AN EXAMINATION OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE EMERGING FEMINIST MOVEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A Thesis Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
Appalachian State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

---

by

Lenore Wiedman Dudley

December, 1978

AN EXAMINATION OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE EMERGING FEMINIST MOVEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

Lenore Wiedman Dudley

December, 1978

Approved by:

Chairman, Thesis Committee

Major Professor

Major Professor

Major Professor

Chairman, Department of History

Dean of the Graduate School

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my appreciation to my thesis committee and especially to my committee chairman, Dr. Peter Petschauer, who supplied much guidance and support. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Dean A. Dudley for his help and encouragement.

To Helen Carter

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was born May 26, 1689 and died August 21, 1762. She was a proponent of educational reforms for women, an advocate for fair divorce laws, and a spokeswoman for certain political causes. She wrote many letters, essays, and poems. She wrote letters to a wide range of friends and acquaintances, and she circulated essays and poems among her friends.

This paper examines these writings and Lady Mary's life style and society in order to gain better understanding of her personality and to show her viewpoints on the problems which women faced in her society. The paper shows that her points of view are part of her contribution to the feminist movement which some say emerged in the eighteenth century. Her efforts brought about a change in the attitudes that influenced later feminists, and she helped to prepare society to receive these feminists favorably. She was a symbol for later feminists; they pointed to her as a woman who was educated and held her own with the leading thinkers of her day.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

Any list of illustrious eighteenth-century English women who were interested in education, in writing, in a more active role for women in society, and in presenting social and moral criticism, must include the name of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Lady Mary was one of the most active, intelligent, educated, and outspoken women of eighteenth-century England. Although she was not an impassioned and active fighter for women's rights, she did act as a social critic, and she did express many feminist viewpoints in her essays, poems, and letters. While many men and women pointed out injustices of the law and inequalities of customs affecting women, Lady Mary stated her viewpoint with a cool reasonableness which won as many to the feminist cause as an impassioned orator.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that Lady Mary lived in the middle of the eighteenth century, before the feminist movement received the impetus caused by the French Revolution and the concentration on human rights. She was born May 26, 1689 and died August 21, 1762. Her father was Evelyn Pierrepont, later Earl of Kingston, and

her mother was Lady Mary Fielding. Lady Mary's mother was from another aristocratic family--the Fieldings. Henry Fielding, although from one of the poorer branches of the family, distinguished himself with his writings--Tom Jones, Joseph Andrews, and Shamela. As a young girl, Lady Mary spent several hours each week learning to carve meat for her father's dinner parties, to draw, to translate Latin, and to speak Italian. Although her father believed that it was essential for a woman to learn to carve and to perform the duties required of a hostess, he did provide an atmosphere in which she could develop her talents and pursue her interests. He was proud of her accomplishments. With the assistance of her father's library and with the help of tutors, she practically educated herself, especially since she could spend most of her time with her books, writing poetry, letters, and romances.

This dual training in the tranditional domestic duties and the intellectual and educational pursuits may have led to a superficial split in Lady Mary's personality or caused a deep-seated confusion of adult roles. After she married, she seemed unable to combine successfully both aspects of her life. She tried, at first, to be a dutiful wife and efficient household manager, but she had difficulty adjusting to the role of a housewife. Even though she was unsuccessful in defining her marital role, her intellectualism could have provided early solutions; it presented her,

instead, with further difficulties. She could not find a niche in which to use her talents: she tried to dabble in politics and to express herself in literature, but she never found an effective role for herself in either area. Even the refinements of her perceptions of the relationship between men and women had to wait until the later years of her life.

Lady Mary has been described as the most intellectual women of her time in England and is, therefore, worthy of consideration.[1] The purpose of this paper is to examine Lady Mary's writings, with secondary consideration being given to the influential people of her life and eighteenth-century English society in general. The paper also examines her psychology and provides possible explanations for the reasons that she developed as she did. Finally, the paper details her contributions to the emerging feminist movement.

Lady Mary is best known as a letter writer, but her essays are of equal importance. Among the most fascinating are those she did for The Nonsense of Common-Sense.[2] This journal was a parody on Common Sense written by Philip Chesterfield and George Lyttleton, two opponents of Robert Walpole. Many of Lady Mary's essays were in support of Walpole's policies, but in at least one of them she attempted to define, defend, and change the role of women in society.[3]

One way in which she believed that it could be changed was in providing educational opportunities for them. Lady Mary expressed her concern about female education early in her adulthood. She corresponded with Bishop Burnet, a tutor chosen by her father. In addition to reading romances, she translated Epictetus' Enchiridion, a handbook of stoic advice. She finished the translation in one week, using a Latin text and sending it with a letter to the Bishop[4] in which she remarked,

> My sex is usually forbid studies of this nature, and folly reckoned so much our proper sphere, that we are sooner pardoned any excesses of that, than the least pretensions of reading or good sense. We are permitted no books but such as tend to the weakening and effeminating of the mind. Our natural defects are every way indulged, and it is looked upon as in a degree criminal to improve our reason, or fancy we have any. . . . There is hardly a character in the world more despicable, or more liable to universal ridicule than that of a learned woman; those words imply according to the received sense, a talking impertinent, vain and conceited creature.[5]

She went on to assure the Bishop,

> I am not now arguing for an equality of the two sexes. I do not doubt that God and nature have thrown us into an inferior rank, we are a lower part of the creation, we owe obedience and submission to the superior sex, and any women who suffers her vanity and folly to deny this rebels against the law of the Creator.[6]

Either her opinion of the inferiority of women changed over time or she felt less timid about expressing her true feelings as she grew older. For example, when she was fifty-nine, she wrote to her daughter Lady Bute;

> I have never, in all my various Travels, seen but two sorts of people (and those very like one another); I mean Men and Women, who allways have been, and ever will be, the same. The same Vices and the same Follys have been the fruit of all ages, thó sometimes under different Names.[7]

Already very early Lady Mary had a wide range of friends and enemies upon which to base this observation. Among them were Horace Walpole, Sir Richard Steele, John Gay, Lord Hervey, Alexander Pope, Joseph Addison, and Sir Robert Walpole. Later she corresponded with Voltaire and Montesquieu.

She made numerous enemies with her quick and sarcastic wit, but she also gained many friends to whom she wrote interesting, entertaining, and edifying letters. These letters were perhaps her most important contribution for studies of eighteenth-century England. Some of them were published shortly after her death and became a lasting success; these detailed her trip to Turkey and her comments on Turkish society while she lived there. Smollett praised them in the Critical Review, and Voltaire, through the Gazette Littérarie de L'Europe, increased their popularity on the continent. The philosophe said Lady Mary's letters were far superior to those of Madame de Maintenon and Madame de Sévigné. Others who considered them worth reading were Dr. Samuel Johnson and Edward Gibbon.[8] Among the reasons for their appeal was Lady Mary's ability to write well and to explicate adeptly the vast store of information accumulated during her foreign travel. Additional letters

have since been published (approximately nine hundred of them including some written to Lady Mary), revealing once more her intelligence and ability to express herself on a variety of subjects.

The writer of this paper will explore and discuss Lady Mary's letters, essays, and poems in order to show the development of her ideas, her position on various issues, and the expansion and effect of those ideas on society. An examination of the society in which Lady Mary lived reveals the diverse opinions on women's role in society.

Lady Mary came into contact with these opinions, and they helped to shape her own. Her husband, Edward Wortley Montagu, had definite ideas on marriage--he did not like arranged marriages and wrote an essay in the Tatler to this effect. Daniel Defoe and Mary Astell were spokesmen for increased freedom for women. Although Addison and Steele were among those who opposed aspects of the feminists' position, they also admired Lady Mary and other women of wit and intelligence. These differing positions helped to solidify or modify Lady Mary's own views. These influences, coupled with her own particular psychology, led her to demand an equal legal, social, and moral position for women.

NOTES

1. Ballantyne, Archibald, Voltaire's Visit to England, 1726-1729. (Geneve: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), p. 227. Voltaire discusses Lady Mary's "erudition which would do honor to a savant." (Italics are Voltaire's). In Philosophical Letters he calls her "strong-minded." Other contemporaries, including Alexander Pope, Henry Fielding, and Mary Astell, have discussed or alluded to her intelligence.

2. Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, The Nonesense of Common-Sense, 1737-1738, ed. Robert Halsband (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1947), p. xiii.

3. Ibid., p. 24.

4. Robert Halsband, The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 14.

5. Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 5 vols., ed. Lord Wharncliffe (Paris, 1837), 1:115-116. Also in The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, ed. Robert Halsband, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-1967), 1:43-44. Letter to Gilbert Burnet, July 20, 1710. Lady Mary's spelling will be used throughout this essay.

6. Ibid., 1:117. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:45.

7. Montagu, Complete Letters, 2:392. Letter to Lady Bute, January 5, /1748/.

8. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 289.

PART II

LADY MARY'S LIFE

In the eighteenth century, the term "blue stocking" came into being to note a woman of learning and wit. It was used mostly to describe women of the latter part of the century, with Lady Mary being perhaps the first "blue stocking." She was not destined to be a "so-called" typical eighteenth-century woman--concerned with cards, gambling, fashion, and lovers; given to fainting-fits, tears, and thoughts of amusement and matrimony.

Lady Mary's early life was typical of a person of her social class. She was descended from two aristocratic families--the Pierreponts and the Fieldings. Unexpectedly, her father became Earl of Kingston with the deaths of his two elder brothers in 1690, and his daughter was thus entitled to be called Lady Mary Pierrepont. She was left motherless at the age of four along with two younger sisters, Frances and Evelyn, and a younger brother, William. After this loss, her father sent the four young children to live with his mother, Elizabeth Pierrepont.[1] She was an energetic and forceful woman who was assisted in taking care of her grandchildren by her daughter, Lady Cheyne, and by two

nurses. Even though Lady Mary was unaccountably disinherited by her grandmother, she retained warm memories of both her paternal and maternal grandmothers.

During those early years, Lady Mary was closest to her sister Frances and her brother William. When she was not with her paternal grandmother, she was left with her brother and sister to the care of servants and a governess who was not especially well-educated and quite superstitious. As they grew older, Evelyn, the other sister, went to live with their aunt and grew away from the rest of the family.[2]

Her father pampered Lady Mary at times and ignored her at other times. He was unattached and a "man-of-the-town." On the whole he was proud of her, however, and when she was only eight proposed her name for the Kit-Kat Club as a toast of the year. The Kit-Kat Club was made up of a group of fashionable men devoted to the Whig cause and the Hanoverian Succession. She was brought to the club and toasted by poets, politicians, and others.[3] Even though she spent most of her time alone and became very introspective, she had thus come into contact with prominent and educated men and enjoyed their admiration. She also met her father's friends frequently--Addison, Steele, Congreve, and Dr. Garth--all men of letters or education who encouraged her or influenced her in her studies.[4] Because of these meetings and her pride in her learning, she thought of herself as unusual or distinguished from other girls of her age--an attitude that soon set her

apart from them. (See Part IV, page 90, for the possible consequences this attitude had on her psychological and sexual development.)

Lady Mary left an excellent record of these early years. At thirteen, she wrote an autobiographical romance entitled "The Entire Works of Clarinda." In it, she examines the pursuit of a young girl by a young man. The hero, Strephon, enters a castle called Marriage, but finds in it Discord, Strife, and Uneasiness. Disappointed, Strephon leaves this palace of True Love and dallies with two nymphs. When they ask him to choose between them, he leaves them. Lady Mary ends the tale at this point. According to Robert Halsband, this romance is a curious mixture of the two sides of her nature--romantic emotionalism and cynical rationalism.[5] That seems a rather simplistic evaluation; yet, since her collected letters do not start until 1708, it is difficult to determine why Lady Mary viewed love and marriage as enemies at such a young age. At that point her observation of marriage would have had to be limited: her father and her grandmother were widowed and Lady Cheyne and her husband lived elsewhere. Although the sources for this impression of marriage are obscure, the results of this first literary effort were later actualized in her own marriage.

As she grew toward adulthood, Lady Mary spent the winter seasons in London and the summers in the country. There she continued with her reading and noted many of the titles of

the books she had read in a notebook in which she listed some of the characters.[6] In the city, she learned the social graces and attended social events.

During the 1706 season, she met Anne Wortley and they became friends. Through this friendship, she met Anne's older brother, Edward Wortley. Wortley (as he is called in most texts to distinguish him from his son Edward Wortley Montagu, Jr.) was fascinated by the display of learning, the wit and the intelligence of his sister's friend. After the season, Lady Mary and Anne corresponded; Wortley read the letters and soon participated in the exchange. He was eleven years older than Lady Mary and had already started a distinguished career. He had been called to the bar in 1699, had friends among the Whigs, and knew many of the same men as Evelyn Pierrepont, Lady Mary's father.[7] From 1700 to 1703, he had traveled on the continent, and in 1705 he had been elected to Parliament for the Borough of Huntingdon, a seat controlled by his cousin Lord Sandwich. At this point in his life, Wortley could be described "as a student of the classics, a friend of prominent literary men, and a rising Member of Parliament."[8] In addition, he was a handsome, intelligent and promising man. These were traits that appealed to Lady Mary, and Anne Wortley became the intermediary in their friendship.[9] With his sister's help, the friendship ripened into a stormy courtship that culminated in an elopement in August of 1712.

Even though Evelyn Pierrepont could have viewed Wortley as an acceptable suitor for his daughter, Wortley did not want to commit himself to the usual marriage contract that would have entailed his fortune on the oldest son. Wortley proved to be foresighted on this score--his son turned out to be incapable of handling money. To clarify his position, Wortley wrote some notes on mercenary marriages which were published by Steele in the Tatler September 12, 1710. These arguments did not convince Pierrepont, however; he rejected Wortley as a suitor for his daughter and found another one. But Lady Mary rejected the Honourable Clotworthy Skeffington; he did not suit her because she did not love him.[10] This refusal illustrates her individualism and courage. In pursuit of her goals, she was willing to risk her future well-being.

The courtship of Lady Mary and Wortley went on for a considerable time before they decided on elopement and marriage. They exchanged many letters and over one hundred have survived and have been published. Here is an example of one of her letters;

> I can't account for my fears that you do not love me but from a dispondence in my temper which disposes me this moment to dispeare of ever seeing you againe. If I were to finde myself described in any writings I shud believe the author had strain'd a carrictor beyond nature; and yet there appears no extravagance to me, since I consider you come the neerest my notion of a fine gentleman of any I ever saw. . . .[11]

Wortley also displayed his ability to express his love;

> . . . if You have any Apprehension of Losing me. My Dearest Lady M/ary/, you had wrong'd me had you taken me to be of another Humour, had you thought otherwise of me or believ'd I could Think Otherwise of you. Do you Imagine any one that is able to set a just Value on You can under a Passion be less uneasy or insecure?. . . Had I you, I should have at one view before me all the Charms of either sex met together. I should enjoy a perpetual succession of new Pleasures, a constant Variety in One. This is far beyond what I thought sufficient to make life Happy.[12]

Although the letters reveal two passionate, emotional, and sensitive people, their biographers have different impressions of them.

Emily Morse Symonds, alias George Paston, makes this observation in her biography of Lady Mary;

> Lady Mary has been described by most of her biographers and critics as a woman of cold, hard character, with an intellect that had been developed at the expense of her emotions. But her early love-letters give the impression that they were written by a warm-hearted high-spirited girl, who was continually being chilled and wounded by the ungraciousness of the man upon whom she had bestowed her affection.[13]

This last sentence gives a clear indication of the opinion of those who described Wortley as a cold, emotionless, unexciting man more interested in money, financial arrangements, and political advancement than in his family. But he did pursue her, win her, and marry her without a dowry in a highly-romantic elopement that took them from an inn a short time before she was to marry Skeffington. One of those who objected to the negative picture presented by most of

Wortley's biographers was Lord Wharncliffe, their great-grandson. He could not understand how this opinion of his great-grandfather arose.

> He had, . . . one of those strong characters that are little influenced by the world's opinion, and for that reason little understood by the unthinking part of it. All who really knew him while living held him a man distinguished for soundness of judgment and clearness of understanding, qualities nowise akin to dulness.[14]

Lord Wharncliffe noted, as further proof, that his great-grandfather was a first-rate scholar, knew modern languages, read literature, and associated with other literary men of the time--Steele, Garth, Congreve, and Addison.[15] No doubt, since he attracted a woman of Lady Mary's caliber, he could not have been a complete nonentity. It is true all the same that soon after the marriage, Wortley became increasingly less attentive and left Lady Mary for long periods of time alone in the country or with unfamiliar relatives while he went off on business trips or political campaigns.

Lady Mary's letters demonstrate her concern over his lack of attention. While separated from him at one point, she wrote:

> . . . I check my self when I greive for your Absence by remembering how much reason I have to rejoyce in the hope of passing my whole life with you, a good fortune not to be valu'd.[16]

A little later she expressed a similar concern:

> I sometimes imagine you are not well, and sometimes that you think it of small importance to write, or that greater matters have taken

> up your thoughts.--This last imagination is too cruel for me; I will fancy your Letter has miscarry'd, tho' I find little probability to think so.[17]

Still later her letters become more formal:

> I shall be easy in any place where your Affairs or your Pleasure makes it necessary for me to be, and upon no Occassion will ever shew an Inclination contrary to yours. You need be in no pain about me, farther than consulting your own Mind what will please you best, and you may securely depend on its pleasing me.[18]

Indeed, these letters show the beginnings of a marriage that was troubled by disagreements and apathy. Initially Lady Mary tried to get Wortley to express concern for her and their son, but eventually she learned to live without any overt show of affection. Halsband describes the relationship well:

> The cynicism in her previous feeling had apparently been dissolved by her marriage. But Wortley's insensitivity, shown so often during his courtship, had not been lessened. On the contrary, he became casual and neglectful. At least, that is suggested by their letters during the first years of their marriage.[19]

Her loneliness was increased by the rupture with her father over the elopement and the consequent estrangement from her brother and sister. Although her father and she were reconciled in 1714, they did not reach a monetary settlement. Even so, Lady Mary could feel herself a member of her family once again.[20]

In 1715 she returned to London from the country and settled into the social life of court and town. She cultivated the friendship of George I and his two German

mistresses. She also began to move into London's literary circle, meeting the Italian scholar, philosopher, and poet, the Abbé Conti, with whom she exchanged letters; Congreve; Gay; the physician and wit, Dr. John Arbuthnot; the portrait painter Charles Jervas; and Pope.[21] Lord Hervey and Pope helped her with her literary efforts, correcting and polishing them.

In December her activities were interrupted by smallpox. The disease had already killed her brother; now she was faced with disfigurement, possibly death. Although she survived the disease, it left her beauty impaired--her eyelashes were gone and her skin was pitted.[22] All the same, she remained attractive to men; Pope, for example, continued to write her love letters, even as she made her way to Turkey in 1716 with her husband, then newly appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Porte.[23]

Wortley's task as mediator between Austria and Turkey was to prevent their going to war and upsetting the balance of power in Europe.[24] But while his trip has long since been forgotten, her's has not. As Halsband notes:

> None of the newspaper reports or official documents mentioned the Ambassador's wife, yet her part in his Embassy was to make her famous throughout Europe, and her journey to the East would be remembered long after his mission was forgotten.[25]

Her journey is remembered because of the many letters she wrote describing the trip, the people, and the customs she encountered in Europe and in Turkey. Her letters from

Turkey contained especially carefully detailed descriptions of her observations. To the Abbé Conti she wrote on different religions, to Pope she expounded on Turkish poetry, including a sample of it, and to her sister Lady Mar and others, she elaborated on sights and social customs.

Even though she appeared to be a sophisticated and worldly woman, there is evidence that she did not take her motherly duties lightly. In England and in Turkey her letters and her actions reveal this motherly concern. When Edward, Jr. was a child, Lady Mary wrote to Wortley about a problem with his health. This letter is important for revealing her concern for her child. The letter shows that she displayed all of the traditional concerr that a mother has for a child. Following is an excerpt from it:

> I am in abudance of pain about our dear child. Thô I am convinc'd in my reason tis both silly and wicked to set one's heart too fondly on any thing in this world, yet I cannot overcome my selfe so far as to think of parting with him with the resignation that I ought to do.. I hope, and I beg of God he may live to be a comfort to us both. They tell me there is nothing extrodinary in want of teeth at his age, but his weaknesse makes me very app(rehensive). He is allmost never out of my sig(ht.). Mrs. Behn says that the cold Bath is the best medicine for weak children, but I am very fearfull and unwilling to try any hazardous Remedys. He is very cheerfull and full of play.[26]

The following portion of a letter also reveals some of Wortley's characteristics. This letter also concerns the child.

> I have no great Inclination to answer this last Letter. It might have been dircted to any body else, and I had rather it had been write to Grace,

> or to Mathew Northall; and you mention your little Boy with so slight a regard, I have no mind to inform you how he does. I have had a doctor to him, and he has advis'd me to a cold well 3 mile off. Thither I carry'd him with a beating heart tother day. I thank God he appears to gather strength since. To day Grace is gone with him again. He must go 9 times.[27]

In addition to these expressions of concern for her child, the determination she showed in getting her children inoculated against smallpox is an indication of her positive attitude toward her children. While she was in Turkey, Lady Mary observed the practice of inoculation for smallpox and had her son engrafted.[28]

Wortley's mission to Turkey failed, and he was recalled. Addison signed his friend's official recall and sent him a private letter which hoped to console him and to inform him of a new post--auditor of the imprint. In this letter of September 28, 1717, Addison attempted to lessen the blow to Wortley's ego:

> I find by his Majesty's way of speaking of you, that you are much in his favor and esteem, and I fancy you would find your ease and advantage more in being nearer his person than at the distance you are from him at present. . . .[29]

While his replacements, Sir Robert Sutton and the diplomat, Abraham Stanyan, were on their way, the Montagues prepared for their return to England. By now, the family had increased to four; prior to the trip home, Lady Mary had given birth to Mary, the later Lady Bute, wife of the prime minister.[30] The family decided to sail to Italy, travel across the Alps into France, visit Paris, and then

head back to England.[31] In Paris, Lady Mary unexpectedly met her sister, Frances. Frances, now Lady Mar, was married to a leader of the Jacobites. He had been expelled from England and with the King's permission, Lady Mar had joined him in Paris.[32]

Upon their return to England, the Montagues rented a town house at Covent Garden and a country house near Alexander Pope in Twickenham.[33] They settled down to the social life of aristocrats, and Wortley became engrossed in his family business matters--particularly coal mining, the basis of the family fortune.[34] Lady Mary and Pope became close friends, and he commissioned Sir Godfrey Kneller to paint a portrait of her wearing a Turkish costume. Even after Pope and Lady Mary had quarreled--no one knows the real reason for their disagreement--the portrait remained hanging in his best room.[35] One reason given for the falling out between the two is that Pope made serious advances to her and that she laughed at him. Another reason cited for their estrangement was political disagreement--she was a Whig and supported Walpole, and he was Tory and satirized him.[36] Peter Quennell discusses the various stories about the breakup and concludes that:

> Their quarrel, if a definite quarrel took place, probably originated not in any single episode, but in the very nature, the secret stresses and strains, of their curiously unequal friendship. For Lady Mary, it had been an amusing literary diversion; for Pope, an all-absorbing passion. . . Most love affairs are based on a misunderstanding; but Pope, being a great imaginative artist, had

> raised his private delusions to a high poetic level. When they parted, Lady Mary lost a valued friend, a flattering and gifted courtier; Pope, a whole complex array of precious memories and associations. We can only measure his pain by the extraordinary degree of violence with which, in later years, he was to attack her image.[37]

For whatever reasons, over time the close friends became bitter enemies.

Other problems also engrossed Lady Mary's attention. In 1721 a smallpox epidemic raged on the continent and threatened England. Even though some members of the Royal Society supported inoculation, many doctors opposed it. In April, Lady Mary decided to have her daughter inoculated. The event was witnessed by several physicians and helped to spread information about the disease and the successful use of inoculation. For example, the Princess of Wales, Caroline, had two of her children inoculated after she heard of Lady Mary's efforts to introduce the practice in England.[38] During the same year, Lady Mary persuaded George II to take an interest in it. Experiments were carried out on convicts, and when these were found to be successful, other persons were inoculated. The first small-pox hospital was, however, not opened until 1746, nearly twenty years after the Montagues had returned from Turkey, and physicians generally did not accept the practice until the seventeen-fifties. Even at that, the disease was not combatted successfully until the end of the century when Jenner discovered vaccination. Lady Mary had helped to lead the way, however,[39] and as late

as 1754, a pamphlet praised her for "bringing into her own country a practice of which ages to come will enjoy the benefit."[40]

Another problem which threatened Lady Mary's peace of mind was financial in origin. Along with many other people in 1720, she had invested in the South Sea Bubble. Because her name was on the subscription list, other people begged her to invest money for them; one of them was a Frenchman named Rémond. When the stock fell, he did not believe that the money was lost and charged her with having stolen it. He continued to threaten her even after she had offered to allow a lawyer to examine her accounts. At first she did not want her husband to know that she had taken money from Rémond because he might misconstrue such an action. But eventually she confessed or justified herself to him and the blackmail stopped.[41]

Still another problem that plagued Lady Mary at this time was the mental condition of her sister Lady Mar. Lady Mar had gradually become despondent and was committed to Lady Mary's care in March of 1728. Even though other members of the family contested her guardianship, Lady Mary retained custody of Lady Mar for several years. At the time Lady Mar would probably have been described as suffering from melancholy.[42] Her condition has been described as

> . . . fancies which now perplext her brain here, like the clouds, fleeting, inconstant, and sometimes in monstrous shapes.[43]

Eventually Lady Mar regained some peace of mind and became partially capable of taking care of herself. But since she was still given to fits of despondency, she went to live with her daughter.[44]

At the same time, Pope's attacks on Lady Mary continued, but she either ignored them, rose to the bait with attacks of her own, or dismissed him as a person of low birth. She was an aristocrat and said, in later years, that it had been a mistake to mingle with the lower classes. As she grew older, she condemned especially the "leveling principles" that exalted the lower classes.[45] In a letter to Lady Bute, she wrote for example that

> I wish to God I had always thought in the same manner yet the silly prejudices of my education had taught me to believe that I was to treat nobody as an inferior, and that poverty was a degree of merit: this imaginary humility has made me admit many familiar acquaintances, of which I have heartily repented everyone, and the greatest examples I have known of honour and integrity have been among those of the highest birth and fortune.[46]

If these reactionary views had been known, she would have been called an arrogant enemy of the poor. According to her, even Swift and Pope, because of their birth and heredity, deserved only to be a couple of footmen.[47] She had evidently forgotten that Rémond, a gentleman of high birth, did not display honor and integrity in his relationship with her.

George Paston writes that during the years 1722-1728, even though Lady Mary had these problems with Pope, Rémond, Lady Mar and the pox, by her own admission she took life as

it came and made the most of its pleasures. She was still young, fairly attractive, and, because of her wit and intelligence, received compliments and praise. Also, since her husband did not hold political office, she did not have to entertain as such, but could choose her own friends. Her closest female friends were the Duchess of Montagu, Lady Stafford, Lady Rich, and Molly Skerrett, the dull Lady Oxford, and Mary Astell. Her closest male friends were the Lords Hervey and Bathhurst, Robert Walpole, and Congreve.[48] Even though she seemed to devote herself exclusively to her social life, she continued with her writings (examined in Part III). But while she may have been able to ignore some problems and to enjoy her friends, the immediacy of some other difficulties could not be avoided.

In her own family, the children became problems as they grew older. The son, Edward Wortley Montagu, Jr. was a particularly difficult person and a life-long source of agony for his parents. In his biography of Edward, Jonathan Curling says that "from the first he seems to have decided that the best education was life."[49] He ran away from school twice--once going to Oxford in the belief that he was ready for University at thirteen and then signing on as a cabin boy on a ship sailing for Gibralter.[50] The rest of his life was just as colorful. He took a mistress at the age of thirteen and married a washerwoman at about the same age. He married several other women in the course of his life,

each without bothering to get divorced from any of his previous wives. All the while he ran up such tremendous debts that for a time he could not set foot in England. He got involved in forgery and libel and spent time in prison. Yet there was another side to Edward, Jr. He spoke several languages and wrote a few books, among them the Reflections on the Rise and Fall of the Antient Republicks. He joined the British army and served with some distinction. He even sat in Parliament after he had been allowed to return to England. In spite of his obvious talents and good training, he could not discipline himself and remained a source of anxiety to his parents and a delight to his contemporaries.[51]

Lady Mary's problems with her daughter were neither as serious nor as long lasting. Young Mary was quite plain and had always been a dutiful daughter. The difficulty arose when she decided to marry Lord Bute and to run away with him without parental consent at the age of eighteen. Forgetting their own past, Wortley and Lady Mary cut her off without a dowry.[52] But the marriage between Lord and Lady Bute turned out differently from that of her parents. The Butes stayed in love throughout their lives, were happy in their marriage, and had at least eleven children. As mother and daughter grew older, they corresponded frequently. Lady Mary was especially proud of her son-in-law when he became prime minister and forgot her earlier objections to him.[53]

With her two children gone, her marriage a mere facade, her sister in the care of a niece, Lady Mary decided in 1739 to leave England and to travel through France and to settle in Italy. One of the reasons for this plan was that she had met Francesco Algarotti, a handsome and charming young Italian. Even though he was half her age, she had fallen in love with him. She wrote him love letters, and he agreed to meet her in Italy. He admired the faded, but witty and charming woman, yet the passion originated mostly with her.[54] Although Lord Hervey was also in love with Algarotti and jealous of Lady Mary and Algarotti's attention to her, he acted as an intermediary and gave her advice.

At this point in life, Algarotti seems to have appealed to at least three different personalities--Lord Hervey in England, Lady Mary, awaiting him in Italy, and Frederick, the Crown Prince of Prussia. Algarotti and Frederick were compatible, and while Lady Mary was anxiously awaiting his arrival in Italy, Algarotti stayed in the Prussian court.[55] Eventually she and Algarotti met and stayed together for a short time. Even though Algarotti was bisexual, it seems doubtful, given Lady Mary's history of avoidance of physical relations with men, that the love affair was consummated. She seemed to realize the absurdity of the situation even as she wrote him passionate poems and letters.[56] Perhaps she was using Algarotti as an excuse for escaping England with all of its problems. In later years the two corresponded as friends.

It is not known if Wortley knew about Algarotti, but Lady Louisa Stuart, Lady Mary's granddaughter and chronicler, said of her grandparents that

> . . . their dispositions were unsuitable and Mr. Wortley felt it even as a lover. When at length convinced that in their case the approach of age would not have the harmonizing effect which it had sometimes been known to produce upon minds originally but ill-assorted, he was the very man to think within himself, 'If we cannot add to each other's happiness, why should we do the reverse? Let us be the friends at a distance which we could not hope to remain by continuing unequally yoked together.'[57]

Lady Mary and Wortley did remain friends in their letters, but they did not see each other again after Lady Mary left for the continent. She had a guaranteed income of £1,130 per annum. Although she did not mention the agreement in any of her letters, she did ask for her allowance in at least one of them.[58] One reason for their continued amicable contacts may be that she and Wortley had made appropriate financial and other arrangements before she left the island. She received annually £980 from him and kept the yearly bequest of £150 from her father's estate.

Before going on to Italy, Lady Mary had traveled in France and settled there temporarily even while France and England were at war. She then moved across the Alps, stopping in various places in Italy for shorter or longer periods of time. Finally she settled into country life, still reading and writing, but also gardening, making bread and butter, and living the life of a country woman.[59] Thus Lady

Mary returned to some of those domestic pursuits she had learned in her father's household. She finally seemed able to combine the domestic with the intellectual.

She saw many English visitors as they traveled through, among them Horace Walpole. He remembered her as an oddly-dressed eccentric about whom everyone laughed; but then his viewpoint may have been colored by the fact that she was a friend of Molly Skerrett, his father's ex-mistress and wife.[60]

After Wortley died in January, 1761, leaving the bulk of his estate to Lady Bute, Lady Mary returned to England and died of cancer six months later in 1762.[61] Elizabeth Montagu visited her shortly before her death and found her fascinating, lively, beautiful in a way, and retaining all of her old wit and intelligence. As she put it: "Lady Mary neither thinks, speaks, acts, nor dresses like anybody else."[62]

NOTES

1. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, pp. 1-2.
2. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
3. Ibid., p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 6.
6. Ibid., pp. 4-8.
7. Ibid., p. 8.
8. Ibid., p. 9.
9. Ibid., p. 9.
10. Ibid., pp. 15-23.
11. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:26-27. Letter to Wortley /April, 1710/.
12. Ibid., 1:26. Letter from Wortley, April 8 /1710/.
13. George Paston /Emily Morse Symonds/, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Her Times (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), p. 31.
14. Susan Hale, Men and Manners of the Eighteenth Century (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., 1898), p. 14.
15. Ibid., p. 14.
16. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:169. Letter to Wortley, October 22 /1712/.
17. Ibid., p. 170. Letter to Wortley /October, 1712/.
18. Ibid., p. 194. Letter to Wortley /August 10, 1713/.
19. Halsband, The Life of Lady Mary, p. 30.
20. Ibid., p. 41.
21. Ibid., p. 48.
22. Ibid., p. 51.

23. Ibid., p. 55.

24. Peter Smithers, The Life of Joseph Addison (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 369.

25. Halsband, The Life of Lady Mary, p. 56.

26. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:209. Letter to Wortley dated /26 July 1714/.

27. Ibid., pp. 210-211. Letter to Wortley dated /c. 30 July 1714/.

28. Halsband, The Life of Lady Mary, p. 81.

29. Henry G. Bohn, The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison 6 vols. (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1856), 6:492. Also Smithers, The Life of Joseph Addison, p. 389.

30. Smithers, The Life of Joseph Addison, pp. 389-390.

31. Halsband, The Life of Lady Mary, p. 90.

32. Ibid., p. 91.

33. Ibid., p. 97.

34. Ibid., p. 123.

35. Ibid., pp. 97-99.

36. Rae Blanchard, Philological Quarterly XXXVI (July 1957):3. This is contained in a review of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, The Nonsense of Common-Sense, 1737-38.

37. Peter Quennell, Alexander Pope, the Education of Genius (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), p. 173.

38. A. S. Tuberville, English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 112.

39. Duncan Taylor, Fielding's England (New York: Roy Publishers, Inc., 1966), pp. 144-145.

40. Halsband, The Life of Lady Mary, p. 255. The pamphlet was written by James Burges, Account of the Preparation and Management Necessary to Inoculation, p. 3.

41. Ibid., pp. 105-108. Substantive proof that she and Rémond were not lovers cannot be found, but given Lady Mary's tendency to defuse her relationships with other men, including Pope and possibly her husband, one can agree that she did the same with Remond. She seemed to need the companionship of men, but did not wish to have a physical relationship with them.

42. Ibid., pp. 133-138. Lawrence Babb in his book The Elizabethan Malady, A Study of Melancholia in English Literature From 1580 to 1642 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1951) describes the prevalance of this disorder. E. M. W. Tillyard in the Elizabethan World Picture (New York: Vintage Books, n.d.) examines the four humors which dominate man's existence. Both authors describe what happens when the balance is upset within the body and the brain. Babb says,

> The brain and the body become melancholic. While the mind is active, moreover nature neglects the stomach and liver, with the result that digestion is poor and its product melancholic. Finally, the physical inactivity which meditation involves hinders proper evacuation. For these various reasons the animal spirit becomes tainted with melancholy and the mind grows sorrowful and fearful. (page 25).

Babb goes on to explain that,

> Before the time of Queen Anne, melancholy, as the name for morbid depression, had been largely replaced by hypochondria, spleen, hysteria, and vapors, all four terms denoting the same disorder. (p. 28, the italics are Babb's).

He says that this furnished the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century with a set of terms for these mental disorders (p. 28).

43. Ibid., p. 138.

44. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, pp. 133-138.

45. Ibid., p. 255.

46. Montagu, Complete Letters, 3:36. Also quoted in Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 255. Letter to Lady Bute; July 23 /1753/.

47. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, pp. 255-256.

48. Paston, Lady Mary and Her Times, p. 309.

49. Jonathan Curling, Edward Wortley Montagu, The Man in The Iron Wig (Stratford Place London: Andrew Melrose, 1954), p. 37.

50. Ibid., pp. 37-38.

51. Ibid., This brief summary of his life has been taken from various chapters in this biography. His tutors also claimed to have written the Reflections.

52. Ibid., p. 52.

53. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 243. The sources differ as to the number of children they had.

54. Ibid., Most of the details of Lady Mary's relationship with Algarotti are found in Chapter X, "The Leap for Another World," pp. 153-178.

55. Robert Halsband, Lord Hervey, 18th-Century Courtier (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 251. Pierre Gaxotte in Frederick the Great, trans. R. A. Bell (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942) examines Algarotti's relationship with Frederick. Frederick kept Algarotti around to amuse him, but would give him no definite position. Algarotti finally got permission to leave for Italy in 1753 (pp. 259-260).

56. Ibid., pp. 160, 191-192. This part of her personality is discussed in Part IV.

57. Curling, Edward Wortley Montagu, p. 53.

58. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 189. This information is taken from the Wortley Manuscript, i. 361-2, 363-4. Compare this to Wortley's letter of June 17, 1740, 3:194.

59. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary. This very brief summary of her travels is taken from Chapter XI, "Venetian Civilities," and Chapter XIV, "Retirement in Brescia," pp. 179-199 and 236-261. Lady Mary's travels will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.

60. Ibid., p. 204.

61. Ibid., p. 286.

62. John Doran, A Lady of the Last Century (London: R. Bentley, 1873; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1973), p. 129.

PART III

LADY MARY, HER LITERARY WORK AND LIFE STYLE

An examination of Lady Mary, her literary work, her travels and the letters which resulted from them, her style of life, and her relationship with friends and enemies helps to put her into proper perspective and to show her influence on her contemporaries. The two facets of her personality--her romanticism and her cynicism--continued to assert themselves and to fuse in varying degrees. The synthesis between these two contradictory elements produced an exceptional and complicated woman. These elements of her personality are reflected in her literary efforts.

Lady Mary pursued all phases of literary work--she wrote romances, letters, essays, poems, even a short history of England which she destroyed. She encouraged authors, particularly her cousin, Henry Fielding, and helped them by offering critical advice on their works. She read novels, the new literary form coming into being during the eighteenth century, serious works, and translated Latin and Greek philosophers.

One of the first literary works which she read and criticized was a play Addison had written about the death of

Julius Caesar's opponent Cato. Addison saw Cato as a Whig patriot who was opposed to the tyrannical rule of the Tories. Wortley sent the play to Lady Mary asking her to criticize it--he wanted to provide his friend Addison with a sounding board and his wife with some reading while she was in the country.[1]

Lady Mary reviewed the play thoroughly. She praised the characters and urged Addison to present the play on stage. When it was performed at the Drury Lane Theatre, it was an immediate success. She also suggested that Addison expand the soliloquy on the immortality of the soul and that he end each act with rhymed couplets; Addison followed these suggestions as well.[2] In order to avoid any sign of partisanship, Pope, a Tory, wrote the prologue, and Dr. Garth, a Whig, wrote the epilogue. However, Addison did not use Lady Mary's proposed epilogue.

Henry Fielding sought Lady Mary's help in 1730 when he sent her the play, The Modern Husband. This was a serious social comedy about vice in fashionable society. Even though the audience was shocked by the character of the husband when the play was staged in 1732, it became a moderate success. Fielding later acknowledged Lady Mary's contribution to this success; she had suggested the improvement of the characterization of Lady Charlotte Gaywit, a young lady of fashion and one of Fielding's best characters. Halsband says that

> Of all the men of letters whom Lady Mary patronized in one way or another, Fielding repaid her the most appreciation. The next year he dedicated to her his anonymous adaptation of a Moliere comedy, with praise for her taste, judgment, genius, and good nature. . .[3]

Wilbur Cross reports that Fielding also said that Lady Mary's "accurate judgment has long been the glory of her own sex and the wonder of ours."[4]

Lady Mary acted as a patroness to several other writers giving them money as encouragement and helping them with constructive advice. Edward Young was one of the recipients of her patronage, and he acknowledged her help with The Brothers, one of his verse tragedies. In a letter to her, he acknowledged that "The more I think of your criticisms, the more I feel the just force of them."[5] She even criticized the works of Voltaire. In 1727, when the young philosophe was in England, he wrote an Essay on Epic Poetry and asked a number of persons to criticize it. Edward Young tried to explain errors in it to Voltaire, but the Frenchman laughed at him. He did not become angry, however, when Lady Mary said that "she simply did not believe he had written it: the English was too good to be by him and too poor to be by a distinguished person."[6] Later he expressed "admiration for her intellect, verse, and letters."[7]

Her criticisms of novels, especially in the latter part of her life, were not usually directed at the writers themselves, but written from Italy for her daughter. They are

her considered reflections on the novels of men like Fielding, Richardson, and Smollett. She asked her daughter to send books to her and anxiously awaited each shipment. When a new box arrived, she sometimes stayed up all night reading. It was one of the ways in which she kept in contact with her old life and her old friends.[8] At one point she asked her daughter for more books, writing that

> I thank God my taste still continues for the gay part of reading. Wiser people may think it trifling, but it serves to sweeten life to me, and is at worst better than the generality of conversation.[9]

She also thought that reading occupies more suitably than gossip or cards and that persons, especially women, who can read and entertain themselves, have an advantage. She believed additionally that ignorance is the basis of bad morals and poor conduct.[10]

Fielding was Lady Mary's favorite author, preferring his Joseph Andrews and finding his Tom Jones agreeable. In addition, she enjoyed memoirs of all kinds. In this genre she liked especially The History of Pompey The Little, the adventures of a London lapdog, written by Francis Coventry in the form of a memoir, because it delighted her with its picture of London manners.[11] Her opinion of Richardson's Pamela and Clarissa Harlowe was not as laudatory. Even if she had to admit to crying over the adventures of his heroines, she found his efforts long, tedious, and sentimental. She believed that he "had distorted the morality and manners

of his heroines to present a grossly inaccurate picture of upper-class life."[12]

Although Lady Mary proved a valuable critic at times, she seemed untrustworthy at others. She allowed her judgment to be influenced by her opinion of the author. For example, before the disagreement with Pope, she believed him to be one of the greatest living poets. After their argument, she called his verses "all sound and no sense." Indeed, according to Paston and many others, Pope could "compress more meaning into fewer words than almost any other writer in our language."[13] Her opinion of Richardson's work was also influenced by her opinion of him. But he, too, made unwarranted assumptions. In the following quote, he describes Miss Barnevelt, believed to be a caricaturization of Lady Mary,

> A lady of masculine features, and whose mind belied not those features; for she has the character of being loud, bold, free, even fierce when oppos'd; and affects at all times such airs of contempt of her own sex, that one almost wonders of her condescending to wear petticoats . . . .[14]

In addition to her criticisms of the works of others, Lady Mary produced her own. Her poems were circulated among her friends and helped to secure her reputation as a literary innovator who was more than an interested observer nor just a critic of the work of others. The most important set of her poems is entitled Town Eclogues and was published by Curll in 1716 without her permission. The set includes six poems, and they show the social types and manners of the

day by focusing on the vanity of human beings.[15] In the 1716 edition, Gay, Pope, and Lady Mary wrote the first three town eclogues, all being based on Virgil's use of the pastoral eclogues and incorporating Gay's suggestion that they be done as satiric town eclogues. He had turned the Roman shepherds and shepherdesses into London gallants and ladies who suffered from similar loves and vanities.

Lady Mary began the set with "The Basset Table." It concerns one lady's passion for cards and another's passion for a faithless lover. Later on she added "The Drawing Room," a daring and dangerous piece because it criticized as immoral the Princess of Wales' court.[16] Here is a sample from it:

> Ah! worthy choice! not one of all your train
> Whom censure blasts not, and dishonours
> stain. . . .
> A greater miracle is daily view'd,
> A virtuous Princess with a court so lewd.
> I know thee, Court! with all they
> treach'rous wiles,
> Thy false caresses and undoing smiles!
> Ah! Princess, learn'd in all the courtly arts
> To cheat our hopes, and yet to gain our hearts.[17]

During her recovery from smallpox, she added the three eclogues "St. James Coffee House," "The Tete-a-Tete," and "Small Pox." In the first of these, two gallants compare their love affairs. In the second, Dacinda reproves her lover for pursuing her, and then helps him escape down the backstairs when her husband returns home unexpectedly. In the third, Flavia says goodbye to the social set because the pox ruined her beauty. This one is, of course, an autobiographical piece since Lady Mary had herself just suffered from the disease.[18] Here is a portion of the third poem:

> The wretched Flavia on her couch reclin'd,
> Thus breath'd the anguish of a wounded mind,
> A glass revers'd in her right hand she bore,
> For now she shun'd the face she sought before.
> "How am I chang'd! alas! how am I grown
> A frightful spectre, to myself unknown!
> Where's my complexion? where my radiant bloom,
> That promis'd happiness for years to come?
> Then with that pleasure I this face surveyed!
> To look once more, my visits oft delay'd!
> Charm'd with the view, a fresher red would rise,
> And a new life shot sparkling from my eyes![19]

Although Lady Mary must have spent some moments thinking like Flavia, she did not allow herself to withdraw from the world or to be overcome with self pity. She believed that beauty was transistory and that women should be admired for attributes other than beauty.

All of these poems are essentially comments on the pettiness of social customs, manners, and life. In some of them she examined more closely one of these social customs--marriage. But, her best satiric verse on marriage was a cynical response to an epitaph Pope had written on two country lovers who had sought shelter from a storm in a haystack. The man had attempted to shield the girl from the storm, and both were struck by lightning. Pope wrote a moving and sentimental epitaph to be placed on their common grave, concluding with:

> Hearts so sincere, th' Almighty saw well
> pleas'd,
> Sent his own lightning, and the Victimes
> seiz'd.[20]

He sent the verses to Lady Mary and noted that the best monument for the two would be a tear from her eyes.[21] He was sure that she would be as moved as he by the event. She was not so easily moved, however, and her verses may reflect the disappointment with her marriage.

> Here lyes John Hughes and Sarah Drew;
> Perhaps you'l say, what's that to you?
> Believe me, Freind, much may be said
> On this poor Couple that are dead.
> On Sunday next they should have marry'd,
> But see how oddly things are carry'd.
> On Thursday last it rain'd and Lighten'd;
> These tender Lovers sadly frighten'd
> Shelter'd beneath the cocking Hay
> In Hopes to pass the storm away.
> But the bolder Thunder found them out
> (Commission'd for that end no Doubt)
> And seizing on their trembling Breath,
> Consign'd them to the Shades of Death.
> Who knows if 'twas not kindly done?
> For had they seen the next Year's Sun
> A Beaten Wife and Cuckold Swain
> Had jointly curs'd the marriage chain.
> Now they are happy in their Doom
> For P/ope/ has wrote upon their Tomb.[22]

But Lady Mary was not a complete cynic in regard to life and love. For example, she wrote a moving poem, The Lover. Even though it was addressed to Congreve, the invocation in the manuscript is to "Molly," possibly her friend Molly Skerrett.[23] One of the stanzas reads:

> And that my delight may be solidly fixed,
> Let the friend and the lover be handsomely
> mixed;
> In whose tender bosom my soul may confide,
> Whose kindness can soothe me, whose counsel
> can guide.[24]

Here Lady Mary's idealism comes through, and the cynicism of other poems is put in proper perspective. In addition to

these poems and letters which commented on society, she wrote works with a more serious purpose.

Some of her feminist work is devoted to an attempt to redress the injustice of English divorce laws.[25] Her most important poem of this genre is the "Epistle from Mrs. Y_____ to her Husband, 1724." The poem is based on the divorce of William Younge. Younge had applied for and received the divorce because of infidelity. The Court of Common Pleas awarded him damages of £1,500 from Colonel Norton, the correspondent in the case. Mrs. Young lost her dowry of £1,200 per annum and the greatest part of her fortune; only an allowance of £400 per annum remained. This in spite of the fact that Younge had been involved in various infidelities himself; but he was protected by a double standard. Earlier in 1724, his wife had left him because of his infidelities, but when he discovered that she had been unfaithful with Colonel Norton, he was able to proceed against her. Lady Mary's poem deals with this unhappy situation by providing a restatement of the case, a detailing of the events which led up to it, and a plea for fairer divorce laws. It is moreover a protest against the unequal treatment of women in extant divorce laws.[26] As the poem itself illustrates:

> All Bargains but conditional are made,
> The Purchase void, the Creditor unpaid,
> Defrauded Servants are from Service free,
> A wounded Slave regains his Liberty.
> For Wives ill us'd no remedy remains,
> To daily Racks condemn'd, and to eternal
> Chains.
> . . .

This wretched Out-cast, this abandonn'd Wife,
Has yet this Joy to sweeten shameful Life,
By your mean Conduct, infamously loose,
You are at once m'Accuser, and Excuse.[27]

As she was making her statement, Lady Mary had to solve the problem of winning the reader's sympathy for conduct which would normally be condemned. She did this by attacking the injustices that come about when men and women are subjected to different rules of conduct, by showing marriage in images of prison and torture, and by highlighting the humble acceptance of the verdict and the admission of guilt by Mrs. Younge.[28] In addition, she showed a pitiful, weak woman with all the political, social and legal forces arrayed against her in their support of the male. Thus the woman was made to appear as the victim rather than the criminal.

Lady Mary wrote many other poems, essays, and comments about the male-female relationship. Some quotations from these will illustrate her ability to express her views. She believed that "Nature could not have placed us in an inferior position to men."[29] As proof she noted that females of other animals were not so placed. On a copy of Paradise Lost, she noted that Adam was only faithful to Eve because he had no other choice.[30] She developed this idea further in an epilogue to a play about Mary, Queen of Scots, by the Duke of Wharton:

If you will Love, love like Eliza, then,
Love for Amusement, like those Traitors, Men.[31]

But she did not only blame men for the faults of marriage--she believed that compliant or money-hungry women were also to blame.

Who legal Prostitutes for Interest's sake,
Clodios and Timons to their Bosom take. . .
Those, Titles, Deeds, and Rent-Rolls only wed,
Whilst the best Bidder mounts their venal Bed;
And the grave Aunt and formal Sire approve
This Nuptial Sale, this Auction of their Love.[32]

One of Lady Mary's favorite literary vehicle was the essay. Her first was published as Spectator, No. 573. In June of 1714, Addison had written a satiric letter (No. 561) about a group of widows, headed by a Mrs. President, who consoled themselves rather quickly after each of their husband's deaths by taking another husband. Mrs. President was about to take her seventh husband. Lady Mary took the title of Mrs. President and answered Addison's letter by defending the club of widows through a detailing of the foibles of her previous six husbands. Her seventh suitor--Edward Waitfort--had also been her first suitor, for he had waited patiently for her through her first six marriages and widowhoods. Here is the opening of the essay:

> You are pleased to be very merry, as you imagine, with us widows; and you seem to ground your satire on our receiving consolation so soon after the death of our dears, and the number we are pleased to admit for our companions; but you never reflect what husbands we have buried, and how short a sorrow the loss of them was capable of occasioning.[33]

In another essay, this one in The Nonsense of Common-Sense, Lady Mary took women to task. In the second issue,

she chided them for selfishness and frivolity, believing that they were unthinking in their interaction with men. She continued that

> I do not look upon them /women/ as Objects of Plesure, but I compassionate the many Hardships both Nature and Custom has subjected them to.--I never expose the Foibles to which Education has inclined them; but, contrary to all other Authors, I see, with a favourable Eye, the little Vanities with which they amuse themselves; and am glad they can find, in the imaginary Empire of Beauty, a Consolation for being excluded every Part of Government in the State.--But with all this Fondness for them, I am shock'd when I see their Influence prevail; in Opposition to Reason, Justice, and the common Welfare of the Nation.[34]

With this essay she emphasized that even if women could not take an active part in government, they did have an influence on it and should think about that influence.

She wrote another essay in January, 1738; this one in the sixth issue of The Nonsense of Common-Sense. In it she defended women's roles as men's helpmates since this situation was as the Creator had designed it. She also developed one of her favorite themes, namely, that women should be admired for qualities other than beauty. These qualities included strength of character, loyalty, and willingness to share the burden of life. As she put it:

> I have some Thoughts of exhibiting a Set of Pictures of such meritorious Ladies, where I shall say nothing of the Fire of their Eyes, or Pureness of their Complexions; but give them such Praises as befits a rational Sensible Being: Virtues of Choice, and not Beauties of Accident.[35]

Lady Mary discussed two other related areas in The Nonsense of Common-Sense: politics and the social scene. Many of her defenses of Robert Walpole's politics and policies had to be done in a circuitous fashion since she could not be open; many of her readers would have deserted her if she had not done so.[36]

She defended especially Walpole's attempts to avoid war with Spain. Many of his opponents believed that he was being unnecessarily conciliatory and that war with Spain was necessary in order to show England's strength. In The Nonsense of Common-Sense Lady Mary wrote in defense of his policy:

> In this Production of my Art, I can assure you, I rejoice exceedingly; for I do not know but I may thereby be able to preserve the Tranquillity of Europe, and to prevent this Country, which I beg leave now to call my own, from being involved in a War with Spain: I am sure I shall at least remove one of the Reasons we have for going to War, and the principal one with all polite Ladies and Gentlemen, which is that of their having rob'd us of that charming Singer, in whom we certainly had an undoubted Property, by that very Title upon which they lay claim to the whole Continent and Islands of America, I mean the first Possession. I say I shall remove this chief Reason for a War; because my Copy will serve our Purpose every bit as well as the Original, and will cost us much less Money yearly; and surely we are not become such Don Quixots, as to go to War meerly for a Point of Honour, which, when obtained, would be a Prejudice to the Nation.[37]

Lady Mary also upheld his domestic policies and his use of the excise tax on luxury items; and she attacked the press for its opposition to him. In an attack on luxury,

she managed to help Walpole in his attempts to bolster the woolen industry. Here is an example of this support:

> I begin with the Regulation of the present Mourning, which is so highly advantageous to the Woollen Manufacture, the staple Commodity of these Kingdoms, the natural Growth of our own Lands, and the Support of the Poor, reduced now to a very low Ebb, by the Luxury and ill Taste of the Rich, and the fantastick Mimickry of our Ladies, who are so accustomed to shiver in Silks, that they exclaim at the Hardships of Warmth and Decency.[38]

This essay continues on in the same vein and ends as a protest against the cruelty and oppression of workers:

> Footmen and Coaches never appeared to me amongst the Necessaries of Life.--I own I am a Friend even to every Tax that is or can be laid on Superfluities; and I am so compassionate towards the industrious Poor, as to see with Horror the Oppressions of the wholesale Monpolizers over the miserable workers.[39]

Even though she expressed similar views on luxury and waste, she did not relinquish her title, money or aristocratic privileges. A further contradiction lies in that Walpole himself liked the good life and enjoyed spending money. After he succeeded his father, he moved into the political world and the social sphere with accompanied it. As J. H. Plumb describes this life,

> /T/he Walpoles succeeded in cutting a figure and their social success may be measured, not only by the dukes who attended their ball, but also by the election of Walpole himself to the Kit-Cat Club--the most exclusive and fashionable of all Whig clubs. In rotation each member acted as host, vying with other members in the production of exotic food and magnificent wines. When Walpole's turn came round he bewildered Wrott by his request for ruffs and reeves.[40]

Although many of her essays had a serious theme, she used humor, as do most satirists, to convey a message. One such essay, it is her most amusing, is in the third issue of The Nonsense of Common-Sense. It is concerned with the adulation of Italian singers and of opera. She proposed to construct an artificial statue which would sing as long as the hearer desired.

> By my Art, I have found out a Method of making a Statue imitate so exactly the Voice of any Singer that ever did, or ever can appear upon the Stage, that I'll defy the ravished Hearer to distinguish the one from the other. Nay, what is more, this Statue shall sing any Opera Air the Audience pleases to call for and shall chant it over again and again, as long as they please to cry, Ancora, which is an Honour, I presume, they will as often confer upon my artificial Machines, as ever they did upon any of the natural Machines of Italy; . . .[41]

She concluded the essay by saying that this proposal would save the nation a vast amount of money. The young would not have to travel to Italy and France to view what Italians and Frenchmen have produced. The same materials--Italian pictures, statutes, busts, and antiques and French valets and cooks--could be produced in England and the money could be spent at home instead of being taken abroad.[42] Again, a contradiction--Lady Mary loved to travel and lived the last of her life in Italy.

While her poems and essays were for the most part written in England, her letters were written during her travels. For this reason, it is useful to consider her travels and letters together. Many letters to her daughter must be

considered as being feminist because they urged the education of her granddaughters. Here is a sample of this advice:

> Thus every Woman endeavors to breed her Daughter to be a fine Lady, qualifying her for a station in which she will never appear, and at the same time incapacitating her for that retirement to which she is destin'd. Learning (if she has a real taste for it) will not only make her contended but happy in it. No Entertainment is so cheap as reading, nor any pleasure so lasting.[43]

But she included a warning about learning; her granddaughter was "to conceal whatever Learning she attains with as much solicitude as she would hide crookedness or lameness."[44] Lady Mary believed that learning in a woman excited hatred and envy in her acquaintances. Yet knowledge can lessen the passions and enhance the ability to be content with life.[45]

Lady Louisa Stuart was the only granddaughter who continued in Lady Mary's footsteps and showed a desire for knowledge.[46] In her earlier life she had been discouraged from reading books and from being similar to her grandmother. As Lady Louisa recalled it later,

> It was this reproach /from Lady Bute/ that first informed me I had even had a grandmother, and I am sure I heartily hated her name. Whatever I wanted to learn, everybody was up in arms to oppose it, and represent that if I indulged in it, I should become such a pedant nobody would be able to bear me.[47]

Lady Mary's efforts to get all of her granddaughters educated did not succeed. Lady Bute used the excuse that education was too expensive, but the adverse effect it supposedly had on her own mother was probably more decisive in forming her opinions. She held the prevalent conservative and

conventional attitudes that women should not be educated and should be subject to their husbands. Aside from Lady Bute, Lady Louisa was the only other person to read Lady Mary's journal before it was burned.[48] Thus Lady Louisa was well-qualified in other ways as well to write the Introductory Ancedotes to Lord Wharncliffe's edition of her grandmother's works.[49]

Aside from providing many feminist statements on education, marriage, social customs, and injustices in the political system, Lady Mary's letters are important because they contain details of her trips and are important literary contributions. Of the letters she sent to family and friends, only a few have survived. But from notes in her journal the letters were reconstructed and as the Turkish Embassy Letters provided a full record of her thoughts, activities and observations.[50] Even if the letters available now are in part reconstructed, they reflect in many instances the essence of what Lady Mary wrote to her friends.

The actual details of the trip through Holland and Germany and southeast toward Vienna do not need recounting here. Lady Mary's impressions of Turkey are more relevant here. When the Montagues reached Belgrade, she had her first view of the duality of Turkish life--the despotic barbarism and the opulent culture.

In Belgrade, the Montagues stayed with Achmet Bey, a cultivated and educated man, who introduced his guest to the

literature and institutions of his country. He read and explained to her Arabian poetry and told her that educated Turks believed in Deism because Islam contained superstitions which appealed to the masses just like those in many Christian religions. She wrote to the Abbé Conti that

> Mohametism is divided into as many Sects as Christianity, . . . I cannot here forbear refflecting on the natural Inclination of Mankind to make Mysterys and Noveltys. The Zeidi, Kadari, Jabari, etc. put me in mind of the Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, etc., and are equally zealous against one Another. But the most prevailing Opinion, . . . is plain Deism, but this is kept from the people who are amus'd with a thousand Different notions according to the different interests of their Preachers.[51]

In regard to other institutions, she found that the city, outside her host's home, although ruled by a pasha, was controlled by fierce Janissary troops. She described them to Lady Bristol;

> This may give some idea of the unlimited power of these fellows, who are all sworn Brothers and bound to revenge the injurys done to one another, whither to Cario, Aleppo, or any part of the World; and this inviolable League makes them so powerfull, the greatest Man at the Court never speaks to them but in a flattering Tone, and in Assia any Man that is rich is forc'd to enroll himselfe a Janizary to secure his Estate.[52]

After the Montagues reached Adrianople, Lady Mary often walked alone through the streets dressed in a Turkish costume so that she might observe more completely and freely the local customs. In one letter she described her attire to her sister:

> The first peice of my dresse is a pair of drawers, very full, that reach to my shoes and conceal the legs more modestly than your Petticoats. They are of a thin rose colour damask brocaded with silver flowers, my shoes of white kid Leather embrodier'd with Gold. Over this hangs my Smock of a fine white silk Gause edg'd with Embrodiery. This smock has wide sleeves hanging halfe way down the Arm and is clos'd at the Neck with a diamond button, but the shape and colour of the bosom very well to be distinguish'd through it.[53]

In Constantinople, she could look from her palace window onto what she considered the most beautiful prospect in the world:

> The unequal heights make it seem as Large again as it is . . . Shewing an agreeable mixtures of Gardens, Pine and Cypress trees, Palaces, Mosques and publick buildings, rais'd one above another with as much Beauty and appearance of Symetry as your Ladyship ever saw in a Cabinet adorn'd by the most skilfull hands, Jars shewing themselves above Jars, mix'd with Canisters, babys and Candlesticks.[54]

This letter illustrates the poetry of Lady Mary's expression; as a matter of fact, it is typical of her style.

In many of the letters which she wrote on this trip, she had a chance to comment on the women of other countries and to note the many differences between them and Englishwomen. On the way to Turkey she found interesting freedoms that she shared with her correspondents. In Vienna, for example, she noted that age was no barrier to romantic interludes and that women did not have to pretend fidelity to their husbands. She wrote that it is the established custom for every lady to have two husbands, one that bears the name, and another that performs the duties.[55] She concluded that different climates produce different morals and different religions, and their accuracy will not be determined until the day of

judgment.[56] Seeing these differences was a positive step in her mental development, and she began to view institutions in different countries with an open mind. A little later she presented the paradoxical view that Turkish women enjoy more freedoms than Englishwomen. Although confined to harems most of the time, they were allowed out on occasion, and then their costumes served them as disguises--they could meet lovers or husbands without being recognized. Sometimes their lovers were not even sure of their identities. They were thus confined to some degree in their harems but free in their romances.[57] She told her sister that

> You can easily imagine the number of faithful wives very small in a country where they have nothing to fear from a lover's indiscretion, since we see so many that have the courage to expose themselves to that in this world, and all the threatened punishment of the next which is never preached to the Turkish damsels.[58]

This, in effect, freed them from moral constraints as well as physical confinements to the harem. An incident which occurred at a hot bath in Sophia led her to develop further the notion that Turkish women were free and English women were enslaved. On April 1, 1717 she related this to an unknown correspondent:

> The first sofas were cover'd with Cushions and rich Carpets, on which sat the Ladys, and on the 2nd their slaves behind 'em, but without any distinction of rank by their dress, all being in the state of nature, that is, in plain English, stark naked, without any Beauty or deffect conceal'd, yet there was not the least wanton smile or immodest Gesture amongst 'em. . . . 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.

> I excus'd my selfe with some difficulty, they being all so earnest in perswading me. I was at last forc'd to open my skirt and shew them my stays, which satisfy'd 'em very well, for I saw they beleiv'd I was so lock'd up in that machine that it was not in my own power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my Husband.[59]

It is difficult today to make valid comparisons about the degree of female freedom in England and Turkey. The actual degree of freedom is open to conjecture in both areas, with Lady Mary tending to romanticize Turkish life. But even she had difficulty when confronted by the belief that Turkish women should be treated as something between man and beast and that they possessed an inferior soul. She rationalized such inconsistencies by noting that after death women enter their own paradise of eternal bliss apart from that of men. In addition, she may have been trying to satirize English society and the role of women there by comparing it with the obvious restrictions placed on Turkish women. Thus, while she explained their freedom in their love life, she did not indicate freedoms in other areas of their lives, including education, politics, or law. In a letter to the already mentioned Abbé Conti, she discussed women's position with regard to religion.

> . . . they reason that the End of the Creation of Woman is to encrease and Multiply, and she is only properly employ'd in the Works of her calling when she is bringing children or takeing care of 'em, which are all the Virtues that God expects from her; and indeed their way of Life, which shuts them out of all public commerce, does not permit them any other. Our Vulgar Notion that they do not own Women to have any Souls is a mistake. Tis true they say they are not of so elevated a Kind and therefore

> must not hope to be admitted into the paradise appointed for the Men, who are to be entertain'd by Celestial Beautys; but there is a place of Happyness destin'd for Souls of the Inferior Order, where all good Women are to be in Eternal bliss.[60]

After Wortley's recall to England, the family sailed through the Straits and the Aegean Sea to Italy. It was a voyage especially meaningful for Lady Mary because she could view the terrain of the classics. In the Hellespont, she could not help but think of Leander and Hero and--when they anchored within sight of Mount Ida and went to view the ruins of Troy--of Helen, Paris, and Menelaus. She had taken a copy of Homer with her and compared the landscape with his descriptions. She wrote to the Abbé Conti that,

> While I view'd these celebrated Fields and Rivers, I admir'd the exact Geography of Homer, . . . Allmost every Geography he gives to a Mountain or plain is still just for it, and I spent several hours in as agreable Cogitations as ever Don Quixote had on Mount Montesinos. We sail'd that night to the shore where tis vulgarly reported Troy stood and I took the pains of rising at 2 in the morning to view cooly those Ruins which are commonly shew'd to strangers.[61]

As indicated, after their return to England, Lady Mary remained with Wortley until 1739 and then set off to Italy. While the first trip had given her excitement and pleasure and showed her different ways of life, this one, at age fifty, helped her to find herself--to find personal awareness and peace. Although she missed England and constantly asked her daughter and friends for news of it, she found some of the contentment she had been seeking. Already in 1727 she had written to her sister that "I have a mind to cross the water,

to try what effect a new heaven and a new earth will have on my spirit."[62] With these words she indicated the search for something she had not found in England. The evidence of this contentment can be found in Lady Mary's letters to her daughter from her retirement home.

> . . . and I know by Experience it is in the power of Study not only to make solitude tolerable but agreable. I have now liv'd almost seven years, in a stricter Retirement than yours in the Isle of Bute, and can assure you I have never had halfe an hour heavy on my Hands for want of something to do.[63]

In many of her letters there is a general feeling of contemplation and relaxation. The reader discerns that she has accepted her new life.

She arrived in Venice two months after leaving England and traveling leisurely through France. She had been hoping to find solitude, but she encountered more acquaintances along the way than she wanted. As Halsband put it:

> At home she had outlived many of her friends and friendships; on the continent she met Europeons, even many of her own countrymen, whom she impressed with her charm and vivacity. . . . She had contemplated a solitary pilgrimage to Venice and private bliss in the company of a young Italian. Instead she had suffered too much company on the road, and had been entertained wherever she stopped.[64]

She met everyone except Algarotti, the one she wanted to meet. While awaiting him, she decided to go to Florence to visit Lady Pomfret. From there, she went on to Rome, Turin, Genoa, and Chambery. In May of 1742, she settled temporarily in Avignon.[65]

In the former papal city, her son visited her for two days. Because of his notorious reputation, she did not wish

anyone to know him, and he was supposed to travel under the name of Monsieur du Drand. But he disobeyed the instructions and revealed his identity. Although Lady Mary found him still light-hearted and able to converse on a variety of subjects with his usual facility and grace, he was no longer handsome--he had aged and grown fat.[66]

From 1746 to 1756, she then retired to Brescia. Because she had no passport, she had disguised herself as a Venetian lady and had traveled there with Count Palazzi. They had a harrowing trip to the Count's home. In part, their discomfort resulted from the Second Silesian War which had started in 1744 and continued in the west for three years after Frederick the Great's separate peace in 1745. When she and Count Palazzi were attempting to reach his home, they met several bands of soldiers on the road. She later described these events to her husband:

> Our Surprize was great to find coming out of that Town /Seravalle/ a large body of Troops surrounding a body of Guards, in the midst of which was Don Philip in person, going a very round trot, looking down and pale as ashes. The Army was in too much Confusion to take notice of us, and the night favouring us we got into the Town, but when we came there it was impossible to find any Lodging, all the Inns being fill'd with wounded Spaniards. The Count went to the Governour and ask'd a chamber for a Venetian Lady, which he granted very readily, but there was nothing in it but the bare Walls, and in less than a Quarter of an hour after, the whole House was empty both of Furniture and people, the Governor flying into the Citadelle and carrying with him all his goods and Family. We were forc'd to pass the night without Beds or Supper.[67]

When they finally reached Brescia, she was ill and had to

stay with the Count's mother until she recovered two months later.

The nature of Lady Mary's relationship with Palazzi is not completely known--it is another of her puzzling friendships. Since she never wrote her husband about the details of this involvement and since her journal was burned, few clues exist about its true nature. During the ten years she stayed near Brescia, she was on friendly terms with him, and he served as her escort. She also used one of his country houses near Gottolengo. But in 1756, she was planning legal action of some sort against him, dropping it without explanation. She claimed that he had swindled her, and it is clear that his family needed money. Maybe he thought he could get some money from her.[68]

Soon after she had moved to Italy, she was introduced to a female professor. She wrote to her daughter than when she first arrived in Italy she denied being a writer, but since no one believed her, she admitted it. Then she came to realize that

> the character of a learned Woman is far from being ridiculous in this country, the greatest Familys being proud of having produc'd female Writers, and a Milanese Lady being now proffessort of Mathematics in the University of Bologna, invited thither by a most obliging Letter wrote by the present Pope.[69]

Such observations further underlined the differences she observed in the female condition in different countries. By now she had reached the conclusion though that "there is no

part of the World where our Sex is treated with so much contempt as in England."[70]

In her retirement she wrote long letters and generally seemed content with life. In the following letter she reveals her wit, her philosophy of life, and some of the old fire:

> I can wish nothing better to you both, thó I have some reproaches to make you. Daughter, Daughter, don't call names. You are allwaies abusing my Pleasures, which is what no mortal will bear. Trash, Lumber, sad stuff, are the Titles you give to my favorite Amusements. If I call'd a white staff a stick of Wood, a Gold key gilded Brass, and the Ensigns of Illustrious Orders colour'd strings, this may be Philosophycally true, but would be very ill receiv'd. We have all our Playthings; happy are they that can be contented with those they can obtain. Those hours are spent in the wisest manner that can easiest shade the ills of Life, and are the least productive of ill Consequence.[71]

She also continued to correspond with Wortley until he died. Their letters usually concerned their son, the payment of her allowance, and articles she wished shipped from England. But her daughter had become her confidant.

At the age of sixty-seven Lady Mary moved to Venice and then to Padua. She resumed her friendship with Algarotti, among others, and engaged once more in a limited social life. Two individuals became especially close to her--Sir James Stewart and his wife Fanny. Sir James was a Scottish lawyer who had been exiled for his part in the 1745 Jacobite uprising. Even after they moved to Holland, they continued to exchange letters. Here is an example:

> I confess I never had faith in any other physician /than Dr. Sydenham/, living or dead. Mr. Locke places him in the same rank with Sir Issac Newton, and the Italians call him the English Hipocrates. I own I am charmed with his taking off the reproach which you men so saucily throw on our sex, as if we alone were subject to vapours. He clearly proves that your wise honourable spleen is the same disorder and arises from the same cause; but you vile usurpers do not only engross learning, power, and authority to yourselves, but will be our superiors even in constituion of mind, and fancy you are incapable of woman's weakness of fear and tenderness. Ignorance! I could produce such examples--
>
> Show me that man of wit in all your roll
> Whom some one woman has not made a fool.[72]

Lady Mary and Sir James enjoyed these kinds of arguments. When she decided to return to England after Wortley's death, she traveled through Germany and Holland because England and France were at war and she could not travel through France, and because she wanted to visit Sir James and Lady Fanny. When she arrived in England again in January of 1762, she renewed a few old friendships and saw many of her grandchildren for the first time.[73] Her last trip was completed.

Lady Mary's life style is revealed in her literary efforts which have been described above. Her travels and letters also show much of her personality. Her relationships with her family and friends also influenced her. George Paston believes that after Lady Mary became disillusioned with her marriage, she was determined to change her way of life.[74] She may have expected too much from marriage. She and Philippa Mundy, a friend of her teenage years, sometimes

speculated about marriage in their letters. To them, Paradise meant being married to a man one loved, Hell to a man one detested, and Purgatory to a man one could tolerate.[75] Lady Mary wrote to Philippa once that,

> I guesse Mr. Chester to be the Man; in point of prudence (contrary to point of Pleasure) you ought Not refuse him. 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, and I am very well convinc'd I shall never go to Hell, except 'tis to lead Apes there.[76]

This idealistic view of marriage is typical of most young women of that time, but adjustments had to be made in the first months of marriage even if a women were married to the man of her choice. Lady Mary may not have been able to make these adjustments, expecting "Paradise" where there could only be a realistic Earth. This failure to adjust may possibly be traced to the emphasis on intellectual training. It was the kind of training which could find no outlet in the society in which she found herself. A concentration on the typical domestic pursuits might have led to a more satisfied wife but also the loss of her talent to her contemporaries and the loss of later generations. As a satisfied wife she could have become a typical upperclass society woman concerned with the pursuits of some of her contemporaries--playing cards, spreading gossip, and taking a lover. In fact, at various times in her life, she entered into the social whirl, but her engagements did not last for long periods of time. She soon became bored with this type

of life and even the stimulation of living near the Court of St. James was not sufficient to keep her content.[77] Following is an example of the deadly routine which led to her dissatisfaction:

> On Mondays the Drawing-Room, Wednesdays the opera, and Thursdays the playhouse. On the other evenings of the week she visited ladies, and was served tea, cards, and gossip. In general it was 'a perpetual round of hearing the same scandal, and seeing the same follies acted over and over.[78]

In addition she also made enemies in this world and according to Paston:

> /she/, in the arrogrance of her youth and beauty, was impudent, tactless, and wholly wanted in finesse. Sometimes she was too kind to her admirers, and sometimes she ruthlessly laughed at them. She heartily despised the generality of her own sex, and she took no pains to hide her opinion of them.[79]

A well-founded, well-adjusted person often conforms to society's expectations and accepts life as it is. But Lady Mary was torn frequently between the domestic-social life lived by most women of her class and her own intellectuality. She also displayed strong romantic or sentimental and extremely cynical and logical elements in her personality. Thus she seemed to vacilate between extremes. These dichotomies caused her to experience deep inner conflicts.[80] If a number of contradictory elements bring about a complexity of character, Lady Mary had this sort of character. But precisely these characteristics made her writings and life style exceptional.

NOTES

1. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 32.

2. Robert Halsband, "Addison's Cato and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu," Publications of the Modern Language Association LXV (1950):1125-1126.

3. F. Homes Dudden, Henry Fielding: His Life, Works, and Times, 2 vols. (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1964), pp. 99-107. Dudden, in these pages, discusses Henry Fielding's opinion of Lady Mary and his acceptance of her advice and patronage. See also Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 139. There are two letters from Henry Fielding to Lady Mary in the Complete Letters in which he expresses his appreciation for her criticism. See page 93, volume 2, letter dated September 4, 1730 and page 96, volume 2, letter dated February, 1732.

4. Wilbur L. Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, 3 vols. (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963), p. 62.

5. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 119.

6. Ibid., p. 120.

7. Francois Marie Arouet de Voltaire, Philosophical Letters, trans. Ernest Dilworth (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1961), p. 43.

8. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 246.

9. Montagu, Complete Letters, 2:473. Letter to Lady Bute /December 24, 1750/.

10. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 252.

11. Ibid., p. 250.

12. Montagu, Complete Letters, 3:91-98. Also quoted in Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 256. Although there are many letters to Lady Bute in which Lady Mary discusses Richardson's works, this is the most thorough, letter dated October 20, 1755. See also letters dated December 8, 1754 and September 20, 1755.

13. Paston, Lady Mary and Her Times, p. 544. See Montagu, Complete Letters for Lady Mary's opinion of Pope after their disagreement, volume 3, pp. 52-59. Letter to Lady Bute, June 23 /1754/.

14. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 256.

15. Ibid., p. 206. See Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, The Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, ed. J. Dallaway 5 vols (London: R. Phillip, 1803) for copies of Lady Mary's poetry.

16. Robert Halsband, "Pope, Lady Mary, and The Court Poems (1716)," Publications of the Modern Language Association LXVIII (1953):237-244. I have followed Halsband in assigning the authors of the poems. Others disagree on which of the three, Gay, Pope, or Lady Mary wrote which poems or parts of poems.

17. Montagu, Works of Lady Mary, 5:105.

18. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, pp. 54-55.

19. Montagu, Works of Lady Mary, 5:123-124.

20. Alexander Pope, The Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. John Butt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 462.

21. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, pp. 91-92.

22. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:446.

23. Paston, Lady Mary and Her Times, p. 545.

24. Montagu, The Works of Lady Mary, 5:180-181.

25. Isobel Grundy, "Ovid and Eighteenth-Century Divorce: An Unpublished Poem by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu," Review of English Studies 23 (1972):418, 423-424.

26. Ibid., pp. 422-423. Isobel Grundy believes that Lady Mary's feminism must be viewed in proper perspective--no undue activism must be ascribed to it.

27. Ibid., p. 427.

28. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

29. Montagu, Complete Letters, 3:27.

30. Grundy, "Ovid and Eighteenth-Century Divorce," p. 427.

31. Montagu, The Works of Lady Mary, 5:133. Also quoted by Grundy, "Ovid and Eighteenth-Century Divorce," p. 427.

32. Grundy, "Ovid and Eighteenth-Century Divorce," p. 427. Grundy states that this poem has not been reprinted since the eighteenth century.

33. Joseph Addison, The Spectator, 5 vols. (Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1965), 4:561.

34. Montagu, The Nonsense of Common-Sense, p. 4. (Nine copies of The Nonsense of Common-Sense survive). She is writing this in the guise of a man.

35. Ibid., p. 28. This essay was reprinted in the January issue of The London Magazine.

36. Ibid., p. xxii.

37. Ibid., pp. 11-12. This was written on January 3, 1738. The italics are Lady Mary's. In this essay she proposed the productions of machines which sing opera and perform in plays. England had just lost such an artist to Spain when Farinelli went to the Spanish court. The authors of Common Sense charged the Spaniards with stealing Farinelli from England.

38. Ibid., p. 2.

39. Ibid., p. 3.

40. J. H. Plumb, Men and Centuries (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), p. 134. To substantiate this Plumb has quoted the Cholmondeley (Houghton)MSS, Letters, 1703-6. This manuscript is owned by the Marquess and Marchioness of Cholmondeley at Houghton.

41. Montagu, Nonsense of Common-Sense, p. 10. She is showing her disdain of the Italian male singers who were reputed to be castrated so that their voices would be higher and sweeter. She calls them "machines" because they lost one of the attributes which define them as human.

42. Ibid., p. 13.

43. Montagu, Complete Letters, 3:21. Letter to Lady Bute, dated January 28 /1753/.

44. Ibid., p. 22.

45. Ibid., p. 22.

46. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 266. Lady Louisa never married and was her mother's constant companion.

47. Ibid., p. 280.

48. Apparently Lady Bute burned the journal because it contained material which she found objectionable. Lady Bute was extremely conventional and may have viewed her mother's thoughts and/or actions as more outrageous than they were.

49. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 290. This important edition of the works is edited by Lord Wharncliffe. The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Worley Montagu, 1837. The third edition, edited by Thomas W. Moy, 1861 contains Introductory Anecdotes by Lady Louisa Stuart.

50. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 59.

51. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:317-318. Letter to Abbé Conti, dated April 1, /1717/. Also see Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 67.

52. Ibid., 1:325. Letter to Lady Bristol, dated April 1, /1717/. Also see Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 67.

53. Ibid., 1:326. Letter to Lady Mar, dated April 1, /1717/. Also see Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 70.

54. Ibid., 1:397. Letter to Lady Bristol dated April 10, /1718/. Halsband explains that "babys" are small bowls used in a game.

55. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:270. Letter to Lady Rich, dated September 20, /1716/.

56. Ibid., 1:272.

57. Ibid., 1:328. Letter to Lady Mar, dated April 1, 1717.

58. Ibid., 1:328-329.

59. Ibid., 1:313-314.

60. Ibid., 1:363. Letter to Abbé Conti dated May 29, /1717/.

61. Ibid., 1:420. Letter to Abbé Conti dated July 31, /1718/. Also see Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 89.

62. Ibid., 2:83. Letter to Lady Mar /September, 1727/.

63. Ibid., 3:25. Letter to Lady Bute, March 6, /1753/.

64. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 185.

65. Ibid., pp. 200-220. Halsband traces the course of her journey through and in Italy.

66. Ibid., pp. 221-222. Lady Mary wrote to Wortley about the results of their meeting.

67. Montagu, Complete Letters, 2:376. Letter to Wortley dated August 23, /1746/.

68. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, pp. 236-242.

69. Montagu, Complete Letters, 3:39. Letter to Lady Bute dated October 10, /1753/. Since she made such a special effort to mention this, it must have struck her as unusual, at least it would have been so in England.

70. Ibid., p. 40.

71. Ibid., 3:134. Letter to Lady Bute, September 30, 1757.

72. Ibid., 3:171-172. Letter to Sir James Steuart dated /September 5, 1758/.

73. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, pp. 236-237.

74. Paston, Lady Mary and Her Times, p. 202.

75. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:107. Letter to Philippa Mundy, dated /May 4, 1711/.

76. Ibid., 1:109. Letter to Philippa Munday dated September 25 /1711/.

77. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 45.

78. Ibid., p. 45.

79. Paston, Lady Mary and Her Times, p. 540.

80. These conflicts within herself and with regard to herself and her society will be shown at the end of Part Four. They are perhaps one of the many reasons that she turned to feminism and one of the reasons that she became a more complete person.

PART IV

LADY MARY'S MILIEU AND ITS EFFECT ON HER PERSONALITY

Eighteenth-century English women were restricted by their society to certain well-defined roles. Very few stepped outside of the ideal; fewer still spoke out against the confining and nullifying atmosphere which determined women's lives. Women were excluded from politics and from positions which would have helped to enhance various aspects of their lives. Vern Bullough believes that their influence has frequently been exaggerated. In contrast to such writers as the Goncourt brothers, he writes that

> There was . . . a new kind of hostility to women which appeared in force during the eighteenth century, different than the misogynism of an earlier period, namely, the so-called libertine literature which emphasized the sensuous and unstable nature of the female.[1]

He also argues that several of the philosophes who professed to be supporters of the expansion of female roles wrote works which showed women as victims of their passions.[2] Katherine B. Clinton believes that although the philosophes helped to establish the rationale for the feminist movement, they did display a negative side. She notes:

> Most of the philosophes conceded that the female was physically the weaker of the sex, and they were quick to point out that women displayed traits which men found unpleasant. Diderot observed that they were particularly violent in their passions and were easily swayed by superstitution, or popular opinion, while Grimm charged that many women were "artificial, hypocritical, full of trick".[3]

In "The Cage of Custom," Roberta Sarfatt Borkat describes some of the literature of the time which shows women as unthinking victims.

> Novels and plays abound in examples of insipid little girl-women who are cast as heroines if only they have the three qualities prescribed for the proto-Victorian ideal woman--beauty, chastity, and obedience. A characteristic damsel is Maria Thorowgood, daughter of a London merchant in George Lillo's cleverly-named play, The London Merchant. . . . /Maria/ removes the possibility that a passionate love would ever conflict with her filial obedience. Trusting her father to respect so unthreatening a love, she intones, "(As) you will not compel me to marry where I cannot love, love shall never make me act contrary to my duty," (I,i). Having displayed beauty, chastity, obedience, and the capacity for disembodied love, Maria exits prettily.[4]

The other side of this story is shown by Patricia Meyer Spacks; she writes about eighteenth-century authors who describe aggressive women who attempted to entrap males and gives as examples Congreve's Lady Wishfort and Coleridge's Geraldine.

> Different as these women--and their literary contexts--are, both hint the raging force of female sexuality. Between these two libidinous ladies occur many other female products of male fantasy: Moll Flanders, selling her body for survival; Pamela, demanding a higher price; virtuous Sophia Western, who avoids Tom Jones's bed till properly wedded and vigorous Mrs. Waters, who doesn't;

> totally unvirtuous Fanny Hill. Not all male poets, playwrights, and novelists supported Pope's dictum that every woman is a rake, but many hinted their belief in--or their hope or fear of--its truth.[5]

The end of Spacks' article makes one think of Lady Mary and her relationship with her father and her future husband.

> The story exemplifies a woman's conflict in choosing sexual over filial love. . . . Society demanded that women act much more "grown-up" than men, penalizing their self-indulgences more harshly than men's. But it also expected women to be like children in their incapacity to make their own decisions, control their own lives. Deprived, like children, of real responsibility, they long, like children, for authority figures whom they can also cajole; they long for the emotional freedom of the child.[6]

As a matter of fact, in eighteenth-century England women were treated like children. Some did become important in politics nevertheless; but they were rare. Miss Skerrett is a case in point. But when Lord Hervey wrote that "what Miss Skerrett said of people was of importance to every man in England," he may simply have been trying to flatter Walpole.[7] It must be kept in mind that Miss Skerrett was influential only because she was Walpole's mistress. Women could, of course, attempt to influence their husbands, but this was a nebulous and secondary claim to political power. In analyzing Beard's contribution to the study of women in history, Bullough says that

> Although these women lacked the physical power to confront men directly, they could take satisfaction in their ability to manipulate them. Manipulation has traditionally been the role of the subjugated, and for those who followed the rules it could be a position of considerable influence. Mary R. Beard wrote an interesting study documenting just such

> informal power in her Woman As A Force in History. Being the power behind the throne is apparently satisfying to many.[8]

Although Bullough was speaking of women in China, his thoughts can be applied to any group in a subordinate position. Even though the use of manipulation can be satisfying to a certain type of woman, manipulation is frustrating and deadly not only to the open and straightforward; but its defense is also an illusion. Lady Mary was unable to play such a role. It is to her credit that she was neither able nor willing to manipulate men either in her professional or in her private life.

Among those who spoke out against traditional patterns and for some educational opportunities, if not equality, were Mary Astell, Lady Mary, and Mary Wollstonecraft. Some women even took direct action; i.e., a group of them stormed the House of Lords when they heard that they were to be excluded from the gallery.[9] But the time was not yet ripe for this approach, and it is doubtful if Lady Mary would ever have involved herself in any such action. She was an aristocrat and believed in proper manners and actions, especially for that group.

Lady Mary was constantly pulled by two opposite forces--the demands of society for conformity and her desire for equality and freedom. This division appears very clearly in her attitude toward politics. She helped her husband in his political role, acting as his "campaign manager," she advised him when he was in Turkey, and she wrote essays in defense of

Walpole's policies. All of these were restricted contributions to the efforts and aspirations of others. She did not believe in direct action for herself, even though she seemed best suited for politics.[10] The following excerpts from her letters reveal her interest in the subject and her grasp of political situations. The following advice went to Wortley:

> I suppose you may now come in at Alburgh, and I heartily wish you was in Parliment. I saw the A.B.'s list of the Lords Regents appointed and perceive Lord W(harto)n is not one of them, by which I guesse the new scheme is not to make use of any Man grossely infamous in either party; consequently those that have been honest in regard to Both will stand fairest for preferment.
>
> You understand these things much better than me, but I hope you will be perswaded by me and your other freinds (who I don't doubt will be of my Opinion) that tis necessary for the common good, for an honest man to endeavor to be powerfull, when he can be the one without loseing the first more valuable title; and remember that Money is the source of power.
>
> I hear the Parliament sits but 6 Months. You know best whether tis worthy any Expence or Bustle to be in for so short a time.[11]

During the election, she continued to advise Wortley by letter.

> The Thompsons were here yesterday, and without my saying any thing begun to t(ell m)e that they were very much (conce)rn'd you did not stand here, and the Interest of all their family would sooner have been yours than any man in England; and tis they that chuse Mr. Jenkins if he is chose, and I beleive now he will. I hope you stand some where, for I think tis as reasonable to stand now as it was unreasonable last year, for I suppose one sort of petitions will be as favourably receiv'd now, as the other were before.[12]

In another letter she wrote,

> I cannot be very sorry for your declineing at Newark, being very uncertain of your Successe, but I am supriz'd you do not mention where you intend to stand. Dispatch in things of this nature, if not a security, at least delay is a sure way to lose, as you have done being easily chose at York for not resolving in time, and Alburgh for not applying soon enough to Lord Pelham. Here are people here had rather chuse Fairfax than Jenkins, and others that prefer Jenkins to Fairfax, but both partys separately have wish'd to me you would have stood, with assurances of having prefer'd you to either of them. At Newark Lord Lexington has a very considerable Interest. If you have any thoughts of standing you must endeavor to know how he stands affected, thó I am afraid he will assist Brigadeir Sutton or some other Tory. Sir Mathew Jenison has the best Interest of any Whig, but he stood last year himselfe, and will perhaps do so again. Newdigate will certainly be chose there for one; upon the whole tis the most Expensive and uncertain place you can stand at.[13]

Many other letters also contain Lady Mary's views on various political situations, but these show her grasp of the necessity for a candidate to consider all possibilities and intrigues in the political arena. Wortley evidently did not always appreciate her advice, but she answered him as follows:

> You do me wrong in Imagining (as I perceive you do) that reasons for being solicitous for your having this place was in view of spending mere (sic) money than we do. You have no cause of fancying me capable of such a thought. I don't doubt but Lord H(alifa)x will very soon have the staff, and tis my beleife you will not be at all the richer. But I think it looks well and may facilitate your Election, and that is all the advantage I hope from it.[14]

This letter illustrates further their relationship. It is particularly odd that he would believe her more interested in money than in his welfare since she had given up her father's money to marry him.

When she was not devoting her energies to the political world, she turned to other interests. Best known is her interest in the literary world, but it was an avocation, not a vocation. Her abilities probably could have been used best in the political world. But, as George Saintsbury points out, her political activities were limited because she was a woman. Given the chance, she could have rivaled Lord Chesterfield's achievements.[15]

Opportunities for employment in eighteenth-century England were restricted, and most women did not work outside of their houses. Quite obviously, there were women who supported themselves by necessity, such as Aphra Behn, the writer, and, of course, many lower-class women who worked outside the house as well as in it. A recent article describes the reasons for women working outside the house. It says that

> Women usually became wage earners during the early phases of industrialization not to rebel against their parents or declare independence from their husbands, but to augment family finances. Indeed, women in this period must be studied in their family settings, for the constraints of family membership greatly affected their opportunities for individual autonomy.[16]

For the women of the upper and middle classes there were really only two career alternatives--marriage and maidenhood. Marriages were usually arranged. If a woman was not satisfied with the arrangement, she could elope like Lady Mary or refuse to marry. But if she chose the latter option, she would most likely be at the mercy of her father or some other relative. Even though Lady Mary was married, she

worried about being left on her own without being able to support herself after having disobeyed her father and married Wortley. But such social and political restrictions on women did not mean that they could not and did not think for themselves. Lady Mary reflects this in a letter of 1710 to the Bishop of Salisbury. In it she said that "there were more atheists to be found among the fine ladies of the times than among the lowest sort of rakes."[17] Some may have thought themselves in fashion when they were considered atheists, but many more just questioned their religion--in the eighteenth century, one did not become an atheist without careful thought. To be sure, this questioning of religion and church, the bastions of traditional mores, reveals an independence of mind.

Lady Mary and Wortley were not the only ones to reject contracted marriages. Daniel Defoe and Mary Astell, for example, were interested in starting female educational institutions which would provide alternatives to marriage and to spinsterhood with its dependency upon male relatives. Mary Astell's outline for such a school is contained in her The Serious Proposal.[18] Doris Stenton believes that the cooperation of such different people as Mary Astell and Daniel Defoe is indicative of "genuine intellectual ferment."[19] She goes on to say that,

> English society was moving towards a time when the cultivated woman who could hold her own in conversation with the best brains of the age was to be an object of admiration. . . .[20]

But the fight for a wider range of opportunities was not only hampered by social and legal codes, traditions, and the opposition of many men but also by the opposition of women. Even if they were not satisfied with the status quo, they were afraid of the freedoms and responsibilities which might result from such a drastic change.

There were some schools for women at this time, but they were not very efficient in teaching academic subjects, for they prepared mainly for traditional female occupations--sewing, embrodiery, some reading and writing.[21] However meager, this was a first step toward more education and is thus the basis for freedom and equality for women. Stenton believes though that

> A genuine revolution of many women supported by many men was necessary before any effective change in the legal and social position of the mass of women could be secured. The complete dependence of the married woman on her husband, the impossibility of divorce, the scorn of the foolish at the woman who did not marry, the impossibility of a woman entering any learned profession were barriers to achievements which only the most exceptional woman would surmount.[22]

Defoe supported such attitudes when he said that all humans had the same innate abilities and capacities whether they be men or women and that these could be developed through training. He said that

> The soul is placed in the body like a rough diamond, and must be polished, or the lustre of it will never appear; and it is manifest that as the rational soul distinguishes us from brutes, so education carries on the distinction and makes some less brutish than others.[23]

Lady Mary was strongly influenced by these writings. At age fifteen, she conceived of the idea of an English monastery for girls in which they would receive an education similar to that of boys.[24]

Although a direct line between Mary Astell, to Lady Mary, and then to Mary Wollstonecraft is difficult to draw, the same influences and atmosphere affected all three as well as other women of the time. All three had a similar outlook and personality. The same frustrations influenced their personalities and led all of them to express their viewpoints. Many would point to these evidences of frustration as indicative of a neurotic personality.

Some of Mary Wollstonecraft's biographers describe her as hating men. Some of them even accuse her of being neurotic and afflicted with a severe case of penis-envy. According to them, the ideology of feminism arose out of her neurosis. Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia F. Farnham are two who believe this to be so and have described Mary Wollstonecraft in these terms:

> Mary Wollstonecraft hated men. She had every personal reason possible known to psychiatry for hating them. Hers was hatred of creatures she greatly admired and feared, creatures that seemed to her capable of doing everything while women to her seemed capable of doing nothing whatever, in their own nature being pitifully weak in comparison with the strong, lordly male.[25]

Others, like Alice S. Rossi, dispute this point of view and offer as proof Wollstonecraft's eventful life, her reactions to problems, and her relationships with men. Rossi cites

especially the love affair between Wollstonecraft and Imlay, the father of her first daughter, and the tender love and compatible marriage between her and William Godwin. Wollstonecraft was capable of surviving successfully. For some years she supported her family, she opened a school for girls, she wrote at least one stimulating book, and she went to France to report on the French Revolution. Most men could not do all of these things. She was thus not a pitifully weak creature.[26] Perhaps the submissive female who conforms to the role designed for her by society is the true neurotic.[27] She is denying herself and her talents when she gives up her goals in favor of those of men. The woman who demands the right to be herself may be less neurotic and a more fully developed personality. She may not be well-adjusted to the expectations of society, but she may be well-adjusted within her own personality and expectations of self.

Although people who display neurotic tendencies may not be able to cope in some areas, they can function quite well in others. The situation in which a woman is restrained by society from doing certain things sets up a different set of rules, however. The neurosis is then imposed by society and is more general. It is not strictly an individual response to a set of circumstances, but it is a collective response. The individual response to a restriction or a limitation is important. Lady Mary attempted to work around the limitations imposed. She could have been a first-rate politician, if

allowed by society to develop as she wished; the restrictions turned her into a second-rate poetess. She was neurotic to a degree--she did not become fully actualized. Unfortunately, we can never know how she would have developed or what she would have produced in a free society.

However, Bullough sees Lady Mary as a rebel against the assigned female role. He believes that the women of the salons knew their place and did not try to usurp that of men. Throughout the eighteenth century, the truly learned woman was thus an anachronism.[28] He believes furthermore that

> There were few women like Lady Montagu. Most women were content to accept their status even though they might desire a better education. Hester Mulso (Mrs. Chapone), Lady Mary's contemporary, in Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, warned against the danger of pedantry and presumption in a woman--of the dangers of exciting envy in one sex or jealousy in the other, of exchanging the graces of imagination for the preciseness of a scholar. Instead of having women study the classics, she wanted them to learn to enjoy the conversations of persons of sense and knowledge.[29]

Another famous woman of the period, Hannah More, was equally reactionary in her attitude toward female education. Bullough says that

> Her goal was not equality with males in education but recognition of women as different, more moral, creatures than men. Her purpose was not to make scholarly ladies or female dialecticians but to raise the moral tone of society. . . . Girls should also be taught to be submissive, to submit to restraint, and not carry on a dispute even if they knew themselves to be in the right.[30]

If one compares Lady Mary with these two contemporaries, she emerges as a rebel. In that sense, she was like Catherine

Macaulay Graham who also demanded equality and was viewed by society as different. Graham wanted boys and girls to be educated together and women to take direct part in politics and to give up their indirect influence.[31]

Aside from these concerns with the political role of women, their place in society, and their right to an education, women were subjected to a double standard on sex. Men were allowed to be open, free, licentious; society approved, slyly looked the other way, or overlooked male escapades. But an equally daring woman was reprimanded. Although considered overly-emotional, women were supposed to live without passion or intensity. Ms. Spacks notes that

> A woman has virtually no freedom of emotional expression. The sexual attitudes displayed in eighteenth-century fiction and autobiography by women--the obsession with innocence, the concern for the danger of imagination (or passion), the anger at men, the longing to be a man, or a child--emphasize the lack of freedom. They suggest how completely, for women, the century's belief that reason must govern imagination operated to insure patterns of repression and denial which women, experiencing such patterns as oppressive, yet believed to be in the nature of things.[32]

The effect of this double standard and society's attitude toward sex can be seen in Lady Mary's personal life. Most of Lady Mary's relationships, including that with her husband, Pope, Algarotti, Palazzi, and Rémond, have been described as odd, puzzling or strange. It is impossible to know if something within her led her to men with whom a satisfying relationship was impossible or if the relationships shaped her,

even led to her feminism. She was working toward an equal, balanced relationship with men and satisfaction with herself as a woman, but she was hampered by the restrictions of society and the inherent limitations within her own psychology. An examination of her relationship with men substantiates these ideas.

Wortley and Lady Mary seemed to have much in common when they first met and married--enough to insure at least a satisfactory, if not a compatible marriage. They were both educated, intelligent, and active--interested in literature and traveling; but there was a basic personality difference which prevented them from finding the contentment they aspired. Although both must bear the responsibility for the disappointing course of their marriage, their letters indicate that he cooled first in his ardour. Perhaps he realized earlier the mistake of their marriage. Two of his maxims give an indication of his insights into life and love.

> We are apt to fall in love with those whose professions, we are persuaded, will make us secure of their affections, but when we think we have the desired security we are apt to lose the passion

and

> The world is like a ship in which a man finds his own cabin too little and seldom agrees till the end of a long voyage with the person lodged near him.[33]

Her father's opposition to their marriage may have caused two strong-willed persons to go in a direction they would have avoided if they had been left to themselves.

All too soon Wortley turned to his business affairs and allowed them to take precedence over his family life. But Lady Mary undoubtedly contributed to their problems. Although her early letters indicate that she would have modified in his favor, she may have been too proud to yield sufficiently. Her initial view of marriage may also have been too idealistic and thus have sharpened her disillusionment when her expectations were not realized. She wrote to her sister about their idealistic expectations of marriage:

> Don't you remember how miserable we were in the little parlour at Thoresby? We then thought marrying would put us at once into possession of all we wanted. Then came being with child, etc., and you see what comes of being with child.[34]

Aside from the additional difference in their ages, a low sex drive may have made each of them overly self-sufficient. This self-sufficiency may have removed the need and dependency that a marriage requires in order to survive.[35]

Wortley seemed to be emotionally, and possibly even physically, incapable of establishing a permanently viable relationship with her. Since there is no indication that he was involved with other women either during their lives together or after she went to Italy, Lady Mary may have struck a personal note when she mentions impotency as a reason for divorce:

> Divorces are also introduc'd and frequent enough. They have long been in fashion in Genoa, several of the finest and greatest Ladies there having two Husbands alive. The constant pretext is Impotency, to which the Man often pleads guilty,

> and thô he marrys again and has children by another Wife, the plea remains good by saying he was so in regard to his first; and when I told them that in England a complaint of that kind was esteem'd so impudent, no reasonable Woman would submit to make it, I was answer'd we liv'd without Religion, and that their Consciences oblig'd them rather to strain a point of Modesty than live in a state of Damnation.[36]

Such a statement makes it evident that she would not have said Wortley were impotent even if he had been.

Lady Mary turned to Pope and Algarotti in order to find companionship, but both men had problems that interfered with the development of full relationships. Pope was very fragile--he had recurring headaches, Pott's disease, and curvature of the spine. He was not very resistant to disease, infection, and cold. Also, he was only four feet six inches when fully grown, giving him the appearance of a child. But in spite of all these physical problems, he attempted to lead a normal life.[37] Until his disagreement with Lady Mary, he wrote letters and poems which demonstrated his love for her, some including outright declarations of love. George Sherburn, however, described their love as a "gradually cooling ardour of a more or less imaginary passion";[38] Paston and Halsband agreed that their passion was one of words and not of action.

Lady Mary admired Pope and required his friendship to fill an emotional or intellectual need for male companionship. Pope had been instrumental in solidifying and directing her literary talents, and their later disagreement was disastrous for both of them. Her reputation suffered because of his

satiric barbs; for example, he attacked her private life in the Dunciad by having the Goddess of Dulness address Edmund Curll with

> Son! they grief lay down,
> And turn this whole illusion on the town.
> As the sage dame, experienc'd in her trade,
> By names of Toasts retails each batter'd jade,
> (Whence hapless Monsieur much complains at Paris
> Of wrongs from Duchesses and Lady Maries;)
> Be thine, my stationer! . . .[39]

These verses, tying Lady Mary to prostitute Duchesses, were vastly different from the poems which he had written to Lady Mary earlier. Then he had written in regard to her portrait that

> The play full smiles around the dimpled mouth
> That happy air of Majesty and Youth.
> So would I draw (but oh, 'tis vain to try
> My narrow Genius does the power deny)
> The Equal Lustre of the Heavenly mind
> Where every grace with every Virtue's join'd
> Learning not vain, and wisdom not severe
> With Greatness easy, and with wit sincere
> With Just Description shew the Soul Divine
> And the whole Princess in my work should shine.[40]

Pope's earlier letters to Lady Mary also show this feeling for her. Here is one of them:

> What you say of your illness frightens me with a prospect I can never so much as dream of without horrour. Thô I am never to see you again, may you live to please Other eyes, and improve other minds than mine; may you appear to distant Worlds like a Sun that is sunk out of the sight of our Hemisphere, to gladden the other. It is no figure of speech when I tell you, that those Mountains of Snow, and Woods lay'd in ashes you describe, are what I could wish to traverse with you.[41]

But Lady Mary answered this passionate letter with a description of Belgrade and a history lesson:

> We came late to Belgrade, the deep snows making the ascent to it very difficult. It seems a strong city, fortified, on the east side, by the Danube; and on the south, by the river Save, and was formerly the barrier of Hungary.[42]

The letter continues in this fashion. It seems possible that she was attempting to cool his passion by ignoring it. Most of her letters to him could have been written by one man to another.

In later life, she was drawn to Algarotti. Once more she chose a man who did not devote his full attention to her. Although he was bisexual, his preference was clearly for young men, not a middle-aged woman with fading charms. There was no reason, other than his sexual preferences, that he should have shunned her for a young man since liaisons between young men and middle-aged women were a custom of the time. He was probably attracted to her as a friend and did not wish to hurt her. All the same, he kept her waiting in Italy for a long time even though he agreed to meet her. Voltaire may have caught some of the essentials of Algarotti's character when he wrote this poem about him:

> But when. . .
> I see the tender Algarotti
> Crush with passionate embrace
> The handsome Lugeac, his young
> friend,
> I imagine I see Socrates fastened
> Onto the rump of Alcibiades.[43]

Lady Mary had a different view of Algarotti. She imagined herself as Don Quixote in search of Dulcinea. It is interesting that she cast herself in the male role and Algarotti in the female role. She wrote him many poems. She said in one of them:

> Why was my haughty soul to Woman joined?
> Why this soft sex imposed upon my mind?
> Even this extravagance which now I send
> Were meritorious in the name of friend.
> Thee I might follow, thee my lovely guide,
> Charmed with thy voice, and ever by thy side,
> Nor land nor sea our common way divide
> How much these golden wishes are in vain!
> I dream of pleasure, but I awake to pain.[44]

But she was disappointed; her last love was doomed to failure. She was attracted by his gentleness, gracefulness, and tenderness--qualities she missed in Wortley. Halsband believes that her love contained no sexual passion and that she was aware of Algarotti's limitations. He maintains furthermore that "she forced herself to recognize that her romantic scheme had been an impossible self-induced, perhaps self-indulgent vision."[45] Algarotti's involvement with her did not lead to the emotional satisfaction which she sought.

In contrast with Pope and Algarotti, Rémond and Palazzi were not as important to her--they were passing friends who later became enemies. They upset her peace of mind, and she dismissed them as quickly as she could. There is also no sound evidence that she had physical relationships with anyone but Wortley. She may even have been frigid after years of neglect from Wortley and may simply have wanted male companionship. From her letters, her isolated life style, and her short interludes with these men, it can be surmised that

she enjoyed and required male companionships, but not physical relationships.

It is unfortunate that the extant sources allow only a limited analysis of her personality and needs. As with most historical figures, one must infer much from her own comments, letters, and writings, modified by those of contemporaries and historians. Since many different people, including Halsband, Grundy, and Paston, have said or implied that Lady Mary's relationship with men was odd or puzzling, one may assume that there is some basis for believing this to be so. Her problem seems to have been sexual. She seems to have been free in her conversations and attitudes but not in her sexual expression; she may have been unable to be intimate. Her expressions of love and passion to Wortley and Algarotti were just that; they were not actualized passion. As a matter of fact, her relationship with Wortley, Algarotti, Pope, even Rémond and Palazzi, can be viewed in the light of Karen Horney's statements on frigidity.

> When I stated that frigidity is always an expression of rejection of the male, I would not mean the conspicuous appearance of hostility toward the male. Such women may be very feminine in their body build, way of dressing, and their behaviour. They may give the impression that their whole life is 'attuned to love alone.' What I mean is something far deeper--an inability to really love, to surrender to a man. These women will rather go their own way or drive the male away with their jealousy, demands, boredom, and nagging.[46]

Horney rejects as a cause for frigidity in women that of a repressive society--a position that is questionable. She

believes that only fear and anxiety contribute to this condition. She thinks that these two factors contribute to a certain kind of attitude toward men. It could be argued, however, that a repressive society can lead to fear and anxiety in individuals. To escape from these feelings, women may react in a typical way and assume, or desire to assume, masculine roles. A young girl may be a tomboy, but as she grows older a more feminine attitude usually appears on the surface. This feminine appearance is only superficial in some and strong and disturbing residues of fear and anxiety may remain. Horney includes in these left-over feelings a drive for power; a resentment against males, who are seen as having an advantage in life; a combative attitude toward men, perhaps in the form of alternate kinds of sexual manipulation; and, finally, an inhibition or complete blockage to experience sexual fulfillment.[47]

On the surface, Lady Mary kept her resentment of men in check, but in the final analysis she could not surrender herself completely to any man. A letter to Sir James and Lady Frances Steuart dated November 27, 1758 reveals her hatred of men:

> I adore the conduct of the heoric Countess /the Countess is unidentified/; her amusements are worthy the generosity of a great soul; she knows how to put men to the right use--
>
> Their thanks she neither asks nor needs,
> For all the favours done;
> From her Love flows, as Light proceeds
> Spontaneous from the Sun.

> --If I really was so skilled in Magic as I am generally supposed, I would immediately follow her footsteps in the figure of fair Fifteen, acknowledge the errors of my past life, and beg her instructions how to behave to that tyrannical sex, who with absurd cruelty first put the invaluable deposite of their precious honor in our hands, and then oblige us to prove a negative for the preservation of it. I hate Mankind with all the fury of an old maid (indeed most women of my age do), and have no real esteem but for those heroines who give them as good as they bring.[48]

Even as a young woman, she expressed these same sentiments.

The following is a letter to Philipp Mundy:

> At the same time, I made Refllections on the Folly and contemptible Falsehood of that designing Sex, and concluded they are certainly our Inferiors in good Sense, as well as most other Merit, since tis plain we have a truer taste of Happynesse.
>
> Vows, Oaths, and Contracts they devise,
> And Tell us they are sacred Tyes,
> And so they are, in our Esteem
> But empty Names dispis'd by them.
>
> All that pleases me is that their Punishment is annex'd to their Crime; they are wretched from the Minute they are guilty, and those that barter a Heaven of Mutual Love and retir'd Happyness. . . for the silly shine of Equipage, and haveing it in their power to be formost in a croud, commit an Error against Judgment, as well as Honesty.
>
> . . .
>
> That Man is Man, and all the Sex is One,
> Nor in Love's Ritual can we ever find
> Vows made to Last, or promises to bind.[49]

She may have been a latent homosexual or a "masculine woman."

Some of her statements against women are almost extreme.

At one point she said, for example, that she was glad that she was a woman so that she did not have to marry one.

An example of her statements on women is a letter to Mrs.

Barbara Calthorpe, daughter of the first Viscount Longueville, dated December 7, 1723:

> My Knight Errantry is at an end, and I beleive I shall hence forward think feeing of Gallery Slaves and knocking down Windmills more Laudable undertakeings than the Defence of any Woman's Reputation whatever. To say Truth, I have never had any great Esteem for the generrality of the fair Sex, and my only Consolation for being of that Gender has been the assurance it gave me of never being marry'd to any one amongst them. But I own at present I am so much out of Humour with the Actions of Lady Holderness that I never was so heartily asham'd of my Petticoats before. You know, I suppose, that by this discreet match /Lady Holderness and Benjamin Mildmay/ she renounces the care of her Children, and I am laugh'd at by all my Acquaintance for my Faith in her Honnour and Understanding. My only Refuge is the Sincere Hope that she is out of her senses, and takeing her selfe for Queen of Sheba and Mr. Mildmay for King Solomon.[50]

Since she may have been a latent homosexual, she may have built up a defense mechanism against women, and such statements could be an indication of this defense. Frank S. Caprio says that even though a person may never have experienced any conscious desire to become sexually intimate with a member of his own sex, the libido is frozen at the narcissistic level and the self-love blocks them from establishing a love relationship with either sex. He says, furthermore, that

> . . . every one can /not/ successfully sublimate the latent homosexual component. As a consequence, many become plagued with conscious homosexual cravings. They are aware of a strong sexual attraction for certain members of their own sex. Fearing that they might some day make a homodexual gesture of one kind or another, verbal or physical, they develop states of anxiety, . . . They build up various neurotic defense reactions to situations that remind them of their homosexual cravings. Nature protects them against giving way to their homosexual desires by developing strong prejudices and attitudes against homosexuals.[51]

In discussing the relationship between male and female homosexuals, Caprio also notes that lesbians and homosexuals tend to enjoy each other's company. One reason is that they are not afraid of being seduced and can establish platonic relationships.[52] This point may explain Lady Mary's relationship with Algarotti, maybe even with Pope. The latter wrote a poem about her in which he refers to her as "Sapho." Although he wrote it after their disagreement, it could imply that he thought that she was a lesbian.[53]

Horney throws further light on the frigidity-latent homosexual-masculine woman that would seem to fit Lady Mary. She says that

> Once these unconscious masculinity claims have taken hold, the woman has fallen into a fatal vicious circle. Whereas she originally had fled from the female role into the fiction of the male one, the latter, once established, contributes in turn to her rejection of the female role even further and now with an added tinge of the contemptible. A woman who has built her life on such unconscious pretenses is basically endangered from two sides: by her masculinity wishes on the one hand, since they shake her feeling of self, and by her repressed feminity on the other, in that some experience inevitably reminds her of her feminine role.[54]

Lady Mary has been described as beautiful and feminine, but somehow "mannish" in appearance. Janine Chasseguet-Smirgel has discussed this type of mannish woman.

> Indeed, they distrust women, deprecate femininity, and often claim that in character they are more like men than women. Men are felt to possess superior intelligence, superior ethical values, superior courage, and so on. In being "masculine" they feel that they, too share these interests and ideals. With few exceptions the patients of this type whom I have in mind were married and had children.[55]

These masculine women idealize their fathers and model themselves after them; the mother is either dead or unfaithful to the father, or is either devalued or abandoned or rejected. Masculine women believe that they are different from all other women. (Lady Mary believed this--See Part II, page 10.) In addition, masculine women, of which Lady Mary shows many characteristics, believe that they are castrated men.[56] Chasseguet-Smirgel also says that

> All men became the ideal nonsexual father, with whom the girl could have close and even affectionate contact. But this was achieved only to the detriment of her erotic life and feeling of identity. . . . Instead, these women felt they offered something of greater value, something safe and nonfeminine. They were quite unaware that their own behavior was castrating, since they refused men any sexual role toward them. Their love for their men had to be nongenital.[57]

The result for these women is continual frustration and inability to understand why relations with both sexes are unsatisfactory.[58] She notes in addition that

> The fact that these women tend to choose partners who unconsciously need women with such problems further complicates the picture in most cases and confirms the woman at the same time in her particular idea of female sexuality.[59]

In view of these statements it is easier to understand Lady Mary's flight from Wortley, her burst of laughter at Pope, and her last desperate attempt at love with Algarotti.

A poem which she sent to Philippa Mundy in a letter dated February 6, 1712 discusses the fate of those caught in arranged marriages:

I know the Fate of those by Interest wed,
Doom'd to the Curse of a vexatious Bed,
Days without Peace, and Nights without Desire,
To mourn, and throw away my Youth for hire.
Of Noble Maids, how wretched is the Fate!
Ruin'd with Jointures, curs'd by an Estate,
Destin'd to Greifs, and born to be undone,
I see the Errors which I cannot shun.
And weep those Sorrows which may be your own.[60]

She discusses marriage in a letter to Lady Mar dated August 11, 1721,

> Lady J. Wharton is to be marry'd to Mr. Holt, which I am sorry for, to see a young Woman that I really think one of the agreablest Girls upon Earth so vilely misplac'd; but where are people match'd! I suppose we shall all come right in Heaven, as in a Country Dance, thô hands are strangely given and taken while they are in motion, at least all meet their partners when the Jig is done.[61]

Lady Mary's society was undergoing many changes that affected her. She was one of a vast number of women who were beginning to lose their importance as economic contributors to the family. The new type of family and female-role ideology which was evolving during the eighteenth century placed women in a subservient position to an even greater degree than it had before. The current ideology was still that of the ideal woman discussed at the beginning of this chapter. But, in addition, it placed women outside of the traditional economic productive function--her contribution to marriage was the settlement by her father and the role as a housekeeper and mother. Mary Beard examines the reason for change in the eighteenth century.

> Not until the commercial and political revolutions, accumulating full force in the eighteenth century, actually disrupted the solidarity of royal and aristocratic families founded on a landed wealth did women alike with great families to which they belonged lose most of the power which they had so long exercised in the affairs of State and Society. Not until then did the state pass to the control of parliaments composed of men and elected by men.[62]

As Beard shows, men and women shared the obligations connected with the survival and work of household and fields prior to this time. In addition, when the men were away at wars, the women ran the house in aristocratic as well as in lesser families. The loss of prestige for women as full partners in the economic arena enhanced the importance of dowries--they became an essential contribution to marriage and in many instances the basis for the marriage. Since husbands generally controlled the dowry after marriage, most women were further reduced to dependent roles. Their influence was tied indeed to their economic importance.

Lady Mary was at a distinct disadvantage in this area. The Montagues had moved from the land and had lived in the city without "roots" for a long time. They did not purchase a home until after they returned from Turkey. Wortley earned his money in business activities unconnected with the land, and Lady Mary had relatively little to do with his business. She also lived away from him for great periods of time in a rural environment, but without land to manage and without being able to contribute to this business except by giving advice which he did not feel compelled to accept. As if to

enhance her disadvantage, she had not brought a dowry into the marriage.

As indicated, Lady Mary was attempting to overcome many of the restrictions that society had placed on her, and she also was attempting to overcome the psychological problems which did not allow her to find a satisfactory relationship with men. She was moving toward a self-sufficiency and independence which many of the later feminists would hold as central to a new female role. Lady Mary did not succeed fully--she did not become an activist in the fight for female rights. She did not become an equal partner with men, either personally because of her psychological limitations or professionally because of society's restrictions. She did not belong to nor did she found a movement.

All the same, she was an important figure on the road to female equality. Her demands for female education, for fair divorce laws, for marriage based on love or compatibility rather than money, for a voice in the political and social spheres of the country, and for other basic considerations were important steps forward.

NOTES

1. Vern L. Bullough, The Subordinate Sex, A History of Attitudes Toward Women (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 270.

2. Ibid., p. 270.

3. Katherine B. Clinton, "Femme et Philosophe: Enlightenment Origins of Feminism," Eighteenth-Century Studies 8 (Spring 1975):287.

4. Roberta Sarfatt Borkat, "The Cage of Custom," The University of Dayton Review (Summer 1974):47.

5. Patricia Meyer Spacks, "Ev'ry Woman is at Heart a Rake," Eighteenth-Century Studies 8 (Fall 1974):27.

6. Ibid., p. 46.

7. Montagu, Nonsense of Common-Sense, p. xviii.

8. Bullough, Subordinate Sex, p. 340.

9. Montagu, Complete Letters, 2:135-136. Letter to Lady Pomfret dated /March 1739/. Lady Mary describes her admiration for those women who opposed the rules of the House of Commons by storming the gallery and her own feeling of impotence as she was sitting at a tea-table at the time.

10. Robert Halsband, "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Her Place in the Eighteenth Century," History Today XVI (February 1966):99-100.

11. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:213. Letter to Wortley dated (c. 9 August, 1714).

12. Ibid., 1:222-223. Letter to Wortley dated (c. 10 September, 1714).

13. Ibid., 1:223-224. Letter to Wortley dated (c. 15 September, 1714).

14. Ibid., 1:229. Letter to Wortley dated (9 October, 1714).

15. George Saintsbury, The Peace of the Augustans (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 220-221.

16. Louise A. Tilly, Joan W. Scott, and Miriam Cohen, "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns," Journal of Interdisciplinary History VI:3 (Winter 1976):452.

17. William Connor Sydney, England and English in the Eighteenth Century, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: John Grant, n.d.).

18. Florence M. Smith, Mary Astell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919), p. 12. A copy of The Serious Proposal was in Lady Mary's library when she was a girl.

19. Doris Mary Stenton, The English Woman in History (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 227.

20. Ibid., p. 227.

21. Ibid., p. 278.

22. Ibid., p. 312.

23. Daniel Defoe, "An Essay on Projects," The Earlier Life and Chief Earlier Works of Daniel Defoe, ed. Henry Morley (New York: G. Routledge, 1889), p. 144.

24. Montagu, Complete Letters, 3:97. Letter to Lady Bute, dated October 20 /1755/.

25. Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia F. Farnham, Modern Woman, The Lost Sex (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), p. 38.

26. Alice S. Rossi, ed., The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), pp. 25-36.

27. Neurosis is defined as "Emotional or mental disorder characterized by apprehension, use of defense mechanisms, and impairment of function to the point where the victim cannot cope with reality," by Elton B. McNeil in The Psychology of Being Human (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1974), p. 692. There is also a more detailed explanation of neurosis in this book. The woman, who cannot express herself, in a male-dominated society, displays these characteristics. While Lady Mar is an extreme example, Lady Mary is one who attempted to cope with the rigidity of her society and still find ways to express herself.

28. Bullough, The Subordinate Sex, p. 274.

29. Ibid., p. 274.

30. Ibid., pp. 274-275.

31. Ibid., pp. 275-276.

32. Spacks, "Ev'ry Woman is at Heart a Rake," p. 46.

33. These are quoted by Halsband in the Life of Lady Mary, pp. 123-124 and are taken from the Wortley Manuscript, vii, 137-138, July 7, 1729.

34. Stenton, The English Woman in History, p. 262. Stenton quotes this from the Letters and Works, 1:373, edited by Lord Wharncliffe, Paris, 1837.

35. Neither Lady Mary nor Wortley ever established a viable relationship with anyone else according to the available sources. Also, during their long marriage in an age of unreliable birth control, they did not produce many children. By contrast, their daughter had eleven children. Their statements, partially quoted in this paper, reveal that they were disillusioned with love and marriage and that they found other outlets for their emotion. These things tend to indicate that they had adjusted to a life in which sex was not a major concern.

36. Montagu, Complete Letters, 2:496. Letter to Lady Bute dated December 1751 (from Genoa).

37. George Sherburn, The Early Career of Alexander Pope (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1934), pp. 42-44.

38. Ibid., p. 208.

39. Pope, The Poems of Alexander Pope, p. 740. (Found in the Dunciad, Book II, lines 131-137).

40. Ibid., pp. 465-466. This poem was first published in 1719.

41. Alexander Pope, Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. by George Sherburn 5 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956), 1:389.

42. Ibid., p. 391. Letter to Alexander Pope, dated February 12 /1717/.

43. Halsband, Lord Hervey, p. 272. This poem was included in a letter to Frederick from Voltaire on December 15, 1740.

44. Halsband, Life of Lady Mary, p. 192.

45. Ibid., p. 214.

46. Karen Horney, Feminine Psychology, ed. Harold Kelman (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967), p. 128.

47. Ibid., p. 129.

48. Montagu, Complete Letters, 3:191-192. Letter to Sir James and Lady Frances Steuart dated November 27, 1758.

49. Ibid., 1:120. Letter to Philippa Mundy dated March 25, 1712.

50. Ibid., 2:33-34. Letter to Barbara Calthorpe dated December 7, 1723.

51. Frank S. Caprio, Female Homosexuality, A Psychodynamic Study of Lesbianism (New York: The Citadel Press, 1954), p. 162.

52. Ibid., p. 87.

53. Pope, Poems of Alexander Pope, p. 820. "To Lord Hervey and Lady Mary Wortley," dated 1733.

54. Horney, Feminine Psychology, pp. 79-80.

55. Janine Chasseguet-Smirgel, Female Sexuality (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1970), p.175.

56. Ibid., pp. 179-180.

57. Ibid., pp. 179-181.

58. Ibid., p. 181.

59. Ibid., p. 181.

60. Montagu, Complete Letters, 1:116. Letter to Philippa Munday dated February 6, 1712.

61. Ibid., 2:11. Letter to Lady Mar dated August 11, 1721.

62. Mary Beard, Women as a Force in History (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946), p. 308.

PART V

CONCLUSION

This paper shows Lady Mary's limited but important influence as a politically concerned and educated woman. It also shows society's influence on her development toward a feminist position. This influence was not always positive and contributed, therefore, to the ambivalence in her personality, a development which may have restrained her from becoming a fully-functional person.

The writer examined English society and its attitudes toward the educational, career, legal, political, and social opportunities of women in order to show Lady Mary's place within society. An examination of her personality, life style, social contacts, and writings reveal her mind and character and substantiate that she was not an active reformer and fighter in the emerging feminist movement, but rather that she emerged as a symbol for feminists. She demonstrated that a woman could be educated, could be an intelligent and witty proponent for the rights of women, and could be successful in holding her own with the leading thinkers of the day. Lady Mary holds an interesting position in the feminist movement. In many ways, she was ahead of her time. She

advocated education for women, and she was interested in politics. But she did not advocate direct political action for women, and she did not want to extend equality to the masses. In spite of these restrictions, she displayed elements of modern feminism. Her most important contributions to feminism came through her political and feminist essays--most of them written in the pose of a man. In her poems, she satirized society and marriage and showed the injustices of the divorce laws. And even if her letters are important for more than their feminist statements, they are essential to understanding her position on women, society and manners.

The interaction between her basic personality ingredients and the various early influences of society had produced a unique individual. Her life and ideas seem full of contradictions. Her upbringing and first years of marriage were typical of many of the women of her class, except that Lady Mary was able to concentrate more heavily on education. This element seemed to cause a split in her personality, especially since she was not able to use her education fully in pursuit of her goals. Then too, in her concepts and ideas, she approached life as a man; while in her physical appearance she was a woman. This caused problems in the adjustment in her personal life.

In an unrestricted society, Lady Mary might have been able to use her special talents, especially in the political arena. But since she could not openly pursue politics, she

used her talents in other ways--often finding socially-acceptable, but personally unsatisfactory outlets. Thus she became a second-class poetess, instead of a first-class politician. Also, she did not become fully actualized as a person or as a feminist. Even so, she was attempting to move in that direction. She did not just sit still and let someone else decide her life. One of Simon de Beauvoir's points fits well. She believes that women have been forced to live on the margin of society and that this prevented them from creative activity like their male contemporaries. According to de Beauvoir, those who are firmly rooted in society are in subjection to it.[1] As she elaborated:

> It is not the inferiority of women that has caused their historical insignificance; it is rather their historical insignificance that has doomed them to inferiority.[2]

Lady Mary made a contribution despite the limitations imposed by society, but it could have been even greater if she had had greater freedom to do so. She was one of the privileged few of the eighteenth century--an intelligent and influential woman. Every society has produced some exceptional women, but the judgment of the society must be based on how that society treats the mass of women. De Beauvoir states that

> The successes of a privileged few do not counterbalance or excuse the systematic lowering of the group; . . . that these successes are rare and limited proves . . . that circumstances are unfavorable for them.[3]

All the same, one, or several, intelligent and persistent women can make, and in Lady Mary's case did make, a significant difference in the course of human history.

Wilbur Cross wrote in The History of Henry Fielding that Lady Mary was "easily the most intellectual woman of her period."[4] Halsband concurs in this statement, adding that

> For by reason of her practice as well as her preaching, she deserves a place in the history of woman's emancipation. As an organized movement, feminism did not win its major gains until the end of the nineteenth century; and the word itself came into being at that time. But Lady Mary is one of its pioneers in that she was concerned with the status of women in the world where they were second-class citizens. She is, so to speak, one of feminism's founding mothers.[5]

Many of the things that Lady Mary advocated are now reality--equal educational opportunities for women, marriage based on mutual need and love, more equitable divorce laws, and more political power. But her contribution to the feminist movement is important primarily as a symbol to later feminists. She was the educated woman of wit and intelligence who could compete successfully with men. Few books on that period, whether in history, literature, or feminism, omit her name. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, educated and exceptional, achieved an important place in the history of women. One of the contemporary poems about her is to the point indeed:

> Let Men glory in their better sense,
> Read, hear, and learn Humility from hence
> No more let them Superior Wisdom boast,
> They can but equal M-nt-g-e at most.[6]

NOTES

1. Simon de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, trans. and ed. H. M. Parshley (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), pp. 148-149.

2. Ibid., p. 148.

3. Ibid., p. 149.

4. Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, 1:58.

5. Halsband, "Lady Mary, Her Place in the Eighteenth Century," p. 97.

6. Ibid., p. 94.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Addison, Joseph and Steele, Richard. The Spectator. Edited by Donald F. Bond. 5 vols. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965.

_____. Selections From the Tatler and the Spectator. Introduction by Robert J. Allen. 2nd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1970.

Clancy, James. An Essay on the Equitable Rights of Married Women. 2nd ed. Dublin: C. Hunter, 1819.

Defoe, Daniel. The Earlier Life and Chief Earlier Works of Daniel Defoe. Edited by Henry Morely. New York: G. Routledge, 1889.

_____. The Fortunes and Misadventures of the Famous Moll Flanders. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1930.

Grundy, Isobel. "Ovid and Eighteenth-Century Divorce: An Unpublished Poem by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." Review of English Studies 23 (1972):417-428.

Montagu, Lady Mary (Pierrepont) Wortley. The Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Edited by J. Dallaway. 5 vols. London: R. Phillip, 1803.

_____. The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Edited by Robert Halsband. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-1967.

_____. The Nonsense of Common-Sense, 1737-1738. Edited by Robert Halsband. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1947.

_____. The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Edited by Earl Wharncliffe and Thomas W. Moy. 1837, 1861, 1867, 1873. Volume One of the 1861 edition of Lord Wharncliffe's work includes Introductory Anecdotes by Lady Louisa Stuart.

Pope, Alexander. Correspondence of Alexander Pope. Edited by George Sherburn. 5 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956.

_____. The Poems of Alexander Pope. Edited by John Butt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.

Richardson, Samuel. Pamela. Introduction by William M. Sales, Jr. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1958.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. Posthumous Works of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Women. Edited by William Godwin. Clifton, New Jersey: A. M. Kelley, 1972.

Secondary Sources

Allen, Robert J. Life in Eighteenth Century England. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1941.

Allen, Walter. The English Novel, A Short Critical History. New York: Dutton, 1955.

Anderson, Howard; Daghlian, Philip B.; and Ehrenpreis, Irvin. The Familiar Letter in the Eighteenth Century. Lawrence, Kansas: The University Press of Kansas, 1966.

Babb, Lawrence. The Elizabethan Malady, A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1951.

Ballantyne, Archibold. Voltaire's Visit to England, 1726-1729. Genéve: Slatkine Reprints, 1970.

Baker, E. A. History of the English Novel. London: H. F. & G. Whiterby, 1934.

Barnett, Avrom. Foundations of Feminism. New York: R. M. McBride and Company, 1921.

Beard, Mary R. Woman As A Force in History. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946.

_____. On Understanding Women. New York: Longman's, Green, and Company, 1931.

Beauvoir, Simone de. The Second Sex. Translated and Edited by H. M. Parshley. New York: Vintage Books, 1974.

Beck, Lewis White. Eighteenth Century Philosophy. New York: The Free Press, 1966.

Bell, Susan G. Women: From the Greeks to the French Revolution. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1973.

Besant, Sir Walter. London in the Eighteenth Century. London: Adam and Black, 1903.

Blanchard, Rae. "Review of the Nonsense of Common-Sense," Philological Quarterly XXXVI (July, 1957):3.

Boas, Ralph Phillips, and Hahn, Barbara. Social Backgrounds of English Literature. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1931.

Bohn, Henry G. The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison. 6 vols. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1856.

Bolton, Sarah K. Famous Leaders Among Women. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1972.

Bonaparte, Marie. Female Sexuality. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1953.

Borkat, Roberta F. "The Cage of Custom." The University of Dayton Review, 1974, pp. 47-57.

Boserup, Ester. Women's Role In Economic Development. London: Allen & Unwin, 1970.

Botsford, Jay Barrett. English Society in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1965.

Brittain, Vera Mary. Lady into Woman: A History of Women From Victoria to Elizabeth II. London: A Dakers, 1953.

Bullough, Vern L. The Subordinate Sex, A History of Attitudes Toward Women. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974.

Burton, F. Lectures on Female Education and Manners, 2 vols. 2nd ed. New York: Source Book Press, 1970. Unabridged republication of the 1793 London edition.

Caprio, Frank S. Female Homosexuality, A Psychodynamic Study of Lesbianism. New York: The Citadel Press, 1954.

Carden, Maren Lockwood. The New Feminist Movement. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1974.

Chadwick, William. The Life and Times of Daniel De Foe: With Remarks Digressive and Discursive. New York: Burt Franklin, 1968.

Chasseguet-Smirgel, Janine. Female Sexuality. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1970.

Clifford, James L., and Landa, Louis A., eds. Pope and His Contemporaries. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949.

Clinton, Katherine B. "Femme et Philosophe: Enlightenment Origins of Feminism." Eighteenth Century Studies 8 (Spring 1975):283-299.

Clough, Emma Rauschenbusch. Study of Mary Wollstonecraft and The Rights of Women. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1898.

Cross, Wilbur L. The History of Henry Fielding. 3 vols. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963.

Curling, Jonathan. Edward Wortley Montagu, The Man in the Iron Wig. Stratford Place London: Andrew Melrose, 1954.

De Koven, Anna (Farwell). Women in Cycles of Culture. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941.

Dennis, John. The Age of Pope. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1901.

Deutsch, Ronald M. The Key to Feminine Response in Marriage. New York: Random House, 1968.

Dixon, Peter, ed. Alexander Pope. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1972.

Doran, John. A Lady of the Last Century. London: R. Bentley, 1873; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1973.

Dudden, F. Homes. Henry Fielding: His Life, Works, and Times. 2 vols. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1964.

Ellis, Mrs. The Wives of England, Their Relative Duties, Domestic Influence, and Social Obligations. London: J. and H. B Langley, 1834.

Flexner, Eleanor. Mary Wollstonecraft. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1972.

Freeman, Jo., ed. Women: A Feminist Perspective. Palo, Alto, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1975.

Freud, Sigmund. The Complete Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1966.

Fulford, Roger. Votes for Women. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1957.

Fussell, George Edwin. The English Countrywoman--A Farmhouse Social History, 1500-1900. New York: B. Blom, 1971.

Gaxotte, Pierre. Frederick the Great. Translated by R. A. Bell. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.

Gibbs, Lewis. The Admirable Lady Mary: The Life and Times of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762). New York: William Morrow, 1949.

Goodwin, Albert, ed. The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.

Gornick, Vivian, and Moran, Barbara K., eds. Woman in Sexist Society, Studies in Power and Powerlessness. New York: Basic Books, 1971.

Grant, Vernon, W. The Psychology of Sexual Emotion. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1957.

Gribble, Francis. The Fight for Divorce. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1932.

Grundy, Isobel. "Ovid and Eighteenth-Century Divorce: An Unpublished Poem by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." Review of English Studies 23 (1972):417-428.

Hale, Susan. Men and Manners of the Eighteenth Century. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company, 1898.

Halsband, Robert. "Addison's Cato and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." Publications of the Modern Language Association 65 (1950):1122-1129.

Halsband, Robert. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Eighteenth Century Fiction." Philological Journal 45 (January, 1966):145-156.

Halsband, Robert. "Lady Mary as Letter Writer." Publications of the Modern Language Association 80 (1965):155-163.

_____. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Her Place In The Eighteenth Century." History Today 16 (February, 1966):94-102.

_____. "'The Lady's Dressing Room' Explicated by a Contemporary." The Augustan Milieu. Edited by Henry Knight Miller, et al. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

_____. The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.

_____. Lord Hervey, Eighteenth-Century Courtier. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

_____. "Pope, Lady Mary, and The Court Poems 1716." Publications of the Modern Language Association 68 (1953):237-250.

Hole, Judith and Levine, Ellen. Rebirth of Feminism. New York: A New York Times Company, Quadrangle Books, 1971.

Horner, Joyce. "The English Women Novelists and Their Connection With the Feminist Movement." Smith College Studies in Modern Languages 11 (April 1930):215-350.

Horney, Karen. Feminine Psychology. Edited by Harold Kelman. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967.

Howard, E. H. A History of Matrimonial Institutions. 2 vols. New York: Humanities Press, 1964.

Jacobs, Elijah L. "The Amiable Lady Mary." South Atlantic Quarterly 58 (1959):381-392.

Jacquier, Violet L. "The Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." Eighteenth Century Literature. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1966.

Kern, Jean B. "Fielding's Dramatic Satire." Philological Quarterly 54 (Winter, 1975):239-257.

Klein, Viola. The Feminine Character. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971.

Knappen, M. M. Constitutional and Legal History of England. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942.

Ludovici, Laurence James. The Final Inequality: A Critical Assessment of Woman's Sexual Role in Society. New York: W. W. Norton, 1965.

Lundberg, Ferdinand and Farnham, Marynia, F. Modern Woman, The Lost Sex. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947.

Marshall, Dorothy. English People in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Longmans, Green, & Company, 1956.

_____. Eighteenth-Century England. 10 vols. New York: D. McKay Company, 1962.

McGregor, O. R. Divorce in England. London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1957.

McNeil, Elton B. The Psychology of Being Human. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1974.

Mingay, G. E. English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century. London: Routledge and Megan Paul, 1963.

Mitchell, David. The Fighting Pankhursts, A Study in Tenacity. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967.

Mitchell, Juliet. Psychoanalysis and Feminism. New York: Panetheon Books, 1974.

Mitchell, R. J. and Leys, M. R. A History of the English People. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1950.

Mowat, R. B. England in The Eighteenth Century. London: George G. Harrap & Company, Ltd., 1932.

Nixon, Edna. Mary Wollstonecraft: Her Life and Times. London: Dent, 1971.

Paston, George /Emily Morse Symonds/. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Her Times. London: G. P. Putnam's Son, 1907.

Petschauer, Peter. "Femme et Philosophe." Eighteenth Century Studies 9 (Winter 1975-76):257-261.

Phillips, Margaret and Thomkinson, W. S. English Women in Life and Letters. New York: B. Blom, 1971.

Plumb, J. H. England in the Eighteenth Century. Aylesbury: Hunt, Barnard and Company, Ltd., 1950.

_____. Men and Centuries. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963.

Pollock, Sir Fredrick and Maitland, W. F. The History of English Law. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1968.

Quennell, Peter. Alexander Pope, The Education of Genius. New York: Stein and Day, 1968.

Reynolds, Myra. The Learned Lady in England, 1650-1760. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1924 (c. 1920).

Rossi, Alice S., ed. The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973.

Rude, George. Eighteenth Century, 1715-1815. New York: The Free Press, 1965.

Russo, John Paul. Alexander Pope, Traditions, and Identity. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Saintsbury, George. The Peace of the Augustans. London: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Schirmacher, Kathe. The Modern Woman's Rights Movement: A Historical Survey. Translated by Carl Conrad Echhardt. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

Schneir, Miriam, compl. Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings. New York: Random House, 1972.

Sherburn, George. The Early Career of Alexander Pope. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1934.

Smith, Florence M. Mary Astell. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916.

Smithers, Peter. The Life of Joseph Addison. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1954.

Snider, Nancy Small. "Origin and Development of the Woman's Rights Movement in Eighteenth Century England." M. A. Thesis, Appalachian State University, 1969.

Spacks, Patria Meyer. "Ev'ry Woman is at Heart a Rake." Eighteenth-Century Studies 8 (Fall 1974):27-46.

_____. "Reflecting Women." Yale Review 63 (1973):26-42.

Stanton, Theodore, ed. The Women Question in Europe: A Series of Original Essays. New York: Source Book Press, 1970.

Stenton, Doris Mary. The English Woman In History. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1957.

Strouse, Jean, ed. Dialogues on Psychoanalytic Views of Femininity. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1974.

Swedenberg, H. T., Jr., ed. England in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century: Essays on Culture and Society. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Syndney, William Connor. England and the English in the Eighteenth Century. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: John Grant, N.D.

Tilley, Louise A.; Scott, Joan W.; and Cohen, Miriam. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns." Journal of Interdisciplinary History 6 (Winter 1976): 447-476.

Trevelyan, B. M. Illustrated English Social History. 4 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1949.

Tillyard, E. M. W. The Elizabethan World Picture. New York: Vintage Books, N.D.

Tuberville, A. S. English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1926.

Tomalin, Claire. The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974.

Utter, Robert and Needham, Gwendolyn Bridges. Pamela's Daughters. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937.

Voltaire, Francois Marie Arouet de. Philosophical Letters. Translated by Ernest Dilworth. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1961.

Wagenknect, Edward. Calvacade of the English Novel. New York: Holt, 1954.

Wasserman, Earl Reeves, ed. Aspects of the Eighteenth Century. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1965.

Webb, R. K. Modern England from the Eighteenth Century to the Present. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1968.

Weinstein, Leo, ed. The Age of Reason: The Culture of the Seventeenth Century. New York: George Bragiller, 1965.

Williams, E. Neville, ed. The Eighteenth Century Constitution, 1688-1815. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1960.

Wortis, Helen and Rabinowitz, Clara. The Women's Movement, Social and Psychological Perspectives. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1972.