

WOMEN'S MOBILITY, TRAVEL, AND LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS IN THE
LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A Dissertation

by

YOOJUNG CHOI

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Chair of Committee,	Margaret J. M. Ezell
Committee Members,	Robert Griffin
	Mary Ann O'Farrell
	James M. Rosenheim
Head of Department,	Maura Ives

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ABSTRACT

My dissertation recovers women's increased mobility and widened geography represented in British literature of the long eighteenth century when there was a revolution in travel culture. My project revises the current scholarship of eighteenth-century travel literature that centered around a few canonical male writers by recovering the rich tradition of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century women's travel writings. I focus on several issues of the current model of women's travel writing which has prioritized published travel writing over manuscript writing, journeys to foreign countries over domestic ones, and factual travel accounts over fictional ones. Since this narrow scope has excluded women's travel writing produced in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, I propose incorporating a broader range of texts such as manuscript travelogues and travel fiction for the recovery of more women travel writers in early modern period. Through the analysis of single women's domestic travel represented in Manley's *Letters* (1696) and Davys's *The Fugitive* (1705), I argue that these professional women writers used the genre of travel writing to create respectable authorial images in their early careers. The case study of Penelope Aubin's international travel fiction shows how a woman writer could become both a consumer and a creator of geographical discourse through her imaginative works. Aubin participates in early-modern knowledge productions of the world through her fictional representations of women's transnational trajectories in exotic spaces such as the Islamic world and the Far East. Finally, I investigate the reception history of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu whose

images as an iconic British female traveler were consumed by the contemporaries and later generations in various ways such as an unfeminine, or immoral traveler. By rewriting the history of travel literature with a focus on women's travels in the long eighteenth century, my project not only challenges the contemporary discourse that associates women's travels with danger, but also demonstrates how eighteenth-century readers formed a market for the narratives highlighting women's increased mobility at home and abroad.

DEDICATION

For My Family

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: LITERARY HISTORY AND THE MODEL OF WOMEN'S

TRAVEL WRITING, 1660-1760

...he cannot but think it for the benefit of our country to hinder our ladies from being carried abroad, and much for its honour to prevent the exportation of fools.

—*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 1 (August 1731)

I know not by what infatuation that most of our country women who have been abroad, commonly return home with variety of odd pronunciations, particular gestures, and new fashions...joined with a contempt of anything that does not favour of the foreign, and of consequence a general dislike to any of our domestic commodities.

—Anonymous, *Narrative of the Journey of an Irish Gentleman through England in the Year 1752*

From 1660 to 1760, traveling became more accessible and popular to the general public thanks to the improved roads and transportation infrastructure within Britain; there was also an increase in persons enjoying domestic and foreign tourism, including the grand tour. Readers could experience traveling vicariously, and the print market was full of various sorts of travel literature from popular ethnographies such as William Dampier's *A New World around the World* (1697), to grand tour accounts by Richard Lassels and Joseph Addison, to travel fiction written by Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift. As Percy Adams asserts, the eighteenth century was the age of travelers and travel liars—or as Elizabeth A. Bohls claims, it was “the age of peregrination” (“Age of Peregrination” 97). Though they ventured far away less frequently than men, eighteenth-century women formed a part of increasing groups of travelers home and abroad who crossed cultural and national boundaries. As Isobel Grundy notes, eighteenth-century

British women migrated for economic and personal reasons such as marriage, traveled for recreation such as visiting their country estates, or traveled for religious reasons like early colonial migration to North America (“British Women Writers” 1-2).¹ Also, there was an increased interest in women’s travel writing, as evidenced in the popularity of French writer Marie-Catherine, Madame d’Aulnoy’s *The Lady’s Travels into Spain*, which went through eleven editions by 1738 after its first publication in London in 1691.² *The Lady’s Magazine; or the Complete Library*, which was first published in 1738, also serialized parts of *Travels into Spain* as its first feature every month, highlighting women’s capacity to explore foreign environments as a significant part of female education and entertainment. As opposed to the epigraphs above, which viewed women’s traveling abroad as moral degradation, the historical figures of the women traveler created educational and enlightening effects on the female readers during the long eighteenth century.

¹ Margaret Ezell also offers evidence of early modern women’s traveling and mobility, which affects the scope of community they formed and also their writings: “Early work on women’s mobility and migration within England pointed to a far greater expectation of women of various social classes traveling away from their first homes, whether from the countryside to London, from one market town to another, to find work or to live with other families. The scanty biographical information we know about some early modern women writers actually highlights their unexpected mobility” (“Afterword” 282).

² On the monumental achievement of d’Aulnoy’s *The Lady’s Travels into Spain*, Nathalie Hester comments: “In this widening arena of traveling women who were also narrators and writers, Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, comtesse d’Aulnoy’s *Relation du Voyage d’Espagne* (1691) [*An Account of Travels to Spain*] stands out as the first work explicitly titled as a travel account to be published by a French woman. While a first-person narrative telling of a woman’s travel abroad was not entirely new, a woman-authored text aligning itself with the male-dominated *récit de voyage* certainly was” (88).

My dissertation specifically focuses on late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British literature and culture, in which the numbers of women travelers increased alongside the establishment of professional women writers. Just as Chris Ewers recently interrogates the interactions between mobility and novels (3), I also note that through their increased mobility, more women recorded their observations during their journeys, reflected their widened geography in their writing, and experimented with the popular genre of travel writing. Even though there is ample evidence about early professional or nonprofessional women writers who wrote about their traveling experiences and the wider world they observed, the intersection between the rise of professional women writers and the popularity of domestic and foreign travel has been largely ignored in literary scholarship. The current narrative of the eighteenth-century history of travel writing centers around a few canonical male writers, as encapsulated in James Buzard's 2002 statement that uncritically accepts Paul Fussell's male-centered 1987 introduction of travel writing: "'almost every author of consequence'—among them Daniel Defoe, Joseph Addison, Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, Laurence Sterne, Mary Wollstonecraft—'produced one overt travel book'" (37).³ This popular narrative reifies the myth that only male fiction writers (except for Wollstonecraft) joined in the fad of travel writing that reflected the widening scope of

³ The original phrase by Fussell is: "Furthermore, almost every author of consequence produced one overt travel book, from Defoe and Addison to Fielding and Smollett, Johnson, Boswell, and Sterne. Not to mention numerous essayistic and philosophic performances evoking the mode of the travel book, like Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Voltaire's *Candide*, Johnson's *Rasselas*, and Oliver Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*" (129). Buzard's statement reveals that the male-centered narrative of eighteenth-century travel writing is repeated over the past few decades.

the world in the minds of the eighteenth-century British public. However, this narrative leaves out the other half of the story: early professional women writers such as Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley, Mary Davys, Jane Barker, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu also engaged with and developed the genre of travel writing with their extensive range of literary experiments.

The existing scholarship specifically geared toward women's travel writing likewise has limited its scope to women writers of the late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century literature, missing earlier women writers' contributions to the genre. The scholarship on women's travel writing has flourished as a distinct discipline in the past three decades, adding depth to the intersections between gender studies and travel writing studies. There has been a wide range of conversations on women travel writers, from general studies such as Jane Robinson's *Wayward Women* (1990), which extensively catalogues the list of women travelers beginning with Margery Kempe; the *Anthology of Women's Travel Writing* (2002) edited by Shirley Foster and Sara Mills; Kristi Siegel's edited volume *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing* (2004); and Clare Broome Saunders' edited volume *Women, Travel Writing, and Truth* (2014). To these we may add period-specific studies such as Elizabeth Bohls's *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (1995); Katrina O'Loughlin's *Women, Writing, and Travel in the Eighteenth Century* (2019); and *Travel and Travail: Early Modern Women, English Drama, And the Wider World* (2019), to name a few. Recent special issues in academic journals such as *Women's Writing's* issue on "Journeys to Authority: Reassessing women's travel writing, 1763-1863" (2017) and

Early Modern Women Interdisciplinary Journal's forum on "Early Modern Women's Mobilities" (2019) all testify to the popularity of women's travel writing as a significant area of study in which vigorous and diverse conversations are still ongoing.

However, a majority of these critics reveal a shared assumption that the genre of women's travel writing started from the middle of the eighteenth century with the monumental publications of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763), or Elizabeth Justice's *A Voyage to Russia* (1739). They often assert that women's travel writing bloomed in the nineteenth century. For example, in her study on eighteenth-century travelers, Katherine Turner argues, "Before 1770 only two travel narratives by women were published, Elizabeth Justice's *A Voyage to Russia* in 1739 and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Embassy Letters*, published posthumously in 1763, over forty years after their initial composition" (*British Travel Writers* 127). Similarly, O'Loughlin claims "Eliza Justice's *Voyage to Russia* (1739) is—as far as I can discover—the first travel account published by an English woman" (132). Even though Robinson's catalogue of female travelers includes medieval and seventeenth-century women's journeys such as those of Margery Kempe and Quaker missionaries, she ironically declares in the introduction, "Perhaps the first to break the mould was Lady

Mary Wortley Montagu, whose decision to join her husband on his appointment as British Ambassador to Turkey in 1716 left the London *beau monde* quite aghast” (1).⁴

In a similar vein, several anthologies of travel writing, such as *Travel Writing 1700-1830: An Anthology* edited by Bohls and Ian Duncan, and *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writings* by Foster and Mills, center around works of the late eighteenth century, except for works by Celia Fiennes and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. The “Travel Writing” chapter by Harriet Guest in *A Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing (1660-1789)* also provides a comparative analysis of Hester Piozzi, Mary Robinson, and Mary Wollstonecraft, but it focuses on literature written only between 1770 and 1800. Though digital databases are praised for recovering obscure authors and marginalized texts in the unlimited online space, the database “Women's Travel Writing, 1780-1840: A Bio-Bibliographical Database,” created by Benjamin Colbert, similarly limits its timeframe to too late. Colbert claims his dates of 1780-1840 coincide with “the period in which women began to publish regularly and at an increasing rate” (153). It is an undeniable fact that there was a significant rise of traveling women and their published writings toward the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century; however, the recurring trend of the current historiography of women's travel literature to focus on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century can be misleading

⁴ Another similar example can also be found as follows: “Only one travel account by a woman seems to have been published before 1763, Elizabeth Justice's *A Voyage to Russia* (1739), although there were of course many female travelers who kept journals or wrote letters not intended for publication: examples include Celia Fiennes in Britain, and Sarah Kemble Knight in America” (Thompson, *Travel Writing* 170-71).

because it establishes and perpetuates a narrative that women started to travel and consciously write about their experience only from the late eighteenth century. In this context, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's epistolary travel narrative recounting her early and unprecedented travel to continental Europe and Turkey is an anomalous exception. Most importantly, this way of narrating the history of women's travel writing has critically neglected the significant phase of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when women's increasing opportunities for journeys home and abroad coincide with more productions of female-centered travel literature in book market.

The existing scholarly narrative reveals several problematic assumptions underlying the existing model of women's travel writing scholarships that need to be re-examined. For example, scholars have prioritized published travel writing over manuscript writing, journeys to foreign countries over domestic ones, and factual travel accounts over fictional ones. Women's travel writing studies have limited their scope to a female traveler's published writing of her authentic travels, despite the fact that many women did not have the means to document their journeys, or did not have a chance or intention for publication. With these criteria, as a result, the literary history of women's travel writing mostly starts its narrative from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, or, in several cases, from Elizabeth Justice, excluding other possible methodologies that can explore a broader range of women travelers and writers. Instead, my dissertation fills this gap by reconsidering the literary history of women's travel writing and focusing on underappreciated travel literature by professional women writers such as Delarivier Manley, Mary Davys, Penelope Aubin, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. By closing

my dissertation with the chapter on Lady Montagu, I reverse the conventional arc of eighteenth-century scholarship on women's travel writing, such as that written by Bohls and O'Loughlin, which usually starts with Lady Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters*. Thus, this dissertation explores the relationships among the revolution in the travel industry, the increased mobility of women travelers, and the rise of women authors, all of which coexisted as cultural phenomena in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Issue 1: Reconsidering the Frames of Orientalism or Colonialism

Although women's mobility and travel writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries offer rich and diverse stories, there have been tendencies in the existing scholarship on women's travel writing to give more credit to the later texts that present orientalist or colonial encounters. This trend has privileged women's travel writing produced during and after the nineteenth century, the time period usually associated with the development of high imperialism. For example, Sarah Mills's *Discourses of Difference* (1991) examines "British women travel writers who describe their travels to colonized countries" during the period of high imperialism from 1850 to 1930 (1). This tendency can be also found in the selections of the anthologies of women's travel writing.⁵ It not only intensifies the myth that early modern women stayed home and didn't travel, but also neglects a huge amount of literature on women's travels including women's domestic travels, grand tours in continental Europe, or travel writing written

⁵ For instance, *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing*, edited by Foster and Mills; Kristi Siegel's edited volume *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing*.

before 1800. As Katherine Turner and Zoë Kinsley have argued, “over-concentration on these post-colonial and autobiographical themes has sometimes obscured the intellectual substance and literary accomplishment of women’s travel writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries” (Thompson, “Journeys to Authority” 133).

Placing women’s travel narratives of the early eighteenth century in the context of imperialism or orientalism would be also anachronistic. I want to echo Srinivas Aravamudan’s call for new modes of understanding pre-Orientalist literature in his book *Enlightenment Orientalism*. He suggests eighteenth-century literature has its own complexities and agendas that are not grasped by the colonial or imperialistic frame that is tailored for nineteenth-century fiction: “rather than assume that the eighteenth century is a pre-Orientalist stage leading to a racist nineteenth century, we need to ask if other modes of apprehension existed earlier” (3). Travel fiction of the Restoration and the eighteenth century need their own frames because, as Aravamudan and Robert Markley point out, England had not yet achieved its dominant status and power over the world as in the nineteenth century.⁶ For the new model of eighteenth-century relationship between the East and the West, Aravamudan proposes a term “Enlightenment Orientalism,” which refers to the European understanding of the Orient in imaginative modes, and argues that transcultural fiction popular in the eighteenth century often imagined the Eastern countries superior to the Western society (4-5). For example, Penelope Aubin’s

⁶ Aravamudan mentions that in the eighteenth century, “Europe had still not established its sway over China, Japan, Turkey, or India” (*Enlightenment Orientalism* 7). Similarly, Robert Markley adopts a non-Eurocentric view of history and asserts “until 1800 an integrated world economy was dominated by China and to a lesser extent Japan and Moghul” (*The Far East* 2).

novel *The Noble Slaves*, the text I will explain further in chapter three, highlights European characters' curiosity and wonder in their encounter with the Pagan temple in the Far East. This example along with Aravamudan's call urges us to find a new model of women's travel writing in the early eighteenth century.

Issue 2: Rethinking the Binary between Publication and Manuscript

Another common assumption shared by critics is that published travel writings deserve more priority than manuscripts, so they take into account only printed books and their publication dates even though publication histories of most of women's travelogues are very complicated. For instance, many travel writings authored by women were published posthumously, sometimes right after the death of the writer, as in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's case. Her travel letters written in Turkey was published in 1763, four decades after the initial trip. However, in most cases, women's travel writings were published several centuries after their authors' lifetimes. For instance, Celia Fiennes's detailed description about her tour of England from 1682-1712 was originally written in manuscript for her relations, but was first published by Emily Griffiths in 1888 under the title *Through England on a Side Saddle in the time of William and Mary* (Morris 10). Sarah Kemble Knight's humorous travel journal portraying her journey from Boston to New York in 1704 was later published by Theodore Dwight in 1825. Janet Schaw's manuscript journal on her journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal from 1774-76 was seriously studied and published in 1923 by Yale University Press. This suggests that the publication date reflects neither the original date of women's travel nor the date of their composition of travel manuscripts. This leads us to

question whether the scholarly practice to seek after the very first book published by women travelers is an accurate practice.

As seen in the examples above, it seems more correct to say that the publication history of women's travel writing depends on luck and the enthusiasm of a few individuals in later generations. My archival research also suggests that there are at least several women's travel manuscripts written before 1750 which have never been printed. For example, travel diaries written, respectively, by Elizabeth Burnet, the third wife of Bishop Gilbert Burnet, and her stepdaughter showcase early modern women's records of their journeys to the continental Europe (Bodleian Rowlandson D. 1092 f.100-204). Elizabeth Burnet traveled to the Netherlands in 1704 with her three stepchildren not only to improve her health using the spa, but also to execute political and financial business (Kirchberger 21-22). Kirchberger notes that Burnet's journals contain "innumerable conversations with men and women of all parties, from Duke of Marlborough, the Electress of Hanover, down to the humblest parish curé of a village" (23) as well as interesting observations about architecture, gardens, religious house, spas, and educational institutes for women in Rotterdam, Liege, and Leyden (24-28).

Another archival example is Mrs. Percivall's letters, titled "Observations made by Mrs. Percivall when in London Anno 1713 or 1714 in Letters to a Friend" (Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, MS vol. 70). This manuscript contains a collection of twelve letters written by Mrs. Percivall to a woman named Elvira. It seems like this is a copy-book of actual letters, or an epistolary set-up to describe the author's daily observations, for these letters are more objective descriptions of London than endearing

and personal letters. Her small letter-book is a valuable historical document that chronicles contemporary events such as the celebration ceremony of the Peace of Utrecht between France and Britain, in which there was a procession of gilt and painted coaches that carried the Queen and the French ambassador (9-11). At night there were “Bonfires, squibs, Sky Rockets illuminations” (12), the performance of Henry Purcell’s music (12), and the choir of six thousand charity children, about which Mrs. Percivall exclaims, they sang the “Softest Sweetest of Airs [she] ever heard” (13). Though the exact identity of Mrs. Percivall is yet unknown, these letters give us a valuable glimpse into how a woman of high social class observed significant historical events as well as enjoyed aristocratic social life in early eighteenth-century London.

Even though studies of women’s travel writing have been mainly focused on the recovery of printed works, the travel manuscripts written by Burnet and Percivall suggest that there might be more undiscovered women’s travel writings—in the forms of journals, letters, or prose fiction—in the archives. As I summarized earlier, scholars’ preference for printed women’s travel writing is very problematic, especially in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century scholarship, because a majority of women’s travel writing in this period were kept in manuscript and unintended for print publication. The usual story would be that women’s travel letters or journals were privately owned, or kept in the archives, fortuitously rediscovered, and published a few centuries later. These examples testify to how unclear and inexact is the divide between published travel writing and travel manuscript.

Issue 3: Reassessing the Origins of Published Women's Travel Writing

The narrative told by scholars such as Turner and O'Loughlin that Elizabeth Justice's *Voyage to Russia*, published in 1739, is the first published travel book by women is also incorrect, partly due to their narrow definitions of what constitutes the genre of travel writing. In the preface to the second edition of *Voyage to Russia* (1746), Justice declares that her primary motivation to travel to Russia to work as a governess, as well as to publish her travel book, was due to her husband's failure to pay "an Annuity of Twenty-five Pounds a Year" (v). The author complains that "the Non-Payment of my Arrears has caus'd me to go through great Hardships, which put me upon publishing this Performance" (vii).⁷ Justice's journey out of monetary concern seems to be well suited to the scholar's model of women's travel writing. However, religious travel accounts by missionary women have been excluded in the usual categories of women's travel writing so far, even though there exists a rich history of missionary women's printed travel accounts in the middle and latter half of the seventeenth century. In regards to the far-reaching missionary travel writing by Quaker women, Bernadette Andrea asserts that "challenging patriarchal injunctions against their speaking and traveling, middle- and lower-rank Quaker women actively participated in the

⁷ The preface explaining Justice's rationale behind her travel and publication was added to the second edition of *A Voyage to Russia*, printed in 1746. O'Loughlin notes that Justice's travel book is different from Lady Montagu's travel letters in several ways: it does not follow the epistolary format; Justice pays attention to all classes of Russian society; and the audience of her account is "genuinely 'public'" as opposed to Montagu's specific audience of the recipients of her travel letters (133).

movement's inaugural missions to the Mediterranean, considered as 'Ottoman lake' during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (*Women and Islam* 53).

Missionary women belonging to radical religious sects, such as Anna Trapnel, Barbara Blaugdone, Mary Fisher, Katherine Evans, or Sarah Cheevers, traveled widely within England, Ireland, and abroad in New England, the Caribbean, and the Middle East to spread their faiths between 1650 and 1700. Just as Caroline Baker maintains that "travel writing also constituted an important part of Quaker narrative as a method of spreading the Quaker religion" (5), religious women's travel accounts were frequently published in England for the purpose of spreading testimonials of their suffering, imprisonment, and martyrdom in foreign, non-Christian nations. In regards to the importance of Quaker writing and press, Margaret Ezell claims that "Quaker women dominated the publication patterns of women writers through 1700" (*Literary History* 134), and notes that the early history of the Quaker press involved women printers such as Mary Westwood, Tace Sowle, and one Mrs. Dover (137).

Quaker activist Mary Fisher's unprecedented journey to the Ottoman Empire in 1657 also prompts us to reexamine the prevalent narrative that Lady Mary Montagu was, in the late 1710s, the first English woman to visit the Ottoman Empire. Mary Fisher, with other male missionaries, visited Cambridge, Boston, and Barbados in the late 1650s, and then went to the Ottoman Empire in 1657. Fisher boldly met the Sultan Mehmed IV in Adrianople and proselytized to him; the Sultan welcomed her and listened to what she spoke in a friendly manner, as opposed to the English officials who stigmatized Quaker missionaries within England (Andrea 58-59). Similarly, Anna

Trapnel, a female prophet in the Puritan sect the Fifth Monarchy, journeyed from London to Cornwall and was arrested by the local sheriff for her preaching as described in *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea; or, A Narrative of Her Journey from London into Cornwall* (1654).⁸ Trapnel is specifically interrogated by the authority as to why she took “such a journey” to Cornwall, and she answers “[w]hat though I had not? I am a single person, and why may I not be with my friends anywhere?” asserting her right to travel anywhere as an unmarried and free woman (88).

Some women, especially missionaries, faced severe punishments for their audacity to travel. Barbara Blaugdone, a Quaker missionary, visited many cities in England and Ireland for her Quaker missionary travels, and was frequently imprisoned and whipped for her preaching and traveling as evidenced in *Account of the Travels, Sufferings, and Persecutions of Barbara Blaugdone* (1691).⁹ Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers were likewise imprisoned and tortured in the isle of Malta, which was under the control of the Catholic Church (*A Short Relation of Some of the Cruel Sufferings of Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, in the Inquisition of the Isle of Malta*, 1662). During their missionary travels to New England, the Caribbean, the Middle East, these female prophets and activists were repeatedly imprisoned and interrogated by male authorities as to why they were traveling outside their hometown. These common

⁸ The Fifth Monarchy refers to a millenarian sect that believed “the revolutionary events currently unfolding in England represented the fulfillment of biblical prophecies, and that the political turmoil presaged the imminence of Christ’s Second Coming” (Hinds 8).

⁹ Blaugdone’s home was Bristol, but her missionary work took her to various cities in England such as Marlborough, Devonshire, Molton, Bastable, and Bediford.

patterns shared by Quaker and Fifth Monarchy missionary women establish women's travel narrative as a genre of female resistance confronting patriarchal authority.

I want additionally to point out that scholars have also missed out at least one woman's account of foreign journey published in 1740, one year after the publication of Justice's *Voyage to Russia*. Margaret Pennyman's posthumous publication of *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1740) includes "Her Late Journey to Paris, giving an Account of the present State of the Court of France, and of all that is curious and remarkable in that famous City" as the first item in the title page, along with her other works such as familiar letters, poems, and "A Commentary upon Mr Pope's Essay on Man."¹⁰ The famously scurrilous bookseller Edmund Curll introduces in the Preface that the author's marriage to Thomas Pennyman ended in legal separation due to the husband's "Lewdness" and "other ill-usiage of his Lady" (v). Pennyman's journal recounts her trip to France during summer 1720 with another young woman and two male relatives in order to dispose of her stock invested in the Mississippi Scheme. Just like the downfall of South Sea bubble in England, this French scheme was also a big failure (v). In her journal entry dated Saturday the 21st of August, Pennyman

¹⁰ The full title is: *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, by the Honourable Lady Margaret Pennyman. Containing, 1. Her Late Journey to Paris, giving an Account of the present State of the Court of France, and of all that is curious and remarkable in that famous City. 2. Poems on several occasions, with Familiar Letters to a Friend. Published from her Original Manuscripts.* The bookseller Edmund Curll seems to have a high interest in women's travel narratives as evidenced in his reprinting of Manley's *Letters* (1696) under the new title *A Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter* in 1725, and his publishing Jane Barker's *A Patch-Work Screen for the Ladies* (1723), which begins with the heroine's stagecoach traveling. In regards to this, Paul Baines and Pat Rogers argue that Curll's publication shows "a high proportion of fiction by women authors, currently enjoying renewed popularity" (6).

nonchalantly declares, “This Morning, by an Edict, I lost 8000 Livres. However I went to *St Dennis*, and spent the greatest Part of the Day in that Abby” (49). By not focusing on her inner turmoil or feelings of disappointment, Pennyman chose to portray what she observed in Paris—the royal palace, churches, ceremonies, a play house, a mad house, a menagerie, and so on—in an objective and ethnographic style which evokes that of Mrs. Percivall. Even though the publication dates of Pennyman and Justice are similar, and although they share primarily financial motivations for their journeys, only Elizabeth Justice’s *Voyage to Russia* has been recently recovered and analyzed by a few scholars (presumably due to its very clear genre marker as a journey in the title); however, Pennyman’s account of her journey to Paris has been forgotten because it is but one section of her miscellaneous works, and therefore has been categorized as miscellany rather than proper travel writing.

Issue 4: Rethinking the Dichotomy of Factual and Fictional Travel Accounts

Another issue in the current model of scholarship is its narrowed definition of travel writing. Tim Youngs defines travel writing as that which “consists of predominantly factual, first-person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator” (3). Per this notion of travel writing, most of the scholarship on travel writing has excluded travel novels, pseudo-travel literature, or other travel writings that blur the boundary between fiction and fact. This rigid definition sounds commonsensical to the modern notion of travel literature and fits the post nineteenth-century texts in which the generic divide between fiction and non-fiction was more clearly settled. However, this narrow definition might not be ideal for the analysis of

seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel writing. As Cynthia Wall explains, the line between fact and fiction in eighteenth-century travel writing was flimsy and unclear:

“Travel narratives”—itself a loosely fitting term—applies generally to those documentary accounts by travellers of their travels; presumed true, but not always reliable. In fact, the deliberate smudges between truth and fiction in the eighteenth-century novel appear equally reliably in many non-fictional genres...the rhetorics of travel supplied hosts of models for narrative and imagery in the early novel. (122)

As Wall claims, the supposedly documentary accounts of journeying were not entirely reliable, and early eighteenth-century fiction also created credibility by drawing on the conventions of travel- or exploration-themed narratives. Paul Hunter similarly indicates that early novels mimicked and absorbed the generic characteristics of travel literature in order to “capitalize on the contemporary popularity of travel books by suggesting the similarity of their wares” (353). Therefore, early eighteenth-century readers often could not distinguish between true and false narratives. Indeed, they might not have cared about narrative authenticity: as Lennard Davis suggests, “the readers of these novels, ballads, *newes*, and so on clearly valued the idea that a narrative *might* have been true, but they bought the narratives whether true or false” (70). Also, many writers did not

want their books to be read as merely fictional but as a historical truth even though their narratives were only loosely based on authentic experiences.¹¹

The majority of women writers' travel narratives produced in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century falls on this ambiguous line between fiction and fact, including d'Aulnoy's *Travels into Spain* (1691), Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688), Manley's *Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter* (1725), and Davys's *The Merry Wanderer* (1725). This ambiguity contributes to the exclusion of these women writers' works from the studies of travel writing, which is ostensibly based on travel writers' authentic experiences. These women's travel narratives seem to be loosely based on the authors' actual journeys (in some cases, their authenticity is still controversial), but the authors spice up their narratives by inventing characters and inset stories which usually offer dramatic, romantic, entertaining, or sensational tales, thus blending autobiographical travel accounts with fictional imaginations.

For example, scholars continue to debate how truthful d'Aulnoy's travel accounts are. Percy Adams contextualizes the controversy over the authenticity of d'Aulnoy's *The Lady's Travels into Spain* since its publication as such: the main question over its authenticity arose in 1705 with an argument that d'Aulnoy never traveled to Spain, and that her narrative is entirely based on French periodicals and travel books. However, in

¹¹ In regards to this point, Percy G. Adams explains, "when an age of writers called their stories 'histories'—or used in their titles a term for some subtype of history, such as 'life,' 'letters,' 'memoirs,' 'journal,' 'travels,' 'voyage'—those writers wanted to achieve the appearance, the techniques, the reliability of history at its best" (*Travel Literature* 89).

1928, Mme. Jeanne Mazon defended and argued that d'Aulnoy did in fact travel to Spain and that parts of her story were based on her original observations (*Travelers* 97-100). Adams concludes, "The truth is, of course, that if Mme d'Aulnoy went to Spain she gave very few, if any, original impressions of her stay there and that she was such a wide reader and careful workman that she has for an astoundingly long time been able to convince readers of her originality" (100). In addition, Melvin D. Palmer recently claimed that d'Aulnoy fabricated her stories with "sentimental and realistic inset tales" (224) and "of all the characters in the journey portion of the travels, only one, the Archbishop of Burgos, has been found to be historical; the others are apparently creations of the author" (228).

This controversy can be equally applicable to Manley's *Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter* and Davys's *The Merry Wanderer*, which will be further analyzed in chapter two. With biographical evidence, it is clear that Manley actually traveled from London to Exeter via stagecoach, and also that Davys left her Irish home for London to earn her bread. Therefore, the autobiographical gestures in their travel narratives are partially true; however, just like d'Aulnoy's *Travels into Spain*, both Manley and Davys seem to create characters and inset stories to make their narratives more diverting and entertaining to the reader. These British women writers might have also been influenced by d'Aulnoy's technique used in her travel narratives, which mixes autobiographical elements with fictional creations. Similarly, there have been many scholarly debates over to what extent Behn's *Oroonoko* reflects the author's authentic experience in Surinam. However, as Robert L. Chibka argues that "[y]et in a century when imaginative voyages

are generally valued more than scores of true narratives of adventures and exploration, issues no longer considered pertinent to her contemporaries and successors remain central to consideration of Behn's work" (512), the modern controversy over the truth claim might be futile, given that the unclear divide between fiction and fact was acceptable to late-seventeenth-century readers.

Even Lady Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters*, the reception history of which will be examined in chapter four, have been usually considered to be the factual description of her travel to Turkey; however, Heffernan and O'Quinn warn the modern reader that "it is not safe to assume that the missives that make up the her letter-book are transcriptions of actual correspondence" (13). They caution that "this complicated history of production, circulation, and reception means that care must be taken not to mistake the letters for actual letters, and the performance of writing needs to be constantly at the fore of the contemporary reader's mind" (16). This unique characteristic of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century literary landscape, in which the distinction between fact and fiction was uncertain and did not always matter to readers, does not fit into the modern notion of travel literature that consists of "predominantly factual, first-person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator" (Youngs 3).

On the other hand, even though some travel narratives are downright fictitious (like Penelope Aubin's travel fiction, which I will analyze in depth in chapter three), the analysis of fictional representations of women's travel and movement is also meaningful in that it can shed light on the societal constraint, bias, or cultural configuration

surrounding female mobility. In *Travel and Travail*, Patricia Akhimie and Bernadette Andrea claims that fictional representations “arguably function as a reproach to the travel ban promulgated in admonitory tracts and as further evidence of women’s movement within and outside England whether voluntary...or involuntary” (1). By including fictional representations of women’s traveling as well as historical documents about it, the cultural significance of women’s travels on contemporary readers and their imagination would be more clearly analyzed. It will be also easier to track down the historical transition of how British society became increasingly accustomed to the idea of women travelers, which played its own role in accepting a woman as an independent agent, both physically and intellectually, who can move and navigate within and through other cultures.

In addition, by examining only female travel fiction writers, my study can help explain the rise and increasing popularity of the figure of female travelers in early eighteenth-century British literary culture. Many scholars have focused their attentions on the travel fiction of Defoe and Swift, but the increased popularity of the literary figure of female travelers in the 1720s is equally noteworthy, especially among the group of travel fiction à la *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). The historiography of women’s travel writing often overlooks the remarkable increase of texts about women travelers that occurred after Defoe’s popular novel. The examples are extensive, from Penelope Aubin’s captivity novels that demonstrate women’s heroism in the Atlantic world, to the reprinting of Mary Davys’s and Delarivier Manley’s autobiographical fiction about their domestic travels in 1725, to the popularity of d’Aulnoy’s *The Lady’s Travels into Spain*,

to the printing of *A General History of The Pyrates* (1724) whose title page foregrounds in large font female pirates' names such as Mary Read and Anne Bonny. Not to be forgotten is Montagu's single manuscript letter, published in 1719 under the title *The Genuine Copy of a Letter Written from Constantinople by an English Lady, who was lately in Turkey, and who is no less distinguish'd by her Wit than by her Quality; to a Venetian Nobleman, one of the prime Virtuosi of the Age*. These examples testify to the increased interest in female mobility in various forms, which served as rare and attention-grabbing commodities among the reading public and in book markets.

Issue 5: Suggesting the New Models of Women's Travel Writing Studies

So far, I have pointed out the lacunae in the current model of studies of women's travel writing in terms of its neglect of pre-colonial women's travel writing, manuscript travelogues, and fictional representations of women's mobility. The recently published essay collection *Travel and Travail* (2019) is a timely contribution to the studies of women's travel writing and mobility because it begins to correct these three aforementioned weaknesses of the field. This book recovers sixteenth- and seventeenth-century women travelers and questions the long-held assumption that early modern women did not travel widely. In addition, this book addresses a variety of representations of women's mobility in historical documents, manuscripts, and travel fiction authored by both women and men, thereby recovering the voices of female travelers who did not have means to document their trajectories. Although *Travel and Travail* offers a framework that can be applicable to a wide range of works across periods, its focus on the Renaissance period still leaves out late seventeenth-century and

early eighteenth-century women's travel writing. Considering the oversaturation of the analysis of women's travel in the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century literature, the specific period I focus on in my dissertation is like a lost piece of a puzzle. Its recovery is all the more striking when we consider the abundance and increasing popularity of travel books and travel fiction especially in the early eighteenth century.

Therefore, my dissertation contributes to the studies of women's travel writing in terms of periodization by specifically focusing on the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century women's travel writing by Manley, Davys, Aubin, and Lady Montagu. These professional women writers experimented with the genre of travel writing while working on a variety of other genres such as occasional poems, satires, novels, amatory fiction, periodicals, and so on. Through their literary experiments, these women writers challenged gendered and prescriptive assumptions that early modern women stuck to doing their domestic duties within the household, in contrast to men who could travel and easily navigate across national boundaries. By broadly examining representations of women's domestic and grand tours, as well as general international travel in literature of the long eighteenth-century, I claim that the figure of the woman traveler—ranging from coach passenger, horse rider, rambler, captive, castaway, to grand tourist—refutes the contemporary discourse that associates women's travels with danger and threats to their virtue. Therefore, early eighteenth-century women writers removed the stigma of female travel which had been frequently associated with the figures of night walkers in the Restoration criminal biographies and elevated its status to something virtuous and respectable. A series of texts by women writers consistently

spotlights early modern women as active travelers who explore unfamiliar places and increase their knowledge about the wider world.

In chapter two, I focus on single women's domestic travels represented in Manley's *Letters* (1696), an account of her stagecoach travel to Exeter, and Davys's *The Fugitive* (1705), a story about a lady's ramble into the countryside. Manley and Davys both rebut the contemporary perceptions of stagecoach journeying and women's rambling as dangerous or promiscuous by legitimizing their trips as ways to explore their native land in individualistic and independent fashions. Their travelogues also demonstrate how women's domestic travel can be as educational and entertaining as gentlemen's grand tours or navigations of far-off foreign countries. Not only did these two writers contribute to the developing genre of domestic travel writing, they also showcased how professional women writers used the good reputation of travel books to establish virtuous and respectable authorial images in their early careers.

The third chapter examines Penelope Aubin's travel fiction published in the 1720s. I argue that she exemplifies the aspiring woman author who participated in early eighteenth-century knowledge productions of the world by becoming both a consumer and a producer of geographical discourse. Being heavily influenced by Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Aubin imagined stories of female globetrotters who navigate as far as East Asia, North and South America, the Ottoman Empire, and North Africa. By focusing on her descriptions of the Islamic World and the Far East, this chapter claims that Aubin rewrites the relationship between geography and gender. She foregrounds traveling heroines whose virtue is not tainted in non-Christian nations, which rebuts the

gendered discourse that females returning from Muslim countries were unvirtuous. Also, her imaginative representations of East Asia and the North Pacific Ocean exemplify British society's increasing level of geographical knowledge and cultural discourse of foreign countries in the early eighteenth century.

Chapter four pays attention to the reception history of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's travel writing and her image as a traveler to illustrate how her contemporaries and later generations interpreted the figure of female traveler in the eighteenth century and beyond. Through a comprehensive survey of cultural evidence such as periodical reviews, contemporary people's reactions, satirical prints, and later editions of her works, this chapter meticulously follows the shift in the public image, from celebratory to derogatory, of the most famous female traveler of the eighteenth century. This reception history alludes to the fact that early eighteenth-century women writers' literary efforts to paint women's mobility in a positive light might not have been effective to remove social stigma against women travelers. Despite the societal and cultural backlashes against an old woman's traveling without her husband, Lady Montagu's tour and residence in Italy defies the double standard surrounding the women's grand tour.

My dissertation offers several possible methodologies to approach and analyze women's travel writing in fresh and productive ways. Through the examples of Manley and Davys, I interrogate the effects of the genre of travel writing on the establishment of women's respectable authorial images; the case study of Penelope Aubin shows how a woman writer could become both a consumer and a creator of geographical discourse through her imaginative works; with the analysis of Montagu as a celebrity traveler, I

examine the way the idea of an iconic traveler is consumed and constructed by later generations through continuous re-interpretations, reprinting, and re-situating of her works in the new historical contexts. Ultimately, my dissertation argues that through their contributions to the development of travel literature, women writers not only expanded the scope of travel literature, but also their representations of female travelers—both Aubin’s militantly chaste heroines or Lady Montagu’s shrewd social commentators—might have influenced eighteenth-century readers to be less hostile and more accepting of women’s increasing travels at home and abroad.

CHAPTER II

“PETTY JOURNEYS”: SINGLE WOMEN’S DOMESTIC TRAVELS IN DELARIVIER MANLEY’S *LETTERS* AND MARY DAVYS’S *THE FUGITIVE**

In seventeenth-century England, improved transportation and roads allowed more English people of all classes to navigate their native country with relative ease. By coach, horse, or boat, English men and women traveled domestically for various reasons: to visit their family and relatives, improve their health, transact business, seek solitude, or satisfy their curiosity. Zoë Kinsley suggests that domestic travel was “a way of pursuing a more individualistic and independent form of exploration” (*Women Writing* 5) than the grand tour, during which one was usually accompanied by an entourage of guides, servants, and secretaries. In a similar vein, Esther Moir notes that domestic travelers were individualists because they did not have to follow “treatises which set out the ideals of touring” (4). They also traveled for personal reasons, unlike the members of the Royal Society or Universities whose official duties required them to report their observations.¹

*Reprinted with permission and revised slightly from “‘Every Jolt Will Squash Their Guts’: Women’s Stagecoach Travel in Delarivier Manley’s *Letters*” by Yoojung Choi, *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2019. pp. 141-51. Copyright 2019 by Yoojung Choi.

¹ I use the term domestic travel, not domestic tour, to highlight the independency and spontaneity of domestic journeys. The dichotomy between “traveler” as someone adventurous and curious, and “tourist” as someone passive and predictable, did not exist in the late seventeenth century. Kinsley notes that this binary was born around the turn of the nineteenth century (“Travellers and Tourists” 237).

Also, traveling at home had the advantage of being accessible to people from various classes and backgrounds, such as “a royal librarian, a Cheshire landowner, a spirited young woman, an army lieutenant,” and so on (Moir 4).² This is particularly true for women of all classes whose education did not necessarily include several years of grand tours in continental Europe, which was an essential part of well-to-do young gentlemen’s liberal education. Therefore, domestic travel was significant to the broadening of women’s experience and knowledge as a substitute for the grand tour. The rise of domestic travel allowed more women to enjoy increased scopes of mobility and spatial exploration, particularly independently as exemplified by solo female travelers. Despite the significance of the domestic tour, as Kinsley notes, it is “still relatively neglected in comparison to the attention given to accounts of foreign travel from the same period” (*Women Writing* 1). Women’s domestic travel and records of their experiences should be incorporated into the scholarship of travel writing, so that we may better understand early modern women’s lived experiences and how these women negotiated their relationship to increased mobility and widened areas of exploration.

As domestic travel increased, more women recorded their travel experiences in the forms of diaries and letters. For example, Celia Fiennes, a late seventeenth-century traveler, compiled and left her travel journal of her domestic tour in manuscript for

² Jeremy Black points out that both domestic and foreign tourism increased among the British in the eighteenth century, but “there were clearly aspects of social differentiation in British tourism. The visitor to Bath might have time and money; his counterpart in Venice assuredly did” (4). Brian Dolan also suggests that women’s grand tours became more available and popular from the mid eighteenth century, offering the examples of Lady Webster, Mary Coke, Mary Berry, and more.

posterity. She conducted a domestic tour from approximately 1682 to 1712, covering an extensive range of English counties, in order to “regain [her] health by variety and change of aire and exercise” (32). In her preface to her reader, Fiennes praises the benefits of domestic travel for gentlewomen whose daily lives were spent pretty much unoccupied. She argues that domestic travel will be profitable for gentlewomen by allowing them to study how “to be serviceable to their neighbours especially the poor among whom they dwell” as well as how to let go of “the uneasy thoughts how to pass away tedious days.” As a result, “time would not be a burthen when not at a card or dice table, and the fashions and manners of foreign parts less minded or desired” (32). Fiennes concludes her preface with a strong recommendation: “especially [for] my own Sex, the study of those things which tends to Improve the mind and makes our Lives pleasant and comfortable as well as profitable in all the Stages and Stations of our Lives” (33).

Women’s domestic travel letters and journals were generally kept in manuscript and did not appear in printed forms like Fiennes’s travel journal; however, we can find rare examples of women’s printed domestic travelogues in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century literary market: Delarivier Manley’s *Letters* (1696), an epistolary account of her stagecoach travel to Exeter, and Mary Davys’s *The Fugitive* (1705), a story about a lady’s ramble into the countryside. Delarivier Manley and Mary Davys challenged the literary convention of the day that women’s travel accounts were not usually publishable, and took advantage of the rarity of women’s printed domestic traveling experiences as their marketing point. Manley’s and Davys’s autobiographical

travelogues have earned scanty scholarly attention, none of which addresses their representation of women's independent domestic travel and their contributions to the genre of travel literature.³ Despite the apparent differences between these two journeys and texts, such as the modes of transportation (stagecoach vs. horse) and the genres (letter vs. prose fiction), pairing them allows us to examine how early professional women writers used their domestic travel accounts to create a novelty in the market and develop advantageous authorial personae in their early careers.

This chapter focuses on two main points. In the first section, I examine how professional women writers used the good reputation of the travel writing genre to establish respectable and advantageous authorial personae in their early careers. In their justifications of domestic travel, Manley and Davys also carve out new definitions and aesthetics of travel writing that are more suitable for domestic travel: these focus more on character descriptions, interactions, and interpolated stories, rather than giving ethnographical reports on local customs that were more appropriate to foreign travel writing. The latter section investigates how Manley and Davys challenge the stigma of unchastity and unruliness attached to the figure of female travelers. They set up a model of women's travel that is not promiscuous, but that is also not necessarily tethered to the concept of feminine virtue. I show how Manley's travel account refutes the gendered

³ The only scholar who paired these two works is William H. McBurney, who indicates that *The Merry Wanderer* is noteworthy for its "detailed sketches of provincial life," and in that respect the "closest parallel is Mrs. Mary Manley's Letters (1696)" ("Mrs. Mary Davys" 353). Though he did not use the term "travel literature," his analysis implies that these works are similar in their depictions of single women travelers who explore England's countryside rather than its cityscape.

assumptions in the contemporary discourse that view women's stagecoach travel as corrupting and dangerous. In a similar vein, I also focus on Davys's foregrounding of a respectable and satirical woman traveler, a female Rambler who significantly departs from previous traditional literary topoi of the " Rambler."

Women's Domestic Travel: Not Legitimate Travel?

Manley and Davys, both being popular writers in the early eighteenth century, published travelogues in their early career while experimenting with other genres such as drama, political satire, and amatory fiction. Manley's *Letters* and Mary Davys's *The Fugitive* have similar reprinting histories, both having been repackaged and republished with new titles in 1725. The printing history of these two works testifies to the fact that women's accounts of their travels were valued commodities sought and recycled by publishers. Manley's *Letters* recounts her stagecoach journey from Egham (16 miles west of London) to Exeter, undertaken between June and July 1694. Manley writes to her unnamed friend at "every stage" along the journey (59-60).⁴ Manley's ostensible reason for the trip is to escape the scandals of the court life and seek solitude in the countryside. Rachel Carnell offers several possible specific reasons for this trip to the West Country, the most probable of which is that Manley lost favor with the Duchess of

⁴ Delarivier Manley's *Letters Written by Mrs. Manley* (sic) (1696) is from *The Selected Works of Delarivier Manley* (vol. 1), edited by Rachel Carnell. All references are to this edition.

Cleveland, the powerful mistress of King Charles II, and went to Exeter because London life was too expensive to sustain without patronage.⁵

Her letters recording this journey were presumably published without her permission in 1696 under the title *Letters Written by Mrs. Manley* by J. H. (probably James Hargreaves). In 1725, Edmund Curll reprinted her letters under the new title *A Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter: Describing the Humours on the Road, with the Characters and Adventures of the Company*. In the preface he notes, “I received from her own Hands about Eight Years ago, with this positive injunction, that it should never more see the Light, till the Thread of her Life was Cut” (A3r). The publishers’ recurring rhetoric in both editions that Manley did not want these letters to be public needs to be considered as a marketing strategy rather than taken at a face value. While *Letters Written by Manley* in 1696 evokes the epistolary genre, Edmund Curll’s *Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter* is tied more to the novelistic travel narrative traditions fashionable in the 1720s.⁶

Davys’s travel narrative was published anonymously as *The Fugitive containing, Several very pleasant PASSAGES, and surprizing ADVENTURES, observ’d by a LADY in her Country Ramble* (1705), but later she revised and expanded this fiction into *The*

⁵ Another, less probable reason could be that she was pregnant and wanted to be closer to her bigamous cousin-husband John Manley in Truro, Cornwall (Carnell, *A Political Biography* 81-82).

⁶ Two years prior, in 1723, Curll published Jane Barker’s *A Patch-Work Screen for the Ladies* that tells the story of a heroine, Galesia, travelling in a stagecoach from London and describing the humors of her company. Curll rediscovered and published Manley’s letters, being aware of the popularity and trendiness of stagecoach travel narratives, especially those narrated by a female solo traveler.

Merry Wanderer (1725) which was printed together with her other works in two volumes. She not only stylistically polished her travel narrative for the revised version, but also made an important change in the national identity of the female narrator of the story. In *The Fugitive*, Davys presents the first-person narrator as an English-born lady who was carried to Ireland by her mother and now comes back to her home country; however, in *The Merry Wanderer*, Davys is frank about the female narrator's Irish identity, which mirrors Davys's own Irish heritage. The shift of the title from *The Fugitive* to *The Merry Wanderer* is also noteworthy because "the fugitive" implies someone escaping from unsavory events and taking up an involuntary journey, but "The Merry Wanderer" implies a more active traveler who enjoys every bit of random rambling.

By analyzing these published works by Manley and Davys, in particular, through the lens of women's travel writing, I claim that publications of travel literature enabled professional women writers to create certain authorial identities that were more prestigious than the identities of authors of genres such as plays and novels. It is noteworthy that Manley's first publication was her stagecoach travel letters, published one month before her two other works in 1696. Just as her contemporaries Catharine Trotter and Susanna Centlivre began their careers as commercial authors through printed private letters, Manley likely intended to follow this path in her debut in the London literary scene (even though the preface to *Letters* uses the rhetorical device that her

letters were published without her consent).⁷ Furthermore, J. H., the prefacer of the printed letters, clearly states in the preface that Manley's first publication should be her personal travel letters, not her dramatic productions. The preface informs the reader that J. H. supposedly published her letters to the public without permission in order to create a more appropriate image of Manley as an aspiring female author.⁸ He emphasizes that he had to steal Manley's letters and publish them before the expected performances and publications of her two plays.⁹ He argues that theater managers such as "Thomas Skipwith and Mr. Betterton are eagerly contending, who shall first bring [her] upon the stage" and he saves the reputation of Manley by "stealing [her] from the expecting Rivals," and "dexterously throw [her] first into the World" (57). He goes on to explain why travel letters should be her first venture into print:

Perhaps you may most justly object, These Letters which I expose, were not proper for the Publick; the Droppings of your Pen, fatigu'd with Thought and Travel. But let them who are of that Opinion imagine what

⁷ The invention of the Penny Post made it easier for women writers to send their letters to London publishers and make their first publications. Catharine Trotter debuted with *The Adventures of Olinda* in *Letters of Love and Gallantry* published by Samuel Briscoe in 1693. Susanna Centlivre made her debut in 1700 with her letters in a miscellaneous collection by Briscoe, *Familiar and Courtly Letters*. See Ezell, "Late Seventeenth-Century Women Writers."

⁸ The preface, written by J. H., claiming letters were published without Manley's permission is more likely a marketing strategy to create an expectation that they contain something "more risqué than there actually was" (Carnell, *A Political Biography*, 105); also Ozment 6.

⁹ *Letters* was published in February 1696, and Manley's first play *The Lost Lover; or The Jealous Husband: A Comedy* was produced by Skipwith and Rich's Drury Lane Theatre about March 1696. *The Royal Mischief: A Tragedy* was produced by Betterton, Barry and Bracegirdle's rival company at Lincoln's Inn Fields around May 1696. Carnell, *A Political Biography*, 83.

Ease and Leisure cou'd produce, when they find themselves (as they necessarily must) so well entertain'd by these... That old and true Kindness, which grew up with you, and made me with Veneration and Wonder heedfully observe what others neglected as Childish, I confess, has most warmly oppos'd your Design of Writing Plays; and more, that of Making them Publick. I wou'd have had a happy Nature, such as yours, taken up with more Sublime and Elevated Thoughts; and Time better spent, than in such Trifles. But since I coul'd but combat (not overcome) your Desires, my Friendship engages me to serve what I cannot approve; and I have thought this one Way, by giving the Town a true Taste of your Thoughts and Sense; I say, a true Taste; for here you cannot but be suppos'd to speak for your self. (57)

In this quote, J. H. makes several assumptions about women's private travel letters as a medium that reflects "a true Taste of" females' "thoughts and sense," and that channels "more Sublime and Elevated Thoughts" since they are not originally meant for the public. The preface further suggests that these travel letters are casual writing composed under the dire circumstance of travel fatigue, rather than crafted and artificial pieces meant to impress and show off. J. H. implies that the subject of travel delivered in the epistolary format can create the image of a woman writer as more intimate, intelligent, and respectable than notorious and scandalous images involved in publishing plays, which he calls "Trifles." If we take the preface as a sales pitch, it seems to facilitate Manley's strategy to circulate an authorial persona of a respectable and virtuous female

traveler and writer, which might mitigate the scandalous nature of her dramatic works to follow.

Just as J. H. stresses the prestigious nature of travel writing over other genres, so Davys also claims, in the Preface to the 1725 collection of her works, the educational and entertainment superiority of travelogues over novels:

Tis now for some time, that those Sort of Writings call'd Novels have been a great deal out of Use and Fashion, and that the Ladies (for whose Service they were chiefly design'd) have been taken up with Amusements of more Use and Improvement; I mean History and Travels: with which the Relation of Probable Feign'd Stories can by no means stand in competition. (iii)¹⁰

Davys implies that travel books were more popular and beneficial to female readers because of their factual, informative, and educational contents. One year prior, however, in the preface to *The Reform'd Coquet* (1724), Davys posed a more complicated view of novels and travel writings: “if they will but be as kind to me, as they have been to many before, they will over-look one little Improbability, because such are to be met with in most Novels, many Plays, and even in Travels themselves” (6). As opposed to the previous preface, Davys views the genre of travel literature as not that different from feigned stories. Although she did not directly refer to *The Merry Wanderer* (a revised

¹⁰ About this quote, J. A. Downie acutely addresses an ironical point that “when Davys refers to the popularity of ‘History and Travels,’ she is undoubtedly referring to the works of Defoe which sold themselves on their own authenticity” (“Mary Davys” 325-26).

version of *The Fugitive*) as a type of travel writing in her preface to the collected volume, we can infer that Davys wrote *The Fugitive* and *The Merry Wanderer* as autobiographical travel fiction which enabled her to hit the middle ground between the travelogue, which is too informative, and the novel, which is too sensational.

While taking advantage of the prestigious reputation of travel literature, Manley and Davys also express their anxieties as to whether women's domestic trips can be legitimately called "travel" since domestic trips were far more common compared to foreign travels, which were a luxury for a selected few. However, Manley and Davys justify and defend their journeys within England as a valid form of travel and an appropriate subject of published writing. In doing so, these writers develop compelling rhetorical strategies that redefine what constitutes travel. Their defense reorients the value of trips from the place of visit to the quality of attention travelers give to experiences, including their observations and their interactions with strangers and fellow travelers. Since the readers are, by high chance, already familiar with the descriptions of surroundings and customs in various places in Britain, Manley and Davys write travelogues that focus more on the depictions of characters they meet, their entertaining life episodes, and interactions with a diverse range of British people such as fops, rakes, coquets, misers, fanatics, misogynists, and so on. Through publishing these new forms of travel narratives, Manley and Davys broaden the concept of travel and travel writing.

In *Adventures of Rivella* (1714), her autobiographical romance, Manley contrasts her inability to travel to France with her male friend Charles Lovemore's grand tour. Manley explains the rationale behind her exile in Exeter through the voice of the narrator

Lovemore, who had just returned to England from several years of touring Italy. He narrates how Rivella, Manley's literary persona, wanted to spend her time in France but because of the war she chose instead to live unknown and secluded in West England (67). Lovemore's grand tour as a necessary course of gentleman's education is sharply in contrast with Rivella's wish for a continental tour and her alternative stay in Exeter. Despite the fact that her stagecoach journey to Exeter was geographically limited compared to a foreign tour, during her eighteen-month stay in Exeter Manley dedicated herself to her writing and published her epistolary travelogue *Letters*, as well as two dramatic works, *The Lost Lover; or The Jealous Husband* and *The Royal Mischief*, as soon as she returned to London in 1696. By starting her authorial career with the publication of eight stagecoach letters, Manley significantly broadens the definition of travel letters in the literary market—in other words, what is regarded as a publishable travelogue—by showing that even a short journey within England can offer readers good amounts of entertainment, political observation, and geographical information.

Mary Davys similarly shares Manley's self-consciousness, or something similar to an inferiority complex, about the scope of female mobility being limited to the boundary of England. Through the voice of the narrator in *The Fugitive*, Davys reveals an anxiety over whether the domestic trip can be legitimately regarded as a travel and an object suitable for publication. The narrator begins the story with a confession of her lack of travel experiences abroad:

As Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion, and Necessity of Invention, so
may Travelling be properly enough call'd the Mother of Observation; and

tho' the petty Journeys I have taken, will hardly intitle me to the Name of a Traveller, because I have never been in France for new Fashions, nor at Rome for Religion, or a Song; yet I hope England is not so barren of Diversion, but one may pick up some things in it worthy of Note. (1)

Just like Manley, who headed to Exeter instead of France, Davys shows a similar self-awareness that the scope of her travel is limited as opposed to the travel available to wealthy gentlefolks' visits to continental Europe. However, Davys's apologetic mode prefigures her strong endorsement of domestic travel and her redefinition of what can be regarded as a travel. By emphasizing travelers' ability to "pick up some things in it worthy of Note" in even domestic travels, Davys redefines travel as depending on the quality of attention travelers give to the experience, rather than the place of visit itself.¹¹ Her justification of her tour also differs from Celia Fiennes's patriotic defense of England: Fiennes argues that a tour in England would "add much to its Glory and Esteem in our minds and cure the evil Itch of overvaluing foreign parts" (32). Without falling into patriotic rhetoric that endorses domestic tourism over sumptuous foreign travels, Davys authorizes her "petty Journeys" in England as diverting and educational.

Manley and Davys carve out new definitions and aesthetics of travel writing by representing single women's domestic journeys with more focus on character

¹¹ The emphasis on a traveler's ability to appreciate the unfamiliar resonates with a later genre of sentimental travel literature. For instance, by quoting Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*, in which the hero declares "was I in a desert, I would find out wherewith in it to call forth my affections," Chard explains that "the ability to accomplish this act of conversion is the mark of the more experienced traveler" (12).

descriptions, interactions, and interpolated stories. Their travel narratives do not conform to the convention of travel writing that requires ethnographic facts and information about unfamiliar locations. For instance, Manley refuses to describe the architecture of Salisbury Cathedral because it is in England, not a foreign place. She declares to her correspondent that “if in a Foreign Country, as the Lady in her Letters of Spain, I could entertain You with a noble Description; but You have either seen, or may see it; and so I will spare my Architecture” (21). By making a contrast with the popular French woman writer Madame D’Aulnoy’s *The Lady’s Travels into Spain*, Manley affirms that her writing does not include the detailed description of the surroundings; thus she demands a new, different kind of writing style, subject, and aesthetic fit for a domestic journey. Davys also uses the journey motif as the narrative frame in which the female Rambler is enabled to meet acquaintances and strangers collecting diverting life stories and episodes in a format similar to picaresque fiction.

As seen above, both Manley and Davys use their prefaces as a means to validate the genre of travel writing and the theme of female domestic travels as respectable and acceptable to readers.¹² In addition to self-representation in these paratexts, it is necessary to examine how these women writers actually represent female domestic travels; how they persuade the reader that women’s independent moving and exploring is educational and not harmful to the core of feminine identity. The next two sections of this chapter respectively investigate Manley’s *Letters* and Davys’s *The Fugitive* (also the

¹² Sarah Prescott suggests that the preface by women authors at this time worked to authorize the status of women writers as well as the genre of their work (42).

revised version *The Merry Wanderer*), and show how these works revolutionized the genre of travel literature by departing from the negative discourse about women's mobility and travels.

Women's Stagecoach Travel in Delarivier Manley's *Letters*

In this section, I focus on how Manley's *Letters* (1696) refutes the gendered assumptions in pamphlets and periodicals that depict single women's stagecoach travel as unvirtuous or dangerous. First, I introduce the context of the Restoration era when the stagecoach emerged as an important means of transportation to examine how this new mode of traveling raised worries and concerns over women's increased mobility. To do this, I survey contemporary periodicals and pamphlets which exhibit gendered discourses that tie women's movement away from home with corruption and danger. Then, I analyze how Manley's *Letters* challenges the gendered assumption about women's stagecoach travel by providing the experience of female coach travelers in the epistolary format and its educational effects on the aspiring writer.

Unlike a privately-owned coach or hackney coach (a coach for hire for short distances), the stagecoach is a public mode of transportation regularly traveling a fixed route with a seating capacity of six or eight passengers (Straus 135). By 1673, most towns within twenty or twenty-five miles of London had stagecoach service a few times a week. Public coach rates were between two and three pence per mile, which was still expensive for the average English person.¹³ By 1690 stagecoaches were covering areas

¹³ See Parkes, 84; La Mar, 28.

more extensively, traveling between London and its nearby towns from four times a week, and to some places every day. Several remote towns such as Exeter and York also had service available at least three times a week (DeLaune, 401-41). Indeed, as Joan Parkes notes, this rapid increase of stagecoaches between towns can be considered a “revolution in travel” (84). The rise of a new transportation method threatened to supersede the old modes of transportation such as traveling by horse or boat. Stagecoach travel has several benefits over horseback riding, which had been the most common traveling method, in that passengers are less subject to inclement weather and physical exhaustion. It also came with a moderate price. Therefore, people considered coach travel as being more appropriate for children and women.¹⁴ However, coach passengers were also regarded as more vulnerable because of the possibility of road robbery and the inconveniences of traveling in a group.

Contemporary pamphlets debated the benefits and drawbacks of stagecoaches over other forms of transportation. John Cresset wrote pamphlets arguing passionately against the use of this conveyance for a variety of reasons, including the decline of horsemanship, reduced water transport, and the decreased income of local inns and tenants. Writing in the 1670s, he asserts the superiority of horseback riding, which requires hardy masculine endurance, as opposed to comfortable stagecoaches which only serve to “effeminate his Majesty’s Subjects” (“The Grand Concern” 539). He made it

¹⁴ For the comparison between horse riding and stagecoach travel, see Parkes, 67-68.

especially clear that single female travelers' use of this mode of transportation was a particular cause for concern.

In 1672, Cresset published multiple anti-stagecoach pamphlets and letters that provoked much debate and response. In one of his pamphlets arguing for the suppression of stagecoaches, Cresset argues that with "passage to London being so easy, Gentlemen come to *London* oftner than they need,"

And their Ladies either with them, or having the conveniencies of these Coaches, quickly follow them. And when they are there, they must be in the Mode, have all the new Fashions, buy all their Cloaths there, and to go Plays, Balls and Treats, where they get such a habit of Jollity, and a love to Gayety and Pleasure, that nothing afterwards in the Countrey will serve them, if ever they should fix their minds to live there again: But they must have all from *London*, whatever it costs. (*Reasons humbly offered* 5)

This description highlights the dangers that stagecoaches posed to women who exercised increased freedom to travel alone or without the company of their husbands. The anonymous writer of *Stage-Coaches Vindicated* rephrases Cresset, making it clear that women were the specific target of Cresset's attack: "the Conveniency of the Passage makes [country gentlemen's] Wives often come up, who rather then come such long Journeys on Horseback would stay at home" (1). He concludes that "when they come to Town, they must presently be in the Mode, get fine Cloaths, go to Plays and Treats; and

by those means get such a habit of idleness, and love to pleasure, that they are uneasy ever after at being at home, and unfit to look after their Country-Affairs” (1).¹⁵

Other contemporary readers also interpreted Cresset’s text as a particular warning against women being corrupted by the allure of stagecoach travel. For example, one postmaster, who signed his name as C.T. in a published letter in answer to Cresset, states that “especially the Ladies and Gentlewomen, who are irritated at several passages in your printed Paper of Reasons” since they were accused of “spending their Husbands Estates” in London and being “rendred unfit to follow their Domestick Affairs.” This way of reading led the writer to “suspect you have a Plot upon their Liberty, and mean to introduce some Morose or Antick Customs of severity or restraint amongst them” (Cresset, *A Copy of a Printed Letter* 4). The author argues that women readers resent Cresset’s implication that the increased physical mobility offered to women is linked to the neglect of their domestic duties, and suggests that Cresset’s desire to ban stagecoach travel is an outdated attack on women’s independence. Similarly, *Stage-Coaches Vindicated* attacks Cresset’s plan as simply misogynistic and celebrates the increased mobility enabled by stagecoaches that carry “that multitudes of ancient persons, women, children, sick and infirm, which cannot travel any other way, besides many more who are indisposed to ride on Horseback” (2). All these pamphlets indicate a significant change in traveling culture where the stagecoach enabled more women to travel independently in a relatively safe, physically less-exhausting mode. While some viewed

¹⁵ This inaccurate paraphrase has been popularly accepted as the verbatim of Cresset’s passage and quoted in later books. For example, see Harold Esdaile Malet, 8.

this freedom to travel as a right women can exercise as well as men, others were made acutely anxious about the breakdown of gender norms.

As stagecoaches grew more popular in later and early eighteenth-century England, their use continued to raise issues about female travelers, which were addressed in Addison and Steele's *Spectator*. In line with the *Spectator*'s repeated cautions about women's presence in male-dominated public spheres, the stagecoach is depicted as a risky social space: men and women staying together in an enclosed space for a long time implied breaches of polite decorum.¹⁶ Two issues of *Spectator* (Nos. 242, 533), both written by Steele, showcase imagined female complaints about having to listen to men's obscenities and being verbally harassed. In Issue 242 on December 7, 1711, a female correspondent pseudonymically dubbed Rebecca Ridinghood wrote, "I had the Fate of your Quaker, in meeting with a rude Fellow in a Stage-Coach, who entertained two or three Women of us (for there was no Man besides himself) with Language as indecent as was ever heard upon the Water."¹⁷ She exhorts Mr. Spectator to represent the moral voice of the era by setting out the etiquette rules for this new public

¹⁶ For example, in No. 155 Steele expands verbal harassment experienced by women on stagecoach into other public spheres. He argues, "that Part of the fair Sex, whose Lot in Life it is to be of any Trade or publick Way of Life," especially women proprietors of coffeehouses and shops, were constantly exposed to male customers' improper discourse (107-10; vol. 2).

¹⁷ Rebecca Ridinghood refers to No. 132, in which Mr. Spectator recounts his stagecoach ride to London with one rude officer whose flippant jokes embarrassed everybody in the vehicle. The Quaker Ephraim reprimands the Officer for his inappropriate remarks and speaks as the voice of moral authority on how to behave politely in public spaces. After the publication of this *Spectator*, the figure of the rude officer became the symbol of impertinent and obnoxious male passengers who do not respect social norms in public spaces. Several female readers continued to send letters to Mr. Spectator reporting similar incidences of verbal harassment in the stagecoach. See Addison and Steele, *The Spectator*, vol. 2, 22-25.

transportation in his popular periodical: “If you will oblige us with a *Spectator* on this Subject, and procure it to be pasted against every Stage-Coach in *Great-Britain*, as the Law of the Journey” (439-40; vol. 2). In the same vein, in Issue 533 on November 11, 1712, another woman reports that “two Persons in the Habit of Gentlemen attack’d [her] with such indecent Discourse” in a stagecoach out of Essex to London. This unnamed female writer claims that one captain’s filthy talk was equivalent to “a kind of Rape” and “a Persecution” to “a virtuous and chaste Mind.” She asks Mr. Spectator to be the guardian of innocent passengers against verbal abuse (400-402; vol. 4). These letters in the *Spectator* suggest that the stagecoach was not always a liberating and comfortable space for women, despite its convenience. However, we should call into question whether these letters actually represent the authentic female stagecoach experience because, as has been well-documented, some letters in the *Spectator* were partially modified or created entirely by Addison and Steele.¹⁸ Therefore, Steele’s essays seem to represent the male voice expressing concern about women’s increased mobility as well as outrage over sexual harassment, which might be intended to discourage women from attempting to occupy the mixed gender space and use of public transportation.

As we have seen, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the use of stagecoaches by women (and single female travelers in particular) provoked widespread debate about female mobility, freedom, and virtue in pamphlets and periodicals. These texts reveal social anxieties over the new transportation method and reinforce the male-

¹⁸ See Rachael Scarborough King, 77.

centered discourse that usually associates women's mobility with danger, corruption, and threats to female virtue.¹⁹ Therefore, Manley's *Letters* is a significant female-authored travelogue offering a rare record of single women stagecoach travelers. It is also a valuable female commentary on the new mode of transportation, offering insights into both the pleasures and pains of travel. Manley's epistolary travelogue refutes the underlying assumptions in Cresset's pamphlets and the *Spectator* that stagecoach travel risks damaging women's moral virtue, modesty, and domesticity. Showing no concern for the stagecoach's purported negative effects on female virtue and reputation, Manley instead expresses a visceral dislike of the violent motion, grueling schedule, and uncomfortable society created by the stagecoach. Then, as opposed to the confining coach, she celebrates inns as offering a socially dynamic and liberating space for women.

Her combination of the epistolary genre with the stagecoach was ingenious and market-savvy, responding as it did to the stagecoach controversy surrounding women's increased travels. In the late seventeenth century, the stagecoach was also an increasingly important means to transport letters across the country. Manley writes and sends her letters to her friend in every stage, saying "You ask'd, and I eagerly engag'd (because you desir'd) to give an Account of my self and Travels, every Stage" (59-60) and she also receives letters by the post: "the Post has just brought me a Letter from you" (68). Manley's epistolary travelogue captures a sense of mobility, a sense of place

¹⁹ For seventeenth-century treatises presenting negative views on women's travel, see Patricia Akhimie, 123-28.

and time with dates and locations specified in every letter, the technique of which would be adopted by Centlivre who published one letter recording her stagecoach journey to Exeter, titled “An account of a Journey to Exon, &c.” and dated April 8, 1700, in a miscellaneous collection of letters.²⁰

Despite the claim of authenticity, it would be dangerous to assume that Manley’s *Letters* are authentic correspondences between Manley and an anonymous recipient, and her descriptions reflect what actually happened during the journey. However, even though Manley’s *Letters* is closer to an autobiographical fiction than a historical document, we can still argue that it provides very early printed evidence of single women travelers’ stagecoach experience.²¹ It significantly presents instances of women with insufficient means traveling independently and unattended at affordable prices via stagecoach, as opposed to riding horseback, which usually required hiring a guide or servant.²² Manley’s coach from London to Exeter carried at least five passengers: Manley; a Baron’s son she calls “impertinent Beaux” who is visiting his sister in Devonshire; Mrs. Mayoress of Tatness; and two more travelers whose gender and names are unspecified. At the coaching inn in Salisbury, Manley socializes with passengers on another coach from Exeter to London which carries at least six people: one London

²⁰ Bowyer argues that Centlivre’s letter to Tom Brown on a stagecoach trip to Exeter is “suggestive of a piece of prose fiction contained in the *Letters* (1696) of Mrs. De la Riviere Manley” (17-18).

²¹ On literary representations of carriages and coaches, a few scholars make brief mentions of Manley’s *Letters*: see Adams, “The Coach Motif” (17-26), and Bobker (243-66).

²² “Every Man that had Occasion to travel many Journies yearly, or to ride up and down, kept Horses for himself and Servants, and seldom rid without one or two Men; but now, since every Man can have a Passage into every Place he is to travel unto...they have left Keeping of Horses, and travel without Servants” (Cresset, “The Grand Concern” 539).

merchant with his pregnant wife; two girls who are tradesmen's daughters; and a gentlewoman named Mrs. Stanhope and her servant. From her description, between these two coaches there are at least four independent female travelers: Manley, Mrs. Mayoress, and the two tradesmen's daughters. In a total of eleven passengers in two coaches, at least half were women, which suggests that the stagecoach was a female-friendly mode of transportation. Women of various social status and local backgrounds all could travel alone, for the stage coach offered a safe, convenient, reasonably priced vehicle for single women travelers. These attributes might have appealed especially to the lower class traveler who had otherwise no means to ride a private or hackney coach, as evidenced by Manley's two fellow travelers who "were never so promoted before, and are much troubl'd their Journey is to last no longer, and wish the four Days four Months...hugely delighted with what they are pleas'd to call Riding in State" (65). As Bobker notes, "social mobility became interconnected with a new form of geographic mobility," and the stagecoach signaled an unprecedented measure of freedom of travel across gender and class (245).

Although the stagecoach granted female and lower-class travelers greater levels of mobility, the stagecoach in *Letters* is nevertheless described as an unpleasant space where too much shaking cause nausea, uneasiness, and fatigue. Ironically, travelers' mobility was achieved through bodily confinements in a coach for a long duration of time. Manley calls coachmen "such unreasonable Rogues" because they "make us rise at Two in the Morning, to bring us into our Inn at the same Hour in the Afternoon" (65). Manley's stagecoach experience also echoes that of female passengers in the *Spectator*

in that she was exposed to crude language and irritating, uninvited flirtation; however, she does not share the feelings of shame and regret which the *Spectator's* female passengers strongly expressed in regard to protecting their chaste and virtuous character. The dominant emotions in Manley's letters are sheer irritation and uneasiness arising from the lack of polite manners and decorum in a mixed social space. On Manley's journey from Hartley Row to Sutton, Manley is mortified by Mrs. Mayoress's inappropriate story about her second husband's love affair;²³ by Beaux's flirtatious, "dying Eyes" that she tries hard to avoid; and by two other travelers who enjoy the high prestige of the coach service so much that Manley hopes "every Jolt will squash their Guts" (65). Not limiting women travelers' concern to female modesty, Manley's account puts more focus on a broader issue associated with the visceral discomforts of a public space that forces people of different class and gender into unwanted proximity.

Despite all the drawbacks of the stagecoach, Manley separates the unpleasantness of the enclosed, jolting vehicle from the coaching inns where people from diverse locations and backgrounds could socialize. While pamphlets and periodicals did not particularly mention the increased opportunities of social networking and mingling at roadside inns, Manley's letters endorse women travelers' freedom at the inns to socialize and share their stories without the physical stress of a jolting coach. As Bretherton

²³ I want to emphasize the need to separate the narrator Manley from the writer Manley here. Given that Manley's dramatic and fictional works were famous for the passionate language of love and scandalously sexual scenes, the representation of Manley as embarrassed by sensational stories on the stagecoach should be seen as her efforts to project a virtuous authorial persona. This aspect was also highlighted in the preface to *Letters*.

suggests, the inn and alehouse, increasingly replacing the role of the parish church in terms of entertainment and social bonding, became the pivotal place in towns where “all classes of the community—squire and parson, farmer and labourer, petty tradesman and artisan—could associate with some degree of freedom,” in addition to “passing travelers [who] brought news of an outside world of town and seaboard” (200).

Although Manley refuses to listen to her traveling company’s stories in the coach, she is much more attentive to fellow travelers in the Salisbury inn on Saturday afternoon, when travelers could be at leisure since travel was illegal on Sunday. She gives out a basket of cherries to people just getting off the coach from Exeter “as a Bait to the Woman whom [she] was to begin the Acquaintance with.” Here in the Salisbury inn, her desire to form a friendship increases, and she “grew acquainted, taking Travellers Liberty and Sup’d together” with one Mrs. Stanhope, a gentlewoman traveling from Falmouth. Manley reports a further development of their friendship: “We grew into an Intimacy, and left the Company...Mrs. Stanhope went with me to my Chamber; and after much Discourse, offer’d Friendship, and mutual knowledge of each other.” While Mrs. Stanhope and Manley converse intimately in the room, Beaux courts a goldsmith’s daughter from Exeter who was “acquainted with his sister.” They share sweetmeats and cordials in the young woman’s chamber; Manley refuses to learn further details, claiming “Discretion in Ladies Affairs.” The inn is a socially dynamic space where travelers from various places of origin can enjoy a temporary friendship or even a

tryst with “Travellers liberty,” free from the uneasy and long confinement inside the coach (65-67).²⁴

The social interactions and mingling in these inns enable Manley to experiment with the technique of interpolating stories and conveying her social and political observations in letters. There are three interpolated stories about Beau’s Oxford love adventure, Mrs. Stanhope’s account of her unfaithful suitor in Falmouth, and a Swiss man’s story of tragic marriage. All these inset stories have common narrative themes of love and betrayal, which prompted the storytellers to depart from the place where they were betrayed by unfaithful lovers, therefore to use stagecoaches to change locations and visit other family members, relatives, or friends. These adventures also mirror Manley’s own escape from court scandal and deceit in London. The inns create a social space where Manley could collect diverting episodes from various locations outside London, by surveying the characters of various strangers. As Carnell points out, this trip also allowed Manley to make a brief political observation, especially when she mentions the Whig war hero Thomas Tollemache’s funeral procession passing through Salisbury.²⁵

Manley’s *Letters* proves that the stagecoach as an early form of public transportation was a convenient means to bring women to their desired destinations. In

²⁴ For more evidence of the benefits of domestic travel through the use of inns, Celia Fiennes also attests to the usefulness of her stay in the inns and her interactions with local residents: “those informations of things as could be obtain’d from inns en passant, or from some acquaintance, inhabitants of such places could furnish me with for my diversion” (32).

²⁵ See Carnell, *A Political Biography* 109. Chris Mounsey furthermore argues that *Letters* as a whole is a political satire demonstrating Manley’s project of critiquing the current Whig politics under “King William III after the death of his wife Mary II, in whose right lay their legitimate claim to the throne of Britain,” and establish herself as a staunch Tory writer (“A Manifesto” 171-87).

contrast to the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century discourse that views women's stagecoach journey as harmful to the core of the feminine self, Manley's weeklong coach trip turns out to be productive and educational for the aspiring woman writer. It offered chances to socialize, develop friendships, observe local events, and explore unfamiliar parts of the country. Eventually, these experiences became good source material for her first published story, which innovated the genre of travel writing. Manley's epistolary travelogue is influenced by Madame D'Aulnoy's popular travel story *The Lady's Travels into Spain* but differentiates itself by intentionally refusing to describe the custom and culture of the place. Manley's eliding of ethnographic details also distinguishes her from contemporary female travel writer Celia Fiennes, who traveled on horseback with servants and gave a full architectural description of Salisbury cathedral in her manuscript travelogue.²⁶ As opposed to Fiennes' horseback travel, which allows for full liberty of action and leisurely observations, stagecoach travel puts travelers under an exhausting schedule, which led Manley to focus more on depicting her fellow travelers satirically. Manley's brief, satirical, sketchy record of stagecoach journey became so influential that Susanna Centlivre and Jane Barker also followed in her path, incorporating their own stagecoach travels into their writings, which increased the visibility of single women travelers on the road in the literary market.²⁷

²⁶ Fiennes describes the architecture of Salisbury Cathedral, including its geography, steeple, chapterhouse, window decoration, furniture, effigies, candles, and so on (36-37).

²⁷ See Jane Barker, *A Patchwork Screen for the Ladies*, London, Printed for Edmund Curll, 1723.

A Lady's Ramble and Horse Riding in Mary Davys's *The Fugitive* and *The Merry Wanderer*

The full title of Davys's fiction *The Fugitive. Containing, Several very pleasant PASSAGES, and surprizing ADVENTURES, observ'd by a LADY in her Country Ramble* indicates the authorial intention to create an entertaining story of rambling based on a female traveler's observations. This was published anonymously under the generic name "a lady." The additional information in the title page, "Now first published from her own manuscript," in gothic letters, also employs the rhetorical device that this publication is an authentic testimonial of a real woman's travel experience of the country. The word "ramble" in the title carries cultural implications and generic expectations in wide circulation in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when many ballads, poems, and plays engaged with the theme of rambling. In the Oxford Dictionary, ramble means "to wander, travel, make one's way about (now usually to walk) in a free unrestrained manner and without definite aim or direction." As opposed to "travel," which assumes specific sets of goals, routes, and destinations, "ramble" denotes a casual navigation of space without any intention. As Samuel Johnson notes in his *Dictionary of the English Language*, "ramble" originates from "rammelen," which means in Dutch "to rove loosely in lust." Johnson defines ramble as "to rove loosely and irregularly" and "to wander." In eighteenth-century England, ramble had an embedded connotation of being lustful. Thus, the eighteenth-century concept of rambling serves as a useful literary genre and format in which travelers meet by chance with strangers, which sometimes involves sexual encounters or voyeuristic gazes, and which offers unexpected and delightful

episodes to the reader. To ramble in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century is conceptually similar to what Ingrid Horrocks defines as wandering in the late eighteenth-century Romantic era: “wandering assumes neither destination nor homecoming. The wanderer’s narrative tends to work by digression and detour rather than by a direct route” (1). Rambling and wandering both denote the idea of casually navigating the space without clear design. Davys’s decision to change the title from *The Fugitive* to *The Merry Wanderer* in 1725 might reflect her intention to emphasize female mobility without direction and destination.

There exists a very limited number of scholarly analyses on *The Fugitive* and *The Merry Wanderer*. Most of the scholarship is focused on the texts’ novelistic realism, autobiographical values, or Irish point of view; none have addressed Davys’s obvious intervention in the genre of ramble literature.²⁸ For instance, Martha Bowden pays attention to Davys’s efforts to create a trustworthy authorial persona through the play between Irish and English identities in *The Fugitive* and *The Merry Wanderer* (“Mary Davys” 22-24). McBurney characterizes *The Merry Wanderer* as “detailed sketches of provincial life,” and views it as a combination of multiple generic elements such as “the strolling commentator on society, the disguised memoirs, the jestbook” (“Mrs. Mary Davys” 353). Victoria Joule analyzes *The Fugitive* in her larger consideration of Davys’s

²⁸ By “ramble literature,” I point to a series of ballads and fiction that foreground the Rambler as the hero or heroine of the story, which, I argue, became increasingly popular in late seventeenth-century culture. Similarly, Simon Dickie uses the term “Ramble Novels” (251) to indicate a group of popular novels in the latter half of the eighteenth century in which protagonists undertake aimless excursions in metropolitan areas, and in which they are usually “active practical jokers” (254).

oeuvre, which is engaged with the development of realist novels as opposed to the genre of romance popularized by Haywood and Manley (38). Liam Harte highlights Davys's Irish heritage as a female migrant in *The Merry Wanderer* and incorporates Davys's travelogue as an important part of the Irish literary tradition.

While these examples of the previous scholarship are fruitful, this section analyzes Davys's *The Fugitive* and *The Merry Wanderer* in the tradition of ramble literature and women's travel writing. First, I will give a brief introduction of the popular genre of the ramble, which was circulated before Davys's publication of *The Fugitive* in 1705, and then focus on her rewriting of the genre through the new model of female Rambler/traveler. John Dunton, a prominent publisher of the late seventeenth century, published ramble-themed books and periodicals in particular.²⁹ Dunton's *A Voyage Round the World* (1691) is a fictional work about the life and adventures of Don Kainophilus, Dunton's literary persona, who is an inherent Rambler. He refuses to settle down and instead travels to London, Boston, and Rotterdam. This book has copious panegyric verses in the preface titled "A Poem in Praise of Rambling," "A Rambler. Anagram (by the Author.) Rare Blame," and "The Impartial Character of a Rambler," hilariously highlighting the theme of rambling both as a sort of a travel and a digressive writing style.³⁰ As Melanie Ord observes, Dunton repeatedly associates his rambles in

²⁹ For instance, *The Night-Walker: Or, Evening Rambles in Search after Lewd Women* (1696).

³⁰ J. Paul Hunter notes that a proclivity for rambling is a key characteristic of John Dunton, who describes his whole life "as determined by his 'humour of rambling.'" Hunter also suggests Dunton's rambles in writing and traveling both reflect "his restless desire to discover and describe something new, strange, and surprising" (102).

traveling and writing in *A Voyage* with “an absolute novelty of design” and “privileging those observations that are off the beaten track” (172).

Rambling was also a popular topos in multiple ballads circulated in the late seventeenth century. Usually ballads that include the word “ramble” in the title present a male traveler moving from the countryside to the city, or a city resident exploring nearby public spaces such as parks, wells, markets, or fairs. In these ballads, rambling also indicates a search for sexual pleasure. This type of ramble ballad frequently includes the episodes of sexual adventure of a man accidentally stopping by the brothel (*A Mornings Ramble: Or, Islington Wells Bursesq. Istington Well*) or a couple having a pleasant time in the woods (*The May-Morning Ramble*). Most of the rambles are male, but two ballads presenting female rambles in the title indicate that women who ramble are always coded as prostitutes (*The Female Ramblers* and *The Painted Ladies Rambles*). John Wilmot, the Earl of Rochester, also adopts the topos of Rambler in his poem *A Ramble in St. James’s Park* and extends the obscenity of the genre to its fullest. This poem foregrounds a male Rambler/narrator in the park who passes harsh judgment on Corinna, who also walks in the park. The narrator severely condemns Corinna’s insatiable sexual lust and promiscuity when he observes her flee “From Park to Hackney Coach” (82) with three men, who are a Whitehall gallant, a Grays Inn wit, and a rich young man. His vented rage extends the convention of ramble literature wherein a female walker in the public space is inherently lewd, but his extreme level of denunciation ironically alludes to the male narrator’s immaturity and trauma arising from his failure to cope with being jilted by Corinna.

The literature that deals in the theme of the ramble is a male-centric genre in which male narrators wander around various public spaces in the city to seek courtship or to find prostitutes. They then lambast the unchaste and lewd nature of women they meet. The ballads that put female ramblers at the forefront also underline these women's vices and tricks to sell their sexualities to men, linking women's mobility with unavoidable promiscuity. Whereas literature on rambling usually deals with a male protagonist leisurely navigating through space searching for fun episodes in London, Davys's *The Fugitive* subverts the generic tradition of ramble literature in multiple ways. First of all, the female Rambler in Davys's work roams around the countryside and is not involved with any forms of city promiscuity. Rather, she embodies the respectable and virtuous female traveler as she embarks on her journey from Ireland to England to visit her relatives and friends. Secondly, as opposed to the group of rambling tales which frequently target women as the butt of the joke or the objects of harsh criticism, Davys's autobiographical travelogue highlights a sarcastic Irish woman who upends convention to ridicule men's folly, misogyny, and mercenary interests. Davys significantly revises and develops the genre on rambling by presenting a woman traveler whose character is intrinsically sarcastic, detached, and grumbling, yet also chaste and virtuous.

Davys's *The Fugitive* transgresses not only the generic expectation of the ramble, but also gender norms. Interestingly, Davys's first-person narrative from the perspective of a female Rambler hardly shows any verbal markers of gender in its description of its subject. Unlike *The Fugitive*, which clearly identifies the gender of the traveler in the title by specifying "a lady in her country ramble," *The Merry Wanderer*, a part of the

collection of multiple stories, does not have such a detailed title page to hint at the gender of the narrator. Therefore, the reader of *The Merry Wanderer* cannot truly determine the gender of the traveler until the middle of the story, where the individual is addressed as “madam” by the much-too-frugal wife of her friend (166). It is more confusing because the choice of transportation—horseback riding combined with rambling—creates more agency and choices, and allows the female Rambler to assume a more masculine persona not reliant on the modesty topos. Davys’s protagonist expresses no concerns about physical danger or risks posed to the female solo traveler. Her embodiment of a masculine persona also allows her to avoid becoming involved in unwanted romantic relationships, as well as to escape possible sexual harassment during her solo travel. The lack of gender markers misled Percy G. Adams to believe that the narrator of *The Merry Wanderer* was male, as he summarizes the plot: “an educated Irishman headed for England arrives at an inn sixty miles from Holyhead and has fun with an ignorant English countryman” (*Travel Literature* 265). Davys’s writing style is very exceptional in that it does not point to any feminine characteristics of the narrator. On this note, a few scholars have pointed out the lack of feminine characteristics in Davys’s female characters throughout her works. For instance, Joule argues that unlike other female writers, “Davys’s strategy was to promote an ideal female figure where gender ceased to be a consideration in her personal and literary relationships” (31). McBurney further conjectures that Davys might have a somewhat “masculine temperament” considering the style of her literary works (“Mrs. Mary Davys” 350).

In the paratextual materials of *The Fugitive*, Davys emphasizes her inherent characteristics as a female wanderer, configuring her character in line with the literary tradition of ramblers and wanderers. In her dedication to Mrs. Esther Johnson in *The Fugitive*, Davys writes,

Perhaps you will be a little Diverted with a plain Relation of the variety of Accidents and Passages which usually happen to those whose Stars have ordain'd them to wander, especially when you are told, that they are not barely probable only, but almost exactly true, to the greatest part whereof I am a witness, and have had the rest from the Parties themselves who were concern'd. (A4v)

The preface defines the female narrator as an innate wanderer and traveler whose eyewitness also guarantees the truthfulness of the story.³¹ Likewise, the preface to *The Fugitive* also repeats the claim that the narrator was born to ramble and wander: “*I must never expect to live a quiet or settled Life, but must with Cain (tho’ for different reasons) turn wanderer...I Rambled till I met with a Subject for this small Volume*” (A5v-6r, italics original). These descriptions draw a strong parallel to Dunton’s repeated self-proclamation that his entire “Life is a continued Ramble” in his *A Voyage Round the World* (25). Also, the hero’s name, Don Kainophilus, in Dunton’s *A Voyage*, is derived from “Kain” (Cain), a biblical prototype wanderer, which the female Rambler in *The*

³¹ Downie argues that Davys was fully aware of the rhetorical strategy in which “although fiction writers pretend to be writing fact, this is merely a pretence. They are actually writing ‘Probable Feign’d Stories’” (“Mary Davys’s” 318).

Fugitive refers to as her fate. From this evidence, it seems highly probable that Davys was influenced by Dunton's work and attempts to create a female version of a Rambler. The literary topos of rambling as a fate and an unchangeable individual inclination manifests again later in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.

As she proclaims in the preface, the narrator is continually on the move. Davys's travelogue imparts the very casual, unplanned movements of a female Rambler who arrives at and leaves places whenever she wants. Only near the end of the novel does the narrator claim that "after I had spent some Months like a Wanderer, and had seen almost as many Places as Faces, I was at last resolved to fix, at least for the Winter Season" (*The Fugitive* 128-29). Just as Dunton employs the concept of rambling to justify both his unsettled lifestyle and digressive writing style, the similarly random and casual mode of wandering in *The Fugitive* leads the narrator to meet a plethora of characters in the countryside and record their diverting life episodes.

Davys's heroine initially moves from Ireland to Wales. In the inn in Wales, the female narrator is visited by an English country bumpkin who believes that Irish people are beasts with tails. To this stereotype of the Irish, the female Rambler wittily answers, "as you say, when I was three years old, I was just such a Creature as you speak of, and one day...was taken in a Net with some other Vermin, which the *English* had spread on purpose for us, and when they had me, they cut off my Tail, and scalded off my Hair, and ever since I have been like one of you" (*The Fugitive* 4-5). She mimics the stereotype imposed on her with even more exaggerations, and thereby reveals how foolish and gullible English men are. About this scene, Liam argues that the narrator's

“satiric representation of her transformation from mere bestiality into enlightened self-possession at the coercive hands of the English deftly ironises the colonial antitheses” (229); however, this subversiveness is doubly ironic because “Davys’s mockery of colonialist stereotypes is complicated by the dualities emerging from her status as a Protestant Anglo-Irish female migrant” (229).

This is the start of her journey in which she plays pranks on various types of men and takes advantage of their mistakes or misrecognitions. After her stay in Wales, the narrator goes on to visit approximately 10 places to meet her relatives and friends in the countryside. She mentions only that her horseback riding took three days from Wales to arrive at a certain country town; the name of the town is never given. After visiting her friend and relatives, she moves on to another town: “After a few days more spent with my Friend, my unsettled Circumstances carried me to another Part of the Country, where I met with Novelty enough of all conscience, and as much Variety of Tempers as Faces” (*The Merry Wanderer* 211). Unlike Manley’s stagecoach journey letters that clearly specify dates and locations, Davys’s novel avoids identifying specific place names except for the iconic episode in the inn in Wales. McBurney conjectures that the town where the merry rambler visits is York (“Mrs. Mary Davys” 353), based on biographical information.³² However, Martha Bowden argues that “Davys deliberately manipulated the possibilities inherent in the fragility of her story...the lack of clarity is precisely the state of the matter that Davys herself wished” (“Silences” 140). Thus, Davys uses the

³² The chronology offered by Bowden suggests that Davys left Ireland for London in 1700, moved to York in 1704, then returned to London in 1716 (*The Reform’d Coquet* xlvi).

trope of ramble more as a novelistic and fictional device than as a tool of realism. She loosely bases her story on the format of travel narrative to create a chain of chance encounters and interpolated stories in an abstract space of fictionality rather than grounding her stories in specific geographical references. The female Rambler meets interesting people in various houses, such as a cooing couple, a London spark, a smart lady, and so on. She describes the vicissitudes of human life surrounding the courtship, betrayal, and reconciliation.

As opposed to Manley's stage-coach travel, horseback riding allows an individual a lot of freedom of movement. Riding is indeed the appropriate mode of transportation for the genre of ramble literature. It grants a lady Rambler increased agency to easily visit and leave any place, whenever she wants. She can leave if the present company is unpleasant or irritating; she can escape the domestic turmoil of the host family. For instance, Davys's heroine leaves the first house because her friend's wife is too frugal, and leaves the second house because the family is too extravagant. She says, "I could not forbear grumbling a little to myself now and then, and it vex'd me to my very Soul to see People of Sense live without Consideration" (*The Merry Wanderer* 179). This lady Rambler is on the move, seeking new adventures for fun, as evidenced in her declaration: "I was resolved to change my Quarters, and go in quest of better Company, and better Entertainment" (*The Merry Wanderer* 169). To set the narrator in constant motion, Davys portrays the heroine as a sarcastic grumbler and malcontent, mixing, in effect, the genre of travel narrative with satire.

While in most parts of the story the narrator takes the role of an observer, relating diverting stories delivered by others, the female Rambler herself is also involved in two funny episodes in which she exacts playful revenges on two men. One is a woman-hater and the other is a mercenary suitor called J.B. One day she walks to a country christening where she meets a group of interesting people, including one man who has seriously misogynistic views (*The Merry Wanderer* 212). This woman-hater “bellow’d out his Resentments against Women in general” and argues that women are “the only true and lasting Plague design’d for the Punishment of sinful Man, who had never deserved that Name” (212). The narrator follows and irritates this misogynist, who “could not bear anything in Petticoats so near him, keep moving” (213). When this man gets aggressive and angry over the narrator, she just sneaks out of the place and leaves the scene. In the other prank, the narrator is pursued by a putative suitor named J. B. who “was very capable of supplying the place of an Owl or a Monkey” (*The Merry Wanderer* 220). Although her friends attempt to convince her to accept the proposal, the heroine remains suspicious of his motives as mercenary. She believes he is pursuing her possible fortunes contingent on the “Return of [her] Brother, who was then in the *East-Indies*” (*The Merry Wanderer* 22).³³ In order to prove J. B.’s mercenary motive, the narrator disguises herself as an incognita who inherits a large sum of money. She successfully

³³ Here Davys inserts autobiographical details while explaining her status and fortunes: “I once had a Husband, and knew the Pleasure of fine Conversation; he was a Man without exception, whom I lost in the twenty-fourth Year of my Age” (*The Merry Wanderer* 221). This autobiographical moment comes very late in her fiction and illustrates her status of widowhood.

courts J. B. through a letter, and exposes his foolishness by revealing her identity in public.

In these two remarkable pranks, the female protagonist reclaims the role of rambler and satirist, which was traditionally meant for male narrators. She twists the topos of ramble literature by having a female rambler become the agent who judges the morality of others and exposes their corruptions. The trope of the heroine who devises a counterplot to male plots recurs throughout Davys's works. For instance, *The Reformed Coquet* presents a heroine, Amoranda, a beautiful and rich lady, who outsmarts a debauched male libertine with her meticulous plot. On this note, Lindy Riley re-evaluates Mary Davys as a female author whose work "demonstrates her attempts to expose the sexual politics at work in culturally imposed codes of behavior as, working from within the 'masculine' system of representation, she subverts the system" (208). Because of this subversive element throughout Davys's oeuvre, her novels essentially belong to the genre of satire in which strong female protagonists reveal the misogynistic assumptions of society and literary culture.

Though she shares a satirical bond with Amoranda, the lady rambler in *The Fugitive* does not show any interest in courtship or marriage, though she occasionally reconciles a couple into a marriage. In the episode where one friend recommends the narrator to accept J.B.'s marriage proposal, she speaks frankly about her personal history: "I once had a Husband, and knew the Pleasure of fine Conversation; he was a Man without exception, whom I lost in the twenty-fourth Year of my Age, and the twenty-ninth of his: and who; that had any value for the Memory of a Man of Sense,

could be so base, to take a Blockhead in his room?" (*The Merry Wanderer* 221). This biographical detail, which reflects Davys's own unfortunate widowhood in 1698 when she was 24 years old, further situates the lady Rambler in a very different position from young Amoranda, who is at the prime age for marriage. The widowed narrator knows the workings of marriage and never shows any romantic interest in male characters, or any inclination to remarry. Unlike the figures of lady rambles in seventeenth-century ballads who sell their sexuality, the narrator in *The Fugitive* and *The Merry Wanderer* resists being a Rambler motivated by romantic or sexual encounters with strangers, which significantly detaches the meaning of Ramble from its common connotations of being sexually loose or lustful. It is also noteworthy that the word "observe" is frequently used to emphasize female eyes as a trustworthy source of information, which elevates the status of a female Rambler to an educated observer, social commentator, and traveler. Being a traveler and observer, the lady Rambler in Davys's novels does not become an object of men's satire or ridicule as seen in the conventions of traditional Ramble literature.

Conclusion

Manley and Davys share many similarities in their travels and life histories. Both set out for journeys after domestic tragedies, searching for more money and opportunities. Manley's 1694 trip to South England happened when she decided to leave her bigamist husband and when she quarreled with the Duchess of Cleveland. Davys also emigrated from Ireland to England to earn more money for herself after her husband and her children died. Their real-life journeys were not excursions, but experiences of

settling down in new environments for a long duration of time, creating new homes and new acquaintances in these transitional moments of their lives. Therefore, they are not naïve young girls, but mature women smart enough to penetrate the minds of flamboyant libertines. These stories of female solo travelers, reprinted in 1725, resist the plot of courtship and marriage, endorse the independence of women who can easily leave behind what is familiar to them, and seek new company, a new place, and a new life.

CHAPTER III

MAPPING WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL TRAVELS AND WORLD WRITING IN

PENELOPE AUBIN'S NOVELS

What Clods of Earth should we have been but for Reading?—How ignorant of every thing but the Spot we tread upon?—Books are the Channel through which all useful Arts and Sciences are conveyed:—By the Help of Books we sit at Ease, and travel to the most distant Parts; behold the Customs and Manners of all the different Nations in the habitable Globe, nay take a View of Heaven itself, and traverse all the wonders of the Skies.

—Eliza Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, Book 7 (1745)

Every endeavour to entice from the hands of the Fair, obscene and ridiculous novels...by persuading them to the study of a science both useful and amusing...No science seems better calculated for their entertainment and instruction than that of Geography, which gives them a perfect idea of the exterior surface of the globe, of its natural and political divisions, and of the manners, customs, and curiosities, of every particular part of it.

—*The Young Lady's Geography* (1765)

In the previous chapter, we saw that Delarivier Manley and Mary Davys challenge the stigma attached to female domestic travelers and make efforts to represent women's spatial navigation as respectable and intellectual in their literary works. In this chapter, I move onto the literary world of 1720s Britain where Penelope Aubin continued to publish fiction that featured respectable lady travelers set, in this case, on global stage. While Manley and Davys wrote domestic travelogues set in Britain, Aubin's seven fictions written in the 1720s were set in Europe, America, and Asia. She built her work on the popularity of accounts of world travel, especially on Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. This shift from Manley and Davys's women's domestic travelogues to Aubin's often shocking adventures of female global travelers attests to changes in

literary market trends and readers' tastes. In the literary market during 1700-1730, there was a notable increase in the production and sales of the genre depicting heroic European travelers' suffering shipwreck, captivity, and slavery.

Between 1707 and 1709, Aubin published three panegyric poems written to celebrate recent national events in Britain and seek royal patronage: *The Stuarts: A Pindarique Ode*; *The Extasy: A Pindarick Ode to Her Majesty the Queen*; and *The Wellcome: A Poem to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough*.¹ In July 1721, Aubin came back to London's literary market with her first novel, *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil*. When Aubin made her way into London's literary marketplace, the most popular models of fiction were Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Haywood's *Love in Excess*, both published in 1719, two years before the publication of Aubin's first novel. Aubin published fiction prolifically between 1720-29, mainly on the topic of European men and women's global travel, captivity, survival, and redemption. Notable works include *The Life of Madam de Beaumont* and *The Amorous Adventures of Lucinda* (1721), *The Noble Slaves* (1722), *The Life of Charlotta du Pont* (1723), *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy* (1726), and *The Life and Adventures of Young Count Albertus* (1728). Her new career as the writer of adventure novels was much more successful than her earlier efforts, with three titles reprinted at least five times (*The Life of Madam de*

¹ Debbie Welham points out that "In sequence the poems are commentaries on the Act of Union (*The Stuarts*), the victory at Oudenarde and the repelling of the Pretender (*The Extasy*), and the return of the Duke of Marlborough (*The Wellcome*). Through the poems Aubin projects the position of an Anglican supporter of the Queen with a somewhat uneasy stance on the Duke of Marlborough" (*Delight and Instruction?* 101).

Beaumont, The Noble Slaves, and The Life of Charlotta du Pont).² As W. H. McBurney indicates, Penelope Aubin combines “Defoe’s subject matter and method with those of Mrs. Eliza Haywood and of continental fiction” (“Mrs. Penelope Aubin” 253). She mixed Defoe’s theme of travel and adventure with Haywood’s amatory fiction focused on heterosexual desire.

Penelope Aubin created her own unique career path as a female author by specializing in “lady’s travel” in the 1720s: writing stories of global travel with strong female characters.³ It was a successful niche marketing strategy when overwhelming numbers of fictional and factual accounts of international mobility, travel, and exchange were exclusively about male travelers. Aubin’s female-centered travel literature was rare in the travel literature market: as Aparna Gollapudi notes, Aubin’s “substitution of a fictional feminocentric experience for the traditionally male-centered travel narrative of her day allows for an assessment of the possible roles for women in the grand imperial subtext of the genre” (670). Furthermore, Aubin’s fiction rework the model of male travelers in popular fiction such as *Robinson Crusoe* by mapping transnational movements of female travelers in a range of extra-European locations. While Defoe is praised for his imaginative powers to describe the global stage, to borrow Srinivas

² See “Table 12. New works reprinted at least five times,” in Leah Orr (187-88).

³ Advertisement pages in *The Noble Slaves* and *Count de Vinevil* suggest that her booksellers in partnership promoted the tales of lady’s travels as their publication specialty. Her booksellers list French woman writer Marie D’Aulnoy’s *Ingenious and Diverting Letters of a Lady’s Travels into Spain*, together with Aubin’s other works. The way the publishers displayed the list of books indicates that the genre of “lady’s travel writing” became a recognizable category and genre identifier in the literary market.

Aravamudan's words, "as far-flung as China, the South Seas, and the Americas" ("Defoe, commerce, and empire" 45), no writer in the 1720s except Aubin depicted female characters in the similarly wide geographies on the globe.

Therefore, by thrusting female characters into the exotic and unfamiliar locales, Penelope Aubin participates in early eighteenth-century knowledge productions of the world, broadly covering sea navigation, cartographical practices, and ethnographical investigations. She imaginatively constructs the world filled with women's global trajectories, including their psychology, trauma, and heroism—particularly in how they cope with sexual threats. My analysis is heavily influenced by scholars of early women novelists on the relationship between gender and worldview. For example, Laura L. Runge reads Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* as "a component of early modern place-making" and part of the "generation of geographical knowledge" (20). Rebekah Mitsein also points out that *Oroonoko* was written "during a time when Europeans were still sorting out the methods and stakes of geographical representation, and, as others have shown, her text reflects these epistemological negotiations" ("Trans-Saharan" 341). Also, in his analysis on the utopianism of early novels including Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World* and Behn's *Oroonoko*, Jason Pearl argues that "travel writing and geographic discourse more broadly heaped up a vast storehouse of positive knowledge...but early novels went further, extrapolating from available accounts to speculate pessimistically about early modernity's remaining blank spaces on the map" (2). These scholars' insights illuminate women writers' contribution to early modern practices of knowledge production and imaginative construction of the world. By extending this point to

Aubin's fiction, I claim that Aubin takes part in this early modern exploration of the unfamiliar parts of the world through her imaginative consideration of the relation between female identities and geographic locations.

Therefore, I situate Aubin's travel fiction as a significant part of the tradition of "world writing," which includes, according to Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers, "the different modes of writing that were produced to deal with that expanding world" (14). In the long eighteenth century, these modes of geographical literature include travel narratives, accounts of voyages, maps, dictionaries, and so on.⁴ Aubin engages with the world through these modes. The development of such geographical information allowed her to exert her creative capacities to fill out the fuzzy lines and blank spaces of early modern maps, and to create her own stories of female travelers exploring the edges of the extra-European world. Aubin's world writing is a model of an aspiring woman author who takes an active role as both a consumer and a producer of geographical knowledge and travel narratives in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, when women were increasingly required to acquire and keep up with expanding geographical information.⁵

Moreover, I suggest that Aubin's stories of women's mobility into far-off

⁴ In regards to the term "World Writing," Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers further argue, "[w]e want to show that geographical inquiries into the extent and nature of the globe took different written forms, and did so to reflect different intentions and the demands of different audiences keen to know about other places" ("Travel, Trade, and Empire" 14).

⁵ Withers notes that "[g]eography was readily domesticated—learned at home by women as a genteel accomplishment, by men as a basis to commerce, by children as an educational accomplishment" (*Placing the Enlightenment* 167-68).

countries were written to educate women readers about geographical discourse and information. She ends her preface to *The Noble Slaves* with a flattering comment on female readers: “I hope, this will be read, and gain a Place in your Esteem, especially with my own Sex, whose Favour I shall always be proud of: Nor have they a truer Friend, than their humble servant” (xii). The primary reason for targeting a female readership was to deliver a moralizing message about the preservation of feminine virtue, but Aubin’s detailed descriptions of wide regions of the world concur with an emerging discourse in the eighteenth century that regards geographical literature or travel narratives as playing a significant role in educating women into genteel and cultivated citizens. For instance, Eliza Haywood asserts in her periodical *The Female Spectator* (1745) that “[b]y the Help of Books we sit at Ease, and travel to the most distant Parts; behold the Customs and Manners of all the different Nations in the habitable Globe,” emphasizing the importance of learning ethnographical information of distant countries through travel literature in female education (45; vol. 2). In a similar vein, the author of *The Young Lady’s Geography* (1765) also recommends the studies of geography to ladies by arguing, in the preface dedicated to Queen Charlotte, to cultivate “[e]very endeavour to entice from the hands of the Fair, obscene and ridiculous novels...by persuading them to the study of a science both useful and amusing, and without some knowledge of which they cannot read even a public paper of intelligence with pleasure or advantage” (A2r-v). In this context, a wide coverage of the world and the ethnographic details in Aubin’s works hint at the educational effects they might have on the female readership. Just as Manley and Davys used the informative and

educational nature of travel narratives for building their authorial careers, Aubin also uses travel literature to market herself as a geographically savvy writer.

In this chapter, I highlight Penelope Aubin as an important travel fiction writer in the 1720s on par with Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift. I analyze how geography functions in Aubin's fictional works by comparing her to other fiction writers, and by underscoring Aubin's geographical knowledge and her implied message of resisting the colonial model of her fictional subjects. Then, I focus on two specific regions represented in her fiction: the Islamic world and the East Indies. In the section on the Islamic world, I argue that Aubin rewrites female captivity narratives based on Britain's increasing interest in the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. She uses Muslim countries as a space for a fictional experiment that models the ideal figure of female virtue. Her narratives correct the gendered discourse that female returnees from the Islamic world are tainted and corrupted. The East Indies section addresses Aubin's creative geographical representation of the East Indies and the North Pacific in *The Noble Slaves*. Though her mixed-up geography might seem to reflect simple mistakes or prejudices to the eyes of modern readers, I argue that the speculative nature of the map and geographical discourse of the time allows her to imaginatively represent regions, despite the limitations of cartography in her time. Through my analysis, I prove that Aubin is a female author in the 1720s who produces a female-centered knowledge of the world geography based on newly updated geographical information, captivity narratives, and travel literature of her time. She demonstrates interesting and creative interactions with the contemporary geographical discourse.

Travel Fiction Writers of the 1720s: Penelope Aubin, Daniel Defoe, and Jonathan Swift

Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) were published with Herman Moll's maps of the world. The maps illustrated the ostensible trajectories of their narrators' global trips as a device to deceive readers into taking these adventures as authentic, but Aubin's travel fiction do not have the luxury of the world map.^{6,7} While *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* were published in octavo formats, all of Aubin's fiction published during the 1720s were smaller duodecimos. The tiny size made her novels cheaper, but they had no space for any folded map. In lieu of maps, the title pages of her fiction try hard to compensate the lack of visual maps by cramming in a plot summary that highlights a variety of foreign place names. Aubin's novels also display frontispiece illustrations that capture scintillating moments of the plot, the style of which resembles the romance fiction such as Eliza Haywood's *Love in Excess* (1719). *Crusoe* and *Gulliver*, who are both sailors, constantly refer to geographic coordinate values such as longitude and latitude as a device to claim truth to heighten the reader's sense of their veracity; in contrast, Aubin's characters are castaways and captives who cannot locate where they are because they lack reference to geographic

⁶ In regards to the inaccuracy of maps in *Gulliver's Travels*, see Frederick Bracher and John Robert Moore.

⁷ Dennis Reinhartz introduces Herman Moll as follows: Moll was "of German origin, he is Great Britain's most celebrated geographer and mapmaker of the first half of the eighteenth century...Moll authored over two dozen published geographies, atlases, and histories. In addition, he created several hundred individual maps, charts, and globes for his own uses and for the works of others" (1). Alex Zukas also notes, "Moll's maps exemplified the appeals to scientific accuracy, modernity, self-interest, profitable enterprise, and national good that were the ideological bedrock of the British Enlightenment and early British globalization" (29).

coordinate values. Instead, Aubin drops a wide range of foreign place names across several continents in her works, allowing the reader to navigate the globe in ways more imaginative and less mathematical.

In the literary history of travel fiction and imagined geographies during the 1720s, I situate Aubin's novels as a bridge between Defoe's realistic narratives and Swift's satiric pseudo-travel narratives. Defoe's geographical descriptions are informed by the reliable knowledge available in published travel books and maps of his time; in contrast, Swift creates countries that do not exist on any map, taking advantage of the blank space and uncertainty of contemporary geographical knowledge.⁸ Aubin's works are based in eighteenth-century map and geographical discourse; however, many locations mentioned in her works also refuse to be mapped. The most striking example would be the ancient kingdom Numidia. For instance, in chapter 12 of *The Noble Slaves* (1722), the European heroines Teresa and Emilia escape from threats of rape by Muslim men, and Aubin inserts an imagined country (Numidia) among the real place names such as Algeria and Morocco.

The Ladies past the Night in Prayer, and so soon as Day broke, came
down from the Tree almost faint, and hasted over a high Hill, from

⁸ In terms of Defoe's realistic narrative, Arthur W. Secord argues that Defoe consulted the most trustworthy and authoritative travel books and maps available to him at that time; his narratives are convincing because "they are to a large extent made up of actual occurrences." This adherence to facts was Defoe's "methods of securing credence" (236). Gary J. Scrimgeour also indicates that Defoe does not have knowledge about Africa "beyond that published in the fashionable atlases and travels of his time" (23). On the other hand, Rebekah Mitsein argues that Defoe's description of foreign geographies in *Captain Singleton* is highly dependent on the early eighteenth-century geographical discourse, but at the same time his fiction reveals their speculative and unreliable nature ("Upon a Voyage").

whence they saw a lovely River at some distance: They hasted to it, and in a Boat that lay there to ferry Passengers over, past safely to the other side; and asking where they were, the poor Man told them the River they had past over was call'd *Omirary*, a River that parts the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*; that they were not far from Mount *Atlas*, which if they past over, they would come into *Numidia*, a Country inhabited by *Mahometans* and *Pagans*, govern'd by no King, but ruled by some chief Men, Heads of Tribes, chosen by the rest. (132)

Chapter one of *The Noble Slaves* clearly states that the European characters' journey started in 1708. The ancient kingdom Numidia thrived between 202 BC-40 BC and was located in what is now Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya.⁹ Aubin mixes modern geographies with anachronistic ones in her depiction of Teresa and Emilia's movement from Algeria, to the kingdoms of Morocco and Fez, and then to Numidia. The insertion of Numidia might be a signal to show off her knowledge about the world and its ancient history; or, she might have wanted to place an ancient kingdom in the midst of real nations and oceans in order to create her imaginary world that resists being easily mapped. Aubin's travel fiction frequently foreground imagined places such as Numidia, or a desolate island near Japan, which are not recognizable in early modern or modern geographical systems, and which thus refuse to be geographically referenced. This element gestures

⁹ According to *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Numidia was "under the Roman Republic and Empire, a part of Africa north of the Sahara, the boundaries of which at times corresponded roughly to those of modern western Tunisia and eastern Algeria."

toward Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, published four years after *The Noble Slaves*, in which Swift intentionally plays on the difficulty of mapping foreign geographies by creating outlandish fictional countries.

While foreshadowing Swift's use of imagined geography, Aubin was heavily influenced by Defoe's wildly successful travel fiction to such an extent that her publishers adopted some stylistic elements from his title pages. In the preface, Aubin compares her first novel *The Count de Vinevil* to Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* by arguing that "As for the Truth of what this Narrative contains, since Robinson Crusoe has been so well receiv'd, which is more improbable, I know no reason why this should be thought a Fiction," as a way to authorize the value and veracity of her work (6, italics original). Aubin's title pages are clear markers that her works are based on Defoe's model of travel narratives. Her titles usually start with "The Life of" or "Adventures of," just like Defoe's novels, to indicate that the narrative is a real person's biography. Her additional proofs of authenticity include "taken from her own MEMOIRS" (*Charlotta Du Pont*) and "Written by her self" (*Lucinda*). *Charlotta Du Pont*, which covers the largest geographic scales among Aubin's works, showcases exotic geographies such as Virginia, Madagascar, Spanish, Spanish West-Indies, England, Barbary, the river Oroonoko, France and Spain, and highlights them with italicization. Several of her locations invoke Defoe's geographies, such as *Captain Singleton's* Madagascar and Crusoe's Oroonoko (Orinoco) River. However, Aubin additionally sends off her heroines to even more diverse spots in the world. Most of her novels cover at least one episode in Muslim countries (Turkey or the Barbary Coast) as well as in the

Mediterranean islands (*Count de Vinevil*), the East Indies (*Noble Slaves*), and the New World plantations of the Caribbean islands (*Charlotta Du Pont*). In her title page, geographical names, rather than characters' names, are the selling points. The publisher crammed the catalogue of various exotic locations into the small duodecimo format which, according to Ros Ballaster, was "the early modern equivalent of the twentieth-century 'pulp' paperback commonly associated with light fiction for women" (36).

While Aubin wrote prolifically about ladies' travel, Daniel Defoe published *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana* anonymously in 1722 and 1724. Defoe's heroines constantly move and navigate through space; for instance, Moll Flanders is transported and later migrated to Virginia, and Roxana lives in continental Europe. Moll and Roxana together exemplify the mobility of lower-class women like vagrants and mistresses. Influenced by the genre of criminal biography and the prostitute narrative, female travelers in Defoe's novels prioritize their own survival. They do not hesitate to trade on their sexuality at the expense of sacrificing their virtue. Defoe's low-bred heroines represent a model of female travel very different from Aubin's high-class lady travelers, who range from a daughter of a French Count, to a rich merchant's daughter who enjoys the best possible education and an affluent upbringing. Unlike Defoe, Aubin's agenda was to highlight virtuous upper-class women's travels in challenging, usually non-Christian locations. Her persistent portrayal of women's virtuous voyages significantly departs from the model of lower-class female mobility associated with promiscuity. In the 1720s literary market, while Defoe did not allow Moll or Roxana a wide exploration of the globe compared to his male travelers like Bob Singleton and Robinson Crusoe, Aubin

offered a wide range of global mobility to female characters. Aubin's novels on ladies' respectable global travels occupied a niche market distinct from Defoe's popular stories in which female travelers care more about money and sheer survival over the ideals of feminine virtue and modesty.

While Aubin's presence looms large in the market of travel fiction in 1720s, on par with Defoe and Swift, there is a lack of scholarship that situates and evaluates Aubin's entire oeuvre in relation to the developing genre of travel fiction and the expanding scope of British international trade and colonial projects. This tendency contrasts with the abundant scholarly attention offered travel fiction by Defoe and Swift. This is partly because Aubin is not an author who left much biographical information to later generations. In the case of Daniel Defoe, his prolific political and economic essays, including "Essays on Several Projects" (1702), "A General History of Trade" (1713), "A Plan of the English Commerce" (1728), and so forth have provided scholars with much material to deduce Defoe's personal views on commerce, adventure, and colonialism alongside his adventure fiction such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, *Captain Singleton*, and *A New Voyage around the World*. In contrast, the lack of information about Aubin's life and her views on political and economic issues has prevented scholars from recovering Aubin's participation in the formation of travel literature in the early eighteenth century. As Debbie Welham notes, "the lack of biographical information remains as one of the signs of the non-canonical status of the works of eighteenth-century women writers" ("The Particular Case" 63).

However, recent studies of Aubin's biography provide groundbreaking evidence

of her business acumen and knowledge of international politics. Joel H. Baer found Aubin's deposition to the board of trade written in 1709, in which she objects to the Madagascar project proposed by John Breholt to "pardon and repatriate the pirates settled on Madagascar in return for a considerable share of their wealth" (50). This document indicates that the character of an Irish pirate in Aubin's novel *Charlotta Du Pont* (1723), who turned a pirate in Madagascar, is not entirely made up, but had some foundation in Aubin's firsthand experiences with trade issues. Debbie Welham also discovered that Aubin's brother-in-law David Aubin experienced a pirate attack, lost his ship, then asked Aubin's husband Abraham to make his case public. In line with this request, Aubin "seems to have incorporated David Aubin's description of the pirate attack into her novels" ("Particular Case" 73). Welham speculates that David's residence in Barbados, along with Phill Aubin's (another of Abraham's brothers) accident of being cast away on the coast of Guinea, further suggests the possibility that "Abraham, or even Penelope, had travelled" abroad ("Particular case" 73). These significant findings in Aubin's biography hint at how a woman writer might have constructed fictional global geographies not only from second-hand reading of popular sources, but also from first-hand knowledge and expertise as well as reports from her relatives.

It is hard to determine for sure what were Aubin's personal views and positions in terms of British colonialist project and expansion into the world; however, her novels depict a world in which Europeans, instead of accumulating wealth, were constantly captured and held captive by racialized Others. Aubin therefore offers a quite different model of European traveler from Defoe's heroes. Many scholars have pointed out that

Defoe's travel fiction are deeply involved with and in support of the expansion of British international trade through discoveries and colonization of the new world.¹⁰ For example, Dennis Todd argues, "Crusoe's imposing order is the act of a prototypical colonist, the very embodiment of the masculine, imperial impulse to go out into the world and dominate it" (143). The propensity to ramble and seek new adventure is commonly found in analyses of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Bob Singleton*. If the prototypes of Defoe's male travelers embody the combination of the merchant/colonialist/traveler who accumulates wealth as they travel the world, Aubin foregrounds a very different type of travels undertaken by European women, who obtain global mobility through abduction, shipwreck, slavery, and captivity. On this note, Richard Snader argues that *Robinson Crusoe*, *Captain Singleton*, and Chetwood's *Robert Boyle* (1726) all foreground male protagonists who espouse colonial expansion and British mercantilism in the world. However, he notes that Penelope Aubin,

[i]n place of aggressively mercantile English heroes...focuses on continental captives, especially passive noblemen, proselytizing priests, and women, character types that are essentially absent from factual accounts of Barbary captivity. This shift in character types would seem to

¹⁰ For instance, Downie argues that not only does Defoe's *A New Voyage Round the World* (1724) obviously promote the scheme of colonization and commerce in South America, but other adventure stories such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *Captain Singleton*, *Moll Flanders*, and *Colonel Jack* also "involve imperialistic propaganda to promote his schemes of trade and colonization" ("Defoe" 74). Srinivas Aravamudan also notes that Defoe's fiction, including *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Farther Adventures*, *Captain Singleton*, *Colonel Jack*, *Moll Flanders*, and *Roxana* are all "notable for rationalizing the contingencies of tropicopolitan experience into the teleological narrative of metropolitan representation," implying that all Defoe's characters "interfere and collude in differing degrees with the colonial project" (*Tropicopolitans* 76).

offer infertile ground for individualistic or colonial ideology, especially since it seems consistent with Aubin's position as a woman and a Catholic, doubly removed from the circles of British mercantile expansion. (149)

In a similar vein, Edward J. Kozaczka argues that Aubin does not treat geographical sites "as feminine landscapes to be ravished and tamed by men," thus destabilizing the tenets of British imperialism (203). Indeed, Aubin's female travelers, not being sailors or merchants, are excluded from the network of international trades and the politics of generating profitable trade routes. Furthermore, Aubin's traveling heroines suffer sexually from male aggressions in ways that did not occur to Defoe's male travelers.

Aubin's depiction of vulnerable European world travelers captures international politics and transnational exchanges before 1750, when Britain had not yet acquired its hegemonic status as the strongest national power of the world. Rather, its power was constantly threatened and challenged by other non-European countries. Linda Colley argues that before the 1750s, "it was Britons who were for a long time at risk of being captured and even enslaved by Muslim powers and not the other way around" (*Captives* 103). Britain's views of Islam and the East were generally hostile, but could also contain a measure of respect (*Captives* 125). Colley's point was continued later with Srinivas Aravamudan's argument that "Europe had still not established its sway over China, Japan, Turkey, or India" (*Enlightenment Orientalism* 7) in the eighteenth century, as well as Robert Markley's view that "until 1800 an integrated world economy was dominated by China and to a lesser extent Japan and Moghul" (*The Far East* 2). In line

with this evidence, then, Aubin's fictional world points to the limitations of British colonial expansion and imperial projects by portraying the dangers and challenges European subjects encountered in their journeys around the globe. The subjugation of European travelers in foreign countries in Aubin's fiction also foreshadows Swift's scathing critique of colonialism in *Gulliver's Travels*.¹¹

For instance, in *Amorous Adventures of Lucinda*, Charles and Lucinda's journey from Turkey to Britain is actually hampered by the British naval force, which requires the travelers to be recruited as seamen for the war against the Dutch.¹² There came "the Orders for pressing all who had been at Sea, [which] were executed with such Haste and Diligence, that poor *Charles* and I were seized, almost as soon as on shore, by the Press-Gang, and forced into the Ship for Service" (139). Lucinda, who disguised herself as a man to stay close to her lover Charles, decides to serve in the British military force, but she describes this recruitment as more troublesome than her captivity in Turkey: "This Misfortune troubled me more than when I was first carried a Slave to *Turky*" (140). Aubin's female travelers/captives critique British activities overseas as well as its colonial project to send the British workforce away from the home country. In terms of the criticism on the British colonial project, Aubin's female travelers are closer to Swift's Gulliver, whose captivities in various imaginary countries parodies and refutes Defoe's expansionist, colonizing male heroes.

¹¹ On the point about Swift, Clement Hawes comments that "*Gulliver's Travels* remains, even today, an effective critique of colonialism in any form...Gulliver, the English narrator, is himself colonized" (189).

¹² The third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674).

Overall, Aubin fills out the countries she never visited through her literary imagination, infusing the world with women's travel, exploration, suffering, and heroism. Her focus on female travelers and their psychology separates her works from male-centered travel fiction written by Defoe and Swift in the same era. Her novels' persistent descriptions of women travelers/captives around the world are unique and unprecedented in the British literary world of the 1720s. The following two sections further detail how Aubin depicts Muslim countries and the Far East in original ways by reconfiguring women captives into active and independent travelers.

Rewriting Female Virtue in the Islamic World

Aubin's major novels, *Count de Vinevil*, *Lucinda*, *Noble Slaves*, and *Charlotta du Pont*, commonly feature episodes that occur in Turkey or North Africa where white European women are compelled to explore unfamiliar cultural spaces and struggle to return to their home countries. Nabil Matar notes that Barbary captivity narratives written by British nationals function as travel accounts that inform the reader about the custom and reality of the Ottoman World because European captives "learned about the social and private lives of Muslims in a manner no traveler could" (22).¹³ In a way, captives were the most informed travelers. Through the framework of captivity narratives, Aubin turns female captive characters into active travelers and observers who ward off sexual threats by Muslim men, navigate alien geographies, and rescue

¹³ For example, Matar further mentions that "while English dramatists and travel writers praised the Muslims for dominating and controlling their wives, the reality described by some captives, such as Hasleton, Thomas Smith, and others, as well as by North African writers, showed a different and less restricted side of Muslim marital and gender relations" (22).

themselves back into their home countries. By departing from historical narratives that describe female captives as helpless sufferers, victims, and sometimes renegades, Aubin's fictional project imaginatively rewrites a relationship between geography and gender through, for instance, exemplifying women travelers' courageous and heroic virtues in the face of sexual threats. The setting of Muslim countries is used as a fictional space to establish an exemplary model of female heroism by thrusting European women into captivity, testing and proving their virtue.

For instance, Maria in *The Noble Slaves* is an epitome of the militantly virtuous Christian female warding off Muslim men's sexual threat. She is a Spanish slave who is threatened with rape by the Persian emperor. Later, Maria relates her astonishing heroic reaction to this life-threatening situation: "I tore my Eyeballs out, and threw them at him" (33). The emperor soon repents of his sin, converts to Christianity, and gets married to the now blind Maria. They lived happily together on a desolate island in the East Indies. Maria showcases the most extreme and violently self-harming means of resistance, which Aubin compares to the hagiographical representation of female saints, or Early Christian martyrs in her epilogue to *Noble Slaves*:

The Gentlemen in this Story well deserve our Imitation; the Ladies, I fear, will scarce find any here who will pull out their Eyes, break their Legs, starve, and chuse to die, to preserve their Virtues. The Heathens, indeed, shew'd many Examples of such heroic Females; but since the first Ages of Christianity, we have had very few: The Nuns of *Glastenbury*, who parted with their Noses and Lips to preserve their Chastity, are I think, the

last the *English* Nation can boast of. 'Tis well in this Age if the fair Sex stand the Trial of soft Persuasions; a little Force will generally do to gain the proudest Maid. (202)

Here Aubin clarifies her intention behind writing and publishing ladies' travel narratives, which is to establish a model of heroism her female readers could admire and emulate.¹⁴ While emphasizing the model of extreme resistance as a female virtue, Aubin seems to accuse contemporary British women of moral weakness, therefore potentially risking a loss of favor with female readership.

Aubin's fictional project to model aggressively virtuous female heroes departs from historical accounts of female captivities in Islamic world. Female captives could protect their virtue even without extreme methods such as tearing their eyes or stabbing their master. Aubin's representation was also a bold move given the silent erasure of the real women taken captive. Linda Colley notes that British individual's Barbary captivity accounts were written overwhelmingly by men; Elizabeth Marsh's account of her Barbary captivity in 1756, which was published under the title *The Female Captive* in 1769, was the first to be written by a woman (*Captives* 88-89). This is not because there were no female captives in the first half of the eighteenth century, but, in most cases, the

¹⁴ Wolfgang Zach speculates that Samuel Richardson was the anonymous writer of the preface to the posthumous volumes of Aubin's collected novels (1739), arguing that Richardson was an avid reader of Aubin's novels and a supporter of her tenet of Christian virtue promoted in her works. Therefore, Aubin's religious and moral tone in the preface might have influenced Richardson's writing of *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, implying that Aubin's literary project to model a virtuous heroine to emulate was successful in edifying the reading public and changing the literary and cultural landscape.

voices of British female captives in the Barbary Coast were absent, suppressed, or discredited in early eighteenth-century Britain. The lists of English captives in North Africa published in newspapers in 1721 record only the names of men, who were usually ship masters or crews.¹⁵ There is no single name of a female captive on these lists. As Bekkaoui notes, “it is confounding, indeed, that female captives are left out of redemption lists and rarely feature in diplomatic correspondences or ransoming petitions” (16). Historically, British female captives were silenced, or at least not treated with equal fervor as British male slaves were.

This might be understandable considering that women did not work as sailors and thus had fewer chances of being taken by Muslim pirates. However, Colley points out that “Moroccan corsairs are known to have taken at least three British women at sea” in the 1720s, including Margaret Shea, who was captured “travelling on her own from Ireland in 1720” (*The Ordeal* 78-79). Two captives were Jewish women, Blanca and Rachel Franco on a voyage from London to New York. They were redeemed by the Royal Navy in 1728 for being related to rich merchants. However, Margaret Shea, a working-class woman sailing on her own from Cork to Lisbon in 1720, was not

¹⁵ See “A List of the English Captives taken by the Rovers of Sallee, &c. and carry’d into Slavery by the Moors from October 22. 1714 to September 1. 1720,” in *London Journal* (1720) dated October 8, 1720-October 15, 1720, Issue 64; also, “A List of the Captives redeemed from Morocco by His Majesty’s Royal Care and Bounty, and brought over by His Majesty’s Ships the Dover and Sheerness,” in *London Gazette*, December 2, 1721-December 5, 1721, Issue 6013.

redeemed and did not return home.¹⁶ Unlike women from aristocratic families or the prosperous merchant class whose ransoms were promptly negotiated and paid by the family or a national organization such as the Redemption of Captives, women from the lower class were not speedily rescued and mostly had to assimilate into Muslim society as a slave and/or mistress.

It can be assumed that the absence, or deliberate erasure, of English women from the Barbary captivity issue is probably due to the fact that Christian women who were taken captives in Muslim countries were automatically suspected of losing their female chastity, a social stigma that was not associated with white male captives. For instance, Elizabeth Marsh attests in her account *The Female Captive* (1769) that on her return to England she suffered as much as in her captivity in Morocco due to British people's suspicion of her chastity and the veracity of her story: "the Misfortunes I met with in Barbary have been more than equaled by those I have since experienced, in this Land of civil and religious Liberty" (A3v-4r).

In contrast with the relative absence of discourse on actual British female captives, the captivities of non-British European women around 1720 were spotlighted in news media, literature, and theatre, repeating the popular theme of female virtue

¹⁶ Colley's essay "The Narrative of Elizabeth Marsh" further explains what happened to Margaret Shea in Morocco: "Margaret Shea, a working-class woman sailing on her own from Cork to Lisbon in 1720, had a very different experience. According to one version, having been captured by corsairs, she became the property of Moulay Ismail, then the Moroccan sultan, who forced her to convert and then into his bed before handing her over to a European renegade soldier....Shea was undoubtedly captured, converted, and impregnated by someone in Morocco....She never got back home" ("The Narrative of Elizabeth Marsh" 140-41).

endangered by lustful Muslim men. For example, in *Post Boy* in March 1720, “A letter from the Administrator for the Redemption of Captives at *Algier*” reports a tragedy of a French aristocratic family who got shipwrecked on the Barbary coast on their way to Spain. The Lady Bourk and her son were killed by the Moors. Only her nine-year-old daughter was left alive; the girl was later ransomed by the Fathers for the Redemption in Algiers (1). Many daily newspapers featured the cruelty of Algerian pirates and the unfortunate fate of the Lady Bourk and her daughter, highlighting the victimized girl.

The trope of European women’s virtue threatened by Muslim assailants was also popular in the British cultural imaginations such as in the theater. Haywood’s play *The Fair Captive*, a story about an Italian woman imprisoned in a harem, was staged in March 1721 at Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre; it was also published the same month. Haywood’s play stages the fate of the Spanish captive Isabella in seraglio. Isabella’s ransom is paid by her father, but lustful Mustapha, a vizier of the Ottoman Empire, does not release her. Her lover Alphonso comes to Turkey from Spain to save her, but he is suspicious of the loss of her chastity and pours misogynistic slurs on her. Haywood uses the space of Turkey and seraglio to accuse European men of distrust and bias against women, rather than critiquing the Turkish politics.

While Haywood’s play focuses on non-British captives, Aubin directly addresses the issue of female captivities in Muslim countries, including the enslavement of British woman. Aubin seems to point out that female captivity is also a threat to British women by reconstructing the tales of British women’s presence in the Ottoman Empire, which had been largely ignored by British officials and media. Aubin’s novels feature loads of

Venetian, French, and Spanish female captives, but her novel *Amorous Adventures of Lucinda* specifically addresses an English lady's misfortune to fall into slavery in a Turkish merchant's household. The representation of the English female captive in Turkey was extremely rare in the early eighteenth-century cultural discourse and literary market.

Colley points out that "English-language novels of the time that do refer to female captives usually stress their continental European rather than their British origins," referencing only Aubin's *The Noble Slaves* ("The Narrative of Elizabeth Marsh" 344). Here, I want to correct Colley's statement by stressing the importance of the British woman slave in Aubin's *Lucinda*, in which the eponymous heroine was captured, on her voyage from Italy to Spain, by Algerian pirates and enslaved in Constantinople. Due to her disguise as a man, Lucinda is the only female character who does not suffer Muslim men's sexual violence during her enslavement, but she ironically is the object of flirtation from a Turkish merchant's daughter who thinks Lucinda is male.¹⁷ Until the publication of Elizabeth Marsh's account of her Barbary captivity in 1769, which is regarded as the first published account of British woman's captivity in the Islamic world, Aubin's book had offered the most popular and powerful stories about transculturation, psychological trauma, and the sexual threats female travelers could encounter in their transnational encounter with Islamic culture. Aubin's representation of female travelers as heroic and virtuous in their captivity significantly departs from the

¹⁷ On Aubin's representation of homosexual desire, see Kozaczka and Mounsey, "Conversion."

contemporary discourse on female captives' tainted chastity, the dubious nature of their religious faith and national loyalty, and the danger of women's transculturation.

Scholars have also noted that fictional forms enabled Aubin to combine diverse models of female captives and heroes in narratives to create the best possible model of women traveling in exotic locales. According to Eve Tavor Bannet, Aubin's bold female characters are partially modeled on the historical accounts of white women's captivity with Indians in North America in the late seventeenth century—for example, the story of Hannah Dustan, who murdered her Indian captors with a hatchet to revenge their murder of her child, was well-known to British readers (53-54). Richard Snader also notes that Aubin's narratives present “a set of highly popular fiction that directly incorporated, intensified, and recast the individualistic heroism and colonialist agenda of factual captivity accounts” (127). The novel allowed a creation of the ideal model of female virtue and bravery in the midst of hostile environment, which contests the usually negative perception of women who traveled in or were held captive in Muslim countries.

Unlike Haywood's Isabella in *The Fair Captives* who waits in the seraglio for male saviors, Aubin presents a string of female heroes who showcase extra-aggressive and unrealistically courageous rescue plans. Along with the hard-core Spanish lady Maria who tore out her eyes, Emilia and Teresa in *The Noble Slaves* also illustrate women's bravery and spirit of resistance to sexual threats. The degree of their resistance and strength actually exceeds that of their male counterparts: Emilia and Teresa steadfastly resist eating food during their imprisonment, whereas their husbands were able to fast for only two days before giving in. Emilia even stabs the Algerian governor

who is threatening her with violence. In contrast, white male slaves not only fail to physically attack their captors, but also lack the ability to save their enslaved wives. On this note, Bekkaoui indicates that in female captivity discourse based on real experiences, white males “are relegated to a marginal position” and enslaved women display surprising forms of bravery and prowess to resist their sexual assailers (32). *The Noble Slaves* illustrates the point that it is not male characters, but female characters who indeed embody the paragon of true courage and virtue, disrupting the expected binary between masculine physical courage and female submissiveness. Aubin’s heroine Emilia resolutely declares, “I will die rather than live a Vassal to a vile Mahometan’s unlawful Lust” (42).

In addition to these boldly heroic female characters in *The Noble Slaves*, Aubin offers even more diverse and creative ways of successfully resisting Muslim men’s sexual assaults in her other novels. In *Count de Vinevil*, the French heroine Ardelisa, whose beauty attracts unwanted sexual aggression from high officials in Turkey, sets the Osmin’s seraglio on fire. With the help of her servants Nanette and Joseph, she symbolically burns down the space of sexual aggression and oppression. In *Charlotta du Pont*, Angelina, a French lady sent to Canada by her unnatural mother who wishes to claim Angelina’s lover for herself, is captured by Algerian Pirates on a trip back to France and sold to a Muslim man in Tunis. Angelina, like Emilia, announces that she is “resolved rather to die than yield,” then steals the servants’ keys and disguises herself as a man (144). She escapes with Catherina, another white slave in the harem. Later they meet another white slave named Madame Belanger who was enslaved to the Italian

renegade Bashaw. Belanger resists Bashaw's rape attempts for such a long time that he swoons at her feet; when he is incapacitated, she cuts the sash from his gown to use as a rope to slide down from the window, fearlessly risking injury and even death. Though these spirited heroines do not match Maria's self-mutilation, their actions nevertheless offer diverse survival tactics that can ward off sexual threats and also exemplify active, virtuous female characters. They are strong enough for self-rescue without the intervention of the Redemption of Captives organization, which usually negotiated the process of ransom and rescue of European captives. The space of the Ottoman Empire provides European female travelers an opportunity to exert masculine heroic virtues in the face of foreign threats—virtues which are not exercised in the domestic sphere.¹⁸

Because of their unrealistically heroic resistance, the main female characters in Aubin's stories are never raped or tainted by Muslim masters; however, minor female characters, who submit to Muslim masters' sexual threats, lose their virtue and become assimilated into the foreign society. While foregrounding the epitome of virtue and resistance through her main heroines, Aubin also presents, in these minor female characters who lost their chastity because of force, a more tolerant and generous view than is found in the contemporary discourse on female captives. Using the geography of the Ottoman Empire, Aubin defies the negative social stigma associated with women

¹⁸ The image of a masculine female traveler is also present in Nocentelli's analysis of Teresa Sampsonia Sherley. Nocentelli indicates that Sherley was represented as domestically feminine as well as Amazonian, with "male attributes such as courage, assertiveness, and physical strength" (86).

who transgressed cultural boundaries. She reimagines a European society where every female traveler is welcomed and respected as heroic and courageous, regardless of their actual status as a virgin.

As a foil to heroically virtuous and resistant female travelers, Aubin pairs them with passive and submissive white women slaves who have already given in to their captors' sexual desires and have adapted to Muslim culture. These characters draw on the contrary rhetoric that it is a sin to die by suicide in Christianity, so forced submission, though not desirable, is still acceptable. For instance, Violetta in *Count de Vinevil* argues, "I submitted to the fatal necessity of my circumstances; and Christianity forbidding me to finish life by my own hand, I thought I had done all that was required" (139). Similarly in *Charlotta Du Pont*, Henrietta Belhash, a French lady, says she submitted to her captor's embraces because "it was Compulsion, not Choice" (178). But Belhash's justification is undercut by exceptionally virtuous Angelina's narration: "all her Arguments seem'd weak to me, and I resolv'd on Death, rather than to yield" (178-79).

Despite the strong message to "resist or die" when confronted by non-Christian male violence, Aubin does not pass harsh judgment on or vilify submissive female characters. My interpretation of her minor female characters refutes the mainstream interpretation by Adam Beach and Eve Tavor Bannet. For instance, Beach argues that Aubin's rhetoric that "women have a duty to fight their masters to the death potentially opens up a critique of those who do not, creating a paradigm in which victims of slavery and rape are blamed for their own sexual exploitation" (26). Beach supports this

argument by quoting Bannet's point that the goal of Aubin's work is "to distinguish what she considered exemplary conduct in captivity from its opposite" (50). While these scholars' arguments about Aubin's critique of submissive, enslaved women are true, they critically miss the importance of the ending of Aubin's novels: both heroic and submissive female characters are welcomed equally in respectable European society.

Aubin argues for the generous and lenient treatment of all female travelers from far-off lands, a message that significantly rewrites the perception of female returnees from Muslim countries. After her submissive female characters with compromised virtue escape or are rescued from the harem, their capitulation to Muslim masters is not presented as a character flaw; rather, other European characters generally pity and sympathize with the women's suffering and not disapprove of their choices. For instance, Elenora, a Venetian lady in *The Noble Slaves*, was a mistress of Algerian governor but was later reunited with her lover, Andrea, who stayed as a hermit in North Africa. Andrea finally meets Elenora "with as much Joy as if she had been a Virgin", marries her, and returns to Europe with the other white couples (149). In *Charlotta Du Pont*, Catharina, who lost her virtue to her Muslim master, reunites with her lover Sancho, and her loss of virginity does not arise as an issue.

While insisting that women's aggressive and militant heroism is to be admired, Aubin's novels simultaneously argue that a woman's lost virtue can be regained through marriage. The smooth reintegration of all these women into European society also shows that resistance and submission at the threat of Muslim assailants ultimately do not matter, as long as the captives return home. These female characters' loss of chastity and

their submissive acculturation to Muslim society do not create any obstacle to reuniting with and marrying their loved ones, because it was forced upon them. In *Noble Slaves*, Anna and Elenora, who were both taken as slaves in the harem for several years, finally go back to their home country with their loved ones; their families and townspeople in Italy sincerely welcome them and are awed by their extraordinary adventure, suffering, and their ultimate safe return: “[t]he next Day the whole City rang of this strange Story, and all the Noblemen and Ladies, who were Friends or related to Angelina, crouded thither to see, and welcome Antonio and his charming Lady to Venice” (178).

With this happy ending, which is repeated similarly in her other stories, the author delivers the message that all female travelers who suffer enslavement in the Islamic world deserve reintegration into European society rather than being judged by rigid standards of virtue tethered to female chastity. No male characters in Aubin’s fiction find fault with female returnees’ virtue, nor do they express misogynistic assumptions as Alphonso did in Haywood’s *The Fair Captive*. Therefore, Aubin redefines the perception of female travelers who visited, were captured, or even assimilated into Muslim society as all respectable and virtuous, by revising the gendered discourse about the reputation of white women in the Islamic world.

Japanese Indians Speaking Chinese and Mixed-Up Geography

Unlike Aubin’s relatively confident description of the Ottoman Empire, the Barbary Coast, the eastern parts of North and South America, and the Caribbean islands, an episode on a desolate island near Japan confounds modern readers’ ideas about the world by presenting a hodgepodge of speculations and fuzzy ideas about the geography

and culture of the North Pacific. In Aubin's setting, the "Indians" in the island are ethnically Japanese, but speaking "Chinese." The Pagan temple found in this island is "the Work of some Chinese or Persians," indicating that Aubin is unsure about the distinctions between Japanese, Chinese, or Persians (23). Aubin's confusing descriptions of various ethnic cultures mirror the challenge posed to Europe's early eighteenth-century projects of mapping and representing the edge of the world, particularly the Far East and the North Pacific. Her sincerely mistaken ideas about Japan and the Pacific are the reflection of the limitations of the Enlightenment geographical project and the failure of British attempts to correctly represent every corner of the world. Simultaneously, however, the blank space and fuzzy lines in the map also enable Aubin to exert her imaginative capacities. She extrapolates data from geographical discourse and uses that reasoning to create a unique imaginary representation of the North Pacific.

The Noble Slaves starts with a desolate island near Japan where European castaways coincidentally meet and encounter an unfamiliar culture. Although the episode on the Far East island is relatively short—the main events of the story are set in North African countries—the title page of *The Noble Slaves* features the desolate island as a highlight episode: "The Lords and two Ladies, who were shipwreck'd and cast upon a desolate island near the *East-Indies*, in the Year 1710. The Manner of their living there: The surprising Discoveries they made, and strange Deliverance thence." This description or advertisement arouses a reader's curiosity about the geographic and ethnographic facts about the East Indies. Teresa, a young Spanish lady living in Mexico, "take[s] the air in a Pleasure-Boat" and is swept away by the strong wind on the sea. She

drifts for three days, finally arriving on the island near Japan. Don Lopez, a lover of Teresa, is worried about the missing Teresa and sets out to the sea to find her: “I procured a Ship, have visited all the Coast of *Peru* and *Canada*, Missing you there, I determined to go to *Japan*, it being the nearest Coast to which you could be drove” (21). In other words, Japan is set up as the nearest island to Mexico. Another pair of European castaways, Emilia and Count de Hautville, both of whom are French, depart from New Mexico on a ship bound for Japan, but the hurricane near “the Straits of California” blows them near “Cape Orientes” and they are shipwrecked on the island in the East Indies.¹⁹ These descriptions all share seriously mixed-up geographies in which Japan is three days away from Mexico by boat, yet also geographically very close to California which is an island next to the continent of North America. Due to the confusion about the distance between continents and the size of the Pacific, the island near Japan offers a convenient location where all four major European characters miraculously meet up.

The mysterious Pacific Ocean, described by Markley as “an unbounded ocean whose shorelines faded off the northern and southern edges of maps” (“The Southern Unknown Countries” 197), upended early modern European cartographical practices and constantly required cartographers to update their knowledge based on recent reports and travel accounts. Capitalizing on the mystery surrounding the Pacific, Swift also situates his imaginary land of giant people called “Brobdingnag” as a big landmass

¹⁹ In early eighteenth-century maps, New Mexico covers the western coast of North America, and California is a long island in the Pacific close to New Mexico.

attached to the western part of North America in *Gulliver's Travels*. Refuting the errors of the contemporary maps, Gulliver claims,

I cannot but conclude that our geographers of Europe are in a great error by supposing nothing but sea between Japan and California; for it was ever my opinion that there must be a balance of earth to counterpoise the great continent of Tartary; and therefore they ought to correct their maps and charts by joining this vast tract of land to the northwest parts of America, wherein I shall be ready to lend them my assistance. (160)²⁰

Just as Swift describes Brobdingnag as a land connected to North America, Aubin similarly creates the desolate island between California and Japan in *The Noble Slaves* by cleverly using her contemporary geographers' uncertainty about Japan and the North Pacific.

Herman Moll, a prominent cartographer and engraver in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, updated his maps various times through his career, and one of the major changes addressed the mapping of Japan, the Far East, and the Pacific area. It is known that Moll never corrected the theory of California as an island, though "its insularity had been disapproved by a 1705 published map of a 1698 Spanish expedition. Because English mariners he knew had claimed to have sailed around California, he continued to represent it as an island long after his contemporaries had stopped doing

²⁰ In regards to this quote, Nicole E. Didicher argues that the existence of "a Terra Australis incognita to balance the weight of Eurasia in the northern hemisphere" was debunked in 1681, but Swift intentionally used this myth "for satiric utopias" (186).

so” (Zukas 37-38). Moll famously engraved a world map for William Dampier, Rogers Woodes, Daniel Defoe, and Jonathan Swift. Dampier’s *A New Voyage round the World* went through editions in 1697, 1698, and 1703; all editions have Herman Moll’s world map as a fold-out that sums up the legendary explorer’s trajectory on the globe visually with the use of double hemispheres of the world. The left hemisphere shows North and South America, and the right hemisphere contains Europe, Africa, and Asia. In three editions of Dampier’s voyage and Moll’s *Atlas Manuale* (1709), Japan is cut in half and appears in the edges of both hemispheres (Figure 1). It is located relatively close to California, thereby sizing down the Pacific Ocean.²¹ There lies an imagined land called “Compagnies Land” (sometimes spelled as Companys Land) which connects East Asia and North America.²² The demarcation of the border of Companys Land is faint and fuzzy, reflecting the hesitancy of the engraver/geographer on this specific region. The Pacific Ocean is also significantly smaller.

²¹ Reinhartz notes that *Atlas Manuale* was a portable, pocket-book size book full of maps with no text except for the advertisement: “Its potency stemmed from its graphic simplicity and utility rather than from its posturing to be scientific or learned. ATLAS MANUALE... was very popular in part because of what would have been a comparatively lower cost, and it went through several editions quickly” (31).

²² Companys Land actually refers to the current territory called “Urup,” an uninhabited volcanic island in the Kuril Islands chain in the northwest Pacific Ocean. Maarten de Vries, the Dutch explorer, found that “Compagnies Land” suggested “a continental connection with America,” and this error “made no small contribution to the often fantastic versions of the geography of north-east Asia and north-west America found in maps during the first half of the 18th century” (Skelton 171-74).

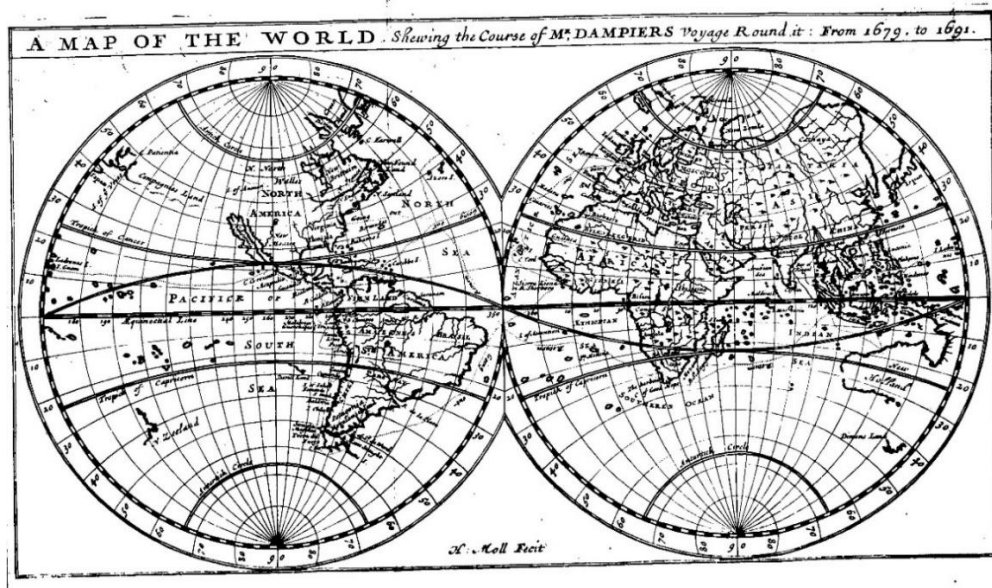


Fig. 1. Herman Moll, *A Map of the World shewing the Course of Mr. Dampiers Voyage Round it: From 1679 to 1691* in William Dampier's *A New Voyage round the World* (1703). Reprinted with Permission of the British Library, General Reference Collection, 303.h.22.

Later, Moll corrected his error of Japan's location in his updated map in *Atlas Geographus: or, a Complete System of Geography* in 1711, and in Rogers Woodes's *A Cruising Voyage around the World* in 1712.²³ Japan and Companys Land, which had previously existed on the left edge of the left hemisphere, now disappeared. Though Moll corrected the distance between Japan and North America in his world map, the individual map of "Japon or Nippon" in *Atlas Geographus* still depicts Companys Land near Japan, implying that a land mass connects the Eastern part of Asia to the continent

²³ *Atlas Geographus; or, A Complete System of Geography* (1711) was very popular, but "Green questioned Moll's accuracy and critical approach in accepting and reproducing the misinformation (e.g., California as an island) of others (e.g. Nicolas Sanson)" (Reinhartz 29).

of North America in the Pacific. Therefore, Moll's *Atlas Geographus* contradicts itself by removing Companys Land in the world map and preserving its presence in the individual map of Japan. His written description of the world in *Atlas Geographus* also reproduces previous explorers and Jesuit missionaries' reports even though his updated world map visually repudiates some of them. In *Atlas Geographus*, Moll still quotes, with some hesitancy, the theory that Japan is located near Mexico, and reaffirms the existence of Companys Land connecting Asia and North America:

The French Jesuits say, That Japan lies nearer Mexico than China; and that both China and Japan are by Observation found to be 500 Miles nearer Europe than commonly believ'd: That there's a Chain of Hills betwixt the E. and N. of China, that reaches to the farthest Part of the Muscovian Dominions; whence some are of Opinion, that this Part of Asia is join'd to the Continent of America. This we have from the Annotator on Kao, and submit to the Judgment of the Learned. (*Atlas Geographus* 820; vol. 3)

The specific reference that "Japan lies nearer Mexico than China" in Moll's book supports Aubin's depiction of Teresa's three-day boat trip from Mexico to the island near Japan, and also Don Lopez's statement that Japan is the nearest country to Mexico. This increases the possibility that Aubin might have referenced Herman Moll's geography books in her writing process. Moll's written description of the geography, which sometimes contradicts the visual map attached in the same book, indicates that

mapmaking was a very subjective process by the engraver/cartographer, who extrapolated and selected data from conflicting accounts about far-off geographies.²⁴

There is no definite evidence of what sources Aubin based her novels on. She must have been familiar with Herman Moll's maps, which were the most famous in the early eighteenth century. Just as Moll had to select geographical data out of sometimes conflicting evidence, Aubin similarly might have chosen certain bits of information over others for her novelistic representations of the world. She might have trusted that Japan is closer to Mexico than China, and she missed or mistrusted the part in Moll's *Atlas Geographus* that Japanese people use a different language to Chinese people. Or, she just used the knowledge that Japan lay near North America as a sleight of hand in her novel, a device allowing all four characters miraculously meet up. Or, she might have intended to represent the arbitrariness and fictiveness of geographical literature or mapping enterprise with her mixed-up geography, a technique similar to Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.

In Aubin's description, the desolate island has a few residents including the family of an old Indian man who "proved a Japanese, cast on Shore there, with his Wife and three Children," and is speaking "in the Chinese Language" (4). These island residents were converted to Christianity by missionaries in Japan but got shipwrecked on

²⁴ Withers points out "there is still a sense that the rhetoric of early Enlightenment exploration in Dampier's and others' works has a hesitancy borne of geographical novelty... This tone of 'geographical wonder,' even of astonishment and of the admission of partial capacity, is not so commonly shared by later exploration accounts" (*Placing the Enlightenment* 90).

this island on their trading voyage to China. The old Indian is benevolent and gives the European ladies and lords foods and shelter; the subtext is that the Japanese family could be good because they are Christian. The isolation of this Christian Japanese family on the deserted island mirrors the religious exile of Christian believers who were persecuted by the Japanese government in the early seventeenth century.²⁵ As a high Anglican Tory, Aubin portrays the desolate island in East Indies as a religious haven inhabited by a Japanese family and a married Spanish couple, Maria and her Persian husband Tanganor who converted to Christianity.

Despite their overtones expressing the superiority of Christian religion over paganism, Aubin's works surprisingly depict the pagan religion and its culture as wonderful and attractive. Her depiction of the encounter of four European characters—Teresa, Emilia, Count de Hautville, and Don Lopez—with the pagan ruin in the island is full of wonder and admiration:

Meantime, to pass away the tedious Hours, they walk'd daily out, and found beyond the Wood a ruinous Pagan Temple, in which were several strange Images, the chief of which represented a Man whose Head was adorned with the Rays of the Sun: It was rudely cut in black Marble, but the Rays were gilded finely. They concluded it to be the Work of some

²⁵ On Japanese Christians, Markley notes that “European authors after 1640 had to confront the defeat of Western hopes that Japan could be easily converted to Christianity and the country opened to profitable trade. In the late sixteenth century Jesuit missionaries had converted 220,000 Japanese,” but “by 1615 foreign missionaries had been deported, martyred, or chased underground; Japanese Christians were forced to recant or die” (“Gulliver and the Japanese” 464).

Chinese or Persians, who had inhabited that Place in antient times. It was curious Building, and seem'd to be founded upon Vaults. Near this Place were several Pits and Altars where Sacrifices had been kill'd and offer'd...several times they return'd to this Temple, and still found something more of Antiquity to admire in it. (23)

These European travelers' primary reactions with the pagan religion are curiosity, wonder, and admiration, even though they repeatedly muddle the distinct cultures of Japan, China, and Persia.²⁶



Fig. 2. John Pine, The frontispiece illustration to Penelope Aubin's *The Noble Slaves* (1722). Reprinted with Permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, EC7.Au164.722n.

²⁶ "Curious" in the "Curious Building" in the quote means "Made with care or art; skillfully, elaborately or beautifully wrought" ("Curious," def. II. 7. A. *Oxford English Dictionary*).

The frontispiece illustration (Figure 2) to *The Noble Slaves* captures this scene of the Europeans' encounter with the pagan temple as the highlight of the whole novel. The temple, adorned with several statues, is portrayed as a space that is sacred, marvelous, and "surprising," the adjective also used in the title page to describe characters' discoveries in the island. In Figure 2, all four figures use their hands to point somewhere on or off the page, as if to call the reader's attention to the specific part of the picture as if it held scintillating hints to the plot. Three characters point to the ruined pagan temple with their fingers shaped like a manicure, the symbol used to emphasize a specific section of the manuscript. Inside the temple stands the statue of a man with sun rays around his head, his posture and attire evoking ancient Greek sculpture.²⁷ The narrative description together with the frontispiece illustration attests to European travelers' fascination with and tolerance of non-Christian culture.

A few days later only the male characters, Count de Hautville and Don Lopez, revisit the ruin and investigate the inside of the temple further. They enter the door near the altar and go down the stairs, finding the hideous image of a huge idol made of different parts of beasts:

²⁷ In Heylyn's *Cosmography* (1703), Japan's religion is described as such: "adoring anciently the Sun, Moon, and the Stars of Heaven; and giving divine honour to wild beasts, and the Stags of the Forests" (825). Moll's *Atlas Geographus* likewise mentions about the Japanese religion, "They have a great Number of stately Temples, curiously carv'd and gilt, with Idols of most frightful Shapes, and these Temples are dedicated some to the Devil, others to Apes, Rivers, and Fishes; and in that dedicated to *Chamis*, one of the Heads of their Sects, they have as many Idols as Days in the Year" (829; vol. 3).

...where a Lamp was burning before a hideous Image, whose Face was bigger than a Buphalo; his Eyes were two Lights like Torches; his Mouth stood open; his Limbs were proportionably large, made of burnished Brass; on his Breast was a Lion's Head; his Feet were like a Camel's: He had a Bow and Arrow in his Hands, a Mantle of curious Feathers hung over his right Shoulder: He stood upon a Crocodile of Stone, whose Jaws seemed open to devour all that entered: Skulls and Jawbones, with Locks of clotted Hair, hung up against the Walls of this dreadful Vault, and Skeletons of Cats, Wolves, and Screech-owls: Several Grave-stones were in the Floor. As they entered the Bones began to rattle, the Image shook, the Crocodile's Teeth gnashed, and distant Thunder seemed to roar. (24)

This scene at the pagan temple seems to be influenced by the episode of idol worship in *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, which was published four months after the success of the first part of *Robinson Crusoe*. Aubin's description of the idol sounds strikingly similar to Crusoe's observation of the idol in Nortzinskoy, a city in the Muscovite domain. The idol Crusoe observes is described as having "Ears as big as Goats Horns, and as high; Eyes as big as a Crown-Piece; a Nose like a crooked Ram's Horn, and a Mouth extended four Corner'd like that of a Lion, with horrible Teeth, hooked like a Parrot's under Bill" (192). Both Aubin and Crusoe's idols in the East Asia share a gigantic size, and every part of their bodies is made of or evokes the images of beasts.

Despite their striking similarities, which indicates again her intentional reference to Defoe's stories, Aubin's heroes are filled with curiosity and wonder as opposed to Crusoe's hatred against the idol worship (he mentioned that "there was no room to wonder at it" [193]). Crusoe travels to China in the sequel and strongly disapproves of its culture, saying, "I must confess, I do not so much as think it is worth naming, or worth my while to write of, or any that shall come after me to read" (173). Right after his visit to China, Crusoe crosses a river and enters Nortzinskoy, "a City of *Tartars* and *Russians* together" (192). The vibe of abomination he strongly felt in China carries into his feelings about Nortzinskoy, where nomad Tartars worship the beastly pagan idol. Crusoe's sheer disgust at their worship of the idol contrasts with Aubin's noble Europeans full of wonder and curiosity about the Chinese (or Persian) temple; they even return to the sacred site several times to admire it more.²⁸

Both Aubin and Defoe's novels present the necessity to destroy the pagan idol by the power of Christian heroes, but their treatments of the pagan culture are very different. The way Aubin's Christian heroes defeat the pagan idol is portrayed as comic, and the process is filled with unaccountable wonder and miracles. As Aubin's heroes

²⁸ G. A. Starr argues that Defoe's animosity toward China is actually "directed at those in the West who advance their own selfish, sinister, or merely silly agendas in honoring China" (436). In this vein, Starr also suggests that Defoe's extreme disgust at the idol in the Far East implies the superiority of Protestant Christianity over idolatry (445). Refuting Starr's claim, Swetha Regunathan argues that Crusoe's indignation is not toward the idol itself, but the Chinese people's ability to be overwhelmed by it (51). Regunathan further refers to Defoe's *Serious Reflections* in which Crusoe asks: "How is it possible these people can have any claim to the character of wise, ingenious, polite, that could suffer themselves to be overwhelm'd in an idolatry repugnant to common sense, even to nature, and be brought to chuse to adore that which was in itself the most odious and contemptible to nature; not merely terrible, that so their worship might proceed from fear, but a complication of nature's aversions" (139).

pray for God, the voices from the idol speak to them in Chinese. As Europeans do not understand the language, the voices then speak in French as follows: “Christians, you have conquered: Adored by Pagan Indians, long I have been worshipped here, and human Sacrifices offered to this hideous Idol, by which I was honoured. But now my Power is taken from me; the God you serve has silenced me” (24-25). Then, “Here the Image fell in pieces, the Graves shut, the Lamps in its Eyes went out; and by the Light of the Lamp before it they departed, full of Wonder” (25). Aubin asserts the superiority of the Christian God in this scene, but Huatville and Lopez are dumbfounded, surprised, and astonished at their interactions with the idol.

In contrast with Aubin’s idol being defeated in a magical and comical way, Robinson Crusoe is overwhelmed by his uncontrollable hatred and plans meticulously how to demolish the Muscovite pagan idol: “I was resolv’d to go and destroy that vile, abominable Idol, and let them see that it had no Power to help itself, and consequently could not be an Object of Worship, or to be pray’d to, much less, help them that offer’d Sacrifices to it” (193). With the help of some Scotsmen, Crusoe devises a way to burn down the idol, which is called *Great Cham-Chi-Thaungu*. They enter the hut, tie up the people within, and fill the idol with gunpowder. These three British men gag the pagan priest, “stop’d his Mouth, and ty’d his Hands behind him” (196). They gag the idol similarly before burning it: “we stopp’d his Eyes, and Ears, and Mouth full of Gun-Powder, and then we wrapp’d up a great Piece of Wild-fire in his Bonnet, and then sticking all the Combustibles we had brought with us upon him...then set Fire to the

whole” (197). Crusoe’s detailed description of gagging and burning the idol sums up his abhorrence of East Asian culture in general.²⁹

Crusoe’s attitude toward the idol contrasts with Aubin’s Europeans: they are culturally open-minded and tolerant, even though both authors commonly assert the supremacy of Christianity over the pagan religion. Aubin’s representation of the East Indies as near the North Pacific area is in line with contemporary ethnically- and geographically mixed-up understanding; however, her representation counters and critiques Crusoe’s hatred and demonization of non-Christian religion and culture.

Conclusion

Through her imaginative representations of the Islamic world and East Asia, Aubin makes use of the increasing levels of geographical knowledge and cultural discourse of foreign countries in the early eighteenth century. Her travel fiction explore a range of foreign places like other contemporary male writers; however, unlike Defoe or Swift, Aubin’s works foreground the experiences of women navigating the world, reacting to other cultures, and exercising their ability to travel alone and independently. Her positive depiction of female captives in the Islamic world reconfigures them into active travelers and observers who ward off sexual threats, navigate alien geographies, and rescue themselves back home. Also, as illustrated in the island in the Pacific, Aubin’s characters are open and curious about exotic lands and become cultural tourists in ways that Defoe’s characters never do. Penelope Aubin not only revised the gendered

²⁹ Markley notes, “In both *Farther Adventures* and *Serious Reflections*, Crusoe castigates the Chinese at far greater length than he does any other people or culture” (*The Far East* 191).

discourses of female traveler's virtue, but also innovated the novelistic genre of women's international travel, which was a fresh and unique voice in the literary market of the 1720s.

CHAPTER IV
THE RECEPTION HISTORY OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU AS A
CELEBRITY TRAVELER

If you really intend to travel, as it is the thing upon Earth I should most wish, I should prefer that manner of living to any other; and with the utmost Sincerity I confesse I should chuse you before any Match could be offerd me.

—In a letter from Lady Mary to Edward Wortley Montagu on August 20, 1710

While chapter two focuses on the relationship between women's travel writing and the establishment of respectable female authorial personae, and chapter three explores the case study of Penelope Aubin both as a consumer and a producer of travel literature, this chapter attends to the reception history of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's travel writing to illuminate how her contemporaries and later generations interpreted and consumed the figure of female traveler in the eighteenth century and beyond. From the previous chapters, we could observe that early women novelists such as Manley, Davys, and Aubin commonly depicted in their works women travelers not as promiscuous but as virtuous and independent. However, my analysis of the images of Lady Montagu as a celebrity traveler reveals that the British society continued to associate female mobility with negative connotations such as selfishness, unfemininity, and immorality in the mid and late eighteenth century. This might imply that earlier women novelists' positive representations of women's travel were not influential enough to effect change in the societal bias against women's mobility.

Since Montagu was such an iconic female traveler throughout the eighteenth century, an examination of her reception history would shed light on how the reputation of woman traveler was made and circulated in the British reading society. In particular, the gap of four decades between the actual composition of Montagu's Turkish travel letters in manuscript and the posthumous publication of her work led to an interesting reception history. Since she was dead, the publication of her letters and the continuous mythmaking of the legendary female traveler were out of her control, and the meaning of her travel was continuously reevaluated and reconstructed in new historical contexts. Through the analysis of a wide range of cultural evidence, including published periodical reviews, individual reactions of her contemporaries such as Horace Walpole and Lady Oxford, satirical prints, frontispiece illustrations, and later editions of her works, this chapter broadly addresses the social myths and stigma surrounding the figure of an independent and unapologetic woman traveler.

As a member of elite society, Montagu was a privileged lifelong traveler who explored a range of foreign countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Between 1717 and 1718, Lady Mary accompanied her husband, Edward Wortley Montagu, to his position at the British embassy in Constantinople. She sent letters describing her impressions of foreign culture to friends and relatives in England. Subsequently, she reworked copies of

her letters into the letter-book.¹ This book circulated among her friends, who included Mary Astell, and was posthumously published as *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M---y W---y M----e* in 1763. There seems to be a controversy over how her letter-book came to be posthumously printed in London against her family's wishes. The standard story is that on her way back to England, Lady Mary gave her letter-book to Benjamin Sowden, a British clergyman in Rotterdam, presumably in anticipation of future publication. Sowden eventually returned this book to Montagu's family. However, Sowden had in the meantime rented out the letter-book to two English travelers, whose hasty transcription was published in 1763 by the bookseller Thomas Becket (Heffernan and O'Quinn, 15). However, Hanna Sowden, the priest's daughter, offered a different story. She wrote a letter dated January 1804 in the *Edinburgh Review* to save his father from disgrace, claiming that Benjamin Sowden faithfully returned the manuscript to Lord Bute, the husband of Lady Mary's daughter. Hannah asserted that the noble Duke who borrowed the manuscript from the Lord Bute is accountable for the first publication of Montagu's letters (255-56).

¹ By the letter-book, I indicate Montagu's manuscript volumes of her letters. These are not the actual letters sent during her trip to Constantinople, but letters artfully rearranged and reconstructed after her trip. See Teresa Heffernan and Daniel O'Quinn's introduction: "Very few of the letters actually sent from the stopping points on her journey to Constantinople and back again survive, and it is not safe to assume that the missives that make up the her letter-book are transcriptions of actual correspondence" (13). The text known as *the Turkish Embassy Letters* "is derived from two leather-bound volumes of continuous fair-copy text carefully written out by Lady Mary and an unknown copyist. The text likely was composed sometimes between her return from Constantinople in 1718 and 1724" (13). Cynthia Lowenthal also argues that "the Embassy Letters are Lady Mary's most polished and self-conscious literary performance—a document deliberately shaped and edited, fine-tuned for nuance and subtlety" ("The Veil of Romance" 68).

Montagu's published letters, which described customs of the Ottoman Empire, including a hammam, or Turkish bathhouse, significantly contradicted male travelers' accounts that related images of sexually suppressed and eroticized Turkish women. In periodical reviews, her Turkish travel was also praised for facilitating her pioneering campaign to introduce inoculation against smallpox, which was already practiced in Turkey, into the British society. Finally, in terms of their style, her travel epistles were also commended as an example of sensible and witty letter-writing. While Montagu's trip to the Ottoman Empire was at the time generally accepted as pioneering and exceptional, she made another equally important trip to Italy around the age of 50 without the company of her husband. This trip was viewed as scandalous. Lady Mary traveled to the continent, this time only with two servants, and stayed in various cities such as Venice, Rome, Avignon, and Brescia over nearly 23 years. Lady Mary left England primarily to stay with Francesco Algarotti, a Venetian intellectual more than twenty years her junior, with whom she fell in love in 1736. Montagu sent ardent and passionate love letters to Algarotti, but his responses were rather slow and cold. Though her plan to stay with Algarotti ultimately failed, Montagu nevertheless roamed widely around the continent and spent the rest of her life in small towns in Italy. Isobel Grundy, however, speculates that there were various motivations behind her exile besides her infatuation with Algarotti.

Her obvious secret reason for this uprooting was Algarotti. But other motives...have not lost their force. Her closest friends were recently dead, her children under her displeasure, her husband ideologically

remote, her reputation mangled by Pope, and her dislike of the English climate real. Her public story was that she was travelling for her health, though no serious illness is known. (*Lady Mary* 391)

As Grundy notes, Montagu's pursuit of Algarotti was not public knowledge, but her contemporaries (and later her reviewers) regarded an old married lady leaving her home country without her husband's company as decidedly eccentric and unconventional. In his letters to friends, Horace Walpole repeatedly expressed sheer disgust at Montagu's continuous movement around cities in Italy; Lady Oxford, one of Montagu's closest friends, wrote in her letters warm-hearted worries about the harmful effects of living abroad on the health of old women.²

Later, when James Dallaway's first extensive edition to cover Montagu's correspondences beyond her Turkish Embassy Letters was published in 1803, Montagu's letters rekindled the scandal among reviewers in the nineteenth-century periodicals.³ Although Dallaway's edition does not include Montagu's love letters to Algarotti, which were privately owned and not yet revealed to the public at that time, even an older married woman's solo travel and subsequent separation from her husband were

² Henrietta Harley, Countess of Oxford and Countess Mortimer (née Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, 1694-1755). She maintained a close friendship with Lady Montagu from their childhood. Since Lady Montagu refers to her as Lady Oxford in her correspondences, I will follow that in my references.

³ Dallaway partially fabricated Lady Mary's biographical detail. For example, Dallaway says Lady Mary was a close friend with Anne Wortley, the mother of Edward Wortley (11-12), but Anne was actually Edward Wortley's sister. Also, Grundy pinpoints the dispute between the Marquess of Bute and the publisher Phillips, who acquired 200 purloined letters; Bute instead offered less-objectionable letters to Dallaway to save the reputation of the family (*Lady Mary* 627).

nevertheless regarded as scandalous and undomestic by nineteenth-century periodical reviewers. As opposed to her generally acclaimed trip to Turkey, Lady Mary's self-willed exile from 1739-62 raised questions about her real motivations for travel and her virtue as a married woman.

I also situate the negative reception of Montagu's travel in the broader context of eighteenth-century satirical visual print culture, in which older women traveling on their own was the frequent butt of satire: cartoons focused on the women's physical appearance, their corpulent, aging, and unfeminine bodies. Furthermore, I claim that this visual tradition is associated with the widely-circulated frontispiece illustration, used in several posthumous editions, of Lady Montagu in a Turkish Habit, which cast her as a ludicrous and bizarrely-costumed character rather than as an intrepid explorer and intelligent traveler. Also, I examine how Lady Montagu's works were repurposed for the later eighteenth-century literary trend of sentimental literature by analyzing two adjacent works: the American edition of 1769, which juxtaposes Montagu's works with Oliver Goldsmith's poem "The Traveller" (published by Robert Bell in Philadelphia); and one *sammelband* (a multibook compilation located at the Cushing Library at Texas A&M University) that combines Montagu's travel letters with Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*, printed in Paris in 1793. These two case studies exemplify how Montagu's works had to be recontextualized in the later eighteenth-century's popular literary vogue of sentimentalism and romanticism, by yoking her works with popular male authors' pieces that present sentimental traveling heroes in order to give Montagu's writing more authority and relevance.

Much recent criticism on Lady Mary Montagu has been focused only on analyses of her letters written during her Turkish Embassy stay, missing out her equally important later tour in Italy. Many critics focus on her self-representation without examining her reception history, such as how eighteenth- and the early nineteenth-century readers and editors interpreted Montagu as a traveler, as well as how her work was interestingly refashioned and repurposed for later literary trends. Overall, this chapter's extensive examination of how Montagu's image as a celebrity female traveler circulated in society will help fill in the lacunae of the studies on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. I argue that Montagu's presence in Italy resisted the double standard surrounding women's grand tours and refuted cultural backlashes against older women traveling without male escorts. Montagu critiques the behaviors of English grand tourists and prefers the retired life in Brescia over the glamorous court life in London.

Extraordinary Female Traveler

From early on, Lady Mary expressed her view that traveling was the primary passion of her life. In a letter written to Edward Wortley Montagu early in their relationship, she wrote on August 20, 1710: "If you really intend to travel, as it is the thing upon Earth I should most wish, I should prefer that manner of living to any other; and with the utmost Sincerity I confesse I should chuse you before any Match could be offerd me" (*The Complete Letters* 53; vol. I). Two months later, she again emphasizes to Edward her zeal for traveling on October 26, 1710: "Was I to follow entirely my own Inclinations it would be to travel, my first and cheifest wish" (sic) (*The Complete Letters*

61; vol. I). As young Lady Mary clearly reveals her passion for traveling, her whole life of seventy years indeed turned out to fulfill her primary wish.

One striking feature of Montagu's travel letters is her emphasis on the singular originality of being a female traveler whose accounts surpass those of male travelers. Unlike Davys's self-effacing attitude as a domestic traveler as seen in chapter two, Montagu highlights her superior position as a privileged female traveler.⁴ While Davys, Manley, and Aubin did not use their gender as a means to disapprove of or contradict other male travelers' accounts, Montagu takes advantage of her gender and social rank as a powerful tool to refute previous travelers' stories, specifically in relation to their depictions of foreign women. As Alison Winch astutely observes, to place women travelers' accounts "in the context of previous travel writing" and especially to cast previous writers as dishonest is "a generic convention that both endorses these women's authorship and also demarcates their vision as fresh and original" (92). Montagu sets an early example of how women's travel writing can establish its authority through its focus on gender. Echoing the singularity of Montagu as a female traveler, Mary Astell wrote a highly enthusiastic preface to Montagu's letter-book in 1724, which highlights the advantages of female travel writer over the male ones:

I confess, I am malicious enough to desire, that the world should see, to
how much better purpose the LADIES travel than their LORDS; and that,

⁴ Nussbaum argues that Montagu's "early feminism insists on drawing distinctions between herself and most other women," but many years later "she specifically condemned satires against women because they undermined women's faith in their own abilities" (125).

whilst it is surfeited with Male-Travels, all in the same tone, and stuff with the same trifles; a lady as the skill to strike out a new path, and to embellish a worn-out subject, with a variety of fresh and elegant entertainment. (*The Turkish Embassy Letters* 221)⁵

Mary Astell's bold claim is predicated on the difference between female and male travelers and espouses the superiority of female eyes that focus on new and sophisticated subjects. As indicated by Astell, Lady Mary had an exclusive chance to enter the ladies' apartment in Adrianople; in doing so, she debunked the myth of sexually suppressed women in the harem, a myth widely circulated by male travel writers who were not even allowed to access this female-only space. Montagu points out that the harem was "the woman's coffee-house, where all the news of the Town is told, scandal invented" (102), refuting the image of the harem as a sexually oppressive space. In contrast, Montagu's own corset represents the sexual oppression in British society, as Turkish women interpret that with the corset English woman is "locked up in that machine that it was not in [her] own power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to [her] husband" (103). Also, the veil covering Turkish women's heads was usually associated with gendered suppression, but Montagu again mounts a counterintuitive view that "this perpetual masquerade gives them entire liberty of following their inclinations without danger of discovery" (115). Lady Mary's description of Turkish women not as sexualized servants

⁵ Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley. *The Turkish Embassy Letters*. Edited by Daniel O'Quinn and Teresa Heffernan. Broadview Press, 2012. All references are to this edition.

but independent and free individuals is a significant corrective to the prevalent myth about Turkish culture.

However, there have been a variety of criticisms about how progressive Montagu's view was in relation to gender, race, and class in her description of Turkey. In her essay "Scolding Lady Mary Wortley Montagu?" Devoney Looser summarizes that many recent critics read Montagu's Turkish letters as complicit with early eighteenth-century Orientalism, and also that her sympathy for Turkish women is class-biased. As a wife of the British ambassador, Montagu enjoyed privileged access to Turkish court society, but her observations are through an aristocratic lens. With regards to this point, Lisa Lowe argues that Montagu uses the rhetoric of identification when she describes the wives and mistresses of the Turkish upper-class, and the rhetoric of difference in regards to other issues, therefore indicating that her sympathy to Turkish women is confined to the aristocrats (32). In a similar vein, Cynthia Lowenthal claims that Montagu bonds only with upper-class women in Turkey whom she observes through the lens of the European romance plot, which "allow[s] her to gloss over and even to erase the genuine pain experienced by some women in Turkey" ("The Veil of Romance" 67). Also, according to Adam Beach, Montagu's description of slavery in the Ottoman world downplays the severity of human trafficking and "promulgates troubling misunderstandings about human bondage" (587).

Montagu's claim for her privileged and exceptional position as an upper-class female traveler continues to appear in her later years through her letters written in Italy. She writes to Edward Wortley Montagu on October 12, 1741:

If you have any Curiosity for [the] present state of any of the States of Italy, I believe I can give you a truer account than perhaps any other Traveller can do, having allways had the good fortune of a sort of Intimacy with the first persons in the Governments where I resided, and they not guarding themselves against the Observations of a Woman as they would have done from those of a Man. (*The Complete Letters* 256-57; vol. III)

While as a woman of high social rank she could be intimate with high officials in the Italian government, she simultaneously takes advantage of women's inferior gendered position to strike up frank conversations with important male politicians. Ironically, thanks to her gender she could be a better travel writer and informant for the British audience because women were not taken seriously in a political milieu. However, as I will examine further, Montagu's tactic to emphasize her exceptional status as a female traveler raises some issues for the male-dominated literary review magazines and publishers. Her unique status was frequently translated into antifeminist rhetoric in which Montagu was called exceptionally masculine, Amazonian, and biologically female but intellectually male.

Periodicals and Reviewers

The posthumous publication of her Turkish letters in 1763 was praised by literary reviewers for her unique depictions from the perspective of a female traveler who could describe the harem and other female-only spaces in a truer light. However, after the publication of the 1803 edition, which included additional letters written during her later

trips in Italy, her letters received mixed reviews. The motivation of her self-willed exile and retreat in Italy was deemed by the reviewers as mysterious and unpleasant; her separation from her husband was especially perceived as scandalous and unfeminine.

When *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W---y M----e* was posthumously published in 1763 by Becket and De Hondt, the two most prominent literary review periodicals in the middle of the eighteenth century (the *Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review*) extracted and commented on Montagu's letters with universal praise. Katherine Turner argues that the reviews such as the *Monthly*, the *Critical*, and the *Analytical Review* in the late eighteenth century "ensured that the developing canon of travel writing reached a far wider readership," and that the reviews were devoted to covering travel writing more extensively than to covering novels (*British Travel Writers* 12). Although they competed with each other, the *Monthly* and *Critical Review* were "influential in accommodating and even encouraging the cheerful proliferation of distinctively characterized travel writers during the second half of the eighteenth century" (*British Travel Writers* 21). These two literary periodicals devoted quite a few pages to the best parts of Montagu's observations of foreign culture.

The *Monthly Review*, spearheaded by Ralph Griffith, invested two issues (May and June 1763) on commenting on and excerpting from *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W---y M----e* published by Becket and De Hondt in 1763. In May 1763, an anonymous critic in the *Monthly* comments: "There is no affectation of female *delicatesse*, there are no *prettynesses*, no *Ladyisms* in these natural, easy familiar Epistles; which (notwithstanding Lad M----- might afterwards be inclined to give them

to the public) have not the air of being wrote for the press, as were many of the laboured Letters which are so much admired in the correspondence of Pope and Swift” (385). This reviewer praises her letters for her natural and unpretentious style, but the language is still embedded in an antifeminist rhetoric that automatically associates such female sensibility as delicacy with artificiality and insincerity. Regarding this specific quotation, Turner also acutely observes that “Montagu is celebrated as a writer because she is not typical of her gender, even though it is her gender which makes possible her most novel observations” (160). Whereas Mary Astell’s preface commended the potential of women travelers in general for their sensibility, the critic of the *Monthly* praises Montagu’s exceptionality at the expense of criticizing other women. This tendency to raise the status of Montagu above other women, thereby subtly downgrading the supposed feminine characteristic of her writing, is continued in future criticism of Lady Montagu. The *Monthly Review* ends rather reluctantly with the final comment, “for us, we must here, for the present, take leave of an article which has already allured us beyond our limits. This is a bewitching book” (473). In contrast, the *Critical Review* in June 1763 does not offer as many comments on this book as the *Monthly Review* had. The anonymous reviewer starts with the highest praise that Montagu’s letters are “never equalled by any letter-writer of any sex, age, or nation” (426). Rather than giving a long commentary, the critic chooses to give the reader “as long an extract from this agreeable performance, as the nature of our work will permit, and leave our readers to join with us in the admiration of them” (426). Both the *Monthly Review* and *Critical Review* share

their assumptions that extensive extracts, showing the author's words verbatim, speak better than critics' interventions.

While *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* garnered universal praise from reviewers in 1763, James Dallaway's 1803 edition, titled *The Works of The Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, which ambitiously offers the most extensive collection of Montagu's works in five volumes, got more mixed reviews. This version was the first one to be authorized by Montagu's family, which means Dallaway selected only letters sanctioned by the first Marquess of Bute, and excluded letters detrimental to Montagu's reputation.⁶ Dallaway's edition has several misstatements about Lady Mary's biography, and his editing style was also harshly criticized by the *Annual Review* and the *Edinburgh Review*. Both publications denounced Dallaway's editing for its "meagerness of information and tediousness of digression" (*Annual* 502) and for giving "very little assistance from the meagre narrative of Mr. Dallaway" (*Edinburgh* 507). The critics of both reviews reveal their assumption that extracts of a writer's letters can show the true sense and picture of the writer's experience, untainted by an editor's intervention. Even though Dallaway's edition is full of errors in the biography section, it is notable that this edition was the first one to

⁶ Grundy notes, "in 1803 James Dallaway brought out his bumbling edition of her Works, with much fanfare about its endorsement by her family. The first Marquess of Bute (the grandson who had missed out on Wortley's fortune) had in fact enlisted Dallaway after facing down a publication scheme of the printing entrepreneur Richard Phillips: a scheme born when Phillips was offered 200 letters purloined by a crooked lawyer after Wortley's death. Bute exchanged less objectionable letters, for Dallaway to use, against the purloined ones, which he burned" (*Lady Mary* 627).

publish sophisticated versions of her author portraits, painted by Godfrey Kneller, as well as fold-out facsimiles of the autographed letters of literary luminaries such as Addison and Fielding, reflecting the advanced printing technology of the early nineteenth century.

As opposed to the unanimous praise over the 1763 edition of *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W---y M-----e*, Dallaway's edition of Montagu's entire works raised early nineteenth-century reviewers' concerns about the real motivation behind Montagu's exile in Italy and her moral integrity as a wife. One striking criticism found in both the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Annual Review* regards the mysterious and scandalous nature of Lady Mary's leaving behind her home country and separating from her husband until his death. These literary critics did not trust James Dallaway's sanitized biography in which he claims Lady Mary's residence in Italy was due to her own health issues. Dallaway notes that "in the year 1739, her health declined, and she took the resolution of passing the remainder of her days on the Continent. Having obtained Mr. Wortley's consent, she left England in the month of July and hastened to Venice, where she formed many connections with the noble inhabitants, and determined to establish herself in the north of Italy" (110). The *Edinburgh Review* sarcastically comments:

Her discreet biographer is silent upon the subject of her connubial felicity; and we have no desire to revive forgotten scandal—but it is a fact, which cannot be omitted, that her Ladyship went abroad without her husband, on account of bad health, in 1739, and did not return to England

till she heard of his death in 1761. Whatever was the cause of their separation, however, it did not produce any open rupture between them; and she seems to have corresponded with him very regularly for the first ten years of her absence. (516)

The critic of the *Edinburgh Review* also indicates that Montagu's letters describing the earlier part of her journey on the continent "are cold, in short, without being formal—and are gloomy and constrained"; therefore, the critic declares, "[f]rom this correspondence, we do not think it necessary to make any extract" (516-17). Overall, the critic's attitude toward Lady Mary's solo journey on the continent is unfavorable.

Just as the critic in the *Edinburgh Review* tacitly disapproves of Lady Mary's solitary tour and subsequent separation from her husband, the critic of the *Annual Review* casts similar suspicion over the true motivation of Montagu's exile:

The reasons which induced her to leave her native country in the year 1739, with a resolution of passing the rest of her life in Italy, are equally involved in mystery:—it is by no means probable that the decline of her health, the motive assigned by Mr. Dallaway, was the real, or, at least, the only one. Her return to England in 61, immediately on Mr. Wortley's death, seems to point at a separation from her husband as the true cause of her expatriation, but that this parting was amicable, and by mutual consent, is fully proved by the intimate epistolary intercourse kept up between them during the remainder of their lives. (502)

Likewise, the reviewer of the *Annual Review* points to marital disharmony as the strongest reason for Lady Mary's exile. The fact that Montagu came back to England right after the death of her husband strengthens this viewpoint. However, both reviewers of the *Annual Review* and the *Edinburgh Review* simultaneously suggest that cordial correspondences between Montagu and her husband throughout the rest of their entire life is evidence that the husband and wife were not hostilely estranged. This, however, made her motivations of self-willed exile in Italy even more mysterious and confusing.

The Lady's Monthly Museum, vol. 12, 1804, also features the review of Dallaway's 1803 edition and offers the most sanitized version of Montagu's biography.⁷ Pearson suggests that the main readership of *The Lady's Monthly Museum* was boarding school girls (4); therefore, the editor paints Lady Montagu's entire life in the light of a dutiful and reverent housewife possibly to educate young ladies with an exemplary model of a good wife. The critic explains that Lady Montagu's visit to the Ottoman Empire arose simply out of her wifely and maternal duties:

Upon Mr. Wortley Montagu obtaining the dignified employment of ambassador, his attached wife determined to accompany him, unmindful of fatigue; although at the time she had a young infant with her, whom

⁷ The preface to *The Lady's Monthly Museum*, vol. 12 is worthy of note. In the preface, the editor writes, "we have in the numerous complete Sets purchased by Gentlemen and Families going to reside Abroad, who think they cannot carry out a more elegant literary Treat for the Entertainment and Benefit of their fair Countrywomen, whom they may find in foreign Climes, than 'The Lady's MONTHLY MUSEUM'" (i-ii). This preface implies that this magazine targets British women readers who travel to foreign countries.

her family could not persuade her to leave: and thus she at once fulfilled the duties of a wife and mother, and at the same time acquired a degree of information which no female ever obtained before. (46)

This description puts Lady Mary in the context of an affectionate wife and mother, mainly as a companion to her husband, rather than an adventurous and independent traveler. In reality, the actual content of Montagu's travel letters foreground herself as a pioneering female traveler who placed her husband and children in the background of her story.

Regarding the separation between Lady Mary and her husband, *The Lady's Monthly Museum* also attributes the cause of the separation to the delicacy of female health, keeping marital harmony between husband and wife sacred and inviolable:

Various reasons have been assigned for this accomplished woman's leaving England without her husband; the one alleged in the work alluded to, is the delicate state of her health; but how Mr. Wortley could resign the society of such a companion, seems, at the present distance of time, difficult for the mind to account for. (46)

The critic of the *Lady's Monthly Museum* continues to place Montagu's exile in Italy within the narrative of an angelic mother and deferential wife. For example, the critic describes that even in Italy, Montagu could not "diminish her maternal solicitude" and so corresponded regularly with her daughter Lady Bute; they also note Montagu speaks with her husband in her letters with "the highest degree of deference; and if the warmth of affection had abated, it was succeeded by respect" (49). Finally, the critic attributes

Montagu's quitting of her retreat in Italy to her wifely affection for her dead husband: "[h]er husband was then dead; and, unable to resist the intreaties of a being she was so tenderly attached to, in the year 1761 she quitted her retreat" (53). While the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Annual Review* cast Montagu's residence in Italy in a negative light using the word "scandalous," *The Lady's Monthly Museum*, in contrast, offers an expurgated version of Montagu's biography and elevates her to an ideal model of dutiful mother and wife. This magazine renders Montagu's life story palatable to a young female readership, or to all those English ladies living on the continent, at the expense of leaving out the rebellious and adventurous side of Montagu's journey.

Contemporary Reactions: Horace Walpole and Lady Oxford

Similar to some early nineteenth-century reviewers' suspicious attitudes toward Montagu's residence in Italy, her contemporary readers' reactions to Montagu's solo journey in continental Europe were hostile. During his grand tour in Europe in 1739-41 with Thomas Gray, Horace Walpole had multiple chances to encounter Montagu, and at each meeting he expressed visceral disgust at her intrusive omnipresence and wide mobility all over Italy, as evidenced by his correspondences and his own commonplace book. Though Walpole's "supercilious contempt for her as a woman was balanced by his admiration for her as a writer" (Halsband, "Walpole *versus* Lady Mary" 215), his scathing attack on Montagu's presence in Italy shows us the example of how an older woman's ability to travel freely in foreign countries could be perceived as grotesque and disgusting.

When Walpole reached Genoa on his way to England, he encountered Lady Mary again after their frequent meetings at Lady Pomfret's house in Florence. In a letter to Mann (dated July 19, 1741), he pointed to her omnipresence all over Italy with the undertone of irritation: "Of three months' standing, full of abuse on Turin, where I suppose, she was found out as well as at Florence, Rome, Naples, Venice, etc. Etc. Etc." (*The Yale Edition* 91-92; vol. 17). As Halsband suggests, this meeting in Genoa led Walpole to vent his disgust at Lady Mary "in an imitation of a Horatian ode that he composed a short time later at Toulon" ("Walpole *versus* Lady Mary" 220). In his manuscript commonplace book, Walpole expresses his loathing in verse form at Toulon in 1741:

To the Postchaise that carries Lady Mary Wortley Montagu
Lust from dangers ward thee,
And hotter Helen's brothers guard thee!
And may the King of Winds restrain
Each storm that blows across the plain,
Chaining up all, except one gale
To scatter whiffs and cool her tail!
O chaise, who art condemn'd to carry
The rotten hide of Lady Mary,
To Italy's last corner drive;
And prithee set her down alive;
Nor jumble off with jolts and blows,

The half she yet retains of nose! (38; LWL Folio 49 2616 II Mss)

By apostrophizing a chaise, Walpole effectively scoffs at Lady Mary's wide range of mobility into "Italy's last corner," her movement attained through the use of the chaise.

As I argued in chapter two that women on stagecoach were the frequent target of satire and warning, Walpole similarly denounces both a female passenger and a mode of transportation which intimately carries her "rotting" physical body all around.

Furthermore, Jill Campbell points out that this lampoon specifically targets at the grotesque body of an old lady who risks losing her nose in her trip (235); the reference of losing the nose obviously implies that Lady Mary has syphilis or some other venereal disease ("Walpole *versus* Lady Mary" 220). Walpole's poem delivers the message that an old woman's solitary tour, without the company of her husband, reveals her to be immoral, unchaste, and hideous.

Regarding Walpole's harsh judgment, Grundy notes that "nobody but Walpole was scandalized; nobody but Walpole *and his friends and correspondents* laughed" (*Lady Mary* 421). Grundy further indicates that Walpole's "myth was posited on Lady Mary's insatiable lust and greed. Whereas it was normal for himself and other grand tourists to move on from one place to another, when Lady Mary moved on from Venice it had to be that she was 'forced' to leave" (420). Warren Hunting Smith also indicates that the fact that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was invited into the house of Horace Mann, a British diplomat based in Florence, is proof that "scandalous gossip about her was at least greatly exaggerated" (55). Indeed, Walpole's description reveals the gendered double standard on the grand tour: while young gentlemen's exploration of

continental Europe is acceptable and necessary, aristocratic women's tours of Europe, especially old woman's movement, was seen bizarre, scandalous, and prompted by questionable motivations such as adulterous affairs.

When Lady Mary left England in 1739 and traveled to Venice, Florence, Naples, Rome, Genoa, Geneva, Chambrey, Avignon, and Brescia, her journey intersected with a number of British grand tourists of both sexes. Though she does not target Horace Walpole specifically, Montagu in her turn also criticizes young English gentlemen's dissolute behavior during grand tours as seeking superficial pleasure rather than learning new culture. To Lady Pomfret in March 1740, Lady Mary writes in regards to English grand tourists:

Their whole business abroad (as far as I can perceive) being to buy new cloaths, in which they shine in some obscure coffee-house, where they are sure of meeting only one another; and after the important conquest of some waiting gentlewoman of an opera Queen, who perhaps they remember as long as they live, return to England excellent judges of men and manners. I find the spirit of patriotism so strong in me every time I see them, that I look on them as the greatest blockheads in nature. (*The Complete Letters* 177; vol. II)

Montagu's rhetoric in this letter is almost as harsh on English tourists as they are on her: she subverts the gendered assumption of women travelers' immorality and attributes negative effects of travel to male grand tourists. As Elizabeth Bohls points out, Montagu's criticism of male grand tourists foregrounds her own exceptional status as the

rare female traveler whose “aesthetic approach may have been part of a conscious search for an alternative mode of travel” (*Women Travel Writers* 25).

The letters of Lady Oxford, who was a lifelong friend and correspondent of Lady Mary, also offer anything from negative responses to warm-hearted advice to the aging lady’s solitary residence in Italy. Lady Oxford’s letter drafts to Lady Mary Montagu, housed in the British Library (MS 70432 Portland Papers), exhibit commonplace concerns over an old woman living independently away from her family and home country. In a letter dated April 25, 1747, from Welbeck, Lady Oxford writes, “your leaving Avignon was certainly right, I wish you could with Ease live in your native country. I can never be indifferent in any particular that relates to you.”⁸ Also in a letter of July 22, 1747, Lady Oxford writes, “Still hope some convenient opportunity will bring you into your native country, and that you may inhabit it with ease, your health, and peace of mind, is superior to all self interest.” Lady Oxford’s genial concern was raised from Lady Mary’s mention of her own illness in the previous correspondence on November 24, 1746: “I have been 2 months in my Bed with a Fever...still so weak I am not able to move farther” (*The Complete Letters* 379; vol. II). Now aged 58, Lady Mary’s frequent illness and suffering in a foreign country are enough to cause concerns from her dear old friend. However, Lady Oxford’s phrasing, which contrasts a peace of

⁸ Avignon posed a threat to Lady Mary because of political turmoil. To Wortley on August 23, 1746, Lady Mary writes, “Avignon has been long disagreeable to me on many Accounts, and now more than ever from the concourse of Scotch and Irish Rebels that choose it for their Refuge, and are so highly protected by the Vice Legat that it is impossible to go into any Company without hearing a Conversation that is improper to be listen’d to and dangerous to contradict” (*The Complete Letters* 375; vol. II).

mind in the native country with “self interest” pursued in the foreign country, reinforces the widespread cultural belief that an old single woman living away from home is selfish, stubborn, and against the natural course of life.

In response to the aforementioned Lady Oxford’s letters, Lady Mary writes back on September 1, 1747, that “I have liv’d this 8 months in the Country, after the same manner (in little) that I fancy you do at Welbeck, and find so much advantage from the Air and Quiet of this retreat that I do not think of leaving it. I walk and read much, but have very little company except that of a neighbouring Convent” (*The Complete Letters* 388; vol. II). Lady Mary endorses her retired and bucolic lifestyle in Brescia by comparing it to Lady Oxford’s own rural retreat at Welbeck, England. Also through mentioning the neighboring convent, Lady Mary likens her solitary life to spiritual and religious life style. In a letter to her daughter Lady Bute on July 10, 1748, Montagu describes her lifestyle “as regular as that of any Monastery” and declares that “in a retreat where [she] enjoy[s] every amusement that Solitude can afford” (*The Complete Letters* 404-5; vol. II). Unlike her friend’s concern, Montagu finds a true sense of peace and enjoyment which only the solitary life in an isolated environment can offer. Lowenthal further interprets Montagu’s endorsement of retirement as an epistolary self-performance by situating it in the context of ancient Horatian conventions (*Lady Mary* 201), the seventeenth-century essays of Cowley, and *The Spectator*’s promoting of self-isolation from society (*Lady Mary* 188). Similar to Delarivier Manley’s seeking after the reclusive life in West England, Montagu also espouses the significance of retirement for women’s education and happy lives. Women travelers utilized the increased

opportunities to travel to stay away from court scandals and intrigues, and to relish the rural life for their inner peace and self-education.

Visual Culture and Satirical Prints of Women Travelers

Though Lady Montagu's single, exiled life in Italy was satisfactory to her, unaccompanied aristocratic wives with more financial and social independence were more visible to the public, and "thus more frequent targets of satire" (McCreery 237). Throughout her journey in Venice, Florence, Naples, Rome, Genoa, Geneva, Chambrey, Avignon, and Brescia, she was visited and welcomed by fellow English travelers on the grand tour as well as in local aristocratic salons. In some sense, an aged woman traveler in foreign countries became a spectacle. Montagu writes to her husband on September 25, 1739, "I verily believe if one of the Pyramids of AEGypt had travell'd, it could not have been more follow'd" (*The Complete Letters* 151; vol. II). Grundy notes that "Her pyramid comparison seems to reflect a wry sense that her age and sex made her an anomaly among travelers" (*Lady Mary* 397). Anywhere she visits, she is always surrounded by British tourists or residents of Italian high society. At Boulogne and Venice, Montagu "was not only a tourist but also a tourist attraction. Van Berkhout wrote of visiting her and Chiara Michiel as an aspect of his Venetian experience analogous to concerts, operas, and artists' studios" (Grundy, *Lady Mary* 411). Aged lady travelers, especially ones traveling alone, were rare, attention-grabbing spectacles, which partially explains why they also became a frequent target of satire and satirical prints.

When Lady Mary finally returned to England in 1762, Walpole observed (in a letter to George Montagu) her body through rhetoric that vividly describes the physical grotesqueness of an old female traveler:

Lady Mary Wortley is arrived; I have seen her; I think her avarice, her dirt, and her vivacity are all increased. Her dress, like her languages, is a galimatias of several countries; the groundwork, rags; and the embroidery, nastiness. She wears no cap, no handkerchief, no gown, no petticoat, no shoes. An old black laced hood represents the first, the fur of a horseman's coat, which replaces the third, serves for the second; a dimity petticoat is deputy and officiates for the fourth, and slippers act the part of the last. (*The Yale Edition 5*; vol. 10)

Her clothes and her languages are multinational and multicultural, reflecting her lifelong travel through a range of foreign countries. However, Walpole interprets the national and cultural diversity in Montagu's self-identity as nasty and improper: Montagu is not a proper English gentlewoman because she refuses to inhabit her own country's feminine attire of the cap, handkerchief, and so on.

Walpole's criticism of Lady Montagu is mostly focused on her physical aspects such as her attire and aging body; his vivid sketch of her appearance is enough to arouse visceral dislike from the reader. Walpole's reaction to Montagu is actually consistent with the cultural configuration of old lady travelers—the tradition of negatively coloring women travelers who transgress the boundaries between home and foreign parts. The

physical bodies of old women travelers were the frequent butt of satire that visually accentuated their ugliness, obesity, or greed.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, middle-aged or old lady travelers became a type or object of caricature with emphasis on their excessive size and unfeminine appearance. Cindy McCreery maintains that in the late eighteenth century, “fatness in women was viewed as proof of women’s violation of social propriety,” and “satirical prints were coming to depend more on the exaggeration of physical features to convey their message” (241-42). Eighteenth-century satirical paintings of women travelers usually foreground obese female bodies, whose excessive bulkiness ironically contradicts their wide mobility. Hogarth’s *Stage Coach or Country Inn Yard* (1747) in Figure 3 spotlights one obese woman who cannot easily fit into a stagecoach already packed with passengers, even on the top railings and the boot. This obese woman even needs help from one man who improperly touches her rear-end to squeeze her inside. Isaac Cruikshank’s *Light Summer Travelling, Only Six Inside* (1797) in Figure 4 echoes Hogarth’s satirical theme of a fat female traveler and the difficulty of her traveling. The coach for six passengers already holds five oversized men. The sixth passenger, who has just arrived, is another obese lady traveler. Talking to the coach driver naïvely and holding a fan and a puppy, she says, “Well I vow I have run all the way like a lamp-lighter, till I am all over in such a Heat you can’t think.” Not only does a woman with a puppy typically symbolize a pampered, self-indulgent female, but also her bragging that she ran like a lamp-lighter demonstrates the lack of self-awareness. Overall, the word “light” in the title adds more satirical vibes to the engraving by ironically emphasizing

the heaviness of the female traveler whose physique renders her mobility inappropriate. In sync with Walpole's lampoon of Lady Mary on a post-chaise, women using the stagecoach in satirical prints are mostly fat and excessive in their body size, which implies that their mobility is ironic and they are not appropriate travelers.



Fig. 3. William Hogarth, *Stage Coach or Country Inn Yard* (1747). Reprinted with Permission of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.



Fig. 4. Isaac Cruikshank, *Light Summer Travelling, Only Six Inside* (1797). Reprinted with Permission of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.



Fig. 5. Thomas Rowlandson, *The Arrival of the Tourists* (1800). Reprinted with Permission of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.



Fig. 6. Mary Darly, *An English Macaroni at Paris* (1774). Reprinted with Permission of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Similarly, Thomas Rowlandson's *The Arrival of the Tourists* (1800) in Figure 5 satirizes two female tourists. The leading the line conforms to the visual tradition of satirizing obese female tourists. Her facial expression exudes arrogance and greediness; her umbrella is too small to protect her from the sunshine. The second woman is thinner, but she holds a puppy, invoking Isaac Cruikshank's self-indulgent woman in *Light Summer Travelling*. The porter carries heavy luggage, symbolizing that he bears the burden of all the hard labor involved with traveling, in contrast to the two female travelers who seem like narcissistic, pleasure-seeking tourists. Another print, Mary Darly's *An English Macaroni at Paris* (1774) in Figure 6, does not follow the satirical

theme of obese lady travelers, but the single female passenger in a chaise exchanging English guineas for silver echoes Walpole's criticism of Lady Montagu traveling solo in a post-chaise. The term "macaroni" refers to "an exquisite of a class which arose in England about 1760 and consisted of young men who had travelled and affected the tastes and fashions prevalent in continental society" (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Darly's satirical prints usually portray effeminate male macaronis, so this specific print is very rare in its depiction of a female one. This female macaroni prefers French culture over English culture, as symbolized by her exchange of currencies. A female macaroni character encapsulates the negative model of traveler who is both sumptuous and unpatriotic. Therefore, through the visual analysis of satirical prints and their representations of female travelers, we can place Walpole's ridicule of Lady Mary as a female traveler in the wider context in which British culture associates female travelers with certain negative characteristics such as obesity, greed, and self-indulgence. It seems that the popularity of obese female travelers in satirical prints embody the excessive, inappropriate, and imprudent nature of women's travel.

"The Female Traveller": Satirizing and Sentimentalizing Montagu

The most widely-printed frontispiece illustration to Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* repeats the visual tradition of satirizing female travelers. This frontispiece, titled "Lady M- W-rtl-y M-nt-g-e The Female Traveller *In the Turkish Dress*" joined the four-line poem below in various editions of Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* in the latter half of the eighteenth century. This illustration was the most widely-circulated portrait of Lady Montagu as a traveler in Britain and America until the publication of James

Dallaway's edition in 1803, which offered better-quality portraits drawn by famous artists such as Kneller. As we have seen in various satirical prints, lady travelers had been the frequent target of satire, and their transgressive nature was encapsulated in the figure of obese, excessive, and self-indulgent women. Figure 7 shows this specific frontispiece illustration of Lady Montagu as a bizarrely over-decorated traveler inherits and reflects the satirical representations popular in late eighteenth-century visual culture.



Fig. 7. The frontispiece illustration to the 1764 edition of Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters*, published by A. Homer and P. Milton in London. Reprinted with Permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 12 THETA 632.

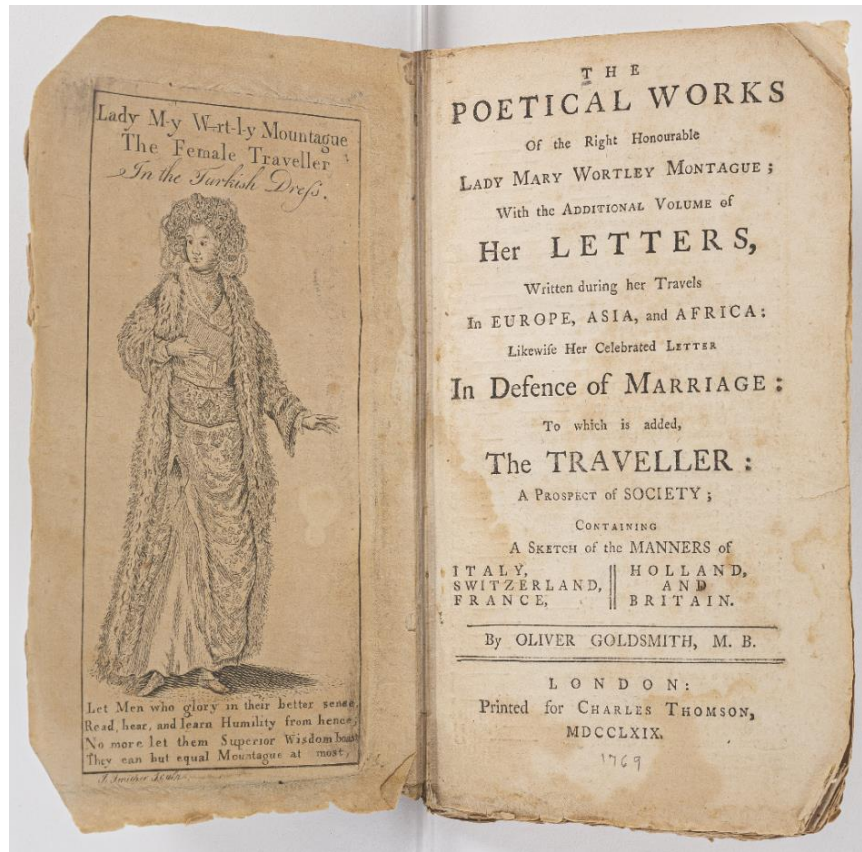


Fig. 8. James Smither, The frontispiece illustration to the American edition (1769), published in Philadelphia by Robert Bell, which combines Montagu’s works with Oliver Goldsmith’s poem “The Traveller.” Reprinted with Permission of the American Antiquarian Society, DP B2093.

The frontispiece illustration reflects an interesting book history of transatlantic cultural exchanges. This portrait of Montagu (figure 7) seems to have first appeared in the 1764 edition published by A. Homer and P. Milton in London; this was imitated and reproduced with minimal variations in the American edition of Montagu’s letters in 1768 with a nebulous publisher imprint: “for every PURCHASER.” The frontispiece in the American edition looks almost same as the 1764 London edition, but Montagu’s figure is reversed and there are also small changes in detail on her dress and accessories.

Additionally, the typo “epual” in the London edition is corrected to “equal” in the American edition. The American frontispiece is again recycled in the 1769 edition in Philadelphia by Robert Bell who combined Montagu’s works with Oliver Goldsmith’s poem “The Traveller” (Figure 8).⁹ As we can see at the bottom of Figure 8, it seems that an American engraver James Smither recreated the illustration of Lady Montagu as a female traveler in 1764 in imitation of the original British piece. This unique publication of Montagu’s work combined with Goldsmith’s poem “The Traveller” provides a significant example of how Montagu’s *Turkish Embassy Letters*, originally circulated in manuscript form in the early 1720s, had to be recontextualized to fit the sensibility of the late eighteenth century. Montagu’s letter-book, shared only with a small circle of her friends and family, was posthumously published and gained wide popularity in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

I claim that this decades-long gap between the original composition and its later publication provides an interesting reception history of Lady Montagu as a celebrity female traveler. First, Lady Mary Montagu as a traveler was resituated into the context of the latter half of the eighteenth century, when visual representations of female travelers were not favorable but disapproving and even hostile. Second, Lady Montagu’s travel letters needed to be contextualized with a new vogue of sentimental literature, the

⁹ This bibliographical information is from the Early American Imprints Series I, no. 11340. Although the publication information in Figure 8 indicates that this book was published by Charles Thomson in London, the actual publisher and location are suggested differently in the citation as follows: [Philadelphia] America: Printed [by Robert Bell?] for every purchaser, MDCCLXVIII. [1768], and this title “was advertised in the Pennsylvania chronicle, July 11-18, 1768, as ‘lately published and to be sold by R. Bell.’”

popular literary trend of the latter half of the eighteenth century. Her travel letters were frequently joined together with later eighteenth-century popular male writers whose works feature narratives of sympathetic and sentimental male heroes, such as Oliver Goldsmith's poem "The Traveller," or Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*.¹⁰

Figure 8, the American frontispiece illustration with the title "The Female Traveller *In the Turkish Dress*," composed by James Smither, depicts Lady Montagu as a bizarre and ludicrous figure; this satirical visual image casts Goldsmith's glorifying poem in an ironic tone. Indeed, the portrait echoes Horace Walpole's sardonic remark on Lady Mary's dress in 1762 that "Her dress, like her languages, is a galimatias of several countries; the groundwork, rags; and the embroidery, nastiness. She wears no cap, no handkerchief, no gown, no petticoat, no shoes" (*The Yale Edition* 5; vol. 10). Smither's portrait depicts Lady Mary in a Turkish dress, but her dress does not exactly fit into the Turkish habit: her entire dress—over-decorated headpiece, fur, belt, and coat—delivers the sense of excessiveness, superfluousness, the confusing "galimatias of several countries" as Walpole termed. Isobel Grundy acutely notes about this illustration:

It is hard not to interpret as lampoon an undated engraving of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) as "The Female Traveller." She looks, indeed, something like a female Robinson Crusoe, wearing a large tea-cosy-shaped and over-decorated hat and a shaggy long coat edged with

¹⁰ Maureen Harkin explains that sentimental literature was popular from the 1740s to the 1780s, and authors include Sarah Fielding, Samuel Richardson, Oliver Goldsmith, Laurence Sterne, Henry Mackenzie, and others (9). Sentimental literature focus on "scenes of sympathy and suffering" (11).

ermine. She clutches papers, and appears to be button-holing the viewer, Ancient-Mariner-style. The image conveys several characteristics not recommended by conduct books: singularity, forwardness, loquacity. (“British Women Writers” 3)

As Grundy notes, this illustration does not celebrate, but rather mocks and degrades the image of the most famous and pioneering female traveler. The engraver picked up several signature items in a variety of Lady Montagu’s famous portraits, such as her elaborate Turkish headwear, necklace, ermine coat and so on, but the conglomeration of every item produces a sense of eccentricity, incongruity, and excessiveness, a sense of not belonging to any particular national identity.

The four-line panegyric poem below the image exalts Lady Mary as an exceptional woman superior to male travelers, but due to the satirical tone of the illustration, this poem can be read ironically:

Let Men who glory in their better sense,
Read, hear, and learn Humility from hence;
No more let them Superior Wisdom boast,
They can but equal Montague at most.

This panegyric poem seems to imitate Mary Astell’s impressive preface to Montagu’s manuscript letter-book, in which Astell asserts, “let the men malign one another, if they think fit, and strive to pull down merit when they cannot equal it. Let us be better natured than to give way to any unkind or disrespectful thought of so bright an ornament of our sex, merely because she has better sense” (*The Turkish Embassy Letters* 219).

Despite its respectful and praising tone, the poem juxtaposed with the illustration—a comic and absurd rendering of Lady Montagu—points to her impertinent singularity and impropriety as she transgresses the boundaries of gender. The low quality of the frontispiece illustration testifies to the hastiness of the publisher (supposedly Robert Bell) and cheap print quality. The lines in the following pages are also crooked and crammed with too many words, which indicates that this was the cheap edition of Montagu's letters and also implicates the not-yet-advanced early American printing industry.

This imprint's full title (*The Poetical Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montague; with the Additional Volume of Her Letters, Written during her Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa: Likewise Her celebrated Letter in Defence of Marriage: To which is added, The Traveller by Oliver Goldsmith*) sanitizes Montagu's works for a British-colonial American audience by highlighting her essay "On Marriage" over her other literary pieces.¹¹ In this essay, Montagu does not defend every sort of marriage, but conditionally endorses marriage when it is united by true love and affection: "A fond couple attached to each other by mutual affection, are two lovers who live happily together" (39). The American title obviously highlights Montagu as a proper, domestic woman writer at the expense of downplaying Montagu's sharp criticism of the British marriage institution as evidenced in her *Turkish Embassy Letters*. Moreover, this American edition includes the poem titled "A Caveat to the Fair Sex,"

¹¹ The essay's full title is "On Marriage. Containing a Refutation of one Maxim of the Duke La Roche Foucault's 'The Marriage is sometimes convenient, but never delightful.'"

which starts with a very strong criticism on the marriage institution: “Wife and servant are the same, / But only differ in the name” (55). This poem was originally written by Mary, Lady Chudleigh with the title “To the Ladies,” but strangely had been misattributed to Montagu and popularly included in Montagu’s poetical works for a long time. Therefore, though misattributed, the editor of this American edition intentionally tones down Montagu’s anti-marital views in order to make her work more palatable to the religious British-colonial American readership.

The frontispiece combining Montagu’s travel letters with Goldsmith’s poem “The Traveller” (Figure 8) places Lady Montagu specifically in the late eighteenth-century tradition of sentimental literature and budding romanticism. From the preface, the editor tries to color Montagu’s life and work with the language of sentimentalism and sensibility. The editor underscores Montagu’s sensibility and superior sentiment, reflecting the change in the literary sensibility: “Every lively, witty, easy, sensible, and elevated above the common level of female capacities and female modes and forms,— nothing dull, nothing insipid or unentertaining, could possibly fall from her pen” (3). Similarly, the editor calls *Turkish Embassy Letters* the work for which a “truly Right and honourable Writer is to be more admired or the sentiments more approved” (1). Rather than emphasizing Montagu’s insight as a traveler, the editor advertises her extraordinary feminine sentiments and sensibility. However, in order to highlight Montagu’s sentimental capacities to the exceptional level, the editor equates her to men: she is “in sex a woman, in understanding a man. Pope gained nothing by his quarrel with his Amazon in wit” (3). Just as the reviewers of *Turkish Embassy Letters* had, the editor of

the American edition also praises Montagu's work with antifeminist rhetoric that praises her exceptional level of sensibility and sentiment, but carrying an underlying assumption suggesting that a woman usually does not possess that level of capacity. Therefore, Montagu continues to be described as unfeminine, Amazonian, and masculine. According to Joanna Russ, this tactic to separate the intellectual, masculine self from the feminine body in explanations of women writers—for instance, the claim that she did not write it, but "*The man inside her wrote it*" (22)—has been very frequently used in history to deny women writers' agency and suppress their writing. In this context, the frontispiece illustration of the American edition implies this masculine side of Montagu's characteristic and therefore pollutes her agency as a writer.

This juxtaposition of Montagu and Goldsmith also shows that female travelers' accounts can be better accepted and recognized when they borrow and rely on the authority of male writers/travelers. Also, in the book market, there were needs to render Montagu's famous letters written in Turkey during 1718-19 as more timely and relevant to the literary context of the 1760s. Horrocks takes a note of the popularity of Goldsmith's "The Traveller" during the 1760s: "The poem's evocation of a solitary, nostalgic wanderer became a touchstone in prose travel narratives from the 1760s onward and Wollstonecraft refers to Goldsmith in more desolate moments in her travel writing" (58). In the tradition of prospect poetry originating from John Denham's *Cooper's Hill* (1642) to Pope's *Windsor-Forest* (1713) and James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1726-30), Oliver Goldsmith's poem "The Traveller" presents a male narrator/traveler who looks down on the world from a vantage point in the Alps to

contemplate the conditions of human life in countries such as Italy, Swiss, Holland, and Britain.¹² Ultimately, Goldsmith's speaker glorifies "the smooth current of domestic joy" over wandering or seeking after fame or riches.¹³ This lonely, thoughtful, philosophical narrator anticipates Wordsworth's romantic hero by a few decades. Katherine Turner notes that Goldsmith foregrounds the traveler as a figure of isolated and melancholic exile. His poem was popular, going through six editions before the poet's death in 1774, and "it clearly returned an echo to many a traveller's bosom in the following decades; countless prose travel writers, overtly or implicitly, cite from and allude to the poem" (*British Travel Writers* 13). By connecting Montagu to the popularity of Goldsmith's poem during 1760s, her publishers situated Montagu's travel letters in the narrative of a lonely, self-exiled, sympathetic traveler even though during her Turkish travel she always had travel companions.¹⁴

Finally, I want to attend to one sammelband volume (a multibook compilation or a nonce binding of manuscripts together) which combines Henry MacKenzie's *The Man of Feeling* with Montagu's second volume of *Turkish Embassy Letters*. This sammelband, housed at the Cushing Library at Texas A&M University (PR3543.M2 M3

¹² On Goldsmith's poem in the tradition of a prospect poetry using the topographical framework, see Leo Storm, and Horrocks 49-58.

¹³ Oliver Goldsmith dedicated this poem to his brother Henry Goldsmith. In "The Traveller," the poet repeatedly contrasts his wandering spent to "pursue / some fleeting good" (25-26) with his brother's blessed home "where all the ruddy family around / Laugh at the jests or pranks that never fail" (18-19). On the binary of city and the village in Goldsmith's works, see Helgerson.

¹⁴ The diplomatic trip of the Montagu family to Turkey included around twenty liveried servants, but Montagu's letters read like a narration of a female solo traveler. Lady Mary's *Turkish Embassy Letters* strictly follows her own sensory observation and intellectual reflection as if she travels alone without mentioning much about her husband, servants, or interpreter.

1793), offers a case study of how the late eighteenth-century reader owned and consumed Montagu's travel letters by pairing it with a sensationally popular example of sentimental literature. These two works were published separately in 1793 in Paris and bound together by a bookmaker in France at the request of the customer whose identity is not known. As Geoffrey Knight indicates, multibook compilations "reflect an early owner's desire to appropriate and interact with the texts, to organize and repurpose them, or to transform existing works into new works" (2). We can infer that the owner bound these two works together because of their similarities as travel narratives that focus on sentiment and sensibility.

Similar to the American edition which in 1769 placed Montagu with Goldsmith, the creator of this compilation linked Montagu's Turkish travels with Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*, which was originally published in April 1771. Harkin notes that the initial publication of *The Man of Feeling* did not result in positive reviews, but the book "went on to phenomenal popularity and dozens more editions in Britain and the United States between 1771 and 1824" (10). In *The Man of Feeling*, the too-sentimental-hero Harley travels to London and records various episodes in which his naïve sentimentalism is problematic and ridiculed. By putting Montague alongside Mackenzie's work, Montagu's travel letters are seen more as the record of a female traveler's sentimental experience, portraying her emotion and feeling at the moment. Although it is hard to infer the exact reason why the owner of this book put these two works together, this customized compilation, together with the American edition, offers an example of how Montagu's image as a celebrity female traveler was refashioned and reformed to fit into

a changing cultural climate. She was remodeled into a romantic and isolated traveler, a figure which became more popular in the early nineteenth century. This bound volume prompts us to question how the figure of woman traveler is associated with later trends in popular forms of travel narratives, as well as how woman's travel narrative became more authoritative and convincing by relating itself to contemporary male travel narratives. These examples of later editions of Montagu's travel letters testify to the way in which booksellers and individual owners recast Lady Montagu as more relevant, attractive, and appealing to the reader of the next generation.

Conclusion

Through the survey of literary critics' reviews, individual reactions, satirical prints, and some examples of the later editions, we can examine how Montagu's extraordinary career as a lifelong traveler was repurposed and remodeled to varying degrees that reflect the needs and desires of readers, reviewers, and editors. Montagu was sometimes depicted as a masculine, Amazonian, ludicrous, disgusting, and scandalous figure who abandoned her husband to pursue her ambition to travel. But she was also described as an angelic mother, wife, and defender of the marriage institution. She also became an icon of the romantic, sentimental, and isolated traveler. The reception history of Montagu as a celebrity female traveler showcases the uneasy efforts of readers trying to understand this anomalous figure on their own terms.

I want to close this chapter by suggesting another striking aspect of Montagu: that of the figure of traveler/lover. When Montagu decided to leave England in 1739 (when she was around 50 years old), her letters expressing her ardent love to Algarotti

(23 years her junior) are remarkable in many ways. Lady Mary's letters to him had been unknown until their rediscovery in the nineteenth century; they were first published in 1956 (Halsband, *The Complete Letters* xi, xv).¹⁵ In her letters of December 24, 1739, in which she arranges a meeting with Algarotti in Italy, she uses a gender-bending rhetoric to render herself as a passionate female lover who leaves behind everything she owns to follow her lover: "I commend myself to you in all perils like Don Quixote to his Dulcinea, and...neither the fatigues of the road nor the pleasures offered me in the towns have distracted me for an instant from the sweet contemplation in which I am immersed" (*The Complete Letters* 508; vol. II). She subverts the gender hierarchy by identifying herself with a deluded knight, rather than a lady, an object of love. Her specific declaration, "You know that the least of your desires would have led me to decide even on Japan," also expresses a model of female lover/traveler who actively seeks for her lover all over the world (*The Complete Letters* 509; vol. II).

Lady Montagu's willingness to follow Algarotti even as far as Japan links her to Penelope Aubin's male characters in *The Noble Slaves* who come to the island near Japan as a result of their adventurous journey to find their loved ones all over the world. Japan again functions as the country in the Far East which exists on the margin of British

¹⁵ Arden Hegele explains that in 1818 Byron was presented "with a collection of original letters addressed to Francesco Algarotti, an eighteenth-century Italian nobleman and philosopher, six of which had been written by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu between 1739 and 1758. In violation of the English custom of returning letters to the family after their writer's death, Algarotti had kept a collection of letters from Montagu as well as from other English notables living in Italy during the eighteenth century, including Lord Hervey, Thomas Gray and William Mason" (36).

people's recognizable world; it implies the traveler's dedication to the long and laborious journey. By connecting her with the traditionally male role of the lover/traveler figure, Montagu's desire to travel all over the world reconfigures her into a masculine traveling hero. A collection of Montagu's letters exemplify her lifelong passion as a traveler, and offering multifaceted aspects of the legendary female traveler in eighteenth-century Britain, still giving us much room for further scholarly interpretation and analysis.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS: WOMEN'S TRAVEL WRITING IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY

Throughout this dissertation, I have suggested several methodologies that can be used to approach and analyze women travel writers and women's mobility during the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. In chapter two, I examined how early professional women writers such as Delarivier Manley and Mary Davys used the genre of travel writing to establish their authorial images as respectable and virtuous in their early careers. Chapter three presented the case study of Penelope Aubin as a popular and professional woman writer during the 1720s who consumed the contemporary geographical discourse and created her own female-centered world geography through literary imaginations. In chapter four, I turned my focus to the reception history of Lady Montagu as the most iconic British female traveler and investigated how readers reinterpreted and recontextualized her images in periodicals, letters, and later editions.

So what happened after the early eighteenth century? What kinds of women's travel writing emerged after the vogue of Penelope Aubin's fiction on women's global mobility and Lady Mary Montagu's manuscript letter-book on her legendary Turkish travel? The immense popularity of *Turkish Embassy Letters* since its first publication in 1764 led to an overall increase of the publication of women's travel writing in the British literary market. It is notable that from 1770 there was a remarkably increased publication

rate of women's travel writing, addressing domestic and grand tours as well as journeys to the faraway countries. Katherine Turner suggests:

By 1770 the *Critical Review* could observe that the "Letters of female travellers are now become not unusual productions." By 1800, around twenty women had published travel books. (Bear in mind, however, that several hundred travelogues by men were published during the eighteenth century.) Between 1800 and 1830, 25 to 30 more women entered the field: some, like Maria Graham and Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan), published several substantial works, so that the number of published travel narratives by women between 1800 and 1830 is probably over 50. ("Women's Travel Writing" 48)

Some other popular examples include Lady Anna Riggs Miller's *Letters from Italy* (1777); Hester Piozzi's *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (1789); Elizabeth Craven's *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople* (1789); and Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters Written during A Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (1796).¹ In the late eighteenth

¹ In *Journey*, Elizabeth Craven argues that *Turkish Embassy Letters* was not written by Lady Montagu: "I am arrived here at last, through a very beautiful country; but must observe, that whoever wrote L. M—'s Letters (for she never wrote a line of them) misrepresents things most terribly; I do really believe, in most things they wished to impose upon the credulity of their readers, and laugh at them. The stoves of this country, which she praises so much, are the most horrid invention you can conceive" (141). In regards to this point, Alison Winch claims that "[s]ignificantly, Craven suggests in *Journey* that the real author of the *Turkish Embassy Letters* was a man. In doing so, she situates herself as the original female traveller. Through polarising herself from other women, Craven appears to her audience as unique, heroic, and—as she promises in her dedication to *Journey*—'faithful'" (92).

century, women's grand tours had been increasingly popular until the outbreak of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. However, a few women writers took up residence in France during the revolutionary era as a way to report their observations and express political views. On the side of supporting revolutionary causes, Helen Maria Williams published *Letters Containing a Sketch of the Scenes which Passed in Various Departments of France during the Tyranny of Robespierre* (1796), while Rachel Charlotte Biggs wrote an anti-revolutionary travel account titled *A Residence in France during the Years 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795*, printed in 1797 in London.

In terms of literary representations of women travelers, scholars indicated that the late eighteenth century saw notable aesthetic achievements in women's travel writing. For example, Elizabeth Bohls argues that through the medium of travel writing, women writers such as Lady Montagu, Janet Schaw, Helen Maria Williams, and Mary Wollstonecraft "struggled to appropriate the powerful language of aesthetics" (*Women Travel Writers* 3), which was dominated by male writers, so they provided alternative modes of travel and expressions of aesthetic thought. In addition, Ingrid Horrocks claims that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the figure of the "woman wanderer," which is distinct from the traveler, came to the fore in sentimental and Romantic literature authored by women. For example, "countless female beggars, gypsies, and grieving widows of Romanticism, are suggestive of [a] deep homelessness"; they figured prominently in works across diverse genres such as Charlotte Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets*, Anne Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Short Residence*, and Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* (7).

Another trend I tracked as an important pattern in the mid-eighteenth century in terms of women's mobility and travel is the emergence of published stories about cross-dressing women travelers, which became popular beginning in the 1750s. The relevant works are *The Female Soldier; or, the Surprising Life and Adventures of Hannah Snell* (1750); *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke* (1755); *The entertaining travels and adventures of Mademoiselle de Richelieu* (1751); and *The Scotch Marine: or, Memoirs of the Life of Celestina* (1775). The increased popularity of female cross-dressers' travel narratives during this period is off the radar of the current scholarship on travel writing. However, cross-dressing is what female travels have symbolized all along: crossing the boundaries of culture, nation, and gender, when they hit the road they inhabit masculine identities in some sense. Cross-dressing women were increasingly labelled as homosexual as the norm of heterosexuality grew more consolidated toward the nineteenth century.² This transition in cultural taste and sensibility of gender might have something to do with the rise of cross-dressed women's travel narrative in the middle and late eighteenth century. These cross-dressed women tend to show more clearly a homosexual identity, such as having a female lover or a wife. The books on cross-dressing female travelers might have functioned as an eye-catching freak in the literary market. These stories also recast the genre of women's travels in the lesbian context, and allude to the contemporary anxiety over women's professions that allow increased mobility into public spaces (such as soldiers or actresses).

² Tim Hitchcock argues that in eighteenth-century England a "sexual revolution" transformed the society into an increasingly heterosexual culture (2).

In addition, the close relationships between women's travel and education continue to manifest in *The Lady's Magazine; or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex* (1770-1832) in the latter half of the eighteenth century. *The Lady's Magazine* features, as its first item serialized between 1770 and 1776, "A Sentimental Journey," which is a fiction by an anonymous lady about her domestic journeys. The title is obviously named after Laurence Sterne's novel *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768). JoEllen DeLucia also argues that *The Lady's Magazine* in the late eighteenth century actively remediates the excerpts of travel writing, such as Captain Cook's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (1784), introducing non-British parts of the world to female readers. This series of literary and cultural evidence shows that there are still a lot of work to be done in studies of women's mobility and travel writing in the long eighteenth century. Scholars should focus not only on the growing popularity of women travel writers, but also on the roles of women readers who consumed travel literature through a variety of media. As I have argued throughout this dissertation, if scholars consider the topics related to women's travel through much broader lenses and methodologies, for instance by including manuscript travelogues and fictional representations of women's movements, the discipline of women's travel and mobility will produce more fruitful and diverse conversations.

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