Dull, I cannot res(olve) to own it by setting my Name to it" (*Letters* 3.51), she leaves the signature off the letter. Not only does her refusal to own it--made tangible in manuscript by the lack of her usual signature--resemble not giving one's name to an illegitimate child, but elsewhere, the refusal also provides the framework for actual rejection of a child. Such a rejection constitutes the action Lady Mary performs when sending a letter to her son, Edward.

A striking contrast to the set of motherly letters received by her "dearest Child," Lady Bute, emerges in the exchange between Lady Mary and Edward. From early adolescence, Edward displayed his disrespect for the social codes of his aristocratic family: his "fantastic, disorderly career" included running away to enroll at Oxford when he was thirteen, and signing on aboard a ship to Gibraltar at fourteen (*Life* 124-5). The exchange between mother and son includes two samples of letters from Edward's end of the pairing; even without these partly supplicating, partly irreverent examples of his address to his mother, Edward received letters different from those sent to his sister. Gone is the "Dear" address, replaced by curt demands to know whether Edward has fallen in with gamblers, or has written out of some other need for money (*Letters* 2.204). Even Edward's handwriting appears outrageous on the page, so curlicued and flamboyant that it symbolizes Edward's freedom from the constraint of his

mother's orderly penmanship. Though Lady Mary may make herself vulnerable to her daughter on the page, confessing to tears or mental muddle (Redford 47), her intellectual underdress would never show before her opportunistic son. If Ned, in *Simplicity*, represents a controllable, relatively obedient son (occasionally and mildly a rake) then he has little to do with his similarly named real-life counterpart.

The identity politics that inform parent-child dealings impart resounding authority when Lady Mary advises her progeny--yet only if the filial reception is accepting. Unlike the wayward Edward, Lady Mary's daughter responds to her mother contentedly; also, she is satisfyingly surrounded by a growing family and regularly in the company of a young husband; Lady Bute lets the distant mother live a secure, stable life, vicariously. By contrast to either of her children, Lady Mary eventually adopts a solitary existence (with urban sojourns in Venice or Padua for variety), the virtue of which she extolls constantly in letters to Lady Bute. Bruce Redford notes that the exchange functions as an inverted reflection of correspondence between Lady Mary and her sister, Lady Mar. In the case of the sisterly exchange, Lady Mary wrote from the centre of the social storm, to her exiled relative in France (Lady Mar lived for some time in Paris, but later on a country estate). By the time of Lady Mary's correspondence with her daughter, roles have been reversed: it is Lady Mary who leads a quiet, rural existence, and Lady Bute--once she had moved to London--who reports (and gossips) on the topics of the court and the British social scene.

"The letters to Lady Mar are reports from the arena to the cloister; the correspondence with Lady Bute reverses these locations" (Redford 38). While not strictly nun-like in her routines (or in her preoccupations with affairs and scandals!), Lady Mary has adopted many of the ascetic features of the cloistered lifestyle. One pleasure she returns to frequently in the correspondence--to the point where she apologizes for its regularity of mention--is the garden.

The identity of the "earth mother" holds only tenuous connection to Lady Mary, since gardeners followed her wishes in the creation of the planted haven; nonetheless, every letter to Lady Bute about the success of the garden is a letter affirming (from abroad) the mother's mimetic nurturing ability. As a *mise-en-scène* (play-like staging), the pose in the garden gives performative flair to the country gentlewoman's role. According to analysts of metaphor in the European tradition, garden images carry a cluster of associations, most notably with the Edenic or the paradisical: "Since Paradise is a garden, a garden can, by transposition, be called a Paradise" (Curtius 275). Lady Mary's use of her garden's characteristics, when she writes to Lady Bute, invests the space with a sense of sanctuary and retreat. "My Garden . . . is with a small expence turn'd into a Garden that (apart from the advantage of the climate) I like better than that of Kensington . . . I have turn'd [grapevine clusters] into cover'd Gallerys of shade, that I can walk in the heat without being incommoded by it" (*Letters* 2.403-4). Not only are the written records of the Gottolengo kitchen garden deeply

descriptive of a *locus amoenus*, but the pictorial record carries a similar set of qualities. The hand-drawn map may be simple, even crude, but its repeated legends such as "kitchen garden" and "cover'd walk," and its strong sense of setting (which includes the extension of the dining room into the garden space), serve to attach the garden firmly to its owner's reclusive life (see appendix).

To her distant daughter, Lady Mary's garden map--as well as the self-dramatization implicit within it--presents the coded comment: "I am here." Its significance rests in its graphic representation of the current status of her identity politics. Drawings or doodles are rare among the extant pages of Lady Mary's manuscripts, so the sketch of the Gottolengo garden has more value than just the visual aid it provides to the reader's picture of the Italian retreat. There may be scrolls and crosses among the pages of the juvenilia, but even in that less-inhibited era, Lady Mary's pen was used for words on the page, and little else (*HMS* 250). When the map is drawn for Lady Bute, what is exhibited along with the layout of the garden is an emblematic cartography, indicating where Lady Mary is in relation to her hard-won Eden. Description alone has fallen short of conveying how satisfying the space is, so the garden-sketch supplements the vision on the page. The relationship of Lady Mary's gardening to the English and the continental European landscaping tradition can best be covered by a brief background of the tradition,[2] but the immediately noteworthy aspect of the planned space is the extent to which its harmonious elements symbolize the owner's

clarified aesthetic wishes. In the manuscript, the sketch, which has been blotted with an unidentified stain, shows a sense of the page's limits; the sketch is spacious enough to approach the outer edges, but measured out to allow even boundaries to its different sections. The device of writing on the vertical lines of the covered walks creates a cozy image of walking these earthen corridors with the pen, or with the reading eye. Though Lady Mary apologizes for the production, it conveys the spaces accurately.

Like her importing of the Language of Flowers, a third of a century earlier, Lady Mary's dramatic promotion of the joys of gardening--complete with blueprint/backdrop--carries scene-enhancing emblematic significance; in both cases, a flower stands for more than just itself: "All the walks are garnish'd with beds of Flowers, beside the parterres which are for a more distinguish'd sort . . . Gardening is certainly the next amusement to Reading . . . " (*Letters* 3.407-8). By means of the colourful term "garnish" (*OED*) to suggest the satisfaction of a beautifully arranged border, and the hint that different features of the garden cater to the more high-born floral choices, Lady Mary makes the experience picturesque and lightly symbolic. With the comparison of the activity of gardening to that of reading, the mother makes her daughter aware of the high priority placed in the first task--since the second has long been her declared preference. In both cases, she can enjoy "silent companions," together with her own thoughts.

In the reflective solitude of the garden, Lady Mary's

circadian rhythms convey the heightened yet ordinary life. Cynthia Lowenthal notes a two-tiered arrangement of epistolary themes: the familiar and quotidian observations of her new environment, including stories Lady Mary passes on concerning her peers and servants, and the thoughtful long-term view of life and love that she declares is directed toward her grand-daughter: "'essays' insisting on the value of education for gentlewomen whose destiny lies in retirement, and self-representations of the pleasures and productivity of the retired state" (188). Included with the former "tier" of the letters is the criticism of the books that Lady Bute has sent by the crateload to her mother. Though she sometimes worries about whether her ideas are "tiresome"--"I am afraid you'l think this Letter very tedious" a recurring comment (*Letters* 2.450)--the critical material seems almost to count as a form of repayment for the joy which the books sent by the daughter have stirred in the mother. Occasionally, Lady Mary acknowledges that her daughter has been "diverted" or "amused" by the ideas in her letters; frequently, that recognition follows the letters that possess a didactic quality. Especially appreciated, according to the sender's modest reply, are the "mini-essays" which have been sent along to instruct the grand-daughters: "[Y]ou tell me my Letters (such as they are) are agreable to you" (*Letters* 2.457). As long as there is some chance of persuading members of her female progeny to choose being informed over being ignorant coquettes, she will try to shape their ways from her garden of wisdom.

A didactic drama (leavened by occasional comic relief)

unfolds in mother-daughter correspondence--in both Lady Mary's advice to Lady Bute and Madame de Sévigné's to Madame de Grignan. Instruction plays a part in the correspondence between Madame de Sévigné and her daughter, Madame Grignan; Allentuch interprets the Frenchwoman's teaching urge as part of a larger goal: to make her daughter so responsive to the motherly viewpoint as to step within a charmed circle of "mystic unity": "her yearning to merge their identities, to create an *unio mystica* with her daughter in memory and in imagination" (124). The ultimate object of the letters is to make the two women into halves of the same whole, kept in contact through the mail, and yet not complete until their bodily selves are united. No such oneness is possible for Lady Mary and Lady Bute. Both recognize that the greatest harmony possible between them is the one achieved at a distance, because the closer they come to one another, the larger loom their differences. Joanne Costello sets up the mother-daughter model in a manner that accounts for both of these pairings; she notes that for woman writers recognizing their ties, maternal positioning "sets up the place of the Other as the place of desire" (124). Madame de Sévigné does all in her power to narrow the physical gap between herself and her daughter, in an effort to bring home her "Other," whereas Lady Mary declares how much she misses her daughter, but keeps herself to herself and admires the life at the receiving end of the letters; the English pair have issues that distance thankfully silences.

The Wortley Montagu/Bute family comedy, performed on satellite stages in Venice, Lovere, the Isle of Bute and London,

represents Lady Mary's energized epistolary rendering of her feelings for her daughter and (stifled by later self-erasure) Lady Bute's returned regard. Writing from self-exile as she does, Lady Mary has the best chance to keep her daughter in a state of affectionate interest by presenting a busy, directed self on the page, and by reminding Lady Bute that the two have had some sustained sharing of purpose and cause over the years they have been apart. Each has arrived at her position at least partly by willful self-location, and each has defied familial expectation of the daughter/wife to do so. Also, each has asserted herself against what Nussbaum identifies to be traditional society's plan for her: "Woman, as violator of the authority of her contractual bonds to the patriarchal order, dares to disdain that authority . . . " (*Brink* 3). Contracting a disapproved marriage, or disengaging from a tired one, each must lie (in the words of the maternal edict) in the bed she has made for herself. Nonetheless, the two find common ground and reflect fertilely upon it; responding to one of Lady Bute's letters that has evidently piled on the self-deprecation--my news must be so boring to you, I've hardly left the house--Lady Mary answers her daughter by informing her that all the important people whose news she needs to know are on Lady Bute's pages already: the immediate family, much loved and doted on at this safe distance. "Remember my unalterable Maxim, where we love we have allways something to say. Consequently my pen never tires when expressing to you the thoughts of your most affectionate Mother" (*Letters* 3.90). If she were any closer, the mother might have to

step down from her parental role, since her affection receives its freest expression at a distance of channel and continent.

If the amount of self-revelation contained in some of Lady Mary's letters to Lady Bute were delivered in person, the exposing of self would inevitably produce emotional pain. A contrasting pain would arise for Sir John Hearty if he had to relinquish responsibility for his marriageable daughter, Bellinda, before the right match had been made. As an enabler who imposes conditions that include the right to tease and distress his progeny, rather than an outright blocker of his daughter's wishes, he presents a different parental figure from the stock Shakespearean father, such as the paternalistic governor, Leonato, quick to judge his daughter Hero in *Much Ado about Nothing* (1600). In *Simplicity,* Lady Mary conducts the choosing of a mate for a daughter in the manner that has eluded her, both as parent and as child; having set up the match between Gaymore and Bellinda to his own (and luckily, his daughter's) satisfaction, Sir John can declare that he gives her latitude: "Well, daughter, if you can find in your heart to so delay your Lover's happyness, you shall have my leave to divert your selfe your own way" (*EP* 366; 3.i). As in the sixteenth-century proverb that courtship is a blind bag full of snakes and eels into which the lover thrusts a hand, the comedies of courting couples carry their own agents of pain. Lady Mary never received the benificent leave of a Sir John in the planning of her own marriage, nor did she give such leave willingly in the matchmaking of Lady Mary the younger; only in imaginative writing

does the daughter's "leave to divert herself" receive voice--and then, only when all the parent's wishes have been answered. Though Madame de Sévigné judges her son-in-law harshly, she receives her daughter's daily news with such unconditional joy that she could serve as foil to the reserved heroine created in Lady Mary's regal maternal role-playing. Finally, *Simplicity* voices the playwright's ultimate exploration of the marriageable girl's identity; the play works as a "what-if" scenario. In the life of its rebel author, the marriage comedy uses a strong-minded but traditional voice, Bellinda's, to take a contrarily submissive stand to authority.

Chapter 5
Notes

1 Richardson's novel, *Clarissa* (1747-8) sets up a family hierarchy which superficially resembles the one apparent in the courtship-era exchange between Lady Mary and Lady Bute, with parents aligned against the daughter's choices, and brother self-serving and unpredictable (Edward's misadventures during the early years of his sister's marriage read like a Jungian discourse of maternal nightmare archetypes--see 12 May 1740 [Letters II.185] for suggestions of Edward's incompetence, shiftlessness and contemplation of bigamy). If Anna, the correspondent to whom Clarissa pours out her heart, can be seen as a fictional Philippa Mundy (secret-sharer of Lady Mary's own elopement), then the dual-generational stage is set. The merry and hopeful exchange with Philippa Mundy, leading to Lady Mary's own betrothal (see above, chapter 2), casts Lady Mary's young-adult self as a willing bride, though an unwilling heiress--she refuses to be "dispose[d] of...where I hate" (*Letters* 123) In May's view, letter-exchanges can reveal potential family harmony, as well as conflict; Anna, Clarissa's sympathetic respondent, inhabits an inner-family position of her own: "It is Anna Howe whom Clarissa considers her *true* sister" (26). Between the sisterly exchange of Mary Pierrepont and Phillipa Mundy and the emotionally-distant series between Lady Mary and Lady Bute stand years of Lady Mary's realization that she has unintentionally married the wrong man--that Wortley has turned out to be her own Mr. Soames (though a decade must pass before he can receive this name). The distances between parent and child have multiple sources, in Richardson's novel and in Lady Mary's life.

2 For the expansive prospects of gardening as an eighteenth-century cultural phenomenon, see Mack, *The Garden and the City* (1969), as well as Sambrook's discussion of landscape gardening in *The Eighteenth Century* (1986). See also Peter Martin's *The Gardening World of Alexander Pope* (1985).

Chapter 6 Appearances in the Mirror of Society

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu projects herself as a warm and loving mother figure in her correspondence with her adult daughter, and as a traditional but caring father figure in the comedy, *Simplicity*; the roles she has taken on in these writing projects are two among many over the course of her writing career. Even her anonymous publications argue for her use of guises and personae. She limited or misguided her audience, by restricting public access in the first case, and in the second, by hiding her identity. Since life-writing forms the majority of her output, Lady Mary also figures as subject within her letters and poems, giving her still more opportunity to appear in print-disguise before her reader. The roles adopted by the speakers in her essays and by the narrators in her fiction join the personae she takes on in the potentially self-revealing letters as evidence for author as disguised subject. Not only does such analysis suit the quest for Lady Mary's definitive identity politics, but it also equates personal identity with this chapter's account of her lifelong search for self in the mirror, especially if Lacan defines that mirror as a society in which the woman hopes to find welcome. Like the convent in the tale, *Louisa* (c.1742), some structures--the mirror among them--can promise kind refuge, but instead expose the vulnerable to society's harshest judgments.

Searching for the combination of factors that can signify her self--the reputation, the character given by others and by personal assessment, the image reflected back in a mirror--Lady

Mary gazes starkly and plainly at the early stages, glances with fright at the intermediate stages, and winces to avoid the vision in the last stages. Often, Lady Mary approaches the glass willingly, having donned a disguise to keep the view from appearing too harsh. Spacks (1976), La Belle (1988), Pointon (1995), and Sherman (1995) delineate the limits of the mirror image's power to influence Lady Mary. Spacks and La Belle use her banishment of mirrors from her European refuges as an indicator of her will-power, while Pointon shows the extent of her influence over the portraiture by which her image projects into the next centuries; Sherman casts her in the pose of the instructor who nudges the fashion-obsessed into recognizing their folly. Campbell (1994), building her insights on assessments by portrait specialists Bohls and Pointon, locates the hung picture of Lady Mary as a female body politicized. The chapter's argument is that Lady Mary's is a pro-active engagement with her image; she shapes it as far as she is able, rather than allowing it to shape her. The critical perspective on Lady Mary's "I"-messages joins the perspective of Lady Mary's own identity search in her often-politicized life-writing; both inform the chapter. It also focuses on Lady Mary's imaginative prose and poetry, which impart a risqué physicality to the images on her page, especially in two projects: her attacking of Swift through the response (1733) to his earthy "The Lady's Dressing Room" (1732), and her correspondence in anticipation of a continental rendezvous with Francesco Algarotti, the Italian count for whom her passion found vigorous expression. The mirrors made

available by society throughout her aging could usually reinforce the aptness of the identity she chose to cast herself in; the portraits, commissioned so her body could be displayed, will be shown to speak a language of their own:

> It is at the symbolic level of communication that the rhetorical language of the body most clearly articulates power; the surfaces of the body are as backgrounds upon which items of apparel as objects in themselves are inscribed. (Pointon, *The Body Imaged* 177)

The portraits beautify her beyond her own cosmetic-applying capability. They, too, take shape under her influence.

In his *Écrits* (1937), Lacan exposes the conditions he has recorded, efforts of young minds to form an early identity; the psychological analysis he makes of these attempts causes him to see society as an extension of the mirror in which selfhood originates:

> We have only to understand the mirror stage as an identification, in the full sense that analysis gives that term, namely the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image--whose [part in this phase goes by] the ancient term *imago* . . . This jubilant assumption of his specular image by the child . . . exhibit[s] the symbolic matrix in which the *I* is precipitated

in a primordial form. (Lacan 2)

La Belle explains further that "Lacan's sense of '*le stade du miroir*' maintains that a mirror is the threshold between the purely imaginary . . . and what he calls the 'symbolic'" (La Belle 152). Lacan describes the model of the mirror, in a way that facilitates analysis of Lady Mary's relationship with the looking glass, by equating the "mirror-stage" of early childhood with a nascent sense of the Other. Lacan interprets the stage of fledgling recognition begun here as a device by which a person comes to know self and not-self: one's external manifestation, how one is seen by others and therefore how one must be. Thus one conceives an expectation for projecting a presence in the world, an *I* defined by something (later someone) outside oneself.

In the fifty recorded years of her self-measure, Lady Mary regularly placed herself at the threshold of the mirror: she altered the lighting, props, effects, so that she would be pleased by what she saw. Failing to create a view of self that satisfied her, she took on the disguise of the Other: she could and did mount a successful masquerade as a male, or as a Turkish woman, or as a continental noblewoman. Less successfully, she wore the costume of the devout believer, in one religion or another. *The Female Thermometer* evaluates women's efforts to alter their fortunes through the artifice of disguise or spell-casting; Terry Castle finds Lady Mary's attempts among the successful ones, referring to the Turkish costume that allowed her free access to the streets of Istanbul, as that of a "demi-

mondaine" (half-inhabitant of the lower world) (229 n.46). The image of the disguised, slumming Lady Mary through the matrix of carnivalesque narrative is convincing; Castle portrays the "perpetrator of masquerade intrigue" as displaying "the sartorial hints of supernatural power . . . symbolic of his or her *narrative* influence" (134). Lady Mary assumes the disguise--for instance, of the Turkish noblewoman striding undetected through Istanbul streets--as the mask of the storyteller, as well as of the participant. The frequency of her Turkish-dress self-representation in portraits bespeaks the invitation to the stories which the disguise summons.

Based on the identity politics to which the letters give evidence, Jill Campbell's assessment of the disguise-fostering situation offers a caution; she cannot accept as a defining condition the temporary freedom that this disguise afforded. Campbell minimizes the impression of the Turkish disguise with the insight that "even when [Lady Mary] reconstrues [sic] her female identity within what she calls 'the other world' of Turkish life, she does so primarily by compounding conventional masculine and feminine roles rather than by reimagining either of them" (79). In that the conventions of male control have demanded the covering, Campbell's point is well taken. However, the heady escape into Turkish masquerade marks her luxurious but brief exposure to customs so different from her own that she cannot claim them as essential to her identity, and so she is free to revel in them. Susan Ostrov Weisser and Jennifer Fleischner qualify the potential freedom of the disguise as Lady

Mary touts it in print, for instance in the letter to Lady Mar extolling its "entire Liberty"-creating potential (*Letters* 1.328): "Representation . . . may be a distancing device that allows us to look at a problem uncomfortably close to our own experience, a 'veil' . . . for ideology that eases discomfort" (15). Her unwillingness to remove her clothes for the bath among naked Turkish women demonstrates that the altered appearances can work only if her own terms for them have been met; like Ingres, who will follow her lead to create the painting, "Le Bain Turc" (1862-3), she takes the "pretexte" of viewing "not naked women but nudes," and positions herself as an art-loving observer (Yeazell 114). The distinction appears slight, yet the aloofness maintained in her refusal to join in the bare-skinned luxury does assert itself. Clothed in the English(men's) stays, she remains an outsider; however, muffled in the layers of outdoor robes, she can briefly become an anonymous Turkishwoman. Like the Turkish dress modeled before her admiring fellow aristocrats on her return to England, the outfit that gave her freedom of the streets in Turkey has only a superficial contribution to make to her identity.

The interest in wearing disguises which Castle has perceived in her--"a fondness for masquerade privileges" (229 n.46)--continues throughout her correspondence, long after her return to the less singular experience of England. Adopting the dress or voice of someone not locked into aristocratic womanhood, as she is, allows her the wider view of court-based conventions and ideologies. The story of her robed and hooded entrance, with

a similarly swathed princess of Transylvania, inside the spaces of St. Sophia (for men's eyes only) notifies readers of her willingness to use disguise for risky expansion of her spiritual awareness (qtd. in *Life* 82-3). In witnessing the ultimate hidden, male-privileging ceremony, and living to describe it, she gains perspective on the mildness of British strictures against women's public-sphere activity. Now she can confidently voice dissenting opinions concerning conditions such as divorce by adulterous husbands and dowry barter of brides, things she would accept with a disempowered shrug before. She can also test out what changes would mean, by watching for reaction to her thoughts as she presents them via a disguised self. In "Instructing the 'Empire of Beauty,'" Sandra Sherman profiles the apparently feminist Lady Mary as an anti-feminist, in a *Nonsense of Common-Sense* essay (1737), as well as in a male-voiced poem, "A Satyr" (c.1718): in these, she becomes someone who attacks women for their frivolous assumptions about the world. Sherman believes that Lady Mary still holds proto-feminist ideals, in that she attacks what *can be changed* in women, namely their wiles in dressing to advantage, and their attention to superficiality--for instance, when they buy the latest fashions--while entire economic and political realms exist below the surface. Thus Lady Mary is recognizing the female sex as an "alternative base of power," causing Sherman to propose that readers must recognize the still-perfectible in womankind; it is not "an always already constituted (and hence monolithic, incorrigible)" body politic (Sherman 1). To Sherman, the attacks stand for readiness to

take women on, provoke fresh thinking, incite them to act differently. In the voice of the male proponent, Lady Mary can enact such change, and without the risk of censure from both sexes that a woman stirring women's action would receive--as Lady Mary's smallpox campaign, attacked as a "mother's campaign," endured (Grundy, "Fame" 23).

For her exposure of the differently political voice in Lady Mary's poetry, Sherman chooses "A Satyr" (c.1718), a poem which adapts Boileau's tenth satire, surveying the choices of wife, and the consequent marriage and suffering that a typical upper-class Englishman might endure. Around this multi-layered bride catalogue, Sherman builds her argument; with her analysis, we can construct a profile of Lady Mary the proto-feminist crusader from even this apparently misogynistic satire. Sherman features the insipid innocent whose "glad Eyes the sighing Croud surveys [sic]" (*EP* 212; 93), contrasting her as the poet does, to the decadent jade who "Courts your Footman or corrupts your Son" (*EP* 212; 86); both expose weaknesses of women's character, yet these are not the only thumbnail portraits provided. The images contribute to a complex array of women's roles, including--among the spendthrift and the miser, the flirt and the invalid--a perfect wife, "the solid Comfort" of her husband (*EP* 210; 8). Though this image soon shatters, a lingering gaze on the "Learned She" (*EP* 212; 148) reveals an undomesticated yet a compelling figure. Gazing into space, she "regards the motions of the Stars" (151), only to turn godless in frustration over unexplained mysteries. Sherman's interpretation, which

underlines the misogyny of the piece by stressing the speaker's male voice (7), reaches only a limited understanding of the poet's aims. Recognized as a satire on the dismissive labeling of women, the poem can tease an interest in the potential depth below the types. Ending with the ferocious woman reformer, it challenges shallow perceivers of womanly roles to find the strengths within all the stereotypes, and to question social "laws" that created the types in the first place.

The pair of Lady Mary's poems which take worldly lovers as their subject answer the superficial stereotyping of "A Satyr" with a happy medium, voiced by both male and female lover. "A Mistress," the poem written in the voice of Robert Walpole addressing Maria Skerrett (Grundy *EP* 234 n.1) responds to "The Lover" (c. 1721) in which Lady Mary takes "Molly" Skerrett's voice to address Robert Walpole. "The Mistress" (c.1723) treats in mirror-form all the requirements of a perfect man--but takes male voice, and characterizes the woman suited to eternal love. Laurence Lerner uses the poem to define "subversion of the canon," stating that his idea of women's poetry in Lady Mary's time is of "truth bursting out with female directness," and yet finding that Lady Mary's poetry does not fit this description (Lerner 355). In her "polished" poems, he asserts, "the bonds of patriarchal conventions [are defied in a manner which is] not direct" (355). Indirectness positions Lady Mary's writing for the cause of stirring fellow women as a production separate from those of Charke and Pilkington; the aristocrat appears to work within the system, defying it through subversive messages while

expertly using its conventional forms.

Lerner singles out "The Mistriss" (c. 1723) as exemplifying the double discourse; the poem adopts masculine voice to list the qualities desirable in a woman. The couplet, "May her Face and her Mind to alure me conspire / And what one begun may the other raise higher" (*EP* 237; 5-6), identifies the dual nature of a woman's attractiveness, starting with physical beauty but continuing with beauty of intellect. The lines convey a point central to the mirror-image aspect of Lady Mary's sense of self: that she holds a rounded view on the body/brain aesthetic, and valorizes the "beautiful" female brain. As La Belle explains, a feminist places the mirror "at a historical focus of female identity and questions dichotomies between self and reflected image, between spirit and flesh, between psychological presence and physical body" (2). The poetic speaker's ideal woman integrates mind and body to create a strong whole person. He further demands of her that she show discretion (not often counted a possibility for women): "In public may no loose Demeanor betray / The Freedom she loves, and the Game she does play" (*EP* 238; 33-4). The idea that the woman participates in public discourse, to the extent of having to hide the loving feelings there, invests her with a powerful public presence unlike that of the hot-headed reformer of "A Satyr," above. Instead of embarrassing her lover by expressing strong opinions, or serving as a showy object, pretty but empty-headed, she has the power within his social sphere to withhold her most dangerous feelings from view.

Even the poem that matches such potent empowerment as Lady Mary's/Robert Walpole's "The Mistriss" contains subversive themes. "The Lover: A Ballad" lends force to the idea that the lover's thoughts came readily to Lady Mary, letting her step outside her gender limitations for two perspectives on the same scene. Horace Walpole's hint that Lady Mary suppressed "The Mistriss" (Grundy, *EP* 236) merely suggests that political priorities overrode literary ones for the poet whose models lived and breathed in sight of a harsh-judging public. Instead of presenting "The Lover" as a generic, everywoman's poem--albeit one that idealizes a man of the world--she gives it the voice of a confidante to Molly Skerrett, and names traits of the desired lover that show him sensitive, attuned to the domestic sphere, and prepared to keep her happy even if society threatens to deprive them of togetherness. The fact of both lovers' indiscretions and infidelities casts an ironic tone on the idyll which Lady Mary creates; Fielding's possible suggestion that Molly Skerrett has traits of "Mrs. Heartfree," an under-committed lover, as well as his bold portrayal of Robert Walpole as "The Screen," someone given to hiding transgressions and transgressors behind his public image, convey the lovers' popular caricatures (Golden 492). Nonetheless, through the sympathetic female speaker, Lady Mary indulges a high-profile couple's illicit affair:

> But when the long hours of Public are past
> And we meet with Champaign and a Chicken at last,

> May every fond Pleasure that hour endear,
> Be banish'd afar both Discretion and Fear,
> Forgetting or scorning the Airs of the Croud
> He may cease to be formal, and I to be proud . . . .
> (*EP* 236; 25-30)

The man thus gifted with attentiveness wields real power in the public sphere, yet the woman does not need to wheedle, to promise sexual delights, or to pout, in order for her out-of-office love to favour her requests. Both members of the pair subtly support activities and beliefs for which an author who declared herself might pay in scandal. An intriguing mood closes "The Lover," invoking, with uncomfortable implications, some classical lovers and their escape-bent love-objects: "And as Ovid has sweetly in Parables told / We harden like Trees, and like Rivers are cold" (*EP* 236; 47-8). The implication that a virginal woman would rather take permanent disguise in nature's dress (Grundy, *EP* 236 n.) than submit before a "Lewd Rake" casts a chill on the delights that the poem has contained to its close. The warning thus lingers that if the woman considers herself undervalued, placed among the wanton coquettes, she will retaliate by withdrawing as completely as the Ovidian maidens have, after they have transformed into a laurel or a stream. This classical caution lets us see Skerrett in a more innocent guise than does Pope's naming her "Phryne," in 1731, in *Epistle to Bathurst* (121), Phryne being a woman whom Mack identifies as "a celebrated Athenian courtesan" with many wealthy lovers (*Pope* 556); Lady

Mary may have launched a pre-emptive strike against satirists with a penchant for classical name-calling.

The situation of a hidden love usually generates conventional and stereotyped female responses; this kind of romantic sighing typifies what Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* mocked, by showing it to be the result of romance-novel reading, "a silly activity that will turn a woman's head" (Craft 832). Love poetry also proves conventional, except when treated as Lady Mary treats it--equally male and female inspired, equally voiced, and in some cases, with the least valued participant in the scene of love given unlikely sympathetic voice. An answer poem at the opposite end of the emotional spectrum from the tender pair above sends up misguided love. Written by Jonathan Swift, a man for whom Lady Mary usually shows the utmost contempt,[1] "The Lady's Dressing Room" (1732) exposes an upper-class beauty as a "gaudy Tulip . . . rais'd from Dung" (144); the tone and content inflamed Lady Mary to answer with reference to the point of view of the lower-class girl with whom a poet such as Swift might consort. The result, "The Reasons that Induced Dr. S[wift] to write a Poem call'd the Lady's Dressing room" (c.1733), parades one unusual Montagu persona: an impatient whore.

Lady Mary's commentary models the mud-slinging approach to theme which has attached to the Swiftian exercise ever since. Critical approaches to Swift's "The Lady's Dressing Room" have treated the poem with its bodily functions--and especially its scatology--uppermost. As Melinda Rabb interprets the poem,

Celia's actions to eliminate and exfoliate bodily wastes signify Bakhtinian "material acts . . . exaggerated into a comic transcendence of limitation" (376). With the motto, "Shit lives forever," Rabb identifies the contents of the chamberpot, and their subsequent identity in poetic form, as a "material escape from oblivion" (376). There may be more pleasant ways of staying in the memory of peers and descendants, but none so pungently long-lasting. Rabb's analysis joins Ashraf Rushdy's and Brenda Bean's in illustrating the sociological, slice-of-life implications foregrounded in Swift's poem. Lady Mary repositions the poem's speaker for a different sense of class struggle from the Bakhtinian one Rushdy foregrounds (2), illustrating the pre-Marxist idea that the impotence of a paying customer thwarted (not only by his bought mistress's impatience with him, but by his own sexual inadequacy) has led him to seek revenge: "The Reverend Lover with surprize / Peeps in her Bubbys, and her Eyes,/ And kisses both, and trys--and trys" (*EP* 275; 63-65). As Lady Mary took Arthur Gray's voice in two poems, "Epistle from Arthur G[ra]y to Mrs M[urra]y" and "Virtue in Danger," so she takes Betty's voice in the answer to Swift. The poems' analogous standing to the response to Swift invites inquiry into their identity politics; each of the three privileges the perspective of an "inferior" (high-priced, in Betty's case, at £4 a throw), while questioning the upper-class protagonist's own motives and actions. Each also works as an extension of the gossip that inflamed Lady Mary's letters to her sister, critical of the mores of London's élite. Like the embarrassing "moment of truth" for

the fumbling dean, Mrs. Murray's exposed state reduces her before her readers: "Tut, tut quoth he, I do not care;/ and so pull'd down the Clothes:/ Uncover'd lay the Lady fair / From bubby to her toes" (*EP* 219; 56-59). Gray's caressing tone shifts sympathy in the "Epistle," so it is shared by the viewing servant and the upper-class object of his affection: "I saw the dear Disorder of your Bed,/ Your Cheek all glowing with a tempting red,/ Your Nightcloaths tumbled with resistless Grace,/ Your flowing Hair plaid careless round your face" (*EP* 223, 76-79). Social barriers break down in both pictured subjects', Swift's and Murray's, cases, with each lower-class lover as commentator on the other's reduced status.

Motivation had a similar vengeful feature, in all of Lady Mary's servant-sympathetic endeavours: rumour reports she meant to answer Griselda Murray's risk-taking betrayal of her social class in having so flagrant an affair with an adulterer that a servant like Arthur Gray could discover it and blackmail her (Grundy, E-mail interview 12 December 1996). Here in the response to Swift, Lady Mary adopts the scolding voice of Betty, who served as a minor character in Swift's narrative poem. Now, her carping lower-class voice replaces Celia's muted (because absent) high-toned voice in Swift's original:

> *Strephon*, who found the room was void,
> And *Betty* otherwise employ'd,
> Stole in, and took a strict Survey,
> Of all the litter as it lay . . . . (5-8)

Strephon's search through the intimate areas of the innermost private lady's rooms (gross in their revelations) becomes Betty's harangue at the voyeuristic poet, unable (like Strephon the seeker, post-search) to reach arousal or climax with a woman. The effect created by Betty's account of the story may be characterized as noisy, causing a shift to occur between the foregrounding of the sense of smell as primary, and the sense of hearing as primary. Each sense is assailed as the reader takes in the poem; late in Lady Mary's, "The nymph grown Furious roar'd by God / The blame lyes all in Sixty odd" (*EP* 275; 74-5). Lady Mary does not precisely ignore the stink of the dressing room, including the close-stool, as giving offense; yet her fascination lies with the scolding harridan, railing against a lover who has shown himself to be both dull and unresponsive. Overlooking the greater *misanthropy* Swift displays in his satires, Laura Brown calls "The Lady's Dressing Room" "a good example of [Swift's misogynist poems'] typical structure . . . a description of the artifice by which the true, corrupt nature of the female body is concealed" (426). Recognizing that the poem is "not so much about feminine identity as about masculine desire and its frustrations" (Rabb 376), Lady Mary provides an answer which epitomizes the counter-suit, a sense of men's impotence with living, breathing women. The idealizing male narrators of love poems construct "woman" wrongly when they exclude the physical; both Swift's and Lady Mary's satires contain the physical, demonized through the poets' yielding to what Rabb calls "a

fundamental, or rather primitive, urge to humanize and degrade forces we cannot control" (376).

Ideal woman (she who Celia appears to be if the dressing room is not examined) strolls through eighteenth-century literature beside a man for whom she mimics himself in small, attractive and adoring. Thus, in her adolescent and early-adult years, provided she took good care of her image, a woman would find herself sought after aggressively by men for her ability to cast a pleasing reflection of them. However, when her looks faded, or lost their attraction through her becoming ill or disfigured, no man wished to behold himself in her gaze, or in her secondary reflection of him. Mary Wortley Montagu's suffering and surviving of a smallpox attack (1715) figures in her poetry as a break-off point, after which she loses the attentions of gallants who have pursued her in order to have her beauty complement their own. Further, the turning away of royal attention, "the eye of royalty, from whom might be hoped . . . whatever royal persons have it in their power to bestow" (Mack, *Pope* 295) gives the author a sense that her physical self has been eclipsed--that only through her writing can she gain regard comparable to what her attractive face used to garner. The loss of prettiness has transformed her to a companion who might receive pity (though the running comment, "Pitted, not pitied" [Mack 295] suggests otherwise). After the smallpox, her productive writing self represented her on the page in a positive identity. Illness disrupted the positive qualities of her physical presence--though it did not keep her from being admired.

The report on this identity shift, pivotal to the "I" she adopts for the rest of her life, takes substance in the *Town Eclog*, "Saturday: Flavia." The male gaze discussed in the context of Lady Mary's childhood standing, as reigning beauty of the Kit-Cat Club, gave her the need for continued adoration. Attention and reflection took an apt and uncanny form during her courtship by Wortley; the envelopes accompanying her letters to him show his address as "Mr Wortly at his Lodgings overagainst the Tavern in Great Queen Street / A Looking Gla§se Shop" (*HMS* 74). Here, the mirror reflecting her occupies a double presence: it is the man's assessment, and the image in the shop beside his lodgings. The gaze also affected her by its withdrawal, according to the autobiographical regrets in the eclogue. Smallpox has claimed her beauty, thus also claiming her active court career. Since beauty of face prefigures a woman's success, the loss of this beauty must lead to a loss of standing. Lady Mary already recognized this superficial standard of inclusion in inmost court circles, and captured it in the conventional exchanges of courting males and responsive females, during her pre-smallpox days, in "Written ex tempore in Company" (1713):

> While Thirst of Power and desire of Fame,
> In every Age is every Woman's Aim;
> Of Beauty Vain, of silly Toasters proud
> Fond of a Train, and happy in a Crowd. (*EP* 179; 1-4)

Lady Mary expresses droll unconcern over these petty

involvements of the young woman at court; she shares the awareness--if not the sense of drollery--with a contemporary. "Letters Moral and Entertaining" (1729-33), by Elizabeth Singer Rowe, includes a similar confession of women's shallowness. A letter in which the correspondent tries to convey awareness of the effect of beauty records how a courting count responds to her appearance: "'My vanity made me interpret every little turn of gallantry as the mark of some peculiar value and innocent friendship he had for me . . .'" (Jones 24). Rowe's character's self-awareness mitigates the delusional response to gallantry, but her behaviour itself establishes a norm of female behaviour before men's praising of beauty: vain belief in her worth, as a result of her pleasing appearance.

Lady Mary's "Miss Cooper to--" confirms in a couplet the worth of unstained young beauty: "The Croud still follows where I please to pass / Nor need I dread the Censure of my Glass" (*EP* 228 3-4). At the same time that the beautiful woman gains her desires, the one whose beauty has faded or vanished loses status, sense of belonging, integrity of identity. Thus, "Saturday"'s dominant image is the "Glass revers'd" (*EP* 203; 3); its presence argues that even denial or cloaking of disfigured beauty merely postpones public response and greater individual suffering over the face "shunn'd," anticipating the shunning of others: "Eighteenth-century smallpox discourse was gendered: referring to men, it spoke of the danger to life; referring to women, of the danger to beauty" (Grundy, "Fame" 15). Lady Mary's involvement with the inoculation campaign grows out of this

double association--out of an obligation to beautiful women and productive men. The sense of her own diminished beauty and her brother's lost life would drive the campaign with inward-inspired energy.

Beyond the obvious points of comparison, of Flavia's beauty-affecting loss to Belinda's, in *The Rape of the Lock*, one central contrast emerges. In Belinda's case, the unreal, the fantastic elements surrounding the loss and retreat, alleviate much of the suffering--and some of the pity in which readers indulge her. The sprite-laments, Belinda's orchestrated languor within the Cave of Spleen, the celestial support for her vengeful resolutions, lift the mood from the tragic. In Flavia's case, by contrast, the fanciful demand made of the mirror, that it restore her lost looks, gives way immediately to the more realistic "damage control"--stepping aside for other women of uncompromised (though initially lesser) beauty. Flavia decides, rather than becoming a universal target of pity or mockery, to stay hidden "Where no false Freind will in my Greife take part,/ And mourn my Ruin with a Joyfull Heart" (*EP* 204; 91-2).

In consequence of her changed fortunes, Lady Mary chose to be like Lydia, of the "Friday" eclogue, and treat her alienation by concentrating on wit rather than beauty--directed in Lydia's case against the man for whom she has grown too old to be mistress: "No perjur'd Man! A Wife may be content,/ But you shall find a Mistriss can resent--" (*EP* 200; 67-8). Lady Mary, though, can still turn an understanding smile upon her circle, and remain stoic over the lessened attention her looks receive.

Her autobiographical fable, "Carabosse" (c. 1739) reveals the stoicism. After the hateful serpentine Carabosse promises that the fable-princess will lose her "admirable beauty by smallpox at the age that she begins to feel its advantages," (*EP* 384), a fairy named Spirituelle softens the curse: "I give her the finest memory that has ever been, a sound taste, an astonishing vivacity, tempered by a judgment that will measure all her words" (*EP* 384). Her personal compensations and consolations reflect, exactly, the items on this list.

When Lady Mary's poetry exposes women's disempowerment by lost beauty, each poem gives wry voice to the processes that follow beauty's decline. Addressing her philandering spouse in Lady Mary's "Epistle from Mrs. Y[onge] to her husband" (1724), Mrs. Yonge reveals the current state of their marriage: "I quit the Woman's Joy to be admir'd / With that small Pension your hard Heart allows" (*EP* 231; 43-44). Mrs. Yonge exemplifies the woman replaced by a more powerful one; she still attracts her own lover, but the affair compounds her loss of social standing, originating in her husband's disaffection. Bitterly, she instructs him on the treatment of her rival: "More than her Chambermaids, or Glasses, Lye,/ Tell her how Young she looks, how heavenly fair" (*EP* 232; 74-5). The images contrasting the persona's tiny measure of husbandly admiration to the rival's vast measure attest to Drodge's observation that the strong eighteenth-century woman manipulates her vitality and attractiveness for position--and that without these attributes, she has far less chance to shine in society, "a society in which

the female is primarily sustenance for the male ego . . . her conceit is initially a means of social empowerment which permits her to operate rather independently within the strictures of her society's rituals" (Drodge 81). Lady Mary's poem casts the speaker's rival in the temporary position of a blooming flower, soon to fade; of course, the speaker herself has perfect hindsight into the faded, wilted condition, and into the husbandly discarding, since she has lived it out herself.

A different consolation from berating the competition gives Lady Mary some of the satisfaction in her self-concept that she enjoyed before smallpox: her eyes still attract intense attention, especially from Alexander Pope. First her colleague in the composing of the *Eclogs,* next her avid correspondent while she discovered the distaff side of Turkish life, and finally her neighbouring friend-become-enemy, Pope mollified--even loved--Lady Mary before he vilified her. Letters bespeaking his ecstatic regard for her answer her letters from Turkey, prosaic by comparison; Pope dreams that he is "'Endymion gaping for Cynthia in a Picture'" (qtd. in Mack, *Pope* 303). The creation of *Eloisa to Abelard,* according to Mack, pays tribute to the inspirational Lady Mary, who uncovered "an attraction that women in distress would exercise on Pope's sympathies . . . In the poems, we encounter . . . *Eloisa;* in the real world, there w[as] Lady Mary . . ." (*Himself* 323). So deep is the poetic devotion to its narrating figure that it gains this kind of sympathetic review:

> Pope's most sensitive treatment of the gaze is to be found in *Eloisa to Abelard,* a poem in which the voice and passion of the female is privileged over the silence and control of the male. Yet, it is the male gaze that dominates the eye imagery of the poem; the female gaze is more response than invitation . . . with [Eloisa's] sexual history backgrounding the poem, she is also the most blatantly erotic of Pope's women. (Drodge 84)

Pope enlists Lady Mary's gaze when he describes these eyes as responding to Abelard's:

> My fancy form'd thee of Angelick kind,
> Some emanation of th' all-beauteous Mind.
> Those smiling eyes, attemp'ring ev'ry ray
> Shone sweetly lambent with celestial day (*E to A* 61-64).

Borrowing to create the poem's central image becomes a higher compliment still, when Pope takes the line from Lady Mary's "Tuesday" eclogue, "Drinking delicious poison from her face" (*EP* 188; 61) and converts it to focus on that one paired feature still shiningly beautiful in Lady Mary's face: "Still drink delicious poison from thy eye" (*E to A* 122). Isobel Grundy characterizes as benign Lady Mary's reaction to the borrowing (*EP* 188 n.61), but does not extend attention to Pope's shift in detail. When Lady Mary writes "Mine" about the line in her copy

of *Eloisa to Abelard,* she evokes a dual borrowing (*Life* 76); Pope has borrowed her line of poetry, but also he has represented her eye's own "delicious poison" on the page, drawing upon the pain of his own unrequited love for Lady Mary and identifying it in the self-referential closing:

> And sure if fate some future Bard shall join
> In sad similitude of griefs to mine,
> .....
> And image charms he must behold no more
> .....
> He best can paint 'em, who shall feel 'em most
> (*E to A* 359-60; 62, 66).

Along with the portrait in poetry above, the portraits for which Lady Mary posed over the course of her life (more than a dozen of which are still extant) pay tribute to her beauty and standing and thus must be added to the sense of projected self. Self images brought to canvas or paper, painted or drawn by others but (in several cases) certainly conceived by the subject herself, add to the exhibiting of Lady Mary's public identity. Adler and Pointon's *The Body Imaged,*as well as Pointon's *Hanging the Head,* can enhance the sense ofLady Mary's involvement in the creation of her own portrait. A section of *The Body Imaged* privileges the depiction of a subject as one form of language: "the study of rhetoric . . . can be productively appropriated to a wider study of visual culture" (125). The artistic perspective

appropriated to a wider study of visual culture" (125). The artistic perspective here takes the "Nature of legibility in relation to the body, constructed as, or through, artifact" (125); choices of pose and dress, as well as inclusion of emblematic attributes, are part of the rhetoric in which the posing figure engages her contemporaries.

The commissioning of each portrait, as well as its potential withdrawal from view if it displeases the subject, make Lady Mary its "producer" in a theatrical sense--its patron and supporter if it works and its final veto-power, threatening withdrawal if it fails. The earliest of the portraits displayed by archivists, biographers and curators, Charles Jervas's 1710 painting, portrays Lady Mary at twenty-one as a contemplative shepherdess, staff in hand and lamb's gaze upon her striking face (*Life* Frontispiece). Jill Campbell analyzes the pastoral setting here as forming part of Lady Mary's self-image, yet also catering to the current taste for the pastoral (80). By 1715, the young matron captured in oils by Godfrey Kneller has taken contemporary dress, though the classical contemplative gaze has not changed. The eyes have become the focal feature of the portrait, and will continue to gain foremost attention, except in the costume drawings and etchings that convey the exotic in the Turkish dress which Lady Mary exported. A decade later, Jonathan Richardson's portrait of her prompts Pointon's response that "the actual restoration of her beauty in paint [re-empowers the subject partly] by that beauty's allusions to the oriental other" (Pointon, *Head* 144). Attention to ornament draws the gaze toward

a pleasing whole, with her transformed, smooth face as just one adorning aspect.

One engraved portrait, Vertue's, based on a miniature by Zincke (1738), promotes an iconic vision of Lady Mary by gathering her attributes in emblem form around her. The 1739 portrait arranges Lady Mary's immortal traits in this pattern: "oak-leaves and a trumpet for fame, a globe for travel, three books for literature, a caduceus and snakes for medicine and a mahlstick for art" (Jacket *RW*). The portrait artist included the Duke and Duchess of Portland in the engraving, with their attributes surrounding them, yet a focus on Lady Mary's part in the piece shows that society's mirror has cast back a reflection of a woman too rounded in her skills and interests to gain just an emblem or two of self-definition--she merits a clutter of symbols, just to begin to capture her image. The mahlstick has its especial emphasis to lend, as Lady Mary contributes to the arts not only by her poetry and prose, but by her patronage of other writers like Fielding--and by her encouraging of portrait artists to try their hands at making her image beautiful. When Pointon hints that "women of the ruling class in the eighteenth century do seem to have been actively involved in the commissioning of portraits" (*Head* 145), she indicates the agency in Lady Mary's artistic selection--of pose, dress and ambience, as well as of the portrait artist himself.

One guise that never became a painted portrait appears as a written rhetorical one. In her September 6, 1739, letter to Algarotti, Lady Mary styles herself as Don Quixote, contemplating

the happy hour of reunion with him, her Dulcinea: "I commend myself to you in all perils like Don Quixote to his Dulcinea, and I have an imagination no less inflamed than his" (2.508 trans.) Her pursuit of Algarotti was figurative in the letters she sent in search of him, but literal in the departure for Europe in 1739. Her journey toward Algarotti bears many similarities to Quixote's quest for glory in Dulcinea's name; the identity politics of the distant lover, circling ever closer, definitely bear analysis. The letter is especially revealing as it is composed by a woman who has been referring to her delight over Cervantes since girlhood (*Letters* 1.402). She idealizes the object of her pursuit, to the point of distorting his position in relation to herself out of all recognition, just as Quixote idealizes Dulcinea, a common village girl, as "the Empress of La Mancha, the peerless Dulcinea of El Toboso" (*DQ* 78). Lady Mary refigures the presence of the man at the other end of her travels as a saintly one, belonging to someone who gives her "a devotion for you more zealous than any of the adorers of the Virgin has ever had for her" (*Letters* 3.501 trans.); Dulcinea, even in full view of Sancho Panza as a pitcher of iron bars and a hot-chestnut handler (*DQ* 247), could not have indulged in more earthbound activities than those of Algarotti's, hinted at by Frederick of Prussia; the aristocrat's homosexual liaisons in the courts of Europe have made him ill; the Crown Prince declares that he must recuperate from "*des blessures de Cythère* [the injuries of Venus]" (*Letters* 2.210 n.3).

The relationship between Lady Mary and Algarotti--for which

the illness described above should have awakened concern but did not--developed mainly during a letter-exchange, with the paper relationship replacing the physical one. In what can be inferred as Algarotti's response to Lady Mary's early promises to make him her love-object, holy or profane, ambivalence hardly shows. The mixed feelings arise when the quixotic, much more pro-active, Lady Mary, as a traveller free of her English obligations, pursues Algarotti. Finally, between January and March of 1741, she is put off and repulsed as a more than forty-year-old heterosexual woman. Little in her romances would have prepared her for such a rejection--and in fact, the epistolary promise that would occasion much of the imagined bliss follows perfectly the lines of a romance like Scudéry's *Clélie* (1660).

Lady Mary's come-uppance, in casting herself so ambitiously as a pursuer of a loved one and being turned down, makes her one more female (rather than male, as she styles herself) Quixote. She joins those for whom the abrupt end of lived romance must be filtered through fiction. Yet the romantic involvements of Arabella in Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752), which was published a decade after the central events of Lady Mary's hoped-for affair, contrast with the one passionate relationship in Lady Mary's life. "Quixotism" as interpreted by Lennox bespeaks the passive engagement in romance, rather than the active pursuing of it--no breathing gallant can show the traits of the proper romantic hero. Arabella makes her quixotism a form of inert resistance to what does not suit her image of the love-relationship; she erects a bookish barrier between herself and

her suitors. "The novel buttresses its genre distinctions with gender. It associates the dangers of romance with the sins of women and through this association clinches its derision of the [romance] form" (Dalziel, Intro. 39). The romance reader indulges in romance at the risk of associating herself with the evils she has gasped over in safe privacy; Arabella avoids these more often than she seeks them--at least, in fleshly form. Lady Mary, having indulged the romantic wish with some preposterous actions in pursuit, can now repent these moves at leisure, in fiction and poetry that capture the sorrowful reality.

In Lady Mary's romantic tale, *Louisa* (1742-6), she recasts her rejected self as the young girl of the title, in the throes of an attraction to the all-powerful Duke d'Enguien. The Duke, resembling Algarotti in looks if not actions (since he takes the older man's initiative, rather than being seduced himself), is repeatedly described as handsome, irresistible and enchanting (*RW* 42-80). The innocent girl who deserves to have the nunnery as her sanctuary, "the Solitude of her Life remov'd from the commerce of the World" (*RW* 43), instead finds that her refuge is a pious brothel, whose Madam Maintenon genteelly procures unattached girls for rakish but discreet aristocrats. The Duke's approaches are at first met "with that eager application . . . that . . . more than paid his Curiosity" (*RW* 49), and eventually he finds he "could not defend himselfe against the Inevitable charms of Louisa" (*RW* 51) After various subterfuges and planned offensives, the Duke discovers he has become obsessed with the one unassailable virgin in his realm--"her virtue alarm'd even by

the pleasure she felt," in an embrace she is too innocent to deny him (*EP* 60). At last, she dies rather than submitting to the duke's lustful desire for her (*EP* 80), thus putting him through an undeniable rejection. In the process of unfolding this tale with its heroine steadfast to the death, the author restores her sense of power over romantic entanglement.

Contemporary with the romantic *Louisa*, a regretful song by Lady Mary, "Answer to an impromptu Song Address'd to me at Avignon by the Count--" (1746), expresses her wish not to be led on any further:

> Chantez, chantez vostre tendresse,
> Arachez moi mon Coeur par Force ou par Adresse,
> Tachez de le gagner, pour moi je le permets,
> Je n'ai point encore fait d'Efforts pour le defendre,
> Mais vous n'avez pas scu le prendre
> Et ferez aussi bien de m'en parler jamais. (1-6)

My verse adaptation of this melancholy poem follows:

> Sing, of thy tend'rest tokens sing,
> My heart, this dove's not caught by lure or spring.
> Try winning--for myself, I'll bid you try.
> No defense will I use to make you cease,
> Yet speeches giv'n on love's increase,
> You'll have to learn, this talk I'll utterly deny.

Algarotti's attractiveness and desirability have drawn her away from her supports (but also her social burdens) in England--yet then the attraction itself becomes a liability. If the Lacanian mirror reflected Lady Mary closely at this point of flight toward Algarotti, it would show a renegade, someone who had turned her back on conventions and mores that had previously ensconced her among inhabitants of English society's uppermost level. In making the choice of flight toward an uncertain, illicit love, rather than country-house arrest, Lady Mary gave chase, rather than waiting to be the prized, stationary object of her lover's affections, like a velvet-encased jewel. Remaining in Europe after the assignation failed to take hold, she discovered a new self, the solitary one, hidden mostly happily from her peers.

Lady Mary undertook not just an abstract, anti-social retreat but an actual, personal retreat from the glare of the mirror, giving practical application to her declarations of withdrawal. Spacks and La Belle concur that the mirror-avoidance of the self-exiling European years exists on a literal level, as this letter asserts: "It is eleven Year since I have seen my Figure in a Glass. The last Reflection I saw there was so disagreeable, I resolv'd to spare my selfe such mortifications for the Future, and shall continue that resolution to my Live's end" (*Letters* 3.135), To feminist analysts, Lady Mary's refusal becomes a form of self-liberation--a defiance against the humiliating reminder of age and fading. "What she wishes to avoid is the tyranny of the mirror, its power to identify her as aged, ugly, or simply mortal," La Belle voices it (139),

following Spacks's observing that Lady Mary

> assumes that looking in mirrors is a proper occupation for those who find something pleasant to look at . . . . Treating her mirror image as merely one among the many images available as sources of pleasure or pain, she commits herself fairly to the side of pleasure. (292)

Yet by denying its power aloud, Lady Mary refers to its strength, protesting--possibly too much--against a hitherto undeclared foe.

Her escape from English society-as-mirror, however, confirms the multi-leveled motivation of her relocating in Europe. She writes (*Letters* 3.181) of choosing her friends, now (though some choices, such as the dangerous landlord, Count Palazzi, show poor judgment); she sends letters rich in narratives about picking her occasions, setting foot in the British embassy only if she has not currently declared war against its ambassadorial staff (*Letters* 3.202). She also travels within Europe, rather than remaining with people whose image of her has grown stale. And she writes her moral tale, *Princess Docile*, focus of the following chapter, in the same time-frame as her acknowledgment of Lennox's *Female Quixote*--the novel which articulates her own romance inspirations--while opening up a far more exotic world through use of the oriental tale. Here, Lady Mary will set one more quixotic heroine on her wanderings toward self-knowledge.

Chapter 6
Notes

1 Among words and deeds that indicate Lady Mary's contemptuous attitude to Swift, as well as to Pope and Bolingbroke, the decorating of her chamberpot conveys a most odious message:

> Even as late as 1757 (long after all three had died), she showed an English friend who visited her in Venice . . . how her close-stool was painted like the backs of books by these three. She had known them well, she said. "They were the greatest Rascals, but she had the satisfaction of shitting on them every day"
> (Mack *Pope* 555).

Chapter 7 The Author as Controlling Parent

The quixotic central character who can serve as a mask for the author--art imitating as well as feeling out life--has a chance to develop in *Princess Docile*. Lady Mary produces, in this story of "ironic disillusion" (Grundy, *RW* xxvi) which now bears the name "Princess Docile," a romance writing--Grundy's titular term for the short fictions (*RW* xiv). In spite of the collection's title, *Docile* turns out to be as anti-romance as a narrative can be, on Juliet McMaster's definition of the genre of romance in the eighteenth century as "associated with dreams, falsehood, and distempered brains"[1] and contrasting with writers' links "to Reason, to Nature, to Truth, to Reality" (393). Probably completed around 1762 (Grundy *RW* xxvi), *Docile* extends the mythography of Mary Wortley Montagu in sustained fictional form; the second-longest fiction, *Louisa* (c. 1756), stands at forty-six printed pages, roughly half the length of *Docile*. The longer narrative, written in French, features a protagonist whose story is named after her owing to editorial decision made by translator Isobel Grundy, since Lady Mary left the manuscript copy untitled (*HMS* 80). The work could as easily have been named "La Princesse Docile et le Prince Sombre" in the original, in accord with French *conte* tradition (*RW* xxii n.2). Docile, who ventures after truth through a hostile world, coexists in the era of her composition with the heroes of two contemporary tales also concerned with quests for knowledge: Johnson's *Rasselas* and Voltaire's *Candide*, both published in 1759. All three owe part of their quests' shape to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, but Docile's

debt reaches further than those of the other two heroes, in that Montagu aligns her central character not only with Cervantes' questing hero, and to some extent with his counterpart in Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752), but also, paradoxically, with Quixote's lady love, Dulcinea. Princess Docile becomes one more female Quixote among several in Lady Mary's fiction and letters--but she also represents the goal at quest's end.

The identity politics exhibited in *Princess Docile* can be isolated, to show Lady Mary's final long work accommodating a political statement that fixes on the strictures of a woman's role. Lady Mary expresses her unique view of silenced woman, an aspect of her own identity borne out in Docile's frustrated self-definition, by placing the princess in a position inhabited by *princes* in most other works of the romance-tale genre (Craft 833). She may not be commissioned to slay giants (*DQ* 99), and she fails to kill monkeys engaged in bestial relationships with women (Voltaire 59), but Docile is still a searcher after satisfaction, championing Truth and Honour as Phoennix-like virtues in need of a self-sacrificing guardian (*RW* 174). Lady Mary emphasizes--while aiming ironic volleys at the romance genre throughout--the outrageous affronts and slights which the princess tolerates, taking into special account, prior to the travels the heroine is forced upon, the cruel whim of Docile's mother, the Queen of Contrary (see appendix for a narrative synopsis). An overview of the relative innocence, malleability, and sociability of Docile, taken together with the outlooks of Rasselas and Candide, and with the epic-shaped outlook of Don

Quixote--an analogue at the mature end of the philosophic continuum--reveals the purpose of *Princess Docile*, as well as of Lady Mary's other fictions: she has placed all her protagonists, who are finally all signifiers of her own identity, midway between the helpless and the heroic, the victim in need of rescue and the brave rescuer. Docile's gender and social role, her positioning as a marker in the royal game of succession, create pivotal conflicts that differ from those of the heroes above, to whom she is compared. Ros Ballaster asserts, concerning the Princess of Clèves whose story is held up to Docile for self-modeling, "Not only is Madame de Clèves one of the first married heroines in seventeenth-century fiction, but [she also introduces] a radical disjunction between knowing reader and unselfconscious heroine" (55). While Docile rarely falls into the fits indicative of "somatic and hysterical female victims of passion" that also distinguish the Princess of Clèves (Ballaster 55), she shares the married state and, in her compliant daze, the unselfconsciouness, of her French forebear.

Lady Mary knew more of *Candide* than of *Rasselas* (if she knew the latter at all) after the Voltaire work's 1759 publication, when she was probably close to completing *Docile*. A delighted reference to Voltaire's self-display, translated below by Halsband, perhaps alludes to Voltaire's *La Poucelle d'Orleans* (1755); through hyperbole, the comment to Algarotti illustrates how Voltaire inspired Lady Mary:

I have seen a work of Voltaire's where he pays homage to

> himself in the most beautiful manner. With what Fire does he sing his own praises! That is what is called a sincere Panegyric! [S]omething almost unique.--I feel violent temptations to imitate him. (*Letters* 3.302)

The review which she wrote inside her copy of *Candide*, "*delicieux*" (Grundy, *RW* xv), reinforces the sense of warmth in her reaction to Voltaire. Her gradual awareness of Johnson as central author of *The Rambler* contrasts in its tone, however:

> The Rambler is certainly a strong misnommer. He allwaies plods in the beaten road of his Predecessors, following the Spectator (with the same pace a Pack horse would do a Hunter) in the style that is proper to lengthen a paper. (*Letters* 3.65)

No evidence of an awareness of *Rasselas* appears in the letters, but with *Candide* and *Quixote* in her possession, along with "the whole library of Mrs. Lennox's Female Quixote" (Grundy, "Books" 8), she had occasion to refer to (or at least consider) the other authors' narratives. Mary Anne Schofield asks, "Are [women] novelists fettered by conventional iconography or are they free to invent new patterns of distinctively feminine imagery?" (2) In *Docile*, the protagonist's image and identity hold the answer.

Regarding the central tales--Lady Mary's, Voltaire's and Johnson's--critics agree that the tradition of the Oriental tale is followed by all European writers who employ "exotic settings

to give fresh critical eyes to our society" (Solomon 29). The designation of Oriental or Eastern tale signals inclusion of Eastern themes, "the nationalities of the characters, the entire setting and . . . incidents . . .relat[ing] the narrative to the tradition" (Kolb xxxiv). In an "appreciation" prefacing the 1932 edition of *Candide*, André Maurois refers to Voltaire's story as the "union of classic French . . . and the fantastic image of life formed by the fatalist Orient . . . produc[ing] a novel dissonance" (Bair 9). All four storytellers--Johnson, Voltaire, Cervantes and Montagu--declare their indebtedness to Eastern tales within their narratives. Johnson does this in his characterization of the Arab astronomer who kidnaps Pekuah (*Rasselas* 136-7); Voltaire does, too, with the old lady's tale of her slavery among the Janizaries and Boyars (Bair, *Candide* 48). Cervantes does, frequently, by reference to the *Arabian Nights* and the other tales that have led Quixote to try to emulate their manly heroes. Lady Mary does, in the meta-narrative of *Docile* that sharply identifies Docile's role models (*RW* 111). Docile "ardently accepted the Imprint of Heroism; she was enchanted with Telemachus . . . and she vowed that all her life she would possess the Silent Modesty of Antiope . . ." (*RW* 111). The epic and the oriental tale inform these Europeans' stories, with an extra bookishness, the "textual attitude" located in Docile's nature, as well as in the nature of Candide and Quixote, forming the perspective Said mentions in describing th literary influence of orientalism on European characterization (92).

Another influence shared by *Docile* and *Don Quixote* is the supernatural one. For Cervantes, the evocation of divine beings in Virgilian eclogues (*DQ* 594) gives shape to the imagined sorcerers and their enchantments in *Don Quixote*. For Lady Mary, the fairy-tale--and specifically "the second generation of *contes* which mock the happy endings of the first" (Grundy, *RW* xxii)--informs the creation of fairies and extra-terrestrials in *Docile*. The mocking tone that shows a bored fairy or a cynical enchanter probably takes its cue from the *Contes de Ma Mére L'Oye* of Charles Perrault (1697), the endings of which ridicule any assumption that fairy stories will turn out for the best. Aimed for the French court, the tales show the limits of enchantment: Red Riding Hood is seduced and consumed, rather than rescued, in her bedroom scene with the wolf; Cinderella's stepsisters mutilate themselves bloodily to fit into the slipper, and her stepmother dies horribly at fairy-tale's end. As Charlotte S. Huck explicates their themes, these tales speak to adults (68, 187). A similar grown-up tone accompanies the fairy enchantments within *Docile*, where the Fairy responds at last to Docile's importuning mother, who "had acquired her Friendship by her Negligence"; tired of the Queen, the Fairy gets rid of her by casting a quirky spell: "[S]he turned her into Brie Cheese" (*RW* 163). The adult level of discourse interprets ancient themes through the use of court-weary wit.

In each of the three adult narratives, the central character's innocence is tested by the trials of arduous journeys, after which the great teacher called experience, along

with some lesser human teachers, begins to alter how the person responds to his or her choices. The transformative power of each journey manifests itself inside the character in changing his or her dealings with other human beings. As Spacks says of Lennox's Arabella, another quester after a romantic ideal, several "high and noble adventures" await Docile, measuring "her determination to create significance" (Spacks, "Sophistry" 534). Each journey has a mimetic quality, catching the awakening young person at pivotal stages of comprehension during growth. The innocent serves as palimpsest for the events of the story to stamp upon, so that all imprinted messages stay, even though they may contradict the evidence of witnessed actions. Lady Mary's *philosophe*, Grundy asserts, stays "out of touch with the real world" (*RW* xxiii), holding to the first "truths" he has received and subsequently delivered, though repeated experience disproves them. Voltaire crafts Pangloss's example to Candide out of the philosopher's household preachings, which makes Pangloss "the greatest philosopher in the province, and therefore in the whole world" (18). Here, Candide's assessment places ironic stress on the narrowness of Pangloss the role model's range, and raises questions about whether provincial teachings can have merit outside their small domains. The early training clings to the consciousness of Candide as he wanders, allowing him to rouse himself only gradually to the teachings' falseness. Examples of the basic theme of stirred and tested innocence reveal the core temperament of each character--Candide, Docile, Rasselas--as he or she awakens to the wider world.

The authors lay out conditions surrounding birth and early upbringing for each young aristocrat (or, in Candide's case, poor relation to the aristocracy). Rasselas's joining into the sheltered (if unhappy) life of his royal Abissinian siblings matches Candide's sharing of the life of his cousins, though they are legitimate heirs, while he takes the position of bastard-ward (Voltaire 17). Docile's royal parents' early wishes for her can be granted by an indifferent fairy-godmother: "Right, said the Fairy, I grant you a perfect Docility. You will bear a daughter, and you may Confidently name her Princess Docile" (*RW* 108). In all cases, the original condition for child-rearing, the rarefied atmosphere of the court, provides both shelter, cocoon-like, from the harsh outer world, and a certain distortion of perspective among the privileged heirs. As Johnson says of Rasselas's early years, "the sons and daughters of Abissinia lived only to know the soft vicissitudes of pleasure and repose, attended by all that were skilful to delight, and gratified with whatever the senses can enjoy" (11). Hilton adds that a "foetal' connotation accompanies Happy Valley imagery, which "resolves into different stages in individual (here, male) psycho-sexual development" (4). In the breaking up of the pleasant palace life comes the initial conflict; though Rasselas chooses to escape it (Johnson 21), both Candide and Docile find themselves thrust roughly out of it, as if they had never really belonged. "Baron Thunder-ten-Tronckh happened to pass by the screen [where Candide and Cunegonde kissed]; seeing this cause and effect, he drove Candide from the castle with vigorous kicks in the backside" (Voltaire 19).

distant from the Capital, where she was almost banished, much to the Pleasure of the Queen . . . " (*RW* 112). While she has not taken kicks to place her there, Docile has lost control in the choice of her own dwelling-place, as Candide has. Though Candide's fate is shared by the youngest (or least conventional) son in numerous fairy tales, Docile's is the expulsion of the erring daughter in standard romances; Catherine Craft registers that the plot pattern of romances conventionally includes "female error and subsequent submission" (832). Though Docile's submitting informs the novel from its start, her removal from the heart of court-life after an adoption of unpopular meditating behaviour (*RW* 110) holds to this plot-line. An abased identity for the princess, suitable for an outcast, emerges.

Rasselas's escape from the Happy Valley demands assessment of its subtext: confinement has masqueraded as a life of ease and idleness, withholding from Rasselas the freedom to pursue his burning questions (Johnson 16). Unlike Docile and Candide, he finds no contentment in place, but must wander for a sense of completion: "[H]e resolved to obtain some knowledge of the ways of men [and so] determined to keep his design always in view, and lay hold on any expedient that time should offer" (22). Rasselas's motivation, contrasting to Docile's, is shared with Quixote, who travels with the burning belief that this choice is no choice at all, but his destiny. Of a supposed enchanter, Quixote tells his niece, "I affirm that he will never prevail over what has been ordained by Heaven" (*DQ* 95). The two deliberate wanderers have shaped their own adventures, whereas

the two outcasts have felt the force of a parent-figure's ire, and have set out because the choice to remain was denied to them.

Both outcasts are presented with a utopia over the course of the travels, however, and both reject the blissful choice: Candide beholds Eldorado, and Docile learns of Venus. The land of gold shimmers into view for Candide as an ideal but inaccessible world, the exception to the rule of human unhappiness (Kolb, *Rasselas* xliii); it gleams with the same light as the one emanating from Venus, in the world of Princess Docile. Because her obligation to husband and parents resigns her to an earthbound fate, Docile bows out of going to venus with her kindred spirit Philocles--to the place where, he assures her, she would "enjoy immortality with me[;] a Cloud can convey us in a moment to my Father's Palace" (*RW* 131). Candide has similar pressing earthly concerns to Docile's, since each hopes to restore social standing; but Candide also discovers that access to the utopia to which he has fled is a one-time-only opportunity: "It's impossible to sail against the current of the river that miraculously brought you here . . . [and the] mountains surrounding my kingdom are ten thousand feet high and as steep as a wall" (71).

Princess Docile has grown in the constricted space created for her by Lady Mary, directing the Queen of Contrary; and the girl roams because the space is too crowded when she becomes her mother's rival. Obedient to whatever teachers train her, she adopts their attitudes and actions so perfectly that her mother rages against the result of perfect compliance. Docile's is not

the "learned helplessness" identified in psychology textbooks, but congenital helplessness. The selfish responses of Lady Mary's Queen establish the narrative's central conflict; combining contrariness (and therefore displeasure over whatever she has approved before) with neglect of her daughter, the queen ensures that Docile will fail her. How can Docile follow her mother's ways if the Queen retreats from her upbringing, holding to a maxim of underinvolvement? The Queen maintains, "[G]ood breeding does not allow me to undergo the fatigue of instructing the child myself" (*RW* 107), and thus causes Docile's misunderstanding and consequent heartache.

Lady Mary's princess suffers under her mother's care, but at least she has a mother; Voltaire's protagonist occupies the tentative status of the hanger-on. Candide's upbringing, like that of the legitimate heirs to the Baron, lies in the hands of servants and tutors, yet his learning environment resembles Lady Mary's own, rather than Docile's, in that Candide is marginalized as a pupil--not the intended target of higher learning, but happy to receive the tutelage he does. The Baron's blithe tolerance gives him access to knowledge that would usually be restricted. The attitude with which the youth receives learning matches Docile's: each has a wide-open acceptance for the views and learning of others, owing to a constitution either "candid"--open and honest--or "docile"--ready and even eager to receive what learning is given. The blessing/curse is innate within Voltaire's central figure, while in the case of Lady Mary's protagonist, it has been wished upon the girl by the Queen of

Contrary's patron-fairy. In each protagonist's situation, the actions that arise from misinterpreted learning lead to horrors that, owing to an ingrained innocence, neither fully grasps. David J. Langdon assesses the consequences to readers who learn of Candide's assailed innocence: "[P]erhaps the most obvious paradox of *Candide* is that, despite the rejection of optimism and the stress on evil and suffering, it is not a gloomy lamentation but a comic satire" (28). Docile's tale also avoids the tone of gloom, instead revealing witty comedy at every turn; but her ill fortune, along with the ill wishing by supposed supporters, contrasts dramatically with the lucky breaks and happy reunions that greet Candide in almost every scrape. The contrast of Docile's more realistic fate with Candide's more fantastic one could have garnered this criticism, by a Johnsonian contemporary who was instead assessing *Rasselas*: "[Readers who] expect to frolic along the flowery paths of romance, will find themselves hoisted on metaphysical stilts, and born aloft into regions of syllogistical subtlety, and philosophical refinement" (Ruffhead qtd. in Kolb, *Rasselas* xlix). The behaviour of Docile's woman Emily during the marriage between Docile and Sombre shows the typical disloyalty among her companions: "When she [Emily] saw they were to embark, she decided to abandon her mistress there . . . [as] she did not mean to share the Queen's unhappy fate" (*RW* 132-33). By contrast, Candide's same-sex companion, Cacambo, "was in despair at having to be separated from a good master who had become his close friend, but the pleasure of being useful to him overcame the sorrow of leaving him" (Voltaire 74). Whereas

Candide's friends' kindness reinforces our belief in human good, the betrayers who populate *Docile* embody Lady Mary's assertion of harsh probability in human relations.

The kindness of family and friends features in *Rasselas* and *Candide*, but not in *Docile*. As with Rasselas, the companionship of age-peers nurtures the young man, Candide. Her solitude in her own generation sets Docile apart, and this is owing to the Queen's selfishness in not bringing more nuisance-producing children into the world; the self-centered queen thus has no one else to torment so conveniently. When Docile gives away her jewels to her opportunistic companion Lady Artifice, she must appear bare-necked and armed at the King's Birthday--but her appearance is only enhanced by the absence of adornment. Instead of the admiration or acceptance that a loved daughter would receive, Docile's perfection provokes this reaction from her mother:

> [T]he Queen, who had found her daughter increased in stature and Beauty in a manner to irritate the best Mother in the universe, was not slow to suggest to her Husband that the princess had failed in respect to him and deserved at least an exile of some years to teach her good behaviour. (*RW* 118-19)

The autobiographical aspect of Docile's coming of age shows in the neglect which Mary Pierrepont endured, so that she learned in the absence of supportive parental guidance. In substitute for

Lady Mary's dead mother, Docile has a withdrawn one, whose only contact with her daughter occurs when that daughter gives offense. The influence of Docile's tutors and companions, greater than that of parents, creates intriguing messages for readers about the author's own models. If we take the philosopher's anti-material advice as a foundation for her own early lessons, for instance, she may be seen as deliberately playing down traditional adornments, perhaps contributing to the reaction her casual dress sometimes caused. Also, Lady Mary refers several times to her susceptibility to the stories and beliefs of her nurse, "being exactly the same as Clarissa Harlow's, her pious Mrs Norton so perfectly ressembling my Governess (who had been Nurse to my Mother) I could almost fancy the Author was acquainted with her" (*Letters* 3.25-26). The "superstitious Tales and false notions" this woman passed on caused, decades later, a bitterly distasteful delayed response.

The tutors of Docile share conditions and qualities with Candide's Pangloss and Rasselas's Imlac, besides the confined world in which they begin the teachings of their young charges. One aspect of the teachers' presence is their imposition of a non-aristocratic--even an anti-aristocratic--world-view, which serves to widen the outlook of the young royals. Imlac's description of his merchant father's treatment by "governours of the province" saddens Rasselas (Johnson 32), just as Pangloss;s urging of love for the servant class, no matter how diseased, touches Candide (Voltaire 26); similarly, James, the charitable Anabaptist, instills sympathy in Candide for the middle-class

conditions of bankruptcy and pursuit by creditors (Voltaire 27). Docile' s tutors enrage the Queen of Contrary with their indoctrination of her daughter in ascetic values, though all they have done is to take up the task which the mother snubbed. The results of Docile's learning, carried on out of her mother's sight and influence, guarantee the queen's displeasure. In the Hermit and the Philosopher, Lady Mary creates mouthpieces for esoteric belief systems that must make Docile alienate herself from court life. From the first, she learns anti-material, meditative views, and from the second, she derives the opinion that the individual must be self-effacing, unwilling to hold herself above the stream of humanity. Each teaches her to withdraw from the social bustle that a princess usually joins--and even leads, at the head of processions.

Like Docile, Rasselas receives his education isolated from the common crowd of his subjects-to-be. Unlike Docile, Rasselas enjoys the support and camaraderie of numerous siblings in his Happy Valley palace. Docile is clearly identified with her mother, even though the queen's actual involvement is minimal; Rasselas links strongly with his father as "the fourth son of the mighty emperour," yet sees this imperial parent only during "the annual visit which the emperour paid his children (Johnson 9). The surfeit of pleasure within Rasselas's valley compares to the sensory overflow of Docile's training, since each form of instruction induces the royals to "pass their lives in this blissful captivity" (Johnson 10), worrying about nothing outside their individual well-being. Enduring the Philosopher's college-

master style of tutoring, Docile becomes "quite stuffed with Sentiment" by her course in romantic novels, though irony plays through the effects occurring--opposite to the ones each novel should produce, according to the Philosopher. She reads *The Princess of Clèves*, as observed above, to "brighten her spirits" (*RW* 111), despite its theme of misbegotten, scandalous love.

The uses of love and friendship gain focus in the degree of sociability shown by each tale's principal; among the tales' messages, Lady Mary's wistful self-definition, through Docile's relation to friends, clearly emerges: "I have never dared hope [jewels] would bring me so lively a pleasure, a joy as incomparable as that of being serviceable to a Friend" (*RW* 117). Unfortunately for Docile, yet meaningfully for Lady Mary's purpose, the friend receiving this news is the deceitful Lady Artifice--and she signifies friendship the way the loveless Sombre signifies marriage. McMaster situates "the standard motifs of romance" in lovers' encounters toward the certainty of happy marriage (397)--altered by the anti-romantic tales into conclusions marked by solitude and loneliness; she finds friend-figures of a "parody-romance" to include "an attendant Quixote . . . who intrigues to make life conform to the fiction" (398), and so indicates that the Quixote/Sancho Panza bond endures in the English novel. Between Candide and Cunegonde, as well as Rasselas and Nekayah, the kinship involves blood ties (Voltaire 56) and more, with the first-cousin incest in Voltaire playfully submerged under the family outrage about Candide's impure bloodline. Between Docile and her companions, no such bond can

form. The only kindred partnership she takes up must be doomed from the start, as Philocles, the other-worldly spirit, embodies the wisdom of the alien--a wisdom that causes him to retreat to his native Venus when he can no longer bear the social pressures upon his beloved princess. Back on his own planet, "time and distance . . . contributed to curing the Prince of his unhappy passion. He forgot Docile, and vowed never to revisit that planet, where an honest man is exposed to [unequal] Warfare" (*RW* 134). The messages embedded in other relationships Docile has thrust upon her concur with Philocles' assessment, that isolation must be preferable to these connections. Each self-serving companion to minister to Princess Docile reveals her nature more plainly: her "Governess [who] accustomed her to neglecting her appearance as beneath her attention" because of the governess's own ugliness (*RW* 111) is followed by Lady Good Sense (given to ridiculing all around her) and Lady Artifice, who "knew so well how to profit from every emotion that in a few days [Docile] could not do without her" (*RW* 113). Each assistant conforms to villainous stereotypes with the effect of making Docile "the traditional sexually-persecuted heroine of romance" (McMaster 399). By the time Docile finds herself bound by royal circumstance to Prince Sombre, she has endured so many cruelties of her "*amies de cours*" (court or fair-weather friends) that Sombre represents a form of penance, as she believes she deserves much of the slander against her (*RW* 129). Spacks characterizes Lady Mary as a person who has undertaken a "search for a personal rhetoric of power [which has] led her to the antiromantic,

antitender [sic] self-presentation of refusal" ("Imaginations" 215); in Docile's embodiment of her creator, someone who loses friends and lovers as often as she finds them, the refusal to engage again becomes the message.

Candide and Cunegonde (by contrast with virtually any couple in Lady Mary's narratives) enter their relationship sweetly and naïvely, and resume it after separation with the same sense of family bond, mingled with sexual attraction, at each of their reunions. What sets their occasional partnership at a remove from Docile's with Philocles (or with her less-perfect suitors, Sombre and the Cavalier) is the Voltairean couple's sharing of unadulterated happiness, no matter what externals keep them apart. Lady Mary denies Docile this condition, exposing her warmth of feeling yet denying it a consistent target. And though Rasselas and Nekayah are brother and sister, not only do they have the kinship of siblings to keep them united--demonstrating, according to Roslyn Foy, "Johnson's attempt to explore a more advanced world . . . where women play an integral role" (40)--but also, each has a same-sex companion with whom to connect emotionally: Rasselas has his philosopher-poet, Imlac, at his side, and Nekayah has her lady-in-waiting, Pekuah. Circumstance may interfere with the physical manifestation of these bonds, but of their value to Johnson's protagonists, there can be no question: "Nekayah, having heard her favourite's relation, rose and embraced her, and Rasselas gave her an hundred ounces of gold" (141) The debate between the siblings upon marriage also exposes the value of relationships, but because they are merely

observed rather than tested in life, the ideas of romantic union remain, for Johnson's questers, in a theoretical state: "Some husbands are imperious, and some wives perverse," reports Nekayah, among other discoveries, to which Rasselas replies, "If such be the general effect of marriage . . . I shall, for the future, think it dangerous to connect my interest with that of another, lest I should be unhappy by my partner's fault" (98). His quest, to which his sister's research has contributed, has placed personal enlightenment foremost, and here, Rasselas demonstrates the egotism--as well as the rich comedy--involved in the search for this kind of self-fulfillment.

While Lady Mary has Docile represent the certainty of failure in the quest for human love, *Rasselas* gives the quest's finding an open-ended treatment. At the narrative's finish, still undecided about the constancy of human devotion (along with any other form of "cogitation"), or devotion's "natural power of perpetual duration as a consequence of exemption from all causes of decay" (Johnson 172)--an ironic construction, to be sure--the royal siblings express some modern thought, in keeping with "Johnson's adherence in *Rasselas* to a Lockean philosophy of duration" (Alkon 50); setting out to find a spouse on whom to lavish devotion will offer no solution for their insular state. Locke's views in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* on how "the Memory begins to keep a Register of Time and Order" (187) thus have their outlet in Rasselas's sense of pain as a long-lasting element of one's thoughts, and of pleasure as fleeting, in accord with the philosophical principles of the *Essay*.

Contemplating the pyramids, the assembled companions conclude that the tombs represent "the wise and the powerful of antient times [who] warn us to remember the shortness of our present state" (Johnson 174).

For Docile, identity politics also effect isolation; as long as the heroine holds to principle, or espouses causes, she cannot be with people whose honour has been compromised. She tells Sombre, knowing she will be mocked with the declaration, "It is not out of Piety . . . that I choose retirement. My Honour obliges me to it, and the necessity of my situation" (*RW* 183). Her decision to hide away compares with Lady Mary's choice, of seclusion in her garden retreat at Gottolengo: in both cases, trying to develop a lasting understanding with a man brings the woman to the point where she admits defeat, removing herself from the main stream of society to dwell at its margins. The retreat has its analogue in Nekayah's fanciful shepherdess dream:

> She hoped that the time would come, when, with a few virtuous and elegant companions, she should gather flowers planted by her own hand, fondle the lambs of her own ewe, and listen, without care, among brooks and breezes, to one of her maidens reading in the shade (Johnson 77).

An ironic note to this pastoral wish sounds, in the fact that Nekayah has just rejected the companionship of actual shepherds, so coarse and unreflective does she find them.[2] Lady Mary gains

all the benefits Nekayah describes, from her country gentlewoman's status--and she gains more, besides. Redford believes that in taking up her hermit's residence and renewing correspondence with her daughter, Lady Mary allows "her quixotic illusions [to be] discarded" after seventeen years of tilting at windmills, and uses irony in her writing as a form of self-defense against false gallantry" (47). The greater ease of living for Lady Mary, and the freer choice to have or to banish companionship, stand as real benefits of her self-seclusion, following her inhabiting of the gallant's role in relation to Algarotti. The end of *Candide,* which shows its protagonist also inclined, along with Pangloss and Martin, to "cultivate our garden" (Voltaire 120), bespeaks a similar philosophical inclination. And Rasselas's perennial quandary over the small nation he might rule arrests him in just such a retreat, stasis being its key (175-6). Though the reflective close of Johnson's tale carries more hope than Voltaire's or Montagu's--hope being the central subject of the entire narrative--in Johnson's own era the use of an unresolved outcome provoked strong reactions to its gloomy message for humanity. Fanny Burney registered that she was "shocked by the pessimism of *Rasselas*" and wrote *Evelina* as a response espousing a more positive philosophy (Bloom *Evelina* xxiv). What helps both Candide and Rasselas, however dark their conclusions on mankind may be, is a social condition eluding Docile: the philosopher-companions have remained with each of the male heroes. Candide has Pangloss and Martin, Rasselas has Nekayah and Imlac--yet Docile has no one, except the faint

promise of Mother Superior of the convent to which she retreats: a person yet unknown.

The image of the Superior Mother bears contemplation, in that the entire control of Docile's life has been in the hands of mothers who exercised their powers upon her. The implications for her troubles might thus be that she will not rise clear of the pressures that mothers, Lady Mary the author/mother and Contrary, the Queen/mother, have imposed to this point. However, a solace might be found in the much superior power of a sheltering God, to whom the receiving Mother Superior is uncontestedly married. At least the bride-price issues are already solved, in this circumstance. Her final site, like Candide's and Rasselas's, rests outside the clamour of the world.

If Docile, Candide and Rasselas have common feelings and sentiments, Quixote abides as a more lasting analogue to Docile than either of the other heroes. The particular form of anti-romance that Cervantes has written receives a feminine counterpart in the portrait Lady Mary creates. When McMaster quotes Tobias Smollett's assessment (in the preface to *Roderick Random*) of the effect of *Don Quixote,* she could as easily be profiling the effect Lady Mary envisioned for *Princess Docile*: "Cervantes, by an inimitable piece of ridicule, reformed the taste of mankind, representing chivalry in the right point of view, and converting romance to purposes far more useful and entertaining, by making it assume the sock, and point out the follies of ordinary life" (393). Lennox's *Female Quixote* (1752) acknowledges its source directly, and yet Lennox's Arabella can

be shown to share far less with Quixote than Docile does. Lady Mary makes use of Docile's courtship-and-marriage woes, not just to snub the conduct books as Grundy suggests (*RW* xxiii), but to produce a perverse conduct manual for marriageable girls; the novel points out that even a girl's best virtues set her apart from corrupt society. The message must take the form of counselling the opposite to the docility of the heroine, so that girls will protest, object, or disobey when men make their plans for them. Failing self-assertion, girls must prepare to remove themselves from the world that does not accept their politicized selves. As *Don Quixote* hurls down the chivalric code, so *Princess Docile* urges a bonfire of the manuals demanding complicity in the male plot of dowried, bondage-like marriage. By contrast, the threat to Arabella's books in Lennox's *Female Quixote* dissipates at the plea of her indulgent would-be lover, Glanville; both her books and the messages within them undergo salvation by the "hero" whom the seductive narratives promote (*FQ* 56-7). Lady Mary's is by far the more volatile challenge to the current social order.

The novel *Princess Docile* derives its plotline from Lady Mary's early engagement with elopement schemes; what also molds the text is the later arrangement, equally unromantic in its results, which Lady Mary made to come to Algarotti on the continent. As Jill Campbell delves into Lady Mary's frustrated pursuit of the Italian count, she refers plainly to Quixote's form of world-view embodied in Lady Mary's own actions--shaped, as Docile's are, by youthful reading and exposure to romance:

> [S]he would take her Turkish outfit with her into exile, and would formulate the erotic passion she discovered in middle age in terms of the exotic experiences of her youth. Abandoning her early claims that she was incapable of passion, she frequently expressed her love to Algarotti, in images of herself as a fervent male lover. Thus, she still could conceive that passion only as it was doubly framed by masculine roles and by the exoticism of foreign lands. (Campbell 81)

The case for Docile's status as a female Quixote--unlike Lady Mary's as a *faux* male one--rivaling Lennox's own Arabella, rests in the chivalric/duty-bound perspective Docile and Quixote bring to their interactions with others, as well as in the behaviour that each displays while making good on inward promises. Lennox's Arabella does figure as a third, yet the undermining of her position as a by-the-book heroine makes clear, early in *The Female Quixote*, the author's parodic, non-empathetic stance, distant from the protagonist:

> *Arabella* . . . could hardly hide her Chagrin; for, tho' she always intended to marry some time or other, as all the Heroines had done, yet she thought such an Event ought to be brought about with an infinite deal of Trouble.. What Lady in Romance ever married the Man that was

chose for her? (*FQ* 27)

Both Quixote and Docile receive an autobiographically tragi-comic tone as their creators interpret their woes, yet Arabella is plainly not Lennox's alter-ego in the same way. The contrast may rest in the timing within the authors' lives of the characters' creation, since both Lady Mary and Cervantes had become "old soldiers" in retirement as they dealt with their protagonists, while Lennox, producing her novel at the age of twenty-three, involved herself in her world to the extent of having a mentor like Johnson oversee the characterization of Arabella.[3] As Docile responds to teachings (as well as intrinsic codes) on her obligation to comply with whoever exacts her loyalty first, so Quixote answers to the chivalric ideals he has taken to heart; each of these missions has also been the author's own, to a degree. The distorted outlook in all three cases creates havoc, because no one else in the character's world has the same standards. When the Cavalier attempts to corrupt and seduce her with subversive reading, she innocently interprets his motives as cautionary (*RW* 168). Womersley mistrusts the Cavalier's actions on these grounds: "Only a simpleton would imagine that books afforded a true and confidential intimacy" (23). This intimacy has been precisely what Lady Mary secures from her reading, as every letter thanking her daughter for a new shipment of novels confirms. Quixote interprets book-learning in his customary dangerous way, in a scene where he spots a boat which, "without any possibility of there being an error, summons me to embark

Quixote, Arabella and Docile maintain a belief in the benign demand of their reading material long past the time it has both psychologically and socially ruined their lives.

Bizarre to all observers, behaviours inspired by readings constitute a second common point among Quixote, Arabella and Docile. Quixote's challenge to the lions matches Docile's reunion with Sombre; in both cases, flight is indicated as the only sane course of action, yet in both cases, the character acts on a book-fed delusion that the enemy must be faced. Arabella's fantasies can work the opposite way, by setting her to flight where absolutely no danger faces her, as when the gardener Edward reappears, and her romances tell her that he intends to abduct her, meaning that her duty is to flee his advances (Lennox 92). Count Goodhope dismisses Docile's urge to follow the protocol which books lay out for principled people: "He meant to conclude that sensible People would ignore [ceremonies] whenever they incommoded them" (*RW* 168). Neither he nor the sensible side-kicks of Quixote and Arabella can convince the book-devoted listener to defy dictated conventions; however, adventures inspired by conduct-book protocol can turn out to be mild. By fluke, the lions have no interest in Quixote, and Edward has even less interest in Arabella; unfortunately for Docile, Sombre continues to nurture his obsession over what he perceives as her fickle nature, but what really constitutes her standing on ceremony. Docile greets with codes of gentility the terrible results of her compliance, consisting of ostracism and mockery which leave her "weeping her misfortunes" in the company of her

"Strange Husband" (*RW* 161)--aptly, her "[É]poux Bizarre" in the French original (*RW* 253). However, she becomes more numbed to defeat with each ridiculing encounter. Unlike Quixote or Arabella, finally she must retreat from any social interaction; also unlike Quixote or his female counterpart, Docile can keep to her beliefs though the world has turned its back on her. Arabella submits to her "deprogramming" by admitting, "I begin to perceive that I have hitherto at least trifled away my Time, and fear that I have already made some Approaches to the Crime of encouraging Violence and Revenge" (Lennox 381). As McMaster maintains (392), the deathbed recanting of Quixote still causes pain among Cervantes' biggest fans. By contrast to the other quixotic figures, Docile stays with her resolutions, rejecting the world. Retirement into the austere order of the Carmelites on the far-off Isle of Naxos allows Docile to practice her duties without the world's judgment upon them--bleak though the retreat appears. At the end of Euripedes' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Iphigenia similarly disappears, to join the goddesses whose pity her maintaining of principles has stirred (5.v 1462-5). For both mistreated daughters, Docile and Iphigenia, the exile offers a way of reconciling life with ideals.

Docile's resemblance to Dulcinea, unlike the one to Quixote, conjoins the female element in each and seals Docile into the quixotic model in a way that cannot happen for Candide, Arabella, or Rasselas. The view of Docile's role as Dulcinea forms in the likeness of their names: for each, the Latin root "*dulce*" meaning "lovely, dear, sweet" prefigures the womanly character--

though "*docilis*," meaning "easily trained," also informs Princess Docile's name.[4] A sense of both words as constituting the "proper" in behaviour, the suitable in one's role, also enacts itself in these names. Each woman has had traits ascribed to her from outside herself, as befitting a woman who possesses her name and station in life.

Similarities occur in Docile's being conceived as the ideal woman by Goodchild, until she "transforms" into the embodiment of fallible femaleness, once Sombre states that her "unsociable humour" has caused the "disagreeable" life-choices she has allegedly forced him to make--despite her total innocence in this circumstance (*RW* 142). Dulcinea, conceived as perfection incarnate by Quixote, undergoes "enchantment" by Sancho Panza, who explains the coarse country girl before her adorer's eyes as the noble Dulcinea suffering under a sorcerer's spell (*DQ* 248). Both women have undergone metamorphosis through the words of males who feel obliged to explain them to other males, as when Count Goodhope assures Sombre's envoy "that he had lived with her as respectfully as if he had known [her title and marital status] itself" (*RW* 187), leading the listeners to be "astonished at her Artifice and her Wantonness, which masked so corrupt a Heart with an appearance of such great Modesty" (*RW* 187). A milder fate awaits Aldonza Lorenzo, the girl transformed to Dulcinea by Quixote; because it is inconvenient for Quixote to confront the real girl whom he has named "Dulcinea," Sancho Panza manufactures a sorcery which will explain away her coarse and common nature. Thus, the distorted view of each woman preserves

and enhances the self-interest of the man who has put it forward: in Sancho Panza's case, he salvages his master's world-view by hiding the truth of Dulcinea's actual nature; in Prince Sombre's case, he can keep his own illusions about the princess intact by denouncing the corrupt image of her which he has manufactured, to other men who might take interest in the real woman.

For both women, the eye of the beholder influences the way they appear. Seen without prejudice, Princess Docile always gives a powerful appearance of innocence and loveliness, "the Beautiful stranger [who leaves] pleasurable impressions" (*RW* 138). Once poisoned by her detractors, the view alters, so that perception clashes with reality--her flight from Goodchild, for instance, explained as her pettish rejection of his court's charms (*RW* 142). Sombre's claims on her create obvious reasons for her retiring, but only if her honour comes into doubt--as it does on the romance paradigm of "women as intemperate and unchaste" (Craft 833). Personal overindulgence, manifested in a heroine's capricious and impulsive behaviour, causes her to enter "the realm of excess and nonsense" that Longbauer identifies as construing the romance (29). Sombre persists in accusing Docile of such excess (reminiscent of that indulged by her passionate model, the Princess of Clèves), when all she has ever really done has been simply to oblige her present company. Dulcinea, like Docile, meets misunderstanding, but in a specific circumstance: whenever she tries to take control of Quixote's perception of her, she finds him mistaken--and thus becomes "enchanted" in his mind, because her own peasant character

strikes him as unacceptable for a lady whom he worships from afar. Whereas this misapprehension leads to Dulcinea's sanctifying, the distorted perceptions of Sombre and Docile's other suitors extend to become a curse upon her: Docile cannot alter the warped view, once it takes hold, any more than Dulcinea can shift the enhanced one.

Her creation of Docile gives Lady Mary the power to lament the destructive effects of reputation and image; she shows these effects by casting them over the identity of Docile, an identity manufactured on little evidence by her enemies. Like the Queen of Contrary herself, Lady Mary has shaped Docile's destiny by restricting the princess's ability to change herself agreeably in the face of negative public opinion. By using the moral tale in extended form, Lady Mary creates a forum for her own frustrations over the handicaps borne by an aristocratic woman, frequently forced, unless she removes herself vigorously from them, into tight social circles. The control Lady Mary takes over Docile's fate dramatizes her own protest against rough treatment by her English and European contemporaries: how can a woman change her destiny when social mores inhibit so much of her action? Halsband proposes that Lady Mary can keep her sense of identity intact through elaborate self-justification:

> If her friendship with Algarotti went beyond the bounds of convention, she could rationalize it by the fact that as a wife and mother she had paid her debt to morality. Besides, she proposed to conduct

> her life <u>à deux</u> without openly breaking out of those bounds. (*Life* 176)

Will public opinion alter favourably when the woman is likely to be mocked for defending herself, rather than carrying on the disapproved behaviour elsewhere? Lady Mary causes all of Docile's efforts in clearing her name to worsen the opinions that her people had held before. In the manipulating of Docile's encounters to lead uniformly to retreat as the single solution, Lady Mary has fashioned what Grundy calls an "occluded and allegorical" autobiography (Grundy, *RW* xix). While reading works against Docile's ability to belong to the outer world, we can recognize that for Lady Mary, readings of "books . . . are . . . activities that intertwine through the processes of self-becoming", so that "once you objectify yourself . . . onto a page, then that image has a separate reality" (La Belle 155). Viewed as a deliberately separated image of self, Docile represents her creator, yet exists outside her, too. All the pain of rejection heaps onto Docile, away from Lady Mary herself. A primary contrast between Docile and Quixote places Docile closer, again, to both Dulcinea and Lady Mary herself: heroes, claims Quixote (as does Arabella, his romance-besotted double [Lennox 128]) bow to the higher law of God (*DQ* 75). Docile, neither a hero nor a conventional heroine, submits to whatever punishment the law passes upon her, in whatever land she finds herself inhabiting. Like a peasant girl who can take her rebellion only in rude gestures and quick retreats, Docile must

undergo the social restrictions placed upon her, or--when all the yielding she can do fails to satisfy her judges--flee to where she can live by her own codes. The distinctly female imagery of the retreat among empathetic women answers Schofield's query (see p. 262 above): feminine imagery, even including the iconography of cross and veil to suggest sanctuary, does shape the outcome of Docile's story.

Docile's crises could not occur for Rasselas or for Candide, though they could for Nekayah or Cunegonde. Having characters who serve as differentiated sister/lover to the protagonists allows Johnson and Voltaire to speak to the woman's suffering alongside the man's; both women number among the men's "shrewd counsellors . . . who are partly responsible for the protagonists' movement from ignorance to knowledge of the harsh realities of life" (Kolb, *Rasselas* xliii). No such other-gender character serves as Docile's foil. Her solitude at the core of the adventures, making her face each combat without an understanding partner, causes Docile to stand apart from the male journeyers, usually secure in the belief that someone (who may still be alive) loves them. Nussbaum contends that in laying out a distinctive identity for their heroines, women "attempt to mark that voice and resist incorporation into generic (male) definitions of self" (129). Every retreat by Docile from imprisoning male power constitutes another assertion of Lady Mary's stand on "relationship, personal identity, the interchange between individual and society"--the concerns which Patricia Meyer Spacks believes have always preoccupied novelists (*Female*

Imagination 4). As a novel, *Princess Docile* serves, on Spacks's terms, as "that concealed form of autobiography we call fiction" (5), identifying and yet obscuring its author.

Having taken retreat as her own solution, Lady Mary drags her last heroine to it after exhausting all other avenues of succour. Reason, nature, truth and reality, which McMaster characterizes as antitheses to romance, have had an opportunity to flourish in the narrative's unusual ending, as well as in Lady Mary's retreat. Aware that she herself has, like Docile's hermit tutor, hidden away till her neglected health has decayed, she can take satisfaction in the princess's choice of the convent in the initial stage of adulthood. The retirement she wishes but cannot bring about for her granddaughters, she achieves for her fictional child, who evades the complications of marriage, a fate "better miss'd than found," to become one of the "Lay Nuns," escapees with the blessing (if not the understanding) of society (*Letters* 3.83). Lady Mary's identity politics rely on verbal constructs as much as they do on locutionary or other acts, with the word on the page replacing the speech or the deed; she comes to us as reader and writer, more effectively than as speaker and doer. The "senatorial stance" of one portrait (Pointon 149) displays this paradox of her identity, in that the book in her hand, the decisive outpointed toe, represent decisive speech and action when men pose in this position. When Lady Mary takes the same posture, her silent, erect figure and her book-loving nature assert themselves most dramatically, full of reserved, inward-reflecting power.

As the concluding creative act in a lifelong artistic performance, *Princess Docile* definitively locates Lady Mary's political self. It gives a magisterial answer to the piquing question that Richardson's *Pamela* posed for Lady Mary when she read it, "Who will speak so effectively for the women of my class as Richardson does for the chambermaid's?" In glimpsing the enhanced selfhood of servant girls who could dream they would meet the happy fate of their model, she posed the challenge to herself to provide the royal model. Owing to the emotional hardships of her life, however, Docile can be the "joy of aristocrats" (as Pamela was the joy of chambermaids [*Letters* 2.470]) only by negative example. The noble heroine has been assaulted by coded punishments, vilified as a transgressor of rules impossible to follow, and condemned by the perpetrators of the lies which level her standing. Docile invites readers' sympathy as a titled character whose royal duties overburden her; she holds an elevated yet an essentially powerless status.

As the voice of experience, Lady Mary sets forth this final beauteous production as the worst-case scenario to the game of love and chance about which she has spent a lifetime writing. The attitudes of wry humour and resignation inform *Docile*'s ending, as well as the end of the author's life. The effect casts a certain majesty around the image projected into the time of *Princess Docile*'s first publication: it is the character of the intentionally remote noble philosopher.

Chapter 7
Notes

1 Disorder is the perfect way to characterize the brain of Ann Radcliffe's protagonist in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. See Terry Castle's atmospheric study of the novel in Nussbaum and Brown, *The New Eighteenth Century*.

2 The sheep are more generally repulsive creatures to Johnson himself (see Boswell's *Life*), and even Lady Mary perceives them as distant pastoral presences, though her early poses set her beside them--in portraiture, if not in life.

3 The patronage of Johnson worked a transformative effect on young authors, making them believe their words were worthwhile. See Burney's *Diary and Letters* for examples of this reaction.

4 Latin roots "dulce" and "docilis" both have a sense of yielding to what is proper; each also carries properties of softness, so that they suggest the feminine aspects of their name-bearers. See Kidd, *Collins Latin Dictionary*.

APPENDIX

A FAYRE AND HAPPY MILKE-MAYD

IS a Countrey Wench, that is so farre from making her selfe beautifull by Art, that one looke of hers is able to put *all face Physicke* out of countenance. She knowes a fayre looke is but *a dumbe Orator* to commend vertue, therefore mindes it not. All her excellencies stand in her so silently, as if they had stolne upon her without her knowledge. The lining of her apparell (which is her selfe) is farre better then outsides *of Tissew:* for though shee bee not arrayed in the spoyle of the *Silke-Worme*, shee is deckt in *Innocence*, a farre better wearing. She doth not, with lying long a bed, spoyle both her *Complexion & Conditions;* nature hath taught her too *Immoderate sleepe is rust to the soule:* she rises therefore with *Chauntickleare*, her Dames Cocke; & at night makes the *Lambe* her *Courfew*. In milking a Cow, and strayning the Teates through her fingers, it seemes that so sweet a Milke-presse makes the Milke the whiter, or sweeter; for never came *Almond Glove or Aromatique Oyntment* on her Palme to taynt it. The golden eares of Corne fall and kisse her feete when shee reapes them, as if they wisht to bee bound and led prisoners by the same hand fell'd them. Her breath is her owne, which sents all the yeere long of *June*, like a new made Hay-cocke. She makes her hand hard with labour, and her heart soft with pittie: and when winter evenings fall early (sitting at her merry wheele) she sings a defiance to the giddy *Wheele of Fortune*. Shee doth all things with so sweet a grace, it seemes *Ignorance* will not suffer her to doe ill, being her minde is to do well. She bestowes her yeeres wages at next Faire; and in choosing her Garments, counts no bravery i'th' worlde like decency. The *Garden* and *Bee-hive* are all her *Physicke & Chyrurgery*, & she lives the longer for't. She dare goe alone, and unfold sheepe i'th'night, and feares no manner of ill, because she means none: yet to say truth, she is never alone, for she is still accompanied with *old songs, honest thoughts*, and *prayers*, but short ones; yet they have their efficacy, in that they are not pauled with insuing idle cogitations. Lastly, her dreames are so chaste, that she dare tell them: only a Frydayes dreame is all her *superstition:* that shee conceales for feare of anger. Thus lives she, and all her care is, She may dye in the *Spring time*, to have store of flowers stuck upon her winding sheete.

*109. To [Sarah Chiswell] *1 April 1717*

Adrianople, Ap. 1. O.S.

In my Opinion, dear S[arah], I ought rather to quarrel with you for not answering my Nimeguen Letter of Aug't till December, than to excuse my not writeing again till now. I am sure there is on my side a very good Excuse for Silence, having gone such tiresome Land Journeys, thô I don't find the conclusion of 'em so bad as you seem to imagine. I am very easy here and not in the Solitude you fancy me; the great Quantity of Greek, French, English and Italians that are under our Protection make their court to me from Morning till Night, and I'll assure you are many of 'em very fine Ladys, for there is no possibillity for a Christian to live easily under this Government but by the protection of an Ambassador, and the richer they are the greater their Danger.

Those dreadfull Storys you have heard of the plague have very little foundation in Truth. I own I have much ado to reconcile my selfe to the Sound of a Word which has allways given me such terrible Ideas, thô I am convinc'd there is little more in it than a fever, as a proofe of which we past through 2 or 3 Towns most violently infected. In the very next house where we lay, in one of 'em, 2 persons dy'd of it. Luckily for me I was so well deceiv'd that I knew nothing of the matter, and I was made beleive that our 2nd Cook who fell ill there had only a great cold. However, we left our Doctor to take care of him, and yesterday they both arriv'd here in good Health and I am now let into the Secret that he has had the Plague.[1] There are many that 'scape of it, neither is the air ever infected. I am perswaded it would be as easy to root it out here as out of Italy and France, but it does so little mischeife, they are not very solicitous about it and are content to suffer this distemper instead of our Variety, which they are utterly unacquainted with.

A propos of Distempers, I am going to tell you a thing that I am sure will make you wish your selfe here. The Small Pox so fatal and so general amongst us is here entirely harmless by the invention of engrafting (which

1. EWM confirms this (10 April/31 March, SP 97/94).

is the term they give it). There is a set of old Women who make it their business to perform the Operation. Every Autumn in the month of September, when the great Heat is abated, people send to one another to know if any of their family has a mind to have the small pox. They make partys for this purpose, and when they are met (commonly 15 or 16 together) the old Woman comes with a nutshell full of the matter of the best sort of small-pox and asks what veins you please to have open'd. She immediately rips open that you offer to her with a large needle (which gives you no more pain than a common scratch) and puts into the vein as much venom as can lye upon the head of her needle, and after binds up the little wound with a hollow bit of shell, and in this manner opens 4 or 5 veins.[2] The Grecians have commonly the superstition of opening one in the Middle of the forehead, in each arm and on the breast to mark the sign of the cross, but this has a very ill Effect, all these wounds leaving little Scars, and is not done by those that are not superstitious, who chuse to have them in the legs or that part of the arm that is conceal'd. The children or young patients play together all the rest of the day and are in perfect health till the 8th. Then the fever begins to seize 'em and they keep their beds 2 days, very seldom 3. They have very rarely above 20 or 30 in their faces, which never mark, and in 8 days time they are as well as before their illness.[3] Where they are wounded there remains running sores during the Distemper, which I don't doubt is a great releife to it. Every year thousands undergo this Operation, and the French Ambassador says pleasantly that they take the Small pox here by way of diversion as they take the Waters in other Countrys. There is no example of any one that has dy'd in it, and you may beleive I am very well satisfy'd of the safety of the Experiment since I intend to try it on my dear little Son...

2. Every detail of this procedure became problematic when MWM set out to introduce it in England in 1721 (see Isobel Grundy, 'Medical Advance and Female Fame', *Lumen*, 13, 1994, 13–42). Even Charles Maitland, the Embassy surgeon, claimed that the Greek woman's 'blunt and rusty Needle' hurt MWM's son, while his own lancet, used on the second arm, did not (*Account of Inoculating the Small Pox*, 2nd ed., 1722, 7).

3. English practice later involved a bigger instrument, a bigger wound, a larger quantity of infectious matter, and much preparation and after-care in the form of purging, bleeding, etc. MWM argued, probably rightly, that this increased the danger ('A Plain Account of ... Innoculating ...', 1722, *E&P* 95–7).

292

C.

Julio. Lydia. Aura. Fabricio, signer

Jacaliae. Hubert. Bertha. Florie.

Pernicka. Constantius.

Paris

Arbiel. Olympia. Octavia. Adelie. Nada.

Erotis. Orlando. Antiphila. Fernando. Hyperia. Cantanes

Kalista. Chandos. Olinda. Julia. Clarinda.

Zuiara. Amestis. Zaiana. Pyrrhus. Ozanna. Joza.

Meriona. Leontius. Epistelle. Demetrius.

Telirinel. Oronte. Adalia. Merlin. Jemmia. Arizmen.

Hyrcania. Maximus. Gioclas. Orsilla. Charinus. Delikia.

Belisa. Euphues.

Belgidesa. Velgiger

Eraste. Valerio

Phorba. Feius. Andia. Lycinnius. Olinda. Proculus. Hippolitus. Balbus. Valeria

Clarissa. Mentiocle.

Theodosia. Alphonso. Lucelia. Philipo.

Topholis. Brigia. Dorothia. Ferdinand. Benedigo. Angeline. Leonti. Gabriele. Casta.

In Mr. Drydens Works

Victoria. Alphonsa. Celidea. Garcia. Dabria

Jemena.

Melantha. Palamon. Dorakice. Rodophil. Philth

Leonidas.

Philocles.

Lucretia. Fernando.

Camilla. Lopez.

Almeria. Montezuma. Cylaria. Cortez. Alkech. Guiomar.

Almanzor. Almahide. Lyndaraxa. Abdala. Benzaida. Orazmin

Clomenes. Cleora. Cassandra. Ptolomy. Erotisiclea. Cleodas.

Leonora. Torrismond. Elvira. Jonas. Teresa. Lorenzo.

Indamora. Aureng-zebe. Nourmahal. Arimant. Morat. Melliss

Jabinda. Jonerson.

Phedra. Hippolitus. Bronsia. Iocia.

Almeyda. Moleck. Morayma. Antonio. Johayma.

Cornelia. Arthur. Matilda. Oswald

Oedipus. Jocasta.

Amphitrius. Felicia. Clarinces. Valerie. Maximin

Creed

D.

THE LADY'S DISASTER

If Fame say true in former Days,
The Fardingale was no disgrace;
But what a Sight is here reveal'd!
Such as oure Mothers ne'er beheld.
A Nymph in an unguarded hour.
(Alas! who can be too secure)
Dire fate has destin'd to be seen.
Entangled in her wide Machine.
While Carmen, Clowns, & Gentle folks
With satisfaction pass their Jokes.
Some view th'enamel'd Scene on high
And some at bottom fix their Eye;
Mark well the Boy with smutty Face,
And wish themselves were in his place:
Whose black distorted features show.
There's something—to be seen below.
And artfull [?] grinning at her Foot
Cries sweep! sweep! Madam for your Soot.
While from his Stall the leering Jew.
Would gladly have a better view
In moderate bounds had Celia dres t.
She'd ne'er became a publick jest

(Drawn from the Fact. Occasion'd by a Lady carelessly cossing her Hoop too high, in going to shun a little Chimney sweeper's Boy who fell down just at her Feet in an artful Surprise, at ye enormous Sight.)

The Lady's Disaster (1746), reproduced courtesy of the Print Collection, The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

E.

Simplicity's Restoration Roots

Isobel Grundy describes *Simplicity*, Lady Mary's one sustained dramatic work, as a sturdy adaptation of Marivaux's *Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard* (1734); the modified version treats the original "with respectful freedom, translating verbatim when the idiom and rhythm have English equivalents" (*EP* 315); it also manipulates dramatic conventions of the English Restoration. Other interpretations of the same French play--Popple's "Double Deceit" as well as Bickerstaffe's "Love in a Village" (1762), the latter of which converts the play to a comic opera--illustrate the Marivaux work's flexibility for English borrowing. When *Simplicity* is placed in its dramatic context, as one of many plays that treated issues of courtship and the class system, it displays Lady Mary's insights into the *topos* of the comedy of manners: each romantic-comedy playwright designs to marry the protagonist off not only happily but suitably.

Though this study has identified some characteristics of Restoration theatre in relation to Lady Mary's juvenilia, an understanding of the contribution made by Marivaux's French version, and Lady Mary's English one, of *The Game of Love and Chance*, relies on the reader's recognition of the two playwrights' relation to the same theatrical tradition. Characteristics of the English Restoration comedy include earthiness, outright farce, and the inclusion of grotesques as characters of a play's sub-plot (Wilson 5). Such gritty features disappear from a Marivaux comedy like *Le jeu de l'amour et du*

hasard. In *Marivaux: Seven Comedies* (1984), Oscar Mandel describes the typical Marivaux comedy as more "delicate" (283) than typical Molière works, which according to Henry (1986) provided models for some English Restoration comedy, since both Molière and the Restoration playwrights revel in "the disorder that classical art attempted to suppress . . . "(187). Mandel goes on to profile the Marivaux characters: "One or two pairs of lovers at cross-purposes witheach other; an occasional rival who leaves empty-handed; the servants, busy with their own love-knots while they are tying or untying their masters'; a father . . . a brother" (Marivaux 7). It is not surprising to see the theatrical choices made by Marivaux please and challenge Lady Mary, since Grundy notes that Mary Wortley Montagu's romance writings "relate more closely to French than to English traditions of fiction" (RW xiii). Not only the theme, of the folly of youth in disguising its ends, but also the style of *Simplicity* bows to Marivaux--and yet, her portrayal of Bellinda also benefits from Restoration paradigms.

An analogous situation to the one faced by Bellinda in *Simplicity* appears in Susanna Centlivre's *The Busie Body* (1709). The marriageability of Miranda, ward of Sir Francis Gripe, is discussed by her suitor, Sir George Airy, and her brother Charles Gripe; jokingly, Sir George poses the question at the heart of the comic narrative: "But what does [Sir Francis] intend to do with Miranda? Is she to be sold in private? Or will he put her up by way of auction, at [sic] who bids most?" (Lyons and Morgan 2.i). The lighthearted inquiry masks the discourse of dowry, an

issue of unsettling dimensions; like Centlivre, Lady Mary articulates the woes of her protagonist, pushed by her father toward a man of her social class whom she has never met. The author takes advantage of the romantic comedy genre, with its origins in Restoration love triangles. Lady Mary voices her sense of the ultimately choiceless paradox of courtship.

Lady Mary spent hours of her childhood mastering the details of English Restoration plays, yet her inclination in adulthood was toward the more refined French comedy characterized by the Marivaux work she chose to adapt into English. Not only the theme, of the folly of youth in disguising its ends, but also the style of *Simplicity* owes much to Marivaux. In a reflective speech by Bellinda's servant, Lucy, the author gives evidence of a gentle insight into desires of a member of the lower class--putting readers of her poetry in mind of "The Epistle of Arthur Gray." Responding to the repeated advances of "Gaymore" (his servant William, disguised), Lucy tells her mistress's father, "I am sure I have done my Duty. Hitherto I have not aim'd at the Conquest, but since you are pleas'd to shew your selfe so Indifferent about it I shall give my selfe my best airs, and see what will become of his Heart. Poor Man!" (2.1). The thought of duty before love gives this Lucy nobility of heart, and demonstrates that she, like her mistress, is answering the romantic admonition to heed the father figure--to yield when "he asserts his supremacy" (McMaster 399). Marivaux presents less of an inner struggle in his servant girl Lisette's mind, spacing the sme speech over several bits of dialogue and thus diluting the

perception of Lucy's social prowess.

Lady Mary's multiple voices within the play allow her to try out the role of the lady, and her maid, and to find the common feelings between them. Another maid named Lucy, servant to Alithea in Wycherly's *The Country Wife,* (1675) shows herself similarly acute to the Lucy of Lady Mary's play, especially when she handles social matters. She, too, advises on finding a good man, but expresses skepticism over his being found among noble fops like Alithea's betrothed, Sparkish: "Well, to see what easy husbands these women of quality can meet with! A poor chambermaid can never have such ladylike luck" (*CW* 3.ii). Seeing Harcourt as the better match for her lady, this Lucy resembles Lady Mary's, who quickly divines the shared qualities of the disguised Gaymore and her own mistress. Each maid debates whether esteem is the primary attitude to be sought in a lover (see p. 192, above), yet Wycherly's Lucy perceives Sparkish's undervaluing of Alithea, and Montagu's Lucy sees William-as-Gaymore's mismatch with Bellinda, as a source of conflict to be resolved (at least in part) by the lady's maid.

In addition to the interaction of characters, setting has an influence on the believability of Marivaux's plot and Lady Mary's adapted one; *Simplicity* diverges successfully from the accustomed Restoration scenes of court or city. Taking place at a country estate, the story as Lady Mary tells it has the virtue of allowing its central characters, Gaymore and Bellinda, to believe more readily in the exchanged identities of servant and master/mistress because they are removed from the town view,

which would have exposed the fraud quickly. Halsband and Grundy note the change: "Lady Mary transposes Marivaux's setting: instead of Paris she chose not its equivalent London but the English countryside" (*EP* 315). With no outsiders to enlighten them, the two can persist in their disguised state, each using the servant-become-superior as a shield against the other--though each is unaware that the other has played the same trick. The setting has enhanced the success of the deceit, but has raised as well a theme of country-versus-city, one which is also central to *The Country Wife*, even though its setting is right in London. The sub-plot of Wycherly's play involving Alithea and Harcourt, Sparkish the fop and Lucy the maid, resembles *Simplicity* in several features: the "wary but romantic" characterization of Alithea and that of Bellinda, the comic picture of Alithea with Sparkish and that of Bellinda with the doltish servant William, and the description of Harcourt, shared with Gaymore, as a "wit and railleur" (*CW* 2.i) who is nonetheless capable of falling deeply in love with the right woman. The plot tension created when each woman banishes her lover, out of a customary sense of duty, completes the comparative symmetry.

Less closely matched to Lady Mary's play, but also valuable for readily-traced similarities, another Restoration comedy, Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676), nonetheless commands some standard comic themes. Like *Simplicity*, it concerns deluded young people who mistake imposters for the people who should be their true loves, with ensuing confusion and comic agony for the lovers. The sharing of the name "Bellinda," stock label for the

sweet young heroine of comedy (or tragedy) means a sharing of some other traits, such as cynicism about the ways of lovers contained in a romantic's hopes for the best possible love-match. *Simplicity* begins with Bellinda's arguing against an arranged society marriage: "He has wit, they say: do not men of wit conceal ill Qualitys from the world, that make their Houses the Image of Hell, and their poor wives suffer all the torments of Purgatory?" (*EP* 320; 1.i) Following a third-act entrance of the character Bellinda in *The Man of Mode*, her wit turns upon the suffering rival, Mrs. Loveit, as Bellinda plans to unsettle her friend in the love-game they are playing: "(Aside) 'If she should make him jealous, that may make him fond of her again. I must dissuade her from it--Lord, my dear, this will certainly make him hate you" (*M of M* 3.iii).

A difference between the plays concerns the simpler structure of Marivaux's/Montagu's, by contrast to the multi-leveled sorting of couples in Etherege's; the reduced complications are natural in a three-act play, by contrast with a five-act one, but there is more to the difference than relative length accounts for. While four separate couples (and adoring, over-the-hill older women) occupy the stage in the Etherege work, only master and mistress, manservant and maidservant, a father and a brother fill the three acts of *Simplicity*. The streamlined effect allows for greater character development of the principals; both central figures have private asides to the audience, or to a single confidant, that let them examine their trobuled feelings. The noisier stage of Etherege's play allows

the bouncing-off of differently-aimed lines, the posturing in range of different types, to sketch characters instead of painting them.

Though both comedies stress the theme of masking one's true self, *The Man of Mode* contains the character, Mrs. Loveit, who disguises herself conveniently for adultery--to be approached in the Mall without giving away her true self. She is made insanely jealous when her current lover, Dorimant, attends a play with another masked woman, a fact with which her rival Bellinda teases her:

> MRS. LOVEIT: Did you see Dorimant there?
>
> BELLINDA: I did, and imagine you were with him and have no mind to own it.
>
> MRS. LOVEIT: What should make you think so?
>
> BELLINDA: A lady masked in a pretty déshabillé, whom Dorimant entertained with more respect than the gallants do a common vizard.
>
> MRS. LOVEIT: (Aside) Dorimant at the play entertaining a mask! Oh, heavens! (*M of M* 2.ii)

The disguising of a different Bellinda, the one in Lady Mary's play, has no such possibilities of license with the opposite sex, in that she means to hold off the attentions of anyone besides her husband-to-be. To this end, she declares the proposed groom's manservant to be in for a fight if he accosts her, dressed as she is in the outfit of the lady's maid, a very vulnerable creature in most households. Whether servant or

master, a man in a aristocratic household did often approach the maid for sexual favours. Bridget Hill observes, "Many husbands looked rather to their female domestics than to their wives for sexual satisfaction" (146). However, when Bellinda transforms to become Lucy, she asserts her powers: "As to the Footman, You shall see me carry it with such an Air the scoundrel shall'nt dare to speak to me" (*EP* 325; 1.i). Faced with a sensitive and refined "manservant," the baffled Bellinda performs a series of tests on his sensibilities, and finds him uncommonly gentlemanly in responding to each one. "Let us part," she tells Gaymore imperiously in Act II, to which he responds, "If I must not talk to thee, at least leave me the pleasure of looking at thee--Laugh at me, if you will, I deserve it all. 'Tis better to part, as you say. Adieu" (*EP* 349; 2.i). Rather than scolding the apparent servant girl before him, Gaymore shows his own vulnerability to her.

Amusedly drawing out the differences between social classes, pitting the sexes against one another, and bringing initial imbalance into happy equilibrium, Lady Mary adapts Marivaux's *Jeu* to follow Restoration comic tradition. Manipulating the language of Bellinda's prtests against impositions of parental will--"I am not weary of a single Life' constitutes her pre-courtship position (*EP* 318; 1.i)--the playwright emphasizes the idiomatic English of negative assertion that allows a daughter to argue her case. Finally, setting her play in country surroundings enables Lady Mary to lift the scenes out of cynical urban circles, thus locating Bellinda's decision-making in the setting of Gay's

framed play in *The What d'ye Call It* (1715)--the whole comedy serving as a meta-theatrical work that targets constantly the conventions of its Restoration forebears. There may be a clue to the play's title in another Gay work, *Three Hours After Marriage* (1717); the similarly meta-theatrical conversation conducted by the character Plotwell locates the term for a play with diction "so low" that, "Why, that their Friends are forced to call it Simplicity" (Fuller 1.ii). English comedic roots have certainly informed the production at a primary level, whether or not the title takes its inspiration here. Showcasing the playwright's facility with the medium, *Simplicity* provides all the delights that its root-works afforded, including clever dialogue, droll situations, hectic romantic gambling, and besides all these features, proclaims its author's distinctive voice.

Chapter 7
Princess Docile
Synopsis of the Narrative with Emphasis on its Drolleries

I. The Queen of Contrary, "favourite of an aged fairy, not for any good reason"[1] begins the novel's action by making herself indispensable to the fairy, precisely because she doesn't bother trying to, and consequently being rewarded with a wish. She asks that the child she is carrying in her womb be perfectly docile, and her wish, like King Midas's golden-touch request of Dionysus, is granted. (Like Midas, she will find her daughter's condition the curse beneath the apparent blessing.) Docile grows to adolescence reared by eccentrics, among them a philosopher who is "penitent for having originated the sect of Doubters" (110), thus shown as doubting his doubts. Docile learns to yield before deities, delivering to her mother (with terrible timing) "a very fine Dissertation on Mortification" (109)--and then insulting her father by acting on the principle of renouncing worldly goods. This king, named Imbecile, whose subjects are "struck to the heart by his wisdom" (107), orders Docile's removal from the castle for no great cause, and makes the philosopher happy for retirement, in that "he made a very poor figure at court" (113).

Two companions who have led Docile astray, Lady Good Sense and Lady Artifice, are "ascendant . . . .over the innocent Princess"; they use her even after she is banished (119). The blameless princess, rumoured to have attempted matricide with a dagger, or to have become pregnant and reached her seventh month, is subsequently imprisoned--"not the first time that extreme and credulous Virtue has attracted infamy" (120). When the king dies of excess, the Queen of Contrary retires with the crown jewels to escape the fate she knows she deserves for mistreating her subjects (122); however, she is regarded as having been cast out due to her heir Docile's fickle favour.

The powerful and ambitious King Wildman conspires against Docile, as "a Legitimate Queen who had no fault but her Virtue"

1 All quotations from *Romance Writings* (1996), ed. I. Grundy.

(123). Proposing an alliance between his son Sombre and the young queen, he links the humourless young man with Docile; the girl is, in her bridegroom's eyes, "a very amiable monster" (123) toward whom he begins to feel "Love and Fury" (125); these feelings persist throughout the narrative. A series of misunderstandings and miscommunications (resembling Lady Mary's with Algarotti) worsen relations between the couple. Docile's new companion, "amiable Emily . . . . the most dangerous coquette at Court" corrupts stories of Docile's purity, especially when Philocles--a noble courtier who turns out to hail from the planet Venus--appears on the scene (127). Mistaking Docile's averting of her eyes (really due to intense attraction) for "displeasure, and perhaps Anger" (128), Philocles falls back, finally quitting the planet, and Docile marries Sombre as self-punishment for what she sees as over-potent feelings for a different man (or alien).

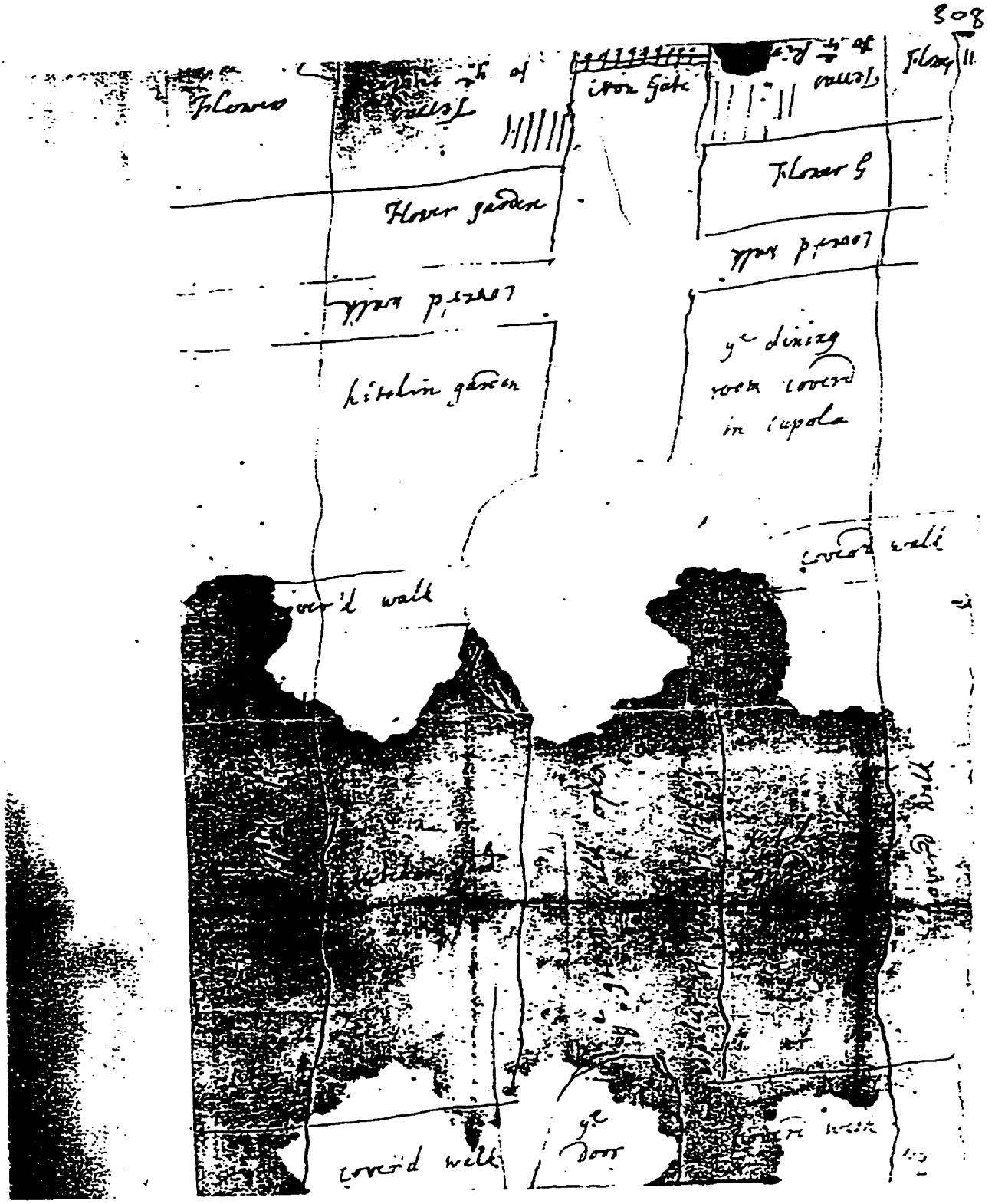
As the Queen of Contrary and a High Priest plot insurgency, Sombre's own father turns on him--fine wedding gifts from the in-laws on both sides. The couple flee to King Goodchild's domain, where Sombre conceives a vast jealousy over his lovely bride's magnetism (136). Though Goodchild has shallow attachments and ideas, favouring "a sweetly turned drinking song above a volume of Metaphysics" (140), Sombre demands (142) that his wife declare her intention of leaving court (though she looks unforgivably rude in doing so), and so she leaves hastily, due to her considering of obedience as "an indispensable duty" (144) The slighted king lets her go, feeling she is a "cruel beauty" (144) at whose feet he would languish; Sombre decides that the ease of Goodchild's relinquishing Docile means the two intend to reunite.

II. {Frag. I - Sombre, suspecting Docile of plotting with his father King Wildman, abandons her, and she laments the results of the prince's "caprices" which have left her so compromised.} Apparently abandoned by Sombre, Docile finds rescue through the seeming kindness of a Cavalier who has styled himself "Count Goodhope"(146); he woos her in her husband's absence, believing each woman to be a "Game animal made for man's amusement" (150)

A charming sociopath and player of angles, he detects Docile's learning, but is puzzled because it has too much practicality, too much grounding in geography and history, to be convent-taught (155). Despite Docile's modest comportment, he plots seduction, "having none of those delicate sentiments which prevent one from enjoying a happiness unshared by the loved object" (157). Planting a corpse that resembles her husband in age, shape and dress, the Cavalier sends fake news of the body's discovery through the popular press, a medium certain to catch Docile's eye. Goodhope is tickled by the shocked reaction of the "widow," who now reveals her royal background: "she began to weep, and the Count to dream" (159-60).

Meanwhile, the High Priest, "that saintly man," coaches the Queen of Contrary to take repose in a convent so he can rule as Wildman's Viceroy (161-2). The Queen pesters her fairy-patron for help until she is turned to cheese, and put on display at the "Contrary Museum," along with other freakish objects (163). Sombre continues to perceive Docile as a fair deceiver, counting on the "Austere wisdom" that he thinks distinguishes him from the "Crowd of Princes" (164). Just as Docile has been maneuvered by Goodhope into the danger of dishonouring her marriage vows (a danger no one else doubts she succumbed to, years before), Docile receives a blaming letter from Sombre (170); though Goodhope has "heaped her with obligations" (166), she accompanies the messenger-knight toward Sombre out of a misguided reading of "generosity of sentiments" in her husband's words (170). She flies, disguised as a man, from what she believes (erroneously) is Goodhope's sincere love to what she knows will be Sombre's certain abuse (173).

Corsairs kill Docile's companion at sea, but keep her alive to become a "pretty Page" (175); after a change of captors, she is saved by a Knight of Malta as his love object, approached with "courteous temerity" (177). {Frag.II The two debate the uses of astronomy's "truths"; males lose potency when women learn (192).} The Knight mocks Docile's honour; as infidelity rumours fly to Sombre's ear, Docile leaves for a convent's "penances" (187).


308
Flowers
Iron Gate
Flowers
Flower garden
Flowers
lower walk
lower walk
kitchin garden
ye dining room covered in cupola
covered walk
covered walk
covered walk
ye door
covered walk

H.

Works Cited

Abel, Elizabeth. *Writing and Sexual Difference.* Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1982.

Adler, Kathleen and Marcia Pointon. *The Body Imaged.* New York: Cambridge UP, 1993.

Alkon, Paul. "Johnson and Time Criticism" *Modern Philology* 85.4 (1988): 543-57.

Allentuch, Harriet. "My Daughter/Myself: Emotional Roots of Madame de Sévigné's Art." *MLQ* 43.3 (1982): 121-37.

Altman, Janet Gurkin. *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form.* Columbus: Ohio UP, 1982.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "Race." *Critical Terms for Literary Study.* Eds. Frank Lentricchia and McLaughlin. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990. 274-87.

Aravamudan, Srinavas. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the *Hammam*: Masquerade, Womanliness and Levantinization." *ELH* 62 (1995): 69-104.

"Archetype." *Oxford English Dictionary,* 1989 ed.

Astell, Mary. *A Defense of the Fairer Sex.* EDFS. New York: Source Book, 1970.

Atkins, G. Douglas. *Quests of Difference.* Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1986.

Ballaster, Ros. *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.

Battestin, Martin. *The Providence of Wit.* London: Oxford UP, 1974.

Bean, Brenda. "On Swift and Rich and 'The Lady's Dressing Room'" *ECL* 14.1 (1990): 1-23.

Benstock, Shari. *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988.

Bible, King James Version.

Bird, Phyllis. "Images of Women in the Old Testament." *Religion and Sexism.* Ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974. 41-99.

Bloom, Edward A. Introduction. *Evelina,* by Fanny Burney. New York: Oxford UP, 1982. vii-xxxv.

Boswell, James. *Life of Johnson.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1980.

Brower, Reuben. *Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1959.

Burney, Fanny. *Evelina.* Eds. Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom. New York: Oxford UP, 1982.

Campbell, Jill. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Historical Machinery of Female Identity." *History, Gender and Eighteenth-Century Literature.* Ed. Beth Fowkes Tobin. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1994. 64-85.

Casid, Jill. "Queer(y)ing the Georgic: Utility, Pleasure, and Marie-Antoinette's Ornamental Farm." *ECS* 30.3 (1997): 304-18.

Castle, Terry. *The Female Thermometer: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Invention of the Uncanny.* New York: Oxford UP, 1995.

---. *"The Mysteries of Udolpho." The New Eighteenth Century.* Eds. Felicity Nussbaum and Laura Brown. 231-53.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quixote.* 2 vols. Ed. John Jay Allen. 14th ed. Madrid: Cátedra, 1992.

---. *Don Quixote of La Mancha.* Trans. Walter Starkie. New York: New American Library, 1979.

Chaber, Lois. "Transgressive Youth: Lady Mary, Jane Austen, and the Juvenilia Press." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 8.1 (1995): 81-88.

"Character." *Oxford English Dictionary.* 1989 ed.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. *Works.* Ed. F.N. Robinson. 2nd. ed. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1957.

Chesterfield [Philip Stanhope]. *Letters to his Son.* New York: Putnam, 1901.

Cleary, Tom. Rev. of *Essays and Poems* & *Indamora to Lindamira,* by Mary Wortley Montagu. *ESC* 21.4 (1995): 477-79.

Cohen, Derek. "The Farce Patterns of Wycherley's *Love in a Wood."* *ESC* 3.3 (1977): 267-77.

Congreve, William. *The Way of the World.* Six Restoration Plays. Ed. John Harold Wilson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959.

Costello, Joanne. "Taking the 'Woman' out of 'Woman's Writing.'" *Diacritics* 21.2-3 (1991): 123-34.

Craft, Catherine. "Reworking Male Models: Aphra Behn's *Fair Vow-Breaker,* Eliza Haywood's *Fantomina,* and Charlotte Lennox's *Female Quixote.*" *MLR* 86.4 (1991): 821-38.

Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages.* Trans. Willard R. Trask. London: Routledge, 1953.

Davison, Dennis. *Restoration Comedies.* London: Oxford UP, 1970.

Davison, Rosena. "The Meeting of Minds: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Louise D'Epinay." *Lumen* 15 (1996): 57-70.

Defoe, Daniel. "Essay on Projects." *The Earlier Life and the Chief Earlier Works of Daniel Defoe.* Ed. Henry Morley. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970. 23-164.

Diehl, Huston. *An Index of Icons of English Emblem Books 1500-1700.* Norman, Oklahoma: U of Oklahoma P, 1986.

---. "Graven Images: Protestant Emblem Books in England." *Renaissance Studies* 39.1 (1986): 49-66.

Drew, Elizabeth. *The Literature of Gossip: Nine English Letter Writers.* New York: Norton, 1964.

Drodge, Susan. "The Sexual Politics of the Eye: Women in Pope's Poetry." *Lumen* 13 (1994): 81-88.

Dryden, John. "Defense of the Epilogue." *Works.* Vol. 11. Eds. George W. Guffey and Alan Roper. Berkeley: U of California P, 1978.

203-18.

Duncan-Jones, Katherine. Rev. of *Indamora to Lindamira*, by Mary Pierrepont (later Wortley Montagu). *Notes and Queries* September (1995): 399-400.

Eagleton, Terry. *The Rape of Clarissa*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1982.

Ehrenpreis, Irvin, Howard Anderson and Philip Daghlian. *The Familiar Letter in the Eighteenth Century*. Kansas: U of Kansas P, 1966.

Ehrenpreis, Irvin and Robert Halsband. *The Lady of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*. Los Angeles: U of California P, 1969.

Epstein, Julia. "Jane Austen's Juvenilia and the Female Epistolary Tradition." *Papers on Language and Literature* 21.4 (1985): 399-416.

Etherege, George. *The Man of Mode*. Restoration Comedies. Ed. Dennis Davison. London: Oxford UP, 1970.

Euripedes. *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Trans. Gilbert Murray. London: George Allen, 1910.

---. *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Trans. Maurice Platnauer. 1984. Oxford UP, 1992.

Farrell, Michèle Longino. *Performing Motherhood: The Sévigné Correspondence*. Hanover and London: UP of New England, 1991.

Felltham, Owen. *Resolves, divine, moral, political*. London: Seile, 1628.

Ferguson, Moira. *First Feminists.* Indiana: Indiana UP, 1985.

---. Rev. of *Imperial Eyes,* by Mary Louise Pratt. *ECS* 26.3 (1993): 481-4.

Fizer, Irene. "The Name of the Daughter." *Refiguring the Father: New Feminist Readings in Patriarchy.* Eds. Patricia Yaeger and Beth Kowaleski-Wallace. Carbondale: South Illinois UP, 1989. 78-107.

"Flower." *Oxford English Dictionary.* 1989 ed.

Foy, Roslyn Reso. "Johnson's *Rasselas:* Women in the 'Stream of Life.'" *ELN* 32.1 (1994): 39-53.

Francus, Marilyn. "Reproductive Anxiety in Swift and Pope." *ELH* 61 (1994): 829-51.

"Garnish." *Oxford English Dictionary.* 1989 ed.

Gay, John. *Dramatic Works.* Ed. John Fuller. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1983.

Gay, Peter. *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation.* New York: Knopf, 1967.

Gilbert, Sandra, and Susan Gubar. *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women.* 2nd ed. Boston: Norton, 1996.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method.* Trans. John and Anne Tedeschi. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986.

Golden, Morris. "Public Context and Imagining Self in *Joseph Andrews* and *Jonathan Wild.*" *JEGP* 88 (1989): 487-509.

Gollwitzer, Helmut. *Song of Love.* Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979.

Green, Henry. *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers.* New York: Burt Henry, 1969.

Grundy, Isobel. "Books and the Woman: A Woman of Letters and Her Library." *ESC* 20.1 (1994): 1-22.

---. Rev. of *Critical Terrains,* by Lisa Lowe. *ECS* 26.3 (1993): 484-87.

---. E-mail communication with the author. 8 Nov. 1996.

---. E-mail communication with the author. 12 Dec. 1996.

---. E-mail communication with John Rempel. 19 Mar. 1998.

---. "Fairy-tale, conte, intellectual autobiography or libertine novel: an unpublished French fiction by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." CSECS Conference. Delta Bessborough Hotel, Saskatoon. 14 October, 1994.

---. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Theatrical Eclogue." CSECS Conference. Harbour Towers Hotel, Victoria. 18 October, 1996.

---. "The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." (Forthcoming.) [Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.]

---. "Medical Advance and Female Fame." *Lumen* XIII (1994): 13-42.

Guest, Harriet. "Double Lustre." *ECS* 23.4 (1990): 479-501.

Hall, John. *Emblems with Elegant Figures.* 1658. Menston: Scholar, 1970.

Halsband, Robert. *The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.* New York: Oxford UP, 1960.

Haxell, N.A. Rev. of *Flower Poetics in Nineteenth-Century France,* by Philip Knight. *MLR* 83.3 (1988): 733-34.

Henry, Patrick. "Paradox in *The Misanthrope.*" *PQ* (1986): 187-95.

Hernnstein Smith, Barbara. "Value/Evaluation." *Critical Terms for Literary Study.* 177-85.

Hill, Bridget. *Women, Work & Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1994.

Hilton, Nick. "Restless Wrestling: Johnson's *Rasselas*" 13 pp. Online. Internet. 16 Jan. 1998.

Hinz, Evelyn. "Data and Acta: Aspects of Life-Writing." Intro. *Mosaic* 20.4 (1987): v-xii.

---. "Hierogamy versus Wedlock: Types of Marriage Plots and Their Relationship to Genres of Prose Fiction." *PMLA* 92.4 (1977): 900-13.

Huck, Charlotte S. *Children's Literature in the Elementary School.* 3rd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979.

Hufstader, Alice Anderson. *Sisters of the Quill.* New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978.

Hughes, Peter. *The Author in his Work: Essays on a Problem in Criticism.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1978.

Hyde, Melissa. "Confounding Convention: Gender Ambiguity and François Boucher's Painted Pastorals." *ECS* 30.1 (1996): 25-57.

"Icon." *Oxford English Dictionary.* 1989 ed.

"Image." *Oxford English Dictionary.* 1989 ed.

Jehlen, Myra. "Gender." *Critical Terms for Literary Study.* 263-73.

Johnson, Samuel. *RASSELAS and Other Tales.* Ed. Gwin J. Kolb. New Haven: Yale UP, 1990.

Jones, Vivien. *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity.* New York: Routledge, 1990.

Juvenal. *Satires* I. Ed. Susanna Morton Braund. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.

---. *Sixteen Satires Upon the Ancient Harlot.* Trans. Steven Robinson. Manchester: Carcanet, 1983.

Keener, Frederick. Rev. of *Critical Essays on Alexander Pope,* by Wallace Jackson and R. Paul Yoder. *The Scriblerian* 27.2 (1995): 190-91.

Kelly, Lionel. *Tobias Smollett: The Critical Heritage.* London: Routledge, 1987.

Kidd, D.A. *Collins Latin Dictionary.* London: Harper Collins, 1995.

Klein, Lawrence. "Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century." *ECS* 29.1 (1995): 97-109.

Kowaleski-Wallace, Beth. Rev. of *The Autobiographical Subject*, by Felicity Nussbaum. *ECS* 24.4 (1991): 534-37.

---. "Women, China, and Consumer Culture." *ECS* 29.2 (1995-6): 153-67.

Krishnan, R.S. "Addison and Steele, and *The Spectator:* Domesticated Satire and Democratized Values." CSECS Conference. Harbour Towers Hotel, Victoria. 19 October, 1996.

La Belle, Jenijoy. *Herself Beheld: The Literature of the Looking Glass.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988.

Lacan, Jacques. *Écrits: A Selection.* Trans. Alan Sheridan. London: Tavistock, 1977.

Lafayette, Madame de. *[La] Princess de Clèves.* Trans. Terence Cave. New York: Oxford UP, 1992.

Langbauer, Laurie. "Romance Revised." *Novel* 18.1 (1984): 29-49.

Langdon, David J. "Modesty and Pretension in *Candide.*" *Dalhousie French Studies* 14.2 (1988): 15-31.

"Lay." *Oxford English Dictionary,* 1989 ed.

Lee, Guy, trans. *Virgil's ECLOGUES.* Liverpool: Cairns, 1980.

Lennox, Charlotte. *The Female Quixote or the Adventures of Arabella.* London: Pandora, 1986.

---. *The Female Quixote.* Ed. Margaret Dalziel. London: Oxford, 1970.

Lentricchia, Frank, and Thomas McLaughlin. *Critical Terms for Literary Study*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990.

Lew, Joseph. "Lady Mary's Portable Seraglio." *ECS* 24.4 (1990-91): 432-50.

Lock, F.P. *Susanna Centlivre*. Boston: Twayne, 1979.

Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Ed. Peter H. Nidditch. Oxford: Clarendon, 1975.

Longaker, Mark. *English Biography in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: U of Pennsylvania P, 1971.

Lonsdale, Roger. *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets*. New York: Oxford UP, 1989.

Looser, Devoney Kay. "Scolding Lady Mary." *Feminist Nightmares: Women at Odds*. Eds. Susan Ostrov Weisser and Jennifer Fleischner. New York: New York UP, 1994. 44-61.

Lowe, Lisa. *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1991.

Lowenthal, Cynthia. *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1993.

Lyons, Paddy, and Fidelis Morgan. *Female Playwrights of the Restoration: Five Comedies*. London: Dent, 1991.

Mack, Maynard. *Alexander Pope: A Life*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1985.

---. *Collected in Himself*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1982.

Mandel, Oscar, trans. *Marivaux: Seven Comedies.* Lanham: UP of America, 1984.

Manning, John. "Höltgen's *Aspects.*" Rev. of *Aspects of the Emblem,* by Karl Joseph Höltgen. *RS* 39.1 (1986): 327-28.

Manuel, Frank E. *The Enlightenment.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

Marivaux. *Le jeu de l'amour et du hasard* et *Les fausses confidences.* Ed. Graham Rodmell. London: Grant and Cutler, 1982.

---. *Théatre complet.* Ed. Bernard Dort. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964.

Marks, Elaine, and Isabelle de Courtivron. *New French Feminisms.* New York: Schocken, 1981.

May, Leila S. "The Violence of the Letter: *Clarissa* and Familial Bo(u)nds." *ELN* 32.3 (1995): 24-30.

Mazzaro, Jerome. "The Arts of Memory and William Hogarth's *Line of Beauty.*" *Essays in Literature* 20.2 (1993): 213-30.

McMaster, Juliet. "Apprentice Scholar, Apprentice Writer" *ESC* 22.1 (1996): 1-15.

---. "Romance and the Novel." *ESC* 9.4 (1983): 392-401.

---. Telephone interview. 9 May 1996.

McPherson, Jay. "Gardening and Freemasonry." Presentation to CSECS. Delta Hotel, Saskatoon, 15 October, 1994.

Melville, Lewis. *Horace Walpole: A Biographical Study.* London: Hutchinson, 1930.

Messenger, Ann. *His and Hers.* Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1986.

Miller, J. Hillis. "Narrative." *Critical Terms for Literary Study.* 66-79.

Milton, John. *Complete Poems and Major Prose Works.* Ed. Merritt Y. Hughes. New York: Odyssey, 1957.

Minogue, Sally. *Problems for Feminist Criticism.* London: Routledge, 1990.

"Miscarry." *Oxford English Dictionary,* 1989 ed.

Mitchell, W.J.T. "Representation." *Critical Terms for Literary Study.* 11-22.

"Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley." *Modern Language Association International Bibliography.* 1963-81; 1981-98.

Montesquieu. *Lettres persanes.* Persian and Chinese Letters. Ed. and trans. John Davidson. New York and London: Dunne, 1903.

---. *Persian Letters.* Trans. C.J. Betts. London: Penguin, 1973.

Murphy, Dervla. *Embassy to Constantinople,* by Mary Wortley Montagu. Intro. 1-32. London: Century Hutchinson, 1988.

Nussbaum, Felicity, and Laura Brown. *The New Eighteenth Century.* New York: Oxford UP, 1991.

Nussbaum, Felicity. *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1989.

---. *The Brink of All We Hate.* Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1984.

Orr, Bridget. "'The Only Free People in the Empire.'" *De-Scribing Empire.* Eds. Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson. London: Routledge, 1994. 152-68.

Overbury, Thomas. *The Overburian Characters, To which is added A Wife.* Ed. W.J. Paylor. 1615. Oxford: Blackwell, 1936.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses.* Trans. Mary M. Innes. London: Penguin, 1955.

Patterson, Annabel. *Pastoral and Ideology.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1987.

Pease, Donald E. "Author." *Critical Terms for Literary Study.* 105-17.

Perry, Ruth. "Two Forgotten Wits." *The Antioch Review.* 39.4 (1981): 431-38.

Pierrepont, Lady Mary (later Wortley Montagu). *Indamora to Lindamira.* Ed. Isobel Grundy. Edmonton: Juvenilia P, 1994.

Plaisant, Michèle. "Les Lettres Turques de Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." *Bulletin de la Societé d'Études Anglo-American des XVII et XVIII Siècles* 16 (1983): n. pag.

Plumb, John Harold. *England in the Eighteenth Century.* Middlesex: Penguin, 1976.

Pointon, Marcia. *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1993.

Pollak, Ellen. *The Poetics of Sexual Myth.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985.

---. "Pope and Sexual Difference." *SEL* 24.2 (1984): 461-81.

Pope, Alexander. *The Dunciad.* Vol. 5, Twickenham Edition of the Poems. Ed. J. Sutherland. 3rd. ed. London: Methuen, 1962.

---. *The Dunciad Variorum (1729).* Menston: Scholar, 1968. .

---. *Imitations of Horace.* Vol. 4, Twickenham Ed. Ed. John Butt. London: Methuen, 1953.

---. *Poetical Works.* Ed. Herbert Davis. London: Oxford UP, 1995.

---. *The Rape of the Lock.* Vol. 2, Twickenham Ed. Ed. Geoffrey Tillotson. London: Methuen, 1968.

Porter, Roy. *The Enlightenment.* Princeton: Humanities, 1990.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel-Writing and Transculturation.* New York: Routledge, 1992.

Rabb, Melinda. "Remembering in Swift's 'The Lady's Dressing Room.'" *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 32.3 (1990): 375-96.

Redford, Bruce. *The Converse of the Pen: Acts of Intimacy in the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986.

Richardson, Samuel. *Clarissa: or, The History of a Young Lady.* Ed. John Butt. 4 vols. London: Dent, 1967-68.

---. *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded.* Ed. M. Kinkead-Weekes. 2 vols. London: Dent, 1962.

Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of. *Poems.* Ed. Keith Walker. Oxford: Blackwell, 1984.

Rogers, Katharine. *Before their Time: Six Women Writers of the Eighteenth Century.* London: Ungar, 1979.

---. "Subversion of Patriarchy in *Les Lettres Persanes.*" *PQ* 65.2 (1986): 61-78.

Rogers, Katharine, and William McCarthy. *The Meridian Anthology of Early Women Writers.* New York: Penguin, 1988.

Rogers, Pat, and Dale Spender. *The Eighteenth Century.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1978.

Rushdy, Ashraf. "A New Emetics of Interpretation: Swift, His Critics, and the Alimentary Canal." *Mosaic* 24.3-4 (1991): 1-32.

Ruth, Sheila. *Issues in Feminism.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage, 1979.

Sambrook, James. *The Eighteenth Century.* London: Longman, 1986.

Schofield, Mary Anne, and Cecilia Macheski. *Fetter'd or Free.* Athens, Ohio: Ohio UP, 1986.

Schor, Naomi. "Feminist and Gender Studies." *Introduction to Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures.* New York: MLA, 1992. 262-87.

Seaton, Beverly. "Considering the Lilies: Ruskin's *Proserpina* and Other Victorian Flower Books." *Victorian Studies* 28.2 (1985): 255-82.

---. "French Flower Books of the Early Nineteenth Century." *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 11.1 (1982-3): 60-71.

Segal, Charles. *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981.

Shakespeare, William. *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Eds. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Wilson. London: Cambridge UP, 1968.

Sherman, Sandra. "Instructing the 'Empire of Beauty.'" *South Atlantic Review* 60.4 (1995): 1-26.

Sitwell, Edith. *Alexander Pope.* London: Faber, 1930.

Smith, Sidonie. *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography.* Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1987.

Solomon, Robert. *The Bully Culture.* Lanham: Littlefield Adams, 1993.

Spacks, Patricia Meyer. *The Female Imagination.* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1976.

---. "Female Rhetorics." *The Private Self.* Ed. Shari Benstock. 177-91.

---. *Gossip.* New York: Knopf, 1985.

---. "Imaginations Warm and Tender: Pope and Lady Mary." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 83.3 (1984): 207-15.

---.. "The Subtle Sophistry of Desire: Dr.Johnson and *The Female Quixote.*" *Modern Philology* 85.4 (1988): 532-42.

Stearn, William. *Ray, Stirpium Britannicarum and Linnaeus, Carl, Systema Naturae.* Reprint. London: Ray Society, 1973.

Swift, Jonathan. *Gulliver's Travels.* Prose Works Vol. XI. Ed. Herbert Davis. Oxford: Blackwell, 1965.

---. *Poetical Works.* Ed. Herbert Davis. London: Oxford UP, 1967.

---. *The Writings.* Eds. Mark L. Greenberg and Herbert W. Piper. New York: Norton, 1988.

Takach, George. "Celebrating their Manny Faults." *Home and School* 2.9 (1995): 11-13.

Tausky, Thomas. "Passion to Live." *Ariel* 17.3 (1986): 39-62.

Tiffin, Chris, and Alan Lawson. *De-Scribing Empire: Post Colonialism and Textuality.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Tobin, Beth Fowkes. Introduction. *History, Gender and Eighteenth-Century Literature.* Athens: U of Georgia P, 1994. 1-13.

"Tribade." *Oxford English Dictionary,* 1989 ed.

Tucker, Irene. "Writing Home: *Evelina*, The Epistolary Novel and the Paradox of Property." *ELH* 60 (1993): 419-39.

Uphaus, Robert, and Gretchen M. Foster. *The Other Eighteenth Century*. East Lansing: Colleagues, 1991.

Valconover, Anna-Francesca. "The Embassy Letters of Mary Wortley Montagu. Diss. U of Venice, 1986.

Vieth, David M., and Dustin Griffin. *Rochester and Court Poetry*. Los Angeles: U of California P, 1988.

Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Trans. W.F. Jackson Knight. London: Penguin, 1988.

---. *Eclogues and Georgics*. Trans. G. Davidson. Reading: Handy, n.d.

---. *Eclogs*. Trans. Guy Lee. Liverpool, Cairns, 1980.

Voltaire. *Candide*. Trans. Lowell Bair. Intro. by André Maurois. New York: Bantam, 1981.

---. *Candide*. Complete Works. Vol. 48. Ed. René Pomeau. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1980.

Wall, Cynthia. "Editing Desire: Pope's Correspondence with (and without) Lady Mary." *Philological Quarterly* 71.2 (1992): 221-37.

Walpole, Horace. *Selected Letters*. Ed. W.S. Lewis. New Haven: Yale UP, 1973.

Wilde, Oscar. *Complete Works*. London: Magpie, 1993.

Williams, Meg Harris. "Book Magic: Aesthetic Conflicts in Charlotte Brontë's Juvenilia." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 42.1 (1987): 29-45.

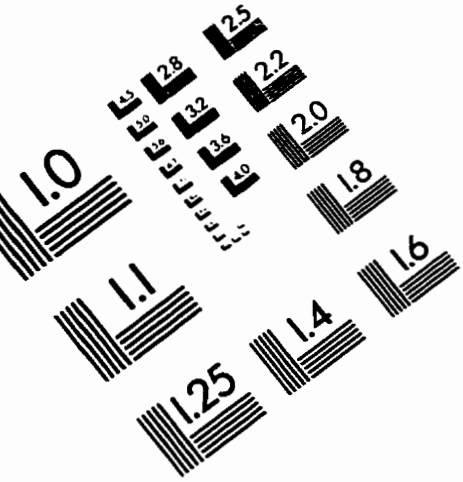
Wilson, John. *The Court Wits of the Restoration: An Introduction.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1948.

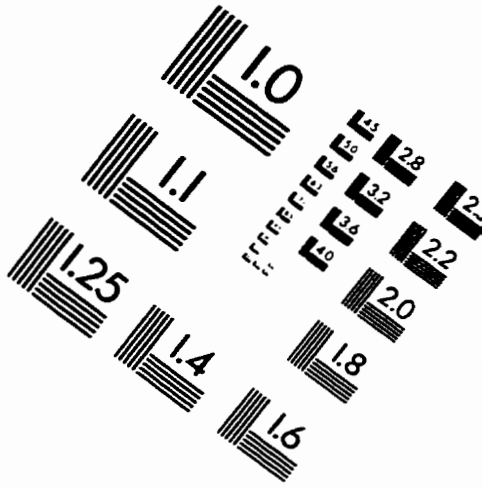
Womersley, David. "Lady Mary and Princess Docile." Rev. of *Romance Writings,* by Mary Wortley Montagu. *Times Literary Supplement* 9 Aug. 1996: 23.

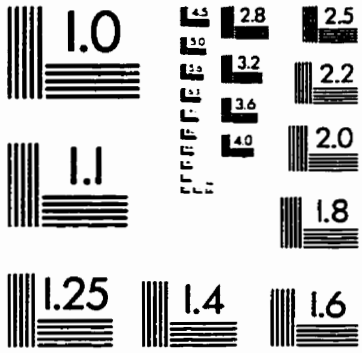
Yeazell, Ruth. "Public Baths and Private Harems: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Origins of Ingres's *Bain Turc.*" *Yale Journal of Criticism* 7.1 (1994): 111-38.

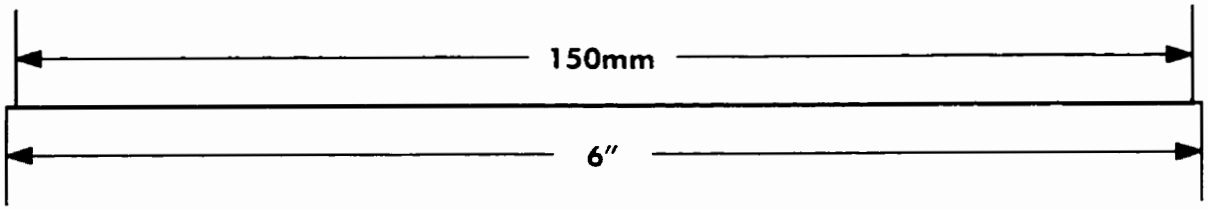
Young, B.W. "'See *Mystery* to *Mathematics* fly!': Pope's *Dunciad* and the Critique of Religious Rationalism." *ECS* 26.3 (1993): 435-48.

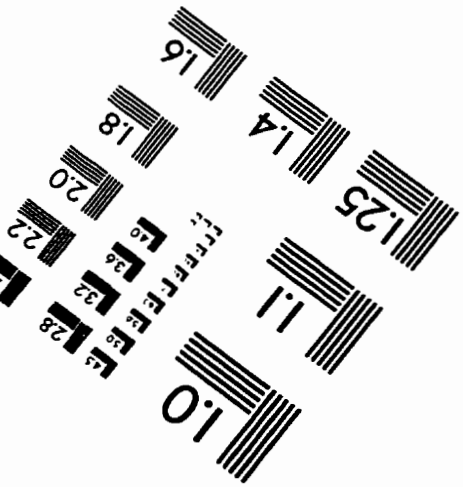
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

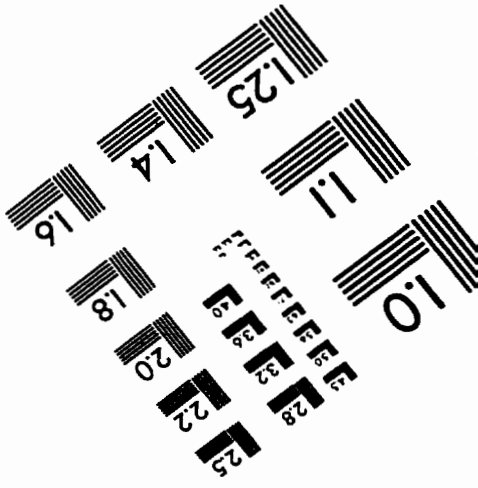












APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989