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*A Study of the Deployment of the Pastoral
in Amatory, Utopian, and Gothic Fiction
by Three Eighteenth-Century Female Pastoralists:
Eliza Haywood, Sarah Scott, and Ann Radcliffe*

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(79700 words)

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Abstract

The pastoral is a famously flexible genre that through its articulation of binary oppositions allows for exploration and possibility. The pastoral within these texts operates in various ways: as a landscape, a retreat, a genre, a tradition, and finally, I will argue, as an articulation of interiority. This thesis focuses on the relationship of the pastoral with the amatory, utopian, and gothic genres in selected works of three major female authors of the eighteenth century and how these amalgamations see the pastoral working in cooperation and contention with these other genres. In chapter one, I will read three of Eliza Haywood's texts - *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* - as amatory, pastoral works, looking at the many and varied sexual situations articulated through the retreats of these texts in an examination of Haywood's focus on spatial aspects of the pastoral. Haywood's repeated articulation of the country versus city binary offers an opportunity to explore female sexual identity as well as what is and what is not permissible within the pastoral space and how the permeability of that boundary complicates the pastoral. In chapter two, I argue the pastoral retreat of Sarah Scott's *Millenium Hall* is represented as a specifically female-centered pastoral community in juxtaposition with repeated depictions of the corruption found in the city across the strictly delineated boundary of the two. While this articulation is reminiscent of other single-sex pastoral spaces, as I will detail, Scott's representation of the conventions of the retreat are amalgamated with those of the utopia in a narrative consideration of both mid-eighteenth-century female concerns and concerns of the Bluestockings more specifically,

including female identity as it relates to female friendship, idleness, marriage, and futurity. In chapter three I will argue that Radcliffe presents the pastoral as a physical space in the form of landscape and retreat but also that she explores its conventions and dualities as interiority and in abstract elements of the text through the melding of gothic and pastoral concerns including imaginations, imagery, situations, and characters. This close coalescence pushes the pastoral further by raising not only the conventional binaries of country versus city and innocence versus corruption but also the concept of a pastoral ideology abstracted rather than solely linked to a physical space. The amalgamation of the pastoral with a second genre in these female-authored texts emphasises the generic flexibility of the pastoral as well as offers a means of reading these particular works through a lens of social commentary that considers both reality, as they see it, and the possibilities put forth in a space of fantasy.

Introduction

This thesis evaluates the amalgamation of the pastoral genre with the further genres of the amatory in Eliza Haywood's *Love in Excess* (1719), *The British Recluse* (1722), and *Lasselia* (1723), the utopia in Sarah Scott's *Millenium Hall* (1762), and the gothic in Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). Further, it looks at the dualities within the pastorals of these narratives and evaluates the exploration of female-centred concerns emphasised through those binary oppositions. These binary oppositions work both in competition and cooperation to evince social realities versus the possibilities created by these female pastoralists within the pastoral retreat. Concentration on the juxtaposition of the pastoral, as both a retreat and an ideology, with other genres highlights the female-focused issues at stake in these texts: sexual desire, productivity, and interiority.

In attempting to define the pastoral, or clarify it directly or indirectly as a term, critics often come to the conclusion that there are too many complications of the genre to do so definitively. Paul Alpers begins his authoritative *What is Pastoral?* (1996) with the claim that 'there is no principled account of it on which most people agree, and it sometimes seems as if there are as many versions of pastoral as there are critics and scholars who write about it' (8). He reinforces this later in chapter one by citing Renato Poggioli, who he says 'expended so much wit and intelligence on analyzing the pastoral ideal' and who 'had no qualms about saying that it "shifts on the quicksands [sic] of wishful thought"' (34) and William Empson who explains that 'two people may get very different experiences from the same work of art without either being definitively wrong' (38-39). Because ideas on what the pastoral is vary so widely - from author to author, critic to critic, or reader to reader - we are overwhelmed with

critics who agree on very little other than there being no comprehensive checklist of characteristics.

In *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (1987) Annabel Patterson clarifies what should, and should not, be the central question with which we should concern ourselves. Hers is not, she declares, ‘another attempt to define the nature of the pastoral - a cause lost as early as the sixteenth century, when the genre began to manifest the tendency... to propagate by miscegenation’ (7). I will address this ‘miscegenation’ throughout the thesis as I examine the pastoral’s connection to the amatory, the feminist utopian, and the gothic genres, but as an introduction to the pastoral, we look at Patterson’s suggestion that ‘perhaps now is the time for the central question to be restated. It is not what pastoral *is* that should matter to us’ (7). She contends that attempting to define the pastoral leads merely to further disagreement rather than consensus, as I will detail in the section on genre later in the introduction.

Referencing her suggestion that attempting to define the pastoral leads only to confusion, Patterson calls these attempts ‘a cause reduced to total confusion by modern criticism’s search for “versions of pastoral” in the most unlikely places’, and with reference to the ‘approach to the problem of definition’, she cites Andrew Ettin’s description of Empson’s *Some Versions of Pastoral* (1935) as ‘the most important and the least helpful’ (7). Patterson is not devaluing Empson’s work but using it to corroborate her argument that attempts at a definitive definition of the pastoral are in vain. What we should concern ourselves with, she suggests, ‘is what pastoral since Virgil can do’, and we discern this by putting ‘the agency back where it belongs – how writers, artists, and intellectuals of all persuasions have *used* pastoral for a range of functions and intentions’ (7).

Patterson's proposal to concentrate now on what the pastoral 'can do' is central to this thesis. The question of what the pastoral is has been thoroughly dissected; therefore, this thesis primarily explores in detail how and to what end it functions in these five eighteenth-century, female-authored narratives. It is in line with Patterson's inclusions of 'all persuasions' that this thesis works to include these three female pastoralists. Though Patterson proposes the need to move on from the question what the pastoral is, Alpers, less than a decade later, published his significantly impactful tome *What is Pastoral?* and addressed her proposition with the logical premise that before attempting to 'think about what pastoral "can do"... we will need to have some idea of what counts as pastoral and what does not' (12). To this end, prior to my detailed examinations of what the pastoral 'can do' in these narratives and the numerous texts against which I read these narratives, in this introduction, I will explore various principles, concepts, and descriptions of the pastoral. This will include ideas of genre, nature, landscape, retreat, binaries, and the pastoral's flexibility with regard to portrayal, purpose, and the effects of its amalgamation with other genres from such critics as Alpers, John Barrell, Ralph Cohen, Rosalie Colie Littell, Empson, Northrop Fry, Katherine J. Gutzwiller, Samuel Johnson, McKeon, Patterson, Pope, and Raymond Williams.

Alpers suggests representations of the pastoral are meant to 'make us look to the future in hope', but that 'presenting a state of innocence in the past... leads us backwards' (33). Despite - or perhaps in part because of - this, he says we should resist temptations to delineate a mapping of the pastoral as something that develops in a linear manner (12). Like Michael McKeon in 'The Pastoral Revolution' (1998) and Empson, Alpers attests to the futility of attempting to confirm a conclusive definition of the pastoral, noting the 'pastoral is

historically diversified and transformed’ and therefore definitions are ‘subject to modification or reinterpretation’ (26). We can, therefore, return to the idea of ‘the pastoral’ again and again but need to resist the temptation to confine it to strict demarcation or compartmentalisation.

Despite, or perhaps contributing to, the collective agreement that the pastoral is too slippery to define, dualities of dichotomous spaces and concerns reoccur throughout pastoral studies. Alpers calls these ‘fictional complications’ (82) while McKeon notes the pastoral’s ‘characteristic complication of geographical, cultural, and axiological relations’ (271). The varying portrayals in even just the five primary texts of this thesis evince the complications within and the generic flexibility of the pastoral already discussed in relation to Patterson, McKeon, and Alpers. McKeon begins the ‘What is Pastoral?’ section of his essay encouraging us to recognise that ‘the truth’ that the pastoral is defined as a ‘celebration of rural life and rustic values... needs to be complicated by the recognition... [of] the negative pole in opposition to which pastoral praise acquires its meaning’ (268). This ‘complicating’, McKeon’s term which I will use throughout the thesis, of the pastoral is often identified as its various dualities or binaries, which arise throughout pastoral texts and the critical works that examine them. Dualities lend themselves to the contrasts found within the genre; McKeon describes this as the ‘contradictory doubleness of pastoral’ (279).

These dualities can be abstract, as Alpers suggests in the conflict between past and future (33) or concrete, as when McKeon notes that ‘Frank Kermode remarks, “The first condition of Pastoral [sic] is that it is an urban product”’ (271). As I will revisit in chapter one, this is the binary of country versus city, which McKeon suggests is the impetus for all

other dualities (268). In *The Country and the City* (1973), Raymond Williams suggests these dualities' broader effects: in 'developments, of [the] classical pastoral... which inaugurate tones and images of an ideal kind, there is almost invariably a tension with other kinds of experience: summer with winter, pleasure with loss; harvest with labour; singing with a journey; past or future with the present' (18). Tensions produced by these opposing binaries are a significant consideration of the generic pastoral; it is an emphasis not only on the tenets of the pastoral retreat but on those of the incongruous space beyond that retirement.

This thesis explores societal concerns of women throughout the eighteenth century as presented in these five texts through the mechanism of pastoral dualities. While 'women', and their concerns, is a wide-reaching term and subject, this thesis - perhaps inevitably - focuses primarily on the concerns of middle-class women as that is the status of Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe, as well as the majority of their readers. In chapter two's section 'Marriage, Futurity, and Class Hierarchy in Scott's Female Utopian Pastoral', I discuss what I argue are Scott's feelings on the inescapability of social structure as defined by class, and I examine Mary Leapor's 'Crumble Hall' (1751) in relating the genre of country house poetry to the tenor of *Millenium Hall*, but the primary focus of this thesis pertains to middle-class women. This is not to deny the existence of working-class female writers of the period other than Leapor; however, as they were the minority, my primary texts and the majority of the fiction, non-fiction, and poetry I read in conjunction with the primary narratives were also written by middle-class women.

McKeon specifies that if we are going to attempt to read pastoral texts, complicating them, to use his term, means we must recognise their 'basic oppositional structure' and its

‘value-laden extensions: simplicity versus sophistication, innocence versus corruption (or experience), contemplation versus action, contentment versus ambition, private retirement versus public activity, *otium* versus *negotium*, peace versus war, communal affiliation versus individual aggression (or industry), and so forth’ (268). Throughout the thesis, I will examine various pastoral binaries as set forth by these female pastoralists and the relationships of the constituent parts of those dualities to one another. McKeon clarifies that these dualities work ‘to affirm and to suspend such oppositions’; therefore, we should ‘conceive them... not dichotomously but dialectically’ (271). Though I often refer to the ‘opposing’ space, ideology, binary, and so forth, these are situational references specific to the point or observation being made and should not, in any instance of its usage, discount or negate the duality’s dialectical relationship, which I also address throughout the thesis.

Pastoral binaries, or dialectical oppositions as McKeon calls them, serve as a means to raise questions of social, political, economic, or religious concerns. The pastoral retreat, as a space of fantasy and possibility, works in conjunction with its opposing space outside the retreat in both an emphasis on the questions being raised as well as possible answers to those questions. McKeon notes that in the eighteenth century, ‘the question that pastoral helped to ask... was: What is the relationship between men and women under contemporary conditions of work and leisure?’ but also that ‘behind this query... lies the yet more fundamental one: What... is the “nature” of men and women?’ (283-84). According to Empson, one question raised in *The Beggar’s Opera* (1728) is ‘that between individualism and the need for loyalty’ (238). For Williams, in Oliver Goldsmith’s ‘The Deserted Village’ (1770) ‘what is in question... is not only the life of the village, but the independence of the poet’ versus ‘the

social forces which are dispossessing the village [which] are seen as simultaneously dispossessing poetry' (77). Finally, in *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies: The Formation of a Genre* (1991), Karen J. Gutzwiller posits that 'the answer to the question concerning Theocritus' position vis-à-vis contemporary poetic debate... is found by appreciating Battus and Corydon as... dramatic characters' in *Idyll 4* (157). Pastoral helps ask questions but does not need nor necessarily offer direct, conclusive answers. It presents possible alternatives and the space to explore those possibilities.

Both sides of pastoral binaries function in a kind of partnership that makes claims to incontrovertible and indelible opposition unstable. While the opposition is clear, and results in the ensuing social commentary, the opposing sides function dialectically to articulate that commentary. In doing so, the pastoral offers itself as a relatively innocuous vehicle by which concerned pastoralists may - in varying degrees - offer criticism of social norms. The questions I suggest are raised by these three female authors explore alternatives to societal structures relating to the assertion of female sexual desire in Haywood's amatory pastorals, the promotion of female agency in Scott's feminist utopian pastoral, and the negotiating of boundaries in Radcliffe's gothic pastoral. These women's challenges to the social norms, through the oppositional binaries that also highlight the societal structures themselves, allow them to assert possible alternatives while also voicing a clear understanding of the systems they oppose. Further, the binary structure of the pastoral perhaps assuages potential opponents or critics with the inclusion of the oppositional side.

McKeon further elucidates the purpose of these various binaries and the emphasis on their complications, explaining that 'the pastoral praise of the country intimately and

insistently invokes the counterstandard of the “urban,” the negative pole in opposition to which pastoral praise acquires its meaning’ (268) This ‘complication’ of pastoral aspects embraces the sometimes-overlapping, sometimes-oppositional definitions, characteristics, and versions of pastoral in terms such as nature, landscape, and retreat. In the next three sections of the introduction, I will examine various critical approaches to these topics, and then throughout the thesis, I will evaluate the ways in which these critical debates about the pastoral inform the ways in which we read retreats and their collocated spaces in *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, *Lasselia*, *Millenium Hall*, and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.

Pastoral as Genre

As I have noted and will continue to explore throughout the thesis, the pastoral is adaptable to various historical or cultural moments as well as to numerous pastoralists who deploy its binary oppositions for varied purposes. McKeon has observed that ‘incompatible views’ of the genre can be ‘right’, and that ‘they occupy alternative and partial positions on a pastoral continuum that is defined... by the fluidity with which that differential may be variously enacted’ (274). I argue that, despite the degree of difficulty in defining pastoral literature exactly, the pastoral is its own genre. I suggest the amalgamation of the pastoral with the amatory, utopian, and gothic genres within the female-authored narrative text demonstrates the flexibility and dualities of the pastoral and lends credence to its generic integrity. As I will explore throughout this section, generic comingling renews the pastoral rather than jeopardises it.

In Alpers' chapter 'Mode and Genre', he contends the pastoral is a mode because mode is a 'broad and flexible category' (44). Though Alpers maintains the broadness of the term mode distinguishes it from the stricter delineation of genre, in 'On the Interrelations of Eighteenth-Century Literary Forms' (1974), Ralph Cohen makes the same argument of flexibility regarding genres. He proffers the view that 'neoclassical forms were mixed and interrelated... [which] undermines the hypothesis that forms were pure or rigid' (75). It is this mixing of genres that I argue, and as I have critically noted in the previous section, is significant for the pastoral's deployment within my primary texts.

Though Alpers claims that 'there is a tendency to think of' genres 'as well demarcated, both historically and aesthetically', Rosalie Colie Littell and Cohen both suggest otherwise, beginning with the Renaissance (45). Cohen notes, 'Colie has remarked that in the Renaissance a rigid system of genres "never existed in practice and barely even in theory"' ('Interrelations' 37). Rather than rigid genres, Cohen suggests critics should be alert to intermixtures and suggests that in the eighteenth century these intermixtures 'extended far beyond those specified in the Renaissance; and not only were they more didactic, they also included new types of such mixtures' ('Interrelations' 52). Though Colie is addressing heroic poems and mixed matters within those poems in the Renaissance and Cohen gives attention to the 'periodical essay, the novel, prose fictions' in the eighteenth century, I would suggest that generic amalgamations, such as the pastoral with the amatory, utopian, and gothic, offer similar avenues for exploration ('Interrelations' 52). As I will detail further with specific regard to Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe, when the pastoral is combined with other genres, either in cooperation or competition, the pastoral adapts itself to that relationship.

Cohen argues ‘a genre does not exist independently; it rises to compete or to contrast with other genres, to complement, augment, interrelate with other genres’ (‘History’ 207). This relationship between or amongst genres is fundamental to the eighteenth-century pastoral’s interrelation with the amatory, feminist utopian, and gothic texts of this thesis. As Cohen and Colie Littell have noted, and I have cited, combining of the pastoral with verse, drama, and epic had long since been established; therefore, its coalescence within Haywood’s amatory, Scott’s feminist utopian, and Radcliffe’s gothic texts is a natural inclination.

Much as it had until the early eighteenth century, in *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, the pastoral retreat serves as a temporary escape from the outside world. Haywood’s retreats, though, offer spaces in which men and women are both free to express egalitarian sexual desires. This retreat is expanded in *Millenium Hall* where Scott establishes the pastoral space as a permanent refuge from the vices of the city in her feminist utopia. Finally, at the end of the century, in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Radcliffe refigures the idea of retreat and advances the pastoral into the outside world and into direct conflict with the gothic and its confinements. In each of these, I argue, we see the clearly recognisable pastoral ideology and retreat, but we also mark its flexibility similarly to Hans Robert Jauss’s commentary on genre in general. He proposes, ‘the relationship between the individual text and the series of texts formative of a genre presents itself as a process of the continual founding and altering of horizons’ (Cohen, ‘History’ 211).

Northrop Frye, in his *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957), explains that ‘the purpose of criticism by genres is not so much to classify as to clarify... traditions and affinities, thereby bringing out a large number of literary relationships that would not be noticed as long as

there were no context established for them' (247-248). This premise is foremost in my thesis as I argue the pastorals in these female-authored texts work within traditional conventions but are also combined with additional genres to contextualise their reflections of society and the pastoral itself. This helps, to use Frye's term, to 'clarify' the effects of their texts rather than to codify them. Cohen writes that ideologies 'cannot be deduced from generalizations about the genre', and I see this as further reason not to create a taxonomy of genres through an unyielding set of external and internal criteria ('History' 209).

Many pastoral critics seem to take for granted that the pastoral is a genre, including McKeon who opens his essay 'The Pastoral Revolution' with the introduction that his 'subject in this essay is the ancient genre of pastoral poetry' (267) and then goes on to note 'the plasticity of the ancient genre' (267) and the 'characteristic complexity of the genre' (271). Eminent pastoral critic John Barrell, in his discussion of heroes and political economy in *Poetry, Language, and Politics* (1988), writes that at the early part of the eighteenth century, 'it was generally agreed by critics that the suitability of a subject for treatment in this genre was a question less of its dignity or its usefulness to the purposes of society, than of the degree of variety it admitted' (90). In this, Barrell reinforces the concept of genre as a developing ideology. This thesis evaluates the pastoral along these same underlying beliefs: a genre can serve different and varying functions, and those often change with developments in culture.

In this suggestion of the new-found vogue for variety over dignity or usefulness, Barrell substantiates the pastoral's shifting ideology. This is further reinforced by Patterson who 'has shown how each age reinterprets the pastoral in terms of the commentator's

ideological values' (Gifford 10). Patterson's text moves from the early Middle Ages to 'in one fell swoop, both Romanticism and modernism', discussing imitation, humanism, commentary, the georgic, the *fête champêtre*, Neoclassicism, the eighteenth-century Pope/Philips debate, and social protest (Patterson 9). This thesis considers how juxtaposing two genres or physical spaces affects the pastoral with regard to its traditions while simultaneously giving evidence of the questioning of the society it is reflecting.

Though Barrell's *Poetry, Language, and Politics* is concerned with the pastoral genre in verse, his analysis that various genres 'could even be combined with each other, or with other genres, to produce the characteristic vehicle of eighteenth-century poetry, the poem of mixed genre, variously mingling satire, the epistle, and the didactic poem whether philosophical or georgic' is suggestive if applied to the narrative texts of this thesis as well (90). The pastoral in combination with the amatory, the feminist utopian, and the gothic all result in a consequential addition to the pastoral canon for the genre in terms of continuing cultural significance as well as offering commentary on cultural mores. Cohen notes that during the eighteenth century 'no literary work in the period can be understood without recognizing that it is a combination of parts or forms' ('Interrelations' 76-77). This recognition, and reading the texts within their generic traditions, fulfills the one paradoxically static aspect of the pastoral: it alters to reflect culture and society.

Frye, in *Anatomy*, breaks his 'Ethical Criticism' essay into what he calls four phases, and phase four 'looks at poetry as one of the techniques of civilization. It is concerned, therefore, with the social aspect of poetry' (99). This social impact is conveyed through a series of identifiable representations that elicit a likely and reliable response. In this essay, he

explains symbols as archetypes and that when he uses the word archetype he means ‘a symbol which connects one poem with another and thereby helps to unify and integrate our literary experience’ (99). It is these archetypes, symbols, and shared experiences that I would argue, in part, form the basis for the pastoral as genre. Though the pastoral does have, as Frye argues, recognisable conventions, even in those, we see pronounced generic flexibility .

These shared conventions are, however, wide-ranging and at times controversial. Sanarazius shifts the setting to create piscatory pastorals; Cervantes introduces a female shepherdess as his protagonist; and Shakespeare plagues the characters of Arden with inclement weather. Leo Marx defines the pastoral simply as ‘No shepherd, no pastoral’ (Gifford 1), but Alpers suggests that Andrew Marvell’s ‘The Mower against Gardens’ (1681) ‘enacts a general truth about Marvell’s pastoralism: conventional figures, literary shepherds or their equivalents, are no longer the *sine qua non* [sic] of pastoral expression but are special cases’ (239). If we can have pastorals with or without shepherds (allegorical or not), with or without perfect weather, and with or without strictly established gender roles, what can we rely on to assure us we are in the midst of a pastoral?

Johnson’s complaint of the pastoral in ‘Rambler 36’ and ‘37’ (1750) is that while there are countless ways to convey the visual aspects of the space, the emotional response remains the same. While this was, Johnson thought, detrimental to the pastoral as a literary form, it is ideal for identifying it as a genre. Further, because of the reliability of the safety within the retreat, Johnson maintains we relate it to peace and innocence. I would argue it is this innate sense of what the pastoral offers that defines it as a genre. Cohen notes that ‘Irene Simon puts it this way: “when approaching any poem the critic would first ask himself to

what genre the work belonged, what instruction it intended to convey” (‘Interrelations’ 35). The innocence we take for granted in the pastoral retreat creates a non-threatening space in which to enact social and often revolutionary criticism, which had been done for centuries prior to Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe - and other Enlightenment female pastoralists who I will read in conjunction with their narratives - who appropriate it for their social commentary. Within the pastoral genre or the retreat, it is not the act of social criticism or the aesthetic that is continually reinvented. It is the exegesis based in the culture and period through which the text is read.

In concluding his essay ‘History and Genre’ (1986), Cohen restates that he has answered ‘how to decipher’ genres by showing ‘how a process theory can explain their transformation’ (217). It is this process theory which determines that ‘grouping is a process, not a category’ (‘History’ 204). We can only ‘decipher’ what a genre is by understanding that it has a flexible and fluid construction that allows it to be presented as various and sometimes contradictory representations.

Nature

Critics have indicated the complexity of the term nature in the context of pastoral writing in terms of its variability and flexibility, its place in the pastoral, those who occupy it, its innate innocence, and disruption of that innocence. The pastoral evokes ideas of nature as a space of the physical world but also in reference to its significance and purpose to both people and the world outside the retreat.

Nature, particularly with regard to the pastoral, can be considered from a variety of angles. McKeon finds that in the eighteenth century, the 'pastoral provided contemporaries with a mechanism for thinking about the limits of gender difference: between art and nature, between men and women' (280). Though McKeon calls 'the very substance of the correlation... shaky', it is precisely this potential for instability that allows for social and ideological exploration rather than categorical classification (280). With regard to *Daphnis and Chloe*, Alpers discusses nature as a physical setting and its function therein. Quoting Thalia A. Pandiri, it is a space which he describes as "a suitable emblem" for the work as a whole, because "carefully landscaped, protected on all sides from wild nature by a barrier, it creates the illusion of a free natural setting as it ought, ideally, to be" (326). In this, nature as a pastoral retreat surfaces as a figure that can be read as a kind of metaphor or symbol but also as a literal space with literal boundaries, and it is from this physicality - the protection it provides its inhabitants - that the ideological significance takes shape.

Of nature as a concept rather than specific space, Alpers notes in a discussion of various explorations of the pastoral that 'the presence, emergence, and history of pastoral landscape is not a matter of nature poetry or of visionary or psychological projection but rather an interpretation, a selective emphasis determined by individual or cultural motives' (27). Seemingly it is who occupies the natural space and the concerns they explore through a consideration of the possibilities of the natural world in the pastoral retreat as well as the competing or complementary forces outside the retreat that frame the significance of that space. Empson explores the relationship of the natural world and these 'individual or cultural

motives' but with an emphasis on the natural world's capacity for engagement in the consideration of, rather than strict determination of, these motives.

Regarding Marvell's 'The Garden' (1681), Empson explores ideas of the connection between the natural world and the mind by first examining Marvell's couplet, 'Annihilating all that's made / To a green thought in a green shade' (Empson 119). He suggests this either proposes to reduce 'the whole material world to nothing material' or to consider 'the material world as of no value compared to green thought' (119). From here he contemplates the difference between the two, the ability of the two 'to be known' (119), and if they are indeed inseparable or if it is a combination of 'unusually intellectual with unusually primitive ideas; thought about the conditions of knowledge with a magical idea that the adept controls the external world by thought' (120). The conclusion seems to be there is no definitive reading regarding how nature interacts with the people who occupy it, but that there is to be read what Empson calls a 'crucial double meaning' (119).

The potential for disparate views on nature's significance or role does not seem to confine itself, in Empson's analysis, to Marvell's poem, in which specific case Empson has the reinforcement of 'the Oxford edition notes' (119), but the function arises again with regard to nature in John Milton's pastoral poem 'L'Allegro' (1645) and in 'Book IV' of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667). In these, Empson observes, 'the same Nature [sic] produced the *balm* of healing and the fatal *fruit*' (187). With further regard to Milton, though also referencing the eighteenth-century poet William Cowper, Empson suggests, 'there are three main ideas about Nature [sic], putting her above, equal to, and below man. She is the work of God, or a god herself... or she fits man' (187). The consequence, however, is not to determine which 'she' is

definitive but to allow that she is any or all of these. McKeon echoes this by succinctly observing that of nature, like the pastoral, ‘one might say that Virgil’s first eclogue tacitly teaches the lesson that the meaning of “nature” is always from a perspective, within a certain context’ (270).

Several critics find it helpful to gain general context for nature and the pastoral in the eighteenth century, as opposed to specific eighteenth-century works, in the pastoral debate that arose early in the second decade. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, this debate contemplated ideas of invention versus imitation in writing the pastoral and was headed respectively by French pastoralists Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, who would later influence Ambrose Philips, and René Rapin, who would later influence Alexander Pope. In her section ‘Neoclassicism and Rationalism in Eighteenth-century England’, Gutzwiller begins her discussion of nature with its relationship to this Philips/Pope debate. She lays out the two ‘sides’ as they initially related to Rapin and Fontenelle, noting that, from them, while ‘English thinking on pastoral divided into two schools’ of thought, ‘both sides accepted pastoral as a genre intimately concerned with nature, as a more direct representation of nature than other forms of literature’ (189). While this thesis is not concerned with the debate itself, the positions of the debate are of interest initially for their mutual advocacy of the portrayal of undisturbed nature, and that contemporary Philips/Pope debate is the lens through which both Patterson and Gutzwiller offer clarification regarding the term nature in the eighteenth century.

Patterson cites eighteenth-century Cambridge botany professor and translator of Virgil John Martyn’s thoughts on what she identifies as ‘Fontenelle’s theory of erasure’: that

‘we may therefore conclude, that though Nature [sic] is to be followed, yet we are not to represent everything that is natural, without distinction’ (238). This is Fontenelle’s, and Rapin’s, idea that nature, in terms of the natural world, in the pastoral space is a pleasant retreat without disruption or disturbance. For Patterson, this takes away from the reader’s ability to ‘penetrate the pastoral fiction and determine the higher meaning’; all that is now left is ‘the protective covering drawn over our experience of the physical world, so that only those phenomena remain visible that are consistent with pleasure and decency’ (238). In absencing undisturbed nature’s oppositional side in its binary, by imitating only that which - in Fontenelle’s words - ‘is most agreeable and pleasing’, the pastoral becomes incomplete and any ‘higher meaning’ is lost (Patterson 238).

To disturb nature in the pastoral retreat is to complicate it through the mechanism of pastoral binaries. Empson contends that prior to the Fall, ‘nature, like man, is not tempted to be wicked’ (188).¹ This portrayal of undisturbed nature - in reference to the natural world - positions the pastoral retreat, itself a natural space apart from ‘the city’, as a space of innocence and peace. Williams suggests the ‘structure of feeling’ regarding the pastoral ‘is not based only on an idea of the happier past. It is based also on that other and associated idea of innocence’ and that the ‘key to its analysis is the contrast of the country with the city and the court: here nature, there worldliness’ (46). Despite nature’s innate innocence, the duality inherent in the generic pastoral allows a subversion of its borders for any number of reasons:

¹ Though this may seem to contradict Empson’s earlier notion, cited above, nature is the ‘fatal fruit’ (187), he clarifies, ‘that Nature [sic] was magically altered by the fall was part of the tradition that Milton accepted’ (187). It is not nature that is wicked but seemingly either man or sin itself. For Milton, Empson suggests, ‘the apple is simply a fearful source of revelation’ (187).

as reminder, as juxtaposition, as catalyst, as challenge. Each of these will be proposed and examined within the thesis.

While projecting associations with innocence, the natural retreat does allow for intrusions and intruders: in the case of this thesis, by Haywood's corrupt male suitors or in the form of Radcliffe's gothic conventions creeping in to disrupt the space. In the texts with which this thesis is primarily concerned, the invasions that take place within nature but that flout nature's lack of wickedness challenge the women who occupy that space. This duality reinforces Adam Parry's supposition, as quoted by Alpers, that 'nature no longer tells us what we are: it tells us what we are not but yearn to be' (31). I propose the female pastoralists of this thesis stage this yearning in their exploration of their established pastoral binaries and their amalgamation of the pastoral with the amatory, utopian, and gothic genres. It is in nature, the pastoral retreat, where their longing for a world apart from the retreat's counter-space manifests itself.

Nature, particularly with reference to the pastoral, quickly becomes about more than the physical or material world. It can also be made to stand as an alternate world that challenges societal models that are in place outside the retreat. In addition to literal representations of nature, meaning the natural world, Gutzwiller clarifies that 'to "copy nature" is not to imitate shepherds as they were, or as they are now, but as they might be' (190). Similarly, Alpers iterates longing as it relates to nature, the pastoral, and those who occupy that space, suggesting that 'nature, which once was simply the world in which man found himself and acted, is now seen to be separate from him, and presents itself as the ideal of harmonious existence which he seeks to achieve' (29). This harmonious existence is the

wish-fulfilling fantasy of the pastoral retreat. For Haywood's female characters in *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, this is a space where the expression of female sexual desire is permissible. In *Millenium Hall*, it is a space exclusively for female friendship and the promotion of female productivity.

Employing nature as the ideal setting in which to articulate yearning or longing foregrounds its capacity for allowing writers a means both to explore possibility and reject restrictive norms. Nature, then, is instilled with a kind of social purpose that, in literature, moves beyond physical description. It becomes much more ideologically freighted in terms of human behaviour, interactions, and even perhaps place in society. This was certainly one perspective, at least, in the eighteenth century when 'nature for Pope does not mean the phenomenal world... it refers now to the order of the universe, perhaps even the mind of God' (Gutzwiller 190). While, as Gutzwiller explains, a straightforward presentation of nature as we find in the opening pages of *Millenium Hall* and of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* was one manner of staging pastoral, the idea that it can also be representative of the 'order of the universe' beginning in the early part of the eighteenth century lends itself to an exploration of concerns regarding societal structures.

Implications regarding pastoral writing then move beyond a mere reconstruction of the sensory details of physical nature itself. Alpers describes 'Empson's account of the pastoral' as one that illustrates 'a simple and sophisticated awareness of an experience' (21). Pastoral writing commonly, though not invariably, stages descriptions of the natural world, but as I explain in chapters two and three, these are often proffered as the catalyst for other, various ramifications through their depictions. This consequence, I suggest, is derived from a

consideration of pastoral aspects that move beyond the descriptions of nature and into an ‘awareness of experience’ as Empson so thoroughly deliberates (Alpers 21).

While nature, in its innocence as Empson describes, functions as a backdrop yet also as a signalling force regarding the innocence and peace of the space, the dualities inherent in the pastoral must then come from the people who inhabit that space and from the challenges with which they confront others or with which they are confronted. McKeon suggest that ‘pastoral inevitably presupposes people: voices speaking singly and in dialogue, figures populating the countryside in labor and leisure. What we take to be “natural” about these people is not an essential attribute but the way they live in relation to nature and one another’ (275). Pastoral people, who live in harmony with nature in the retreat, are not violent or aggressive. In looking at the corruption, and in some instances literal violence, that asserts itself either within the pastoral retreat or the world beyond, pastorals are exploring how even the putative pastoral innocence of nature might harbour, invite, or engender corruption, thus exploring the relation of innocence and corruption as a recurring pastoral preoccupation.

These disruptions to the natural innocence and peace of the pastoral retreat are also noted by McKeon who recounts that ‘as Williams and others have observed with respect to Virgil, the depiction of these pastoral relations does not preclude rural disturbance and social change’ (275). However, in his survey of portrayals and analysis of the representative anecdote, which I discuss in chapter one, Alpers, like Patterson and Gutzwiller, cites Rapin’s idea that the pastoral must appear ‘delightful and easy, nothing vitious [sic] and rough... Every part must be full of the simplicity of the *Golden Age*’ (17). Again, this is a pleasant

proposal, but Alpers reminds us later that ‘the shepherd’s sense that known boundaries assure the security and pleasure he values enables him to register the pain and measure the significance of the violation of boundaries’ (166). These violations and what McKeon calls disturbances are highlighted through these boundaries, which signal the delineation between the natural world of the retreat and its oppositional - though also dialectical as I will discuss throughout the thesis - space of ‘the city’.

Within both the ‘country’ and ‘city’ of the pastoral, it is not simply the material spaces themselves that are in opposition but the codes and conventions with which people imbue them that move the pastoral beyond observations of the physical world. Alpers counsels that ‘it is not enough to point to the presence in pastoral of *loci amoeni* and echoing woods. They are certainly there, but they have as much to do with establishing a space for song as with man’s relation to nature’ (32). For the female characters of *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, *Lasselia*, *Millenium Hall*, and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, the boundaries are clear: Haywood’s natural spaces are an escape from the domestic, Millenium Hall and its park allow the women to isolate themselves from London and its society, and La Vallée and the natural landscapes that surround it juxtapose Udolpho.

As I will discuss in chapters one and three regarding Haywood and Radcliffe’s texts, the violation of these boundaries, as Alpers terms it, does act as provocation or temptation. The alternating framing and framed narratives in *Millenium Hall* repeatedly evince what Scott sees as the moral corruption of idleness in juxtaposition with her own resolute insistence on unyielding productivity in the form of women’s occupation. Nature, however, in the pastoral space is ‘a sustaining... agent’; therefore, we see the retreat as both a setting

and an ideology in oppositional juxtaposition with the corruption, violence, or prohibition of its collocated setting (Empson 188).

Within this thesis, the term nature denotes the natural world. This is presented in Haywood by representations such as ‘a fine grassy Bank, canopy’d o’er with shading Jessamins, and spreading Vines’ (*Lasselia* 117), *Millenium Hall*’s ‘avenue of oaks’ and ‘the thick shade they afforded’ along with the ‘fragrance [that] wafted from the woodbines’ (56), and the description of the ‘scenes of simple nature’ with which Radcliffe introduces La Vallée (1). As I have discussed, however, like the term ‘landscape’, the word ‘nature’ has many and varied connotations; however, the words ‘nature’ or ‘natural world’ unaccompanied by an ideological clarification will reference the physical space of the pastoral retreat.

While Haywood’s *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia* do contain natural descriptions of the pastoral retreat and I do reference those, I argue in chapter one that Haywood’s pastorals are articulated primarily through her evocation of the dualities to be found in her juxtaposing spaces and further dualities and questions that develop from those. I will discuss nature as it relates to the fecundity of the pastoral and the futurity of the utopia in *Millenium Hall*, and I will propose one of Radcliffe’s pastoral tenets in *Udolpho* is presented as a connection to the landscape early on in the novel. While I suggest these references to the natural world are foundational to the novels, within these latter two texts, they are presented as wholly conventional, recognisable settings, the descriptions of which include blatant signals such as the word pastoral and references to Theocritus. From the establishment of these pastoral settings, I argue the texts move on to use these pastoral underpinnings as means for Scott to

construct her utopia and for Radcliffe to deploy Emily into the gothic setting and its terrors in an exploration of shared pastoral and gothic elements.

Empson suggests that portrayals of nature and our reactions to them 'are the same puzzles about the knowledge, freedom, happiness, and strength of the state of innocence, but applied to the original innocence of Nature [sic]' (187). From the pastoral retreats set in nature, I suggest, Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe pose puzzles and questions with regard to sexuality, occupation, and interiority, and they employ these spaces as a place - both physically and ideologically - from which to challenge a reconsideration of the social constructs of the world beyond the natural retreat. This thesis focuses less on material nature and more on the nature of the pastoral as a method of articulating various forms of, as cited above, 'the order of the universe' (Gutzwiller 190).

Landscape

Carol Fabricant notes that 'in the eighteenth century, the aesthetic contemplation and appreciation of landscape assumed a significance it never had before' ('Aesthetics' 49). Attention to landscape theory, practice, and representation was prevalent in the eighteenth century; however, this thesis is concerned with the relationship of the pastoral retreat with its collocated space rather than design, individual aspects of, or metaphorical or allegorical representations of landscape specifically. Despite this and owing to their prominence at the time, I will address various elements of the landscape conversation briefly here in the introduction. As the pastoral is rooted in its country versus city binary, and it is often the physical aspect of the setting that initially ascribes it to the pastoral, it is worth looking briefly

at the ways in which landscape was being written and is being written about critically. Within the chapters, however, the term ‘landscape’, will refer to the physical space unless otherwise delineated.

Pervasive in landscape writing was the correlation of the female body to the landscape itself. Referencing the influence of the Ancient Greek on portrayals of landscape, Joyce Green Macdonald notes this began very early. She finds that in the *Metamorphoses* ‘the very landscape of Diana’s sacred valley seems vaguely vaginal in its description’ (450). Portrayals such as Ovid’s illustration of the bodily female in the landscape find their way into the popular ‘topographical erotica’ in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In *Amatory Pleasures: Explorations in Eighteenth-Century Sexual Culture* (2016), Julie Peakman explains this with regard to the extended agricultural analogy that ‘the earth was associated with fertility’, and ‘farmers tilling the soil serve as an analogy for sexual intercourse, the women being depicted as the soil and the landscape’ (148). While this thesis’s chapter one is focused on sexual permissibility in three of Eliza Haywood’s texts, in the penultimate section, I do differentiate Haywood’s amatory descriptions, which focus on the female body and female desire itself rather than the landscape, from the type of writing done by erotic authors. As Karen Harvey notes in *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century* (2008), erotic writers ‘echoed landscape writing and garden design’ and ‘also mirrored processes of cartography and exploration through which knowledge about the landscape was produced’ (185). As Haywood primarily focuses on her female characters, it is their relationship to the landscape, rather than the landscape’s physical attributes, that is consequential to this thesis.

Noting this relationship between, but separation of, women and portrayals of the physical landscape, Elizabeth Young, in 'Aphra Behn, Gender, and Pastoral' (1993), cites Behn's 'The Willing Mistriss' [sic] (1697). Young finds that 'the landscape is separate from the people. Although the landscape provides shelter for the lovers, human passions of fear and desire are parallel to but beyond the control of the natural world in the poem' (529). While there is still a clear connection between people and the landscape, this disassociation of the landscape as a dominating factor allows for new, or at least less previously articulated, considerations of the female's relationship with the landscape. In Behn's amatory poem, as I will argue in chapter one for Haywood as well, landscape acts as a cohort to amorous liaisons and is not itself associated with the female as an object over which to assert dominion nor with the male as a mechanism for domination.

As remarked above, references to female characters, specifically with regard to the landscape, often centred around ideas of control. Referencing Joseph Addison's works 'The Pleasures of the Imagination' and 'Man of a Polite Imagination', Fabricant observes there was a 'paradoxical coexistence of assertion of control over one's surroundings and one's loss of control, a temporary dissolution of self occasioned by acts of aesthetic surrender and release, characterizes much of the writing on landscape in the eighteenth century' ('Aesthetics' 56-57). Addison's non-fiction writing concerns real-world landscapes. This thesis, however, while focusing on the relationship of women to landscapes in the pastoral retreat, de-emphasises detailed aspects of the topography of the space and focuses on what the landscape enables. For the primary female characters in *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, *Lasselia*, *Millenium Hall*, and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, I argue the landscape offers a space of safety devoid of vice.

While it is a literal, rather than symbolic, setting, it is a fictional pastoral retreat, which Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe have imbued with qualities they set against the opposing spaces - the domestic, the city, and the gothic respectively - and their corruption.

Female authors have written symbolically about the landscape, notably Emilia Lanier, the first English country house poet, and her dedicatory poem to Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke: 'The Authors Dreame to the Ladie Marie, the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke' (1611). In this preface to her larger work *Salve Deus*, Lanier praises the countess's generosity and patronage and in homage places her in what Kari Boyd McBride describes as 'in a mythic heavenly landscape - a realm of the happy dead' (96). Lanier's celebration of female authors and patrons opens with her asking 'the Graces' if they could tell her where to find 'a Lady whom Minerva chose, / To live with her in height of all respect' (55). This paves the way for her allegorisation of the landscape and her celebration of women by replacing 'the mythic Mount Ida of female objectification with a landscape where women are empowered as warriors and poets' (McBride 95). This articulation of the landscape, though not engaging in the issue of sexuality, rejects female sexual degradation, as we see in Haywood, promotes a separate space for women and their work, as we see in Scott, and removes the 'sorrows, griefes, and feares' that attempt to engulf Emily in *Udlopho* (Lanier 61).

Lanier's work is significant to eighteenth-century female authors in her focus on female-centred concerns, her foregrounding of characters, and her own consequence to the oeuvre of landscape writing. Creating a fantasy of the landscape in the form of the pastoral retreat, in the pastoral works with which this thesis is primarily concerned, however, sets the landscape as a space apart but still connected to ostensible reality in the convention of the

pastoral binary. This allows, marginally at least, for a closer participation in the conversation of the discussion of landscape, the women who occupy it, and the motivation for that occupation.

Retreat

The complexity of nature discussed previously results in conclusions such as Empson's aforementioned idea that nature can be both healing and fatal (187). This is, in part, the duality of the pastoral and in part demonstrative of the elasticity of the generic pastoral as well as its component parts. Because of nature's flexibility and complexity, I will, as Alpers advises, 'only concern [myself] with what is valid and useful' in laying out the pastoral as it pertains to the primary texts; therefore, this thesis looks at nature as a retreat (15).

Of the numerous dualities inherent in the generic pastoral, it is the retreat versus the outside world that serves as the galvanizing consideration. In the opening paragraph of his section 'What is Pastoral?', McKeon explains that pastoral binaries are 'grounded in a spatial or geographical antithesis between country and city, rural and urban' and that it is this initial binary relationship that 'yields a familiar series of value-laden extensions', which I cited in detail in the opening section (268). I will return specifically to this in the opening section of chapter one, but the need for the retreat is most often prompted by an aversion to the outside world, and it is this dichotomy that engenders discussions of female situations in the texts of Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe.

In a brief discussion of the pastoral retreat, Alpers cites readings of the pastoral tenet that do not fully allow for the complexity of the genre. (35). Alpers cites ‘the easy and sophisticated’ Poggioli and his ideas about the retreat as ‘a double longing after innocence and happiness, to be recovered not through conversion or regeneration but merely through retreat’ (34); however, Alpers calls this reading of the retreat ‘escapist’ (35). He maintains that Poggioli shares with Schiller ‘ideas of psychological integrity and fullness of experience that make pastoral appear callow or self-indulgent’ and that this perpetuates ideas of the ‘essential ingenuousness and debility of “pure” pastoral’ (35). In similar fashion, he reads Harry Berger’s critique of Edmund Spenser’s *The Shepheardes Calendar* (1579) along these lines, quoting Berger’s commentary that ‘Spenser represents “the longing for paradise as the psychological basis of the pastoral retreat from life. This longing may be inflected toward wish-fulfilling fantasy or toward bitter rejection of the world that falls short of such fantasy”’ (35). Reading the pastoral retreat in conjunction with its conflicting space, however, allows us to ‘complicate’, to use McKeon’s term, the idea of the retreat as more than a means of escapism.

The space of ‘longing’ can maintain its function as fantasy fulfillment, but considering it as part of a binary rather than an exclusive space of refuge also allows for the flexibility necessary for this deep-rooted tenet to reshape itself and for the exploration of possible alternatives to the world from which the characters retreat. In this thesis, the retreat presents itself as a space of sexual freedom for women, an austere setting for a utopian society, and the foundation for a female character who will engage the ideology of the space with its hyperbolic opposition in the form of the gothic. Within their respective retreats,

Haywood's, Scott's, and Radcliffe's female characters are not simply running away from the outside world but occupying it as a means to engage in a reframing of the consideration of selfhood and agency.

The pastoral fantasy has long been of the retreat, whether attainment of, desire for, or return from it. Alpers notes that Frederick Schiller identifies the pastoral as an expression of the need for an escape from a life in the pastoral's contrasting space and as a move into a paradisaal sanctuary, much like Harry Berger noted above who, though two centuries apart from Schiller, also identifies pastoral longing as 'the psychological basis' for the retreat (35). More emphatically than Poggioli's definition, this foregrounds the idea of the retreat in conjunction with its competing space. Schiller 'consider[s] a longing for the ideal, prompted by a reaction against the ways of civilization, to be at the heart of (pastoral) poetry' (Alpers 30). While this seems to define the space of the retreat more strictly, it does still leave the retreat open to the dualities of conflicting spaces, lifestyles, and ideals and to being understood in relation to those binary relationships.

These definitions also leave open how the retreat specifically functions and its temporality with regard to the golden age. I will examine this issue of temporality in chapter one in a comparison of Aphra Behn's use of nostalgia and the golden age with regard to the retreat in juxtaposition with Haywood's coeval contrasting spaces of the retreat and the world beyond its boundaries. I will also address the ways in which Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe test the boundaries of the retreat physically, socially, and functionally by amalgamating the pastoral with their respective genres of amatory, utopia, and gothic and by representing the complementary or competing ideologies of each.

In each chapter, I will address the retreat as a space collocated with the world beyond in a discussion of the country versus city binary. I suggest Haywood establishes this binary as a means by which to explore the further binaries of permissibility versus impermissibility and innocence versus corruption. In *Millenium Hall*'s structure, Scott collocates the binary opposition with alternating narratives, but my focus will be on how she engages the retreat as both an ideology and a space in which to address Bluestocking concerns of female friendship and idleness in the pastoral utopia. Finally, Radcliffe establishes the retreat in the opening pages of *Udolpho*, and I will argue she moves beyond this to situate her heroine alternatively between the generic pastoral and the gothic through an exploration of their shared elements.

In a rare reference to female authors in 'The Pastoral Revolution', McKeon touches on ideas of the 'Horatian topos of a gentlemanly retreat from the world' and how this was then 'detached from its traditional social significance' for eighteenth-century female writers (282). This idea of the freedom inherent within the Horatian retreat is the premise for the retreat as a space of fantasy. It is here that the possibility - of sexual freedom or of productive peace or of prevailing over patriarchal authority - has the potential be explored.

Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe

Through pastoral readings of Haywood's amatory *Love in Excess* (1719), *The British Recluse* (1722), and *Lasselia* (1723), Scott's feminist utopia *Millenium Hall* (1762), and Radcliffe's gothic *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), this thesis examines the various pastoral dualities that form the basis for the texts and offer an exploration of various eighteenth-century concerns. Judith Still, in *Feminine Economies: Thinking Against the Market in the*

Enlightenment and the Late Twentieth Century (1998), notes that *Millenium Hall* ‘did not become part of the canon’ but also helpfully and briefly contextualises this neglect by reminding us that this was ‘in common with the vast majority of writing by women of the early modern period’ (109). While the field of feminist literary criticism has opened up a now well-established interest in women writing prior to the twentieth century, including studies of female pastoral poets, dramatists, essayists, and epistolarians, these texts are rarely read with careful attention to pastoral conventions beyond allusions to the idyllic settings in the countryside with occasional references to the city.²

In *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* we see the assertion of autonomous female sexual desire and the retreat as a space of escape where that desire is permissible and lacking in associations with corruption. Haywood, though a prolific and commercially successful author in her time, scandalised Enlightenment sensibilities with her amatory narratives. Her amatory pastoral scenes create juxtaposing dualities between country and city, permissibility and impermissibility, and virtue and vice. Decried as corrupt and a prostitute by Pope, Richard Savage, Jonathon Swift, and others for her licentious writing, the portrayal of desire in her female characters left Haywood’s early amatory work omitted from the Enlightenment literature annals in favour of her more renowned, and male, fellow authors such as Samuel Richardson, Daniel Defoe, and Henry Fielding.

² Some exceptions to this are Stephen Bending’s *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture* (2013); Kathryn King’s ‘Eliza Haywood, Savage Love, and Biographical Uncertainty’ (2008) which - in part - looks at Haywood’s ‘A Pastoral Dialogue, between Alexis and Clorinda’ (1718-1719) in light of Haywood’s relationship with Richard Savage; and David Oakleaf’s “Shady bowers! and purling streams!- Heavens, how insipid!” Eliza Haywood’s Artful Pastoral’, which focuses primarily on *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751) in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood: Essays on Her Life and Work* (2000).

Attention to her work has seen a resurgence in the past few decades, notably since the publication of Ros Ballaster's *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (1992). Work on Haywood largely considers the role of the spectator, familial relationships, inversion, commerce, gender and the gaze, and female sexuality. While the study of spectators and the gaze focuses on location and occasionally the physical space, criticism that focuses exclusively on a pastoral study with regard to these early Haywood narratives is relatively rare.

Sarah Scott's *Millenium Hall* (1762) is often identified as pastoral, Edenic, or bucolic; however, these designations are generally made in a passing reference without consideration for the long and storied traditions that define them, however varied those definitions are. Scott's pastoral, like Haywood's, is significant for its female-centered characters and their place in the pastoral retreat. Scott, however, is writing in the wake of Haywood's outrageous amatory fiction and its subsequent backlash. Thus, Scott turns from the amatory pastoral to a conventionally virtuous representation of the retreat, which she presses further in amalgamating the pastoral with the utopia. The similarities between *Millenium Hall* and the original literary utopia, Thomas More's *Utopia*, beyond the influence of previous philosophy, setting, and the commentary of city versus utopia are vast: the division of labour, the strict scheduling of each day, the abhorrence of idleness and pride, the plainness and neatness of dress, the exiling of insubordinates, the use of praise and commendation as reward, the life ordained by God, and the ideas of charity and community. This chapter will focus on Scott's retreat at Millenium Hall as a space of female friendship and her emphasis on the utopian life of occupation in her articulation of the Bluestocking concern of the solitariness and idleness in the country retreat.

By combining the pastoral with the amatory and the utopian genres, Haywood and Scott create mutually enriched spaces that expand the pastoral retreat. By creating a space of female desire and a space of female productivity, Haywood and Scott exploit the pastoral space as one of fantasy and possibility where country versus city boundaries allow them to circumvent gender boundaries established outside the retreat. Haywood's and Scott's genres are complementary to the pastoral. Though Radcliffe, too, pushes the pastoral beyond its traditional boundaries, her discordant genres of the pastoral and the gothic create conflict rather than congruence in a blurring of generic elements.

While I argue Radcliffe maintains the traditional aesthetic of the pastoral, I contend she pushes the generic pastoral beyond its natural boundaries of retreat and into the wider world and its conflicting setting. Traditionally, this is the city. In *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, it is the gothic. This extreme version of the country versus city conflict serves to emphasise the severity of gothic confinement while complicating the pastoral by merging the two in the forms of music, mountains, and Emily's imagination and by the subtle invasion of the pastoral space by gothic ideology and conversely the gothic into the pastoral retreat at La Vallée. In setting a well-established genre of peace, safety, and liberty against the patriarchal authority and fear born of obscurity and sublimity of the gothic, Radcliffe establishes conflicting spaces and ideologies that magnify the conventional form of the country versus city binary.

Radcliffe does away with the customary retreat of the pastoral as a temporary physical space of sanctuary in favour of testing the ideology of the genre against the terror of the gothic. *Udolpho* begins in 'the pastoral landscapes of Guienne and Gascony', and I suggest

that it is here, in what Radcliffe clearly identifies as the pastoral space, that her heroine's character is established (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 1). The pastoral retreat, as a physical space and a foundational ideology, stretches beyond the first hundred pages of the novel, and Emily does not reach Udolpho until one third of the way through the text. Prior to this, within the pastoral setting, we see incursions of the gothic in the form of the ancient-sin-of-the-father trope and music. However, Emily's time in Udolpho, I suggest, is the invasion of the gothic by the pastoral. It is here that the ideology of the pastoral space asserts itself in the interiority of Emily, who is deployed into the gothic space as a kind of cypher for that ideology.

As I argue throughout the thesis, Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe have each amalgamated a version of the pastoral with the amatory, utopian, and gothic genres respectively. In *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, Haywood combines the pastoral with the amatory narrative to assert the unconventional idea of the permissibility and innocence of female desire within the retreat and to examine its binary counterparts of prohibition and corruption in the space beyond it. In *Millenium Hall*, Scott confronts the prevailing idea of languidness in women with her integration of a productive utopia into her pastoral retreat, maintaining the safety of the space but absenting its expected *otium*. Finally, in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Radcliffe collocates the pastoral and the gothic in a reshaping of the traditional form of the pastoral retreat by inculcating Emily with the space's ideals and by staging various confrontations of the pastoral and the gothic in both spaces.

Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe's texts are highly alert to the conventions that contribute to their underlying structure, including the dualities that come with the miscegenetic narrative pastoral. Frye - along with Alpers, McKeon, Empson, as I have noted -

finds these conventions paramount and advocates, in general, a critical approach that concentrates on their contextualisation. He says, ‘most of us tend to think of a poet’s real achievement as distinct from, or even contrasted with, the achievement present in what he stole, and we are thus apt to concentrate on peripheral rather than on central critical facts’ (96).³ He cites Milton’s achievement in *Paradise Regained* (1671) and clarifies that it is not the ‘greatness of the rhetorical decorations’ Milton augmented to the original source but the ‘greatness of the theme itself’, proposing Milton simply ‘passes on’ this theme ‘to the reader from his source’ (96). Drawing on contextualising material and looking to the many and varying iterations of this ancient genre is also the power of the pastoral. To read these works of Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe through a lens of pastoral binaries and tenets is to situate their work within an established framework of literary significance.

³ Frye also believes any work that fits into a larger frame or genre to have been, in some sense, ‘stolen’, from previous authors. He says, ‘it is hardly possible to accept a critical view which... imagines that a “creative” poet sits down with a pencil and some blank paper and eventually produces a new poem in a special act of creation *ex nihilo*’ (97).

Indulgence and Impossibility

in *Eliza Haywood's Amatory Pastorals*:

Love in Excess, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*

Love in Excess (1719), *The British Recluse* (1722), and *Lasselia* (1723) were all written at the very start of Haywood's long and prolific writing career. Her famed *Fantomina* would be published the year after *Lasselia*, and a dozen years following from this would be her provocative narrative *Eovaai* (1736), which Katherine King, in 'Genre Crossing' (2015), calls 'a famously savage attack on Walpole's England' and 'a satiric travel narrative-cum-seduction tale partly modeled on that most mixed of proto-novels *Gulliver's Travels* (1726)' (91). After the passing of the Stage Licensing Act in 1737, Haywood 'devoted her energies entirely to the medium of print', as Betty A. Schellenberg notes in 'The Professional Female Writer' (2015) (45). Haywood then embraces domestic fiction in the 1740s, including her satirical take on Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) in *The Anti-Pamela; or Feign'd Innocence Detected* (1741), and in 1751, the first edition of *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* was published mere months after the third edition of Richardson's *Clarissa*, 'breaking patriarchy into fundamental infeasibility in only four volumes and in a more understated, subtle way' than Richardson's tome (Stuart 560). From 1744-1746, Haywood's monthly periodical for women *The Female Spectator* was issued, a publication comparable to Joseph Addison's and Richard Steele's *The Spectator* (1711-1714) but more focused on issues pertaining to women. While she was also an actress, publisher, pamphlet-shop proprietor, and translator, from 1719-1756 she wrote more than seventy prose narratives and plays. For an examination of female sexual

desire in her amatory fiction, I look at three early texts from a time when Haywood's name was closely associated with her fellow amatory writers, Aphra Behn and Delarivier Manley, the three of whom, collectively have been called 'that notorious trio of women in the early print marketplace' (Schellenberg, *Professionalization* 174).

Though these three Haywood texts were not written consecutively, they were published within five years of one another, and while I will examine each in detail and read them against one another, taken as a collective study, they offer a combination of amatory and pastoral that allows Haywood to explore binaries of the pastoral as they relate to female sexuality: county versus city, permissibility versus impermissibility, and innocence versus corruption. In these three Haywood texts, I suggest she deliberately delineates the binary of the county versus city boundary within the pastoral and then repeatedly stages and restages what Nicola Parsons calls the amatory 'serial pleasure of seduction' (170).

Of amatory fiction specifically, Parsons notes that within 'the legible patterning... the singular experience of love and the serial pleasure of seduction - speaks to broader questions of how individual agency and its relation to the social may be conceived' (170). Throughout this chapter, I will examine the country versus city duality and the ensuing complications that arise from that initial binary relationship. From here, I will move on to explore how Haywood presents her amatory concern of the individual and its connection to the social through her marshaling of the pastoral binaries and the evocation of the expression of female sexual desire within the retreat. This expression, I suggest, is indicative of the agency - and therefore freedom and liberty - which is given license within the pastoral retreat.

In various Haywood texts - including *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* - retreats take on a variety of forms: private gardens, public gardens, courtyards, churchyards. However, I am not concerned with discussing them specifically as garden spaces with regard to landscape, topography, ideology, design, or significance related to any of those. Rather I am intent on how these spaces stage or enable the pastoral in these three Haywood texts. This chapter will entail an examination of how the spaces of the retreat and beyond are employed and how the boundary created by the binary oppositions of the two contrasting spaces both creates other oppositions - including permissibility versus impermissibility, peace versus violence, and innocence versus corruption - and allows for a dichotomous and dialectical examination of these elements.

Though amatory narratives do revolve around sexual or potentially sexual relationships, quoting Janet Batsleer, Ros Ballaster further notes that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century amatory fiction ‘entails “a reversal of the common view of history, allowing the usually marginalized female sphere to dominate”’ (34). Criticism of Haywood’s female characters often centres around their weakness in reference to either - or both - men or their own desire. In ‘Placing the Female: The Metonymic Garden in Amatory and Pious Narrative, 1700-1740’ (2002), April London calls Melliora a ‘hapless’ victim (110). In ‘The Debt to Pleasure: Eliza Haywood’s *Love in Excess* and Women’s Fiction of the 1720s’ (2000), Sarah Prescott contends that Haywood creates a ‘conflict between innocent female and predatory male’ (429).

In ‘Eliza Haywood’s Amorous Aesthetic’ (2006), Kathleen Lubey applies her examination of one of Haywood’s heroines in Haywood’s *Reflections on the Various Effects of*

Love (1726), a collection of amorous short stories, to all Haywood's heroines across decades of her writing, concluding that 'Sophriana (along with, arguably, all of Haywood's heroines) is placed at the center of this story not out of an emancipatory or modern feminist impulse but because she teaches the most unmistakable lesson about love: that its overwhelming force must be closely monitored lest it escalate into impropriety' (314). Though purporting to engage with all of Haywood's texts, Lubey maintains there is but a singular position for women both as characters and as readers. She suggests, 'Haywood in fact offers her erotic subject matter as that which fixes with the utmost force a reader's comprehension of the perils of seduction' (310) and that Haywood 'invites her reader to both enjoy in the imagination and condemn in actuality the "inadvertencies" of her heroines' (311). Lubey's reading of female desire as universally corrupt and condemned does little justice to the array of female characters and situations explored throughout Haywood's writing.

To foreground those female characters and their individual situations is to reject such standardisation. Ballaster further proposes that 'by dehistoricizing and mythologizing the public sphere, the romantic fiction writer provides the female reader with a sense of feminine power and agency in a world usually closed to her participation' (34-35). Within the pastoral spaces of *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, Haywood's female characters are at liberty to evince this power through the expression their sexual desire, and in these texts, Haywood offers an extended exploration of a myriad of forms of, and approaches to, the expression or repression of that desire.

Further repetition in these texts can be found in what Ballaster calls 'the extravagant rhetoric of desire', and this is unquestionably the case in these three texts (34). The

expressions of passion, however, do seem to be part of the repetition Ballaster also notes. Lasselia 'lay *resistless* in [de l'Amys's] Arms [sic]' (119), and D'elmont 'was preparing to take from the *resistless* Melliora, the last, and only remaining proof that she was all his own' (124). Lasselia's 'Eyes confess'd the unwilling *Transport* of her Soul' (119), and Cleomira declares 'how fruitless wou'd be any Endeavours be to represent what 'twas I felt! - *Transported!* - Ravish'd!' (32). Belinda confesses she was 'quite lost in *Exstasy*' [sic] when locked in an embrace with Bellamy (115), and Melliora feels 'rapture... *exstasie* [sic]... vast and elegant passion' (101) (all emphasis mine). Setting aside Haywood's recurring language, I will look instead at the repetition of the depictions of seductions and the characteristics of each, including motivations, settings, and consequences. Parsons remarks that the amatory genre is famous for its 'serial seduction tropes' (170). It is precisely this repetition that allows for an engagement with the details of each articulation, facilitating access to a spectrum of circumstances in what is seen within much critical work on the genre as a series of reiterations.

Rather than seeing these reiterations within the genre as a limitation of Haywood's female characters or of Haywood as a writer, like Parsons and Ballaster, I suggest it presents opportunity for engagement. As it concerns this chapter, that engagement corresponds - in part - with Empson's ideas on accepting that a 'limited life... is the full and normal one', which I will consider more fully in the final section of the chapter (115). For the women Haywood has written into these three texts, this 'limited life' is a focus almost solely on their sexual desire. Ballaster iterates the similarities between romantic and amatory fictions, and then goes on to say, 'romantic fiction constantly renarrates the story of courtship, closing

with marriage or betrayal, as though no other period in a woman's life held significance' (35). An emphasis on one aspect of life, and its repeated iteration in amatory fiction, contextualises pastoral dualities within a set of variables.

These variables showcase the various articulations possible within the generic boundaries. We are confined to an amatory emphasis on female sexuality and a system of pastoral binaries based on the initial duality of inside versus outside the retreat. Within these generic limitations, though, is the potential for generating a spectrum of female-centered considerations: the aforementioned innocence versus corruption and permissibility versus impermissibility, which Haywood explores through the pastoral's catalytic binary of country versus city.

While focused solely on a singular aspect of women's lives, sexual desire, the amatory texts work in cooperative concurrence with the pastoral. This occurs not only in the shared amatory and pastoral idea, as put forth by Ballaster and Empson respectively, that each genre focuses on one primary aspect of a character's life, but this cooperation manifests itself in the pastoral's binary structure. The inherent dualities of the pastoral open a space away from that closed world which Ballaster describes above but also examines both spaces in questions regarding amatory pastoral concerns of permissibility and impermissibility, indulgence and oppression, violence and peace, and innocence and corruption.

Through the binary structure generically inherent in the pastoral, Haywood repeatedly stages the articulation and indulgence of female sexual desire while remaining highly alert to the disallowance and impossibility of that expression outside the pastoral retreat. Though the pastoral, as both a genre and a retreat, provides Haywood with a means

to investigate invocations and manifestations of female desire, in these three Haywood texts, intrusions into the pastoral retreat signal a disruption to that inclination. With a focus on why, rather than at what point in the liaison, the affair is interrupted, I will examine Haywood's iteration of the amatory pastoral with a focus on the retreat as an experiment in possibility.

In these three of Haywood's amatory pastorals, rather than desire and the absence of desire, as one might expect from amatory fiction, the foundational pastoral binary that comes into play is the city versus country, which - as previously discussed in the introduction - McKeon recognises as the catalyst for various others. The significance of reading these three Haywood amatory texts as pastoral is not simply the awareness of the presentation of this catalytic duality but the recognition of her repeated staging of this particular opposition in various forms. While Haywood's pastorals absent customary pastoral ideas such as *otium* versus *negotium* or class and economics to focus on the primary concerns of the amatory narrative, her pastoral retreats enable the expression of female sexuality while complicating that concern further through the representation of the societally imposed impossibility of unfettered sexual freedom.

Love in Excess, Haywood's first published work, is especially fruitful for pastoral study given the focus on the continual staging and restaging of sexual liaisons concerning numerous characters throughout the text. *Love in Excess*, though not a typical pastoral that pointedly differentiates the country and city in the way that pastorals such as *Lasselia* or *The British Recluse* - and *Millenium Hall* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* - do, does delineate the domestic space as one akin to the city and the natural world as the pastoral retreat. I will

discuss this differentiation and the idea of pastoral retreat in detail in the next section, and I have addressed nature and the idea of the natural world in the introduction.

Lasselia and *The British Recluse*, published only three and four years following *Love in Excess*, offer more clear cut delineations of the country and the city. *Lasselia* is initially living in the city with her aunt when she is pursued by her aunt's lover, the king, and she escapes to the country to live with friends. She remains in pastoral seclusion where she takes a pastoral lover. Throughout this chapter, I will be concerned with how Haywood explores numerous iterations of female sexual desire, and *Lasselia* contributes to this discussion a female protagonist who is pursued by lovers inside and outside the pastoral retreat. She is the only one of Haywood's many female characters within these three texts to consummate her sexual relationship within the pastoral retreat. In a discussion of the 'formulaic nature of amatory fiction', Parsons notes 'Haywood's seemingly close association with the serial pleasure of repetitious plots' (170). I would suggest *Lasselia*'s singular relationship and the act of consummation moves *Lasselia* beyond conventional amatory repetition and offers a new dimension to the pastoral binary of permissibility and impermissibility Haywood establishes.

The British Recluse is set within the city but also makes a clear delineation concerning its opposing space of the retreat and therefore the country versus city binary with Cleomira and Belinda both set in the city retrospectively telling their stories of desire that were initiated within the pastoral retreat. These two female characters offer further complications of the in/out pastoral binary as the only two women who actively pursue their pastoral lover

outside the pastoral retreat and into the city.⁴ Further, this lover, Bellamy, and his interaction with Miranda in comparison with Cleomira and Belinda raises questions of the retreat as fantasy, the sanctioning of desire within that space, and the circumvention of pastoral and cultural boundaries. McKeon's examination of the pastoral suggests an interpenetration of the seemingly opposing terms in any given pastoral binary, and though *Lasselia* and *The British Recluse* seem to be extensions of what Parsons calls 'repetitious plots', their deviations from *Love in Excess*'s seduction scenes further complicate the many and varied iterations of the dualities Haywood initially establishes.

In looking at *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, it is important to ask why read them as pastoral; however, with regard to *Love in Excess*, there is perhaps also a question of how. In *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia*, Haywood makes clear the binary between country and city. *Lasselia* lives in the city with her aunt but retires 'into the Country' (Haywood, *Lasselia* 111) where she finds 'Felicity', 'Tranquility', and 'Peace of Mind' (Haywood, *Lasselia* 113). Though also evincing the idea of retreat, as I will examine in detail in the following section, *Love in Excess* does not present us with the archetypal country versus city binary we have come to expect from a customary pastoral. Unlike *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia*, which both clearly delineate the country and the city, London and Paris respectively, *Love in Excess* repeatedly stages characters moving between the collocated settings of the domestic and their escape into a natural landscape that serves as a retreat, as I will detail throughout the chapter.

For *Love in Excess*, this is the foundational binary on which Haywood bases her further

⁴ 'Their pastoral lover' is, they eventually discover, the same man. Cleomira initially refers to him only as Lysander. At their meeting, he tells Belinda his name is Sir Thomas Courtal. We find out later they are the same man whose name is Bellamy. For the sake of clarity, I will refer to him as Bellamy throughout this chapter.

pastoral dualities as they relate specifically to her concern with the expression of female desire.

While *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia* more explicitly establish their pastoral underpinnings, the pastoral elements of *Love in Excess* are also evident if we take into consideration Alpers's concepts of 'shepherd equivalents' and the representative anecdote (202). Alpers defines shepherd equivalents as 'humble figures who are not shepherds but who have their literary characteristics and representative presence' (202). Though less conventionally representative than customary practice may suggest is characteristic, the female characters in *Love in Excess* are presented as 'shepherd equivalents' in a representation simply less literal than that of the familiar herdsmen.

Love in Excess's pastoralism is further clarified, I suggest, through Alpers's ideas on the representative anecdote, which he elucidates in 'Representative Anecdotes and Ideas of Pastoral'. Alpers cites Kenneth Burke's *A Grammar of Motives* (1969) as the origin of this term and moves on to a discussion of Burke's use of it to 'provide a grammar of human motives' and 'as a way of analyzing human relations'; according to Alpers, Burke is seeking 'not *a* but *the* anecdote which will be representative of all human motives' (14). Alpers assures us this 'can legitimately be scaled down to the task of defining a literary type or mode' (15) and from here suggests, 'the history of pastoral criticism can be described as a series of representative anecdotes', citing René Rapin's and Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle's 'innocent love', then Friedrich Schiller's 'childhood and maturity', and lastly 'in our own time, Poggioli's pastorals of innocence and happiness and Empson's social encounter of courtier and rustic' (18).

Then, to determine what can be and who are represented as pastoral, Alpers turns to the 'landscape' and 'herdsman' of the representative anecdote (22).

Through this lens of the representative anecdote, Alpers cites Theocritus to explain the mechanisms of landscape and character as a means of mapping the pastoral. Referencing Thyrsis and the Goatherd discussing a music competition in the first 'Idyll', Alpers explains that 'for many critics, these lines represent a landscape, while for others they represent two herdsmen in a characteristic situation' (22). Concerning 'landscape', Alpers notes 'certain representations of landscape have always been characteristic of pastoral' (27). While this is evident in *Millenium Hall* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* which open with detail regarding the physical landscape surrounding the hall and the St. Auberts' cottage, not all pastorals are represented so obviously.

Though in *Love in Excess* Haywood does not give the pastoral detail that Johnson would later describe as 'rural pictures', in *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia*, she specifically delineates the oppositional but dialectical spaces of the country versus city ('Rambler 36'). Alpers clarifies the delineation of pastoral spaces by saying, 'we may say that landscapes are pastoral when they are conceived as fit habitations for herdsmen or their equivalents', and also like the idea of shepherds, 'we remind ourselves again that the interpretation of "herdsmen or their equivalents" changes historically' (28). I would argue, with reference to Alpers's definition of pastoral spaces as those which the 'shepherd' inhabits, that *Love in Excess* does - repeatedly - stage pastoral binaries relating to female sexuality, and as such, despite not repeatedly relating a catalogue of natural wonders, Haywood's retreats in *Love in Excess* are pastoral.

For Haywood, there are no metaphors to be found within the myriad of sexual situations and outcomes in which her female characters find themselves of the kind Empson describes with regard to Shakespeare or Oscar Wilde (98) or Lewis Carroll (273) that constitute the ‘curious trick of the pastoral’ to help in ‘building models of the mind’ (98). Haywood’s pastorals in these texts foreground bodily concerns that are wholly ‘amatory’. Harvey explains that amatory fiction ‘sometimes hinted at obscenity in the references to risqué reading matter, but generally none of this writing implied that there are things done but left unspoken, that there is something going on between the lines or behind the page. Puns, allusions and knowingness were central to erotica; the tone of amatory fiction is, in contrast, earnestness’ (33). The relative ambiguity that comes with extended metaphors or writing analogically are rejected in these three texts in favour of Haywood’s concentration on the complications, but these are not complications of female sexual desire, which she has established as innocence and inherent, or of language or imagery. They are of the permissibility and impermissibility of the expression of female sexual desire inside and outside the pastoral retreat and in various portrayals of the manifestation of that sexual desire.

In addition to foregoing abstract rhetorical devices, Haywood’s amatory pastoral favours focusing on female sexual desire, and the binaries she sets up explore that issue rather than more conventional pastoral concerns. Haywood does not confront the economic issues McKeon addresses, though I will examine her sexual pastorals in the context of his historical look at the economic factors’ effect on gender roles. Haywood absents any discussion of *otium* or *negotium*, and while she is part of a pastoral lineage that foregrounds sexual desire, she also

evinces no nostalgia for the golden age as I will clarify with reference to Behn's amatory pastoral poetry nor for the sexualised violence found in the Ancient Greek pastoral *Daphnis and Chloe*, one of the first to evidence female desire within that retreat. There is a kind of paradox in Haywood's exploration in that her concentration on sexual desire is very narrow; however, clearly, by the reactions to her amatory texts, the idea was fraught with potential ideological, cultural, religious, and social complications.⁵

McKeon notes that 'in early modern England and in conjunction with material change pastoral underwent a fundamental transformation that should be seen as a radical intensification of its basic generic character rather than as a qualitatively new departure' (289). It is this 'intensification' I suggest we see in Haywood's texts. Though unconcerned with some of the more long-standing generic conventions, she maintains the structure of binary oppositions and in an extended staging and restaging of female sexuality, repeatedly deploys them throughout these three texts in various combinations, as I will detail throughout the chapter. With regard to the intensification-rather-than-departure approach to the pastoral canon, McKeon suggests, 'one aim of this argument has been to vindicate the elasticity and responsiveness of literary genres, their operation not simply as rule-bound regulators but as supple instruments for discerning and articulating change itself' (289).

⁵ The sexual liberty present in *Love in Excess* is what 'Pope and his contemporaries censured as an affront to social order and to the "true" nature of women' in their renouncing of Haywood and her writing (London 102). Pope further takes issue with Haywood's freedom, and for her trouble, she has 'the dubious honor of being one of the few named women authors' in Pope's *Dunciad* (1728) where he likens her to an 'object of love, a concubine, and a cow' (Oakleaf 276). Richard Savage, in his 1729 'An Author to be Lett', calls Haywood a prostitute who is 'writing Novels of Intrigue, to teach young Heiresses the Art of running away with Fortune-hunters, and scandalizing Persons of the highest Worth and Distinction' (Ballaster 162).

Again, reading Haywood's pastorals within the flexibility of the genre allows us to examine her work as a part of a long lineage despite the three texts being more-readily identified simply as amatory fiction.

Haywood's amatory pastorals engage in the same exploration of elasticity McKeon describes, though I argue her focus is largely on the changeable situation of the female. However, McKeon goes on to say that though gender boundaries were being actively mediated, 'the association of the female with art or culture appears not only in the paradigmatically negative artifice of Eve (superficiality, deceit, corruption, and lust for knowledge as power) but also in the positive arts of female cultivation, the female capacity to civilize the natural brutishness and savagery of men' (280). Though women seemingly were associated with the part of the pastoral generally associated with men - art - the connection yielded negative connotations. While this thesis absents discussions of Edenic and landscape gardens simply on the grounds that 'the pastoral', even when confined to one century, offers ample courses of study, McKeon's reference to Eve's 'bad qualities' does evoke sexual connotations relevant to Haywood. Haywood intervenes in the early eighteenth-century pastoral by offering another position on female sexuality rather manifesting it as inherently sinful, concentrating solely on innocence, or absenting it altogether.

Regarding engagement with and focus on sexuality, however, Haywood contributes to the early eighteenth-century pastoral writing a series of amatory pastorals reminiscent of the Italian Renaissance in addition to her Ancient Greek predecessors, as I will detail in the final section regarding violence. The Italian Renaissance's new, sexy pastorals were poetry written by male authors in protest against the Catholic church's newly exacting standards against any

form of perceived sexuality in the Counter Reformation. Ian Frederick Moulton writes in his chapter 'Englishmen Italianated' that at the turn of the seventeenth century, many Italian books were being translated and produced by English publishers. At the time, the influx of religious ideas, luxury goods, sport, 'customs, mores, and manners of Italy' were highly influential on English life (Moulton 114). Italian culture, debauched as it was thought to be, was pervasive in England, and in *A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain, 1660-1789* (2006), Susan Staves notes that Haywood wrote 'in the mode of the Italian... novellas earlier adapted by Behn and Manley', her fellow amatory writers (190).

The freedom offered to Haywood's female characters asserts itself as sexual agency within the pastoral space, as I will explore throughout the chapter. It is also in sharp contrast to the repression, and that repression's accompanying guilt and male dominance, presented outside the retreat. With the emphasis on the necessity of female virtue in the space outside the pastoral retreat, the liberty to be found in the form of permissibility within that space foregrounds the relationship between the spaces on either side of the pastoral retreat's boundary.⁶

Haywood's County versus City: The Permissibility of the Retreat

Like virtually all conventions of the pastoral, the idea of 'retreat' takes on a myriad of often-contrasting forms. Patterson discusses the 'Stoic retreat modeled on Horace and on Virgil's second Georgic [which] alternate[s] with comments on the political situation past and

⁶ In *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2009), Karen O'Brien notes that 'chastity was generally regarded as one of the "offices" of women prescribed by natural law' (25).

present' (162). The retreat can also be understood as a type of Arcadia modeled after Virgil's pastoral space; Patterson calls this 'an ideal interior landscape to which the poet can retreat from the brutal realities of history' (7). For Lady Caroline Holland, who Stephen Bending notes, 'found the semi-retirement of Holland Park a welcome relief from the world of her husband's politics' (*Retreats* 173), 'the search for a country retreat was recognisably a form of pastoral. It articulated the desire of a wealthy and public woman for a less complex life, a life away from the world of fine ladies and low politics' (183). Gifford warns of the dangers of retreat as escapism if the end goal is simply retreating, claiming the 'pastoral's celebration of retreat is its strength and inherent weakness' (47). McKeon catalogues various forms of the retreat in the eighteenth century for women as spaces 'made to stand by turns for the married state, the single state, freedom from male corruption, and the exclusive company of women' (282).

Taken as a whole, widely varying iterations of the retreat in general offer no model of a space unchallenged by any one of a number of other articulations. It is also not possible to trace any kind of strictly linear evolution of the space. In a consideration of portrayals of pastoral retreats in general with all their varying spatial and temporal divergences, functions, and forms, only two characteristics seem constant. One is that though the retreat works in concordance with the space outside it, it is the binary counterpart. Following from this is the idea of divergent ideologies propagated within each.

With regard to these three Haywood texts, the concern of this thesis is on how Haywood stages or enables the pastoral through the convention of the retreat. This chapter will entail an examination of how the spaces of the retreat and beyond are employed and how

the boundary created by the binary oppositions of the two contrasting spaces both creates other oppositions - including permissibility versus impermissibility, violence versus peace, and innocence versus corruption - and allows for a dichotomous and dialectical examination of these elements.

I argue that *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* explore aspects of female sexuality by firmly establishing the country versus city boundary of the amatory pastoral as a means to engage with what is and is not permissible in the world beyond pastoral retreat. From here, Haywood exploits the allowance of female sexual desire inside the retreat and the disallowance of female sexual desire outside of the retreat to perpetuate a discussion of the binary of innocence and corruption. Alpers suggests 'that language and literature are social phenomena and that any verbal activity occurs not de novo but in some institutional context' but that 'there is still something to be said against this view' because 'literary value consists precisely in breaking old molds, doing some kind of violence to received conventions and forms of expression' (12). This 'violence' in these three of Haywood's amatory pastoral texts, I argue, somewhat paradoxically has its origins in the pastoral's most basic and fundamental duality: the country versus city.

Though Karoline Szatek is referring specifically to Renaissance dramas and also references 'notions of cross-dressing' and 'the realm of alternative sexual relationships', she argues that 'the sanctioned ideologies regarding human sexuality become intersected with alternative ones in the shaded space of the pastoral borderland, providing an area where authors can point out other, perhaps more appropriate, views on female sexuality' (Gifford 66). Her sense that pastoral writing offers an intersection between sanctioned and alternative

ideologies with regard to sex clarifies how that binary structure can be deployed to contest or renegotiate established sexual conventions.

Articulating a duality that foregrounds attention to female sexuality within the pastoral retreat helps reframe discussions of female desire. Gifford clarifies that Szatek's 'key point here is that "in the shaded space of the pastoral borderland" sexuality can be explored rather than offered with the full threatening force of revolutionary alternatives' (66). It is this exploration Haywood offers in her repeated staging of various sexual situations while she also engages in repeated confrontations with the ideologies of the world beyond the retreat. I argue the retreats in these three texts are established as alternative spaces to the world beyond and to the ideology of oppressed desire found there. These alternative spaces are situated in a setting purported to be based in fantasy. The notion of the retreat is to consider possibilities beyond the norm found in its contrasting space.

As I clarified in the introduction to the thesis, 'retreat' as it is used in this thesis refers to the 'country' of the city versus country pastoral binary; however, while this duality is demarcated as the literal country and city in *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia*, in *Love in Excess*, the 'retreat' is simply a space in nature outside the domestic. While simultaneously highlighting the societal constraints outside the retreat that attempt to regulate female impulses, the safe space of the pastoral retreat allows for the expression of egalitarian, consensual, and mutually fulfilling sexual desire. This space embraces a lack of concern for the social, religious, emotional, or physical repercussions of sexual relationships that plague female sexual desire in the retreat's contrasting space outside it. Haywood's recurring pastoral

spaces in these three amatory texts become retreats by rejecting the societal structures that would deny women sexual autonomy.

When these societal structures that define the world beyond the retreat confront or are confronted by the ideologies from inside the retreat, 'fictional complications', as Alpers term them, arise (82). With reference to Virgil's *Eclogue 7*, Alpers recognises this binary discord when Meliboeus feels conflicted 'between the play of the song and the work that awaits him at home': between staying in the leisurely pastoral or returning to his life of *negotium* (82). We see this same dichotomy arise for Haywood's female characters in *Love in Excess* with regard to the sexual freedom they find within the pastoral space versus the societal constraints placed on them outside the retreat. I will address in detail the implications of the pastoral intruder in the final section, but taking a wider view of Haywood's pastorals, we see that *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia* allow Haywood to realise her concern of sexuality within the pastoral space in further explorations. These supplementary illustrations maintain the same dualities, sexuality, and delineation of space but in stories with a limited number of characters which consider what happens when those boundaries are circumvented more aggressively.

Within *The British Recluse*, we see both Cleomira and Belinda leave the safety of the pastoral to pursue their treacherously deceitful Lothario, Bellamy. For Belinda, this foray into the world outside the pastoral space results in disillusionment and a loss - however unlamented - of her fiancé who then marries her sister. For Cleomira, who has consummated her relationship with Bellamy in her bedroom outside the safety of the pastoral retreat, this means seduction, pregnancy, miscarriage, the death of her mother from grief and

despondency at the loss of her daughter, and attempted suicide. Notably, too, Cleomira expresses the 'remorse and shame' that accompany women's sexual desire outside the pastoral space, and in that 'black Hour' she experiences 'tears [that] fill'd my Eyes, - cold Tremblings seiz'd my Limbs, - and my Breast heav'd no more with Joy but Horror. - Too sure Presages of that future Woe' (Haywood, *Recluse* 47). In reference to the legitimacy of the expression of female sexual desire within the pastoral space, Poggioli holds that sex is indeed instinctual and specifically deems it 'the task of the pastoral imagination... to overcome the conflict between passion and remorse, to reconcile innocence and happiness, to exalt the pleasure principle' (14). Here, Poggioli contends that a function of pastorals that focus on sexual desire is to unburden the lustful inclinations that assert themselves in that space of their connotation with corruption.

I argue Haywood attempts this unburdening by highlighting the binary of permissibility and impermissibility through the binary of the retreat and the outside world, as I will detail in this and the following sections. There is no question that in *The British Recluse* Haywood muddies any easy reading of the dichotomy of the spaces with the incursions by Bellamy, with Cleomira and Belinda both leaving the retreat to pursue him, and with the forced happiness of their retreat back into the country at the end of the text. I will address each of these throughout the chapter, but with regard to the scenes of passion for both female characters, before Bellamy's true identity is revealed to them, he is presented - again, to them - as the kind of ideal lover we see in *Love in Excess* and *Lasselia*, and the countryside is a space in which to indulge their passions without the corruption associated with the city.

Through *The British Recluse*'s two narratives, we see the literal pastoral boundary between the city and the country evince the moral boundary of permissible and forbidden expression of female sexual desire. In the portrayal of the corruption of the city and the consequences of the expression of female desire outside the safety and liberty of the pastoral retreat, Haywood emphasises the dangers outside the retreat. Rather than retiring her characters into the pastoral retreat as a space of freedom and safety, she foregrounds the oppositional space of the city and the ramifications for women of engaging in the ideologies found there.

Lasselia, on the other hand, remains in the pastoral space and takes a lover there. Like Cleomira and Belinda, this is also against the will of her loved ones. Despite what seem like insurmountable obstacles in the forms of his marriage and her domestic situation, they remain ardent lovers until the intervention of the outside world. Though Lasselia, unlike the female characters in *Love in Excess* and *The British Recluse*, consummates her relationship within the pastoral retreat, this detail is less important as a part than it is to the whole. It does challenge the expression of female sexuality further than mere expression of desire, but it is more significant for its place in Haywood's catalogue of sexual encounters. Haywood pushing the concept of sexual expression into an additional dimension of female autonomy broadens the spectrum of sexual women in these three pastoral works while underscoring the constant that permissibility of sexual expression is to be found only in the pastoral retreat.

The duality of 'country versus city' for Haywood not only highlights the binary opposition of the two spaces with regard to expectations within each, but she foregrounds the sense of liberty and escape both spatially and from the restrictive ideologies of the space

outside the pastoral retreat for her female characters. After the consummations of their respective relationships, we see this in the opposing reactions of Lasselia in the pastoral retreat and Cleomira in the city: in Lasselia's giddiness and pleasure at her situation versus Cleomira's guilt and shame. Their actions are the same, but while their reactions are oppositional so too are the spaces.

Though Cleomira and Lasselia are both punished for their sexual exploits, the driving force behind the inevitability is still the outside world, despite Lasselia consummating her relationship in the pastoral. Reading these two narratives as parallels, however, would discount the reluctance with which Lasselia and de l'Amye are torn apart by his former would-be fiancée, Mademoiselle Douxmourie, and his wife, as well as the scorn, rejection, and humiliation heaped on Cleomira by Bellamy. This reiterates the premise of the necessity of the retreat as a space of freedom from the world beyond as well as the merciless nature of the outside world, which reaches into the retreat to enforce its ideology.

Regardless of the long reach of the outside world, Haywood continually embraces the women's sexual freedom of the erotic pastorals but sets her retreats within amatory texts that position those pastorals as escapes from their collocated settings. In *Love in Excess*, the freedom to be found in the pastoral space juxtaposes with the confines of the domestic space, and these two take on the complications of the pastoral's country versus city binary. There is an assumed permissibility in the pastoral space that necessitates it as a retreat from the outside world and an escape for women seeking an opportunity to express their sexual desire, a space in dichotomous - and simultaneously dialogic - juxtaposition with the world beyond the retreat.

In *Love in Excess*, Haywood represents the collocation of the pastoral's spatial dualities in the juxtaposing scenes of Melliora and D'elmont in her bedroom and then, minutes later, in the garden. Significant contrast can be seen between Melliora's reaction to D'elmont's advances in these two oppositional spaces, and her reactions signal the dualities Haywood sets up in her amatory pastorals: permissibility and impermissibility. Once in the garden and with Melantha at a distance, Melliora's desire is so strong it 'might perhaps, had they been now alone, proved her desires were little different from his' (Haywood, *Love* 122) despite her warning to D'elmont in her bedroom, that 'unless you wish to see me dead... I beg you to desist, and leave me' (Haywood, *Love* 117). Melliora's contrasting responses to D'elmont's and her own desires highlight the retreat as a space in which the articulation of female desire is permissible in contrast with its opposing space which forbids it.

Throughout the text, female characters retreat into the natural spaces and away from the domestic, such as Amena who escapes from her father through her bedroom window and then, with D'elmont, 'made what haste they could into the Tuilleries' (Haywood, *Love* 57). Additionally, in order to declare her love for Frankville, Camilla summons him to a churchyard, away from her home and her father who insists on her betrothal to another. She introduces her declaration with the preface that she does not know how Frankville will 'interpret this *freedom*' (Haywood, *Love* 194) (emphasis mine) she has taken, but then confesses she felt something 'very prejudicial to her repose' and was finally 'unable longer to support the pangs of undiscovered passion' (Haywood, *Love* 195). In its capacity as retreat, the pastoral space offers a sense of liberty for women to declare such passion. In these spaces,

the women are, in Bernard K. Mudge's words from *The Whore's Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel 1684-1830* (2000), 'unabashedly libidinal' and 'curiously forthright' (173).

Within the pastoral retreat, the freedom of female characters to declare passion is - as a general rule within these three texts at least - an acceptable and innocent inclination. In *Love in Excess*, Melliora marries D'Elmont, Camilla marries Frankville, and Brillian marries Anselina. Amena in *Love in Excess* and Lasselia both reject a profession of desire outside the pastoral retreat: Amena at her father's house and Lasselia at her aunt's, but both declare their passion when they are within the safe space of the pastoral retreat. Even Belinda and Cleomira safely indulge in their fantasies within the pastoral retreat, though that space is violated by the outside world in the form of the duplicitous Bellamy. It is only when they leave the retreat in pursuit of him that the binary opposition to that space's freedom surfaces in a dialogic model that foregrounds the juxtaposition between permissibility and impermissibility.

When *Lasselia* begins, we see the eponymous heroine flee the city and the vice inherent in the pastoral retreat's contrasting space. For Lasselia this corruption is manifested in the adamant, unassailable, and unreciprocated lust of the king. To escape his reach, she moves to the country where she lives 'in all the Contentments imaginable' (Haywood, *Lasselia* 112) with 'her 'Pleasures [which] were unmix'd and pure', in stark contrast with her aunt, the king's mistress, who 'languish'd... in continual Disquiets, and restless Peplexities' (Haywood, *Lasselia* 113). Lasselia's aunt's perturbation is brought on by the 'estrang'd Affections of the inconstant King' who is 'all Fury' as a result of Lasselia running away to the country where she, in contrast, lives a life where 'every thing was easy, every thing was gay' (Haywood,

Lasselia 113). After meeting de l'Amye in the country and spending weeks attempting to deny her passion, Lasselia declares soon after de l'Amye's profession of love that 'to be the Mistress of *de l'Amye*, tho in a Cottage, she look'd on as a Blessing superior to all the ambitious Views which tempted her in the Embraces of a *King*', and the two do eventually become lovers with him visiting her when he can manage to extricate himself from his wife and domestic duties (Haywood, *Lasselia* 123).

Despite this relatively unorthodox aspiration of the heroine, the literal and ideological generic boundaries are clear. The country is then invaded by the city's vice in the form of the married de l'Amye. Unlike any relationship in *Love in Excess* or *The British Recluse*, however, Lasselia and de l'Amye's sexual desire for one another is consummated in the pastoral retreat, literally within the pastoral landscape on at least one occasion. Despite being pushed to its seemingly inevitable conclusion, which - despite its inevitability - is somehow never fully realised in the pastoral settings of Haywood's extremely amorous *Love in Excess* and *The British Recluse*, even this extremity is permissible within the pastoral retreat. Haywood maintains the traditional duality of the pastoral that sees the retreat as a space of permissibility of the expression of female sexuality in an emphasis of the marked dichotomy that highlights the stringent restrictions on female sexuality outside the retreat.

The sheer number of variations regarding who is and who is not at various times within the pastoral retreats of these three texts evinces the one constant that the pastoral retreat and the outside world have separate ideologies of permissibility and impermissibility regarding the expression of female sexual desire. Lasselia is in the city when the king asserts his desire for her, and she escapes to the country. She lives there in peace until that same

male desire invades the country in the form of de l'Amie. This time, within this pastoral setting, Lasselia readily capitulates. The male desire is the same; it is the setting and the permissibility of the expression of female desire that is the variable.

This same male sexual desire invades the pastoral retreat in *The British Recluse* in both Cleomira's and Belinda's narratives. The significant variation from Lasselia's actions is both of their separate decisions to leave the pastoral retreat and pursue their desire in the city. These repeated invasions of male desire and the expression of or denial of female desire both in and out of the pastoral retreat foreground the dichotomy of the spaces and their ideologies while emphasising the intrinsic nature of their dialogic relationship. McKeon suggests the 'pastoral exists to oppose nature and art in such a way as to intimate simultaneously their interpenetration. This is recognizably the structure or presentational premise of the genre' (271). Pastoral is not merely about simplicity or the country but about the numerous binaries that surface from its initial and most obvious duality of the city versus country. The pastoral both confirms and suspends the oppositional dichotomies by emphasising their dialectical nature.

In *The British Recluse*, we see both Cleomira and Belinda pursued, separately, in the country but both women are seduced into leaving the pastoral retreat owing to their sexual desire for Bellamy. These accounts of the retreat seem to maintain the permissibility to be found within the retreat itself and to evince the dangers beyond its boundaries. Without those dangers, there would be no need for the retreat. Similarly to *Lasselia*, the alteration is the space in which the desire is acted upon, not the desire itself. When male desire corrupts

female desire by luring it outside the safety of the retreat, the binaries of those two spaces are further emphasized.

This is dramatically staged in *The British Recluse* as they cause the deaths of Cleomira's mother and newborn son, her attempted suicide, and Cleomira's and Belinda's eventual and permanent retreat from society back into the relative peace and safety of the pastoral retreat. The incursion of Bellamy into the pastoral retreat is similar to de l'Amey's; however, when Cleomira and Belinda choose to take their desire outside the retreat, the pronounced difference in Bellamy's behaviour and the behaviour of others toward the women reinforce societal codes regarding the impermissibility of female sexuality in the retreat's contrasting space.

As referenced in the introduction, with regard to the retreat and women in the eighteenth century, McKeon notes, 'throughout the century women of varied social strata.... accommodated to women and commoners the Horatian topos of a gentlemanly retreat from the world' (282). This type of retreat is clear in Horace's 'Epode 2', which opens with the illusory, nostalgic thoughts of the usurer narrator, 'A man is blessed who, free from any business deals, as were the mortal race of old, with his own oxen works among ancestral fields, free from debts of any sort' (Horace). Substituting the amatory for the economic, Haywood's pastoral retreats are spaces that embrace the permissibility of sexual desire and offer this same sense of being 'free' for women as Horace's do for men.

The 'city' that works in binary opposition to the fantasy of the country that preoccupies Horace's narrator is the pecuniary, one might say avaricious, role he plays in society. For Haywood's female characters, the city represents the impermissibility of their

sexuality. The country versus city relationship within these amatory texts is explored continuously throughout *Love in Excess*, tested by the lengths to which Lasselia seeks a fulfilling conclusion to her desire, and signaled most explicitly by Belinda and Cleomira who leave the pastoral retreat in pursuits of the fantasy of the ideal pastoral lover in *The British Recluse*.

Within these three texts, Haywood presents a series of sexual women and presentations of desire both inside and outside pastoral retreats, creating a spectrum of successive singularities to evoke repeatedly but distinctively the generic dualities specific to female desire, even when the desire asserted is male. Some of these women simply want sex, some a husband, some to be mistress to a married man. Some women pursue. Some are pursued. Some women futilely resist while some readily engage with little prompting. Some women wind up pregnant, some still virgins, and some simply 'ruined'. In the end, these women variously find themselves married to their would-be lover, married to someone else entirely, living in convents, unsuccessfully attempting suicide, living with other women, or dead. *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* all work together to showcase a dizzying array of female sexuality.

This collection of female sexual desire asserted within the retreat presents further pastoral binaries, including those of violence versus peace and corruption versus innocence, as I will detail in the final section. Haywood seems less interested in the resolution of these oppositions than in how their relationship comments on contemporary codes of conduct regarding the permissibility of female desire. Unlike other pastorals that situate pastoral longing for a simpler - or sexier - life away from society's mores at a distance, Haywood's

retreats and her female characters' easy access to the liberation and exploration to be found in that space foregrounds the repeated attempts at displacing those prohibitions.

Williams describes the 'celebration of herds, and honey and fruit and clear streams, far from war and the city and the cold practice of usurer' as the 'sentimental reflection of a usurer, thinking of turning farmer' of Horace's *Beatus Ille* in 'Epode 2' (18). After waxing poetically about an idyllic pastoral lifestyle for sixty-six lines, Horace's narrator, Alfius, 'repossess all his money on the Ides, and on the Kalends loans it out' to conclude the epode (Horace). Horace reflects on the pastoral as an alternative, but remote, lifestyle. The famously erotic Italian pastoral *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) conveys the sexualised pastoral retreat as the dream of its sleeping male protagonist. Behn's 'The Golden Age' sets her amatory pastoral retreat in a distant period when even the universal symbol for sexual corruption, the snake, 'securely dwelt, Not doing harm, nor harm from others felt' (4). I will address the binary of corruption versus innocence in the final section, but here, the simultaneous, contiguous nature of Haywood's retreat with its binary space presses into immediacy the retreat itself. Further, it highlights the juxtaposition in real time where, in these three amatory texts, the characters repeatedly step in and out of the retreat.

Veiling and Unveiling in the Amatory Pastoral

In *Love in Excess* we see a simplified, though thorough, portrayal of the pastoral where sexual desire is expressed within the pastoral retreat, the lovers are interrupted, and they remove themselves from the pastoral space. In *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia*, Haywood pushes the sexual pastoral further; the interactions with the outside world become more

aggressive. We see Cleomira and Belinda, impelled by their desire, both lured out of the pastoral retreat to their detriment. The binary of permissibility and impermissibility is complicated further by Lasselia wanting nothing more than to live hidden away as de l'Amye's pastoral mistress. As I detailed in the previous section, Haywood does this through an initial evocation of the country versus city binary. Here I will look at how this foundational duality allows her to consider conventions more specific to her concern of expressed female desire - permissibility versus impermissibility and veiling and unveiling - as well as the boundaries that attempt to define it.

Within *Love in Excess*, Haywood repeatedly stages an investigation between the sexual freedom to be found in the pastoral retreat and the societal expectation of female virtue in the form of chastity to be found outside it. The clear delineation between the country and city within *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia* render these two texts more obviously pastoral works, and because their amatory pastoral situations differ still from the numerous scenes in *Love in Excess*, they serve as further complications to Haywood's already-thorough exploration in her initial iteration of the amatory pastoral. I will further examine these two later pastoral works in this section, but first I will look at how Haywood reflects the in/out binary of the pastoral, her figurative veiling and unveiling of sexual desire more literally within the pastoral space, and how her articulation of pathetic fallacy highlights women's autonomous desire within the pastoral spaces in *Love in Excess*.

One of the pastoral oppositions with which Haywood concerns herself is the sexual idea of veiling and unveiling, which she addresses via the pastoral convention of pathetic fallacy. In a pastoral reading of *Love in Excess*, we see she sets up the amatory pastoral tenet

that female sexual desire is an inherent instinct and its assertion within the pastoral space is permissible expressly because of the space itself. The expression is sanctioned here due to the safety within the space, the sexual tradition of the pastoral, and the space's dismissal of the outside world and its tenets as I will explore here. These are foundational premises in her first pastoral, *Love in Excess*, which she then maintains but pushes further in *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia*.

Within *Love in Excess* specifically, the flagrant and repeated sexual freedom to be found within the retreats throughout the text is established in the first scene of its kind in the text, which Juliette Merritt in *Beyond Spectacle: Eliza Haywood's Female Spectators* (2004) calls 'one of the most quoted passages in Haywood' (74). The moon with its pathetic fallacy and personification are a much-noted detail of this passage. As a significant natural and mythological signal, Cynthia's action of covering and uncovering Amena and D'elmont with her light in this initial pastoral seduction signifies an eroticism inherent in the amatory pastoral.

Haywood's personification empowers the moon goddess: 'Cynthia her self [sic], cold as she is reported assisted in the inspiration, and sometimes shone with all her brightness... then veiled her beams in clouds' (Haywood, *Love* 58). It is significant both that the virgin goddess 'assisted in the inspiration' of sexual desire and that the shining and veiling of the moonlight allows the lovers to 'feast *their* ravished eyes with gazing on *each others* beauty' [sic] (Haywood, *Love* 58) (emphasis mine). The sanctioning of a sexual liaison by the virgin goddess indicates a permissibility of sexual desire within the retreat, and the words 'their' and 'each others' denotes a mutuality of that instinct.

Alpers cites Edward William Taylor's *Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature* (1964), in which he proposes 'the pathetic fallacy' as a 'central tenet' of the pastoral, and Haywood's articulation of the device inverses Cynthia's purported coldness by rejecting the idea that Amena and D'elmont's liaison is morally objectionable (10). With regard to Wordsworth's 'ways of symbolising nature', Empson notes that 'Nature as a whole appears pantheistically as the nurse of all life, a sustaining rather than moral agent and one does not feel behind her a personal God who will punish sin' (188). I would argue that within Haywood's pastoral space, nature in the personified form of the moon functions along these same lines: as an 'agent' who promotes the desire of both players in the pastoral space, challenging notions of female victimhood or male aggression in the erotic pastoral.

A comparable manifestation of the permissibility of female desire is embraced in Behn's 'The Golden Age', her pastoral poem which yearns for the 'Blest Age!' (1) when 'it was glory to pursue delight, / And that was lawful all, that Pleasure did invite' (6). Behn invokes a nostalgic longing for the golden age and in so doing highlights the dialectical dichotomy of the amatory pastoral by juxtaposing the sanctioning of female desire in pastoral retreats of the golden age with the contemporaneous societal expectations of sexual virtue in the form of chastity in her own time. She collocates the permissibility of the idea that 'Trembling and blushing are not marks of shame, / But the Effect of kindling Flame' (7) within the retreat with restrictions that would come later, following the golden age, in the form of the 'fond Religious cause' as well as 'Obedience to the duller Laws' (8).

Behn writes 'The Golden Age' with a sense of nostalgia the likes of which Empson addresses with regard to Milton and the Garden of Eden in 'Book IV' of *Paradise Lost*.

Empson notes that ‘the whole beauty of the thing is a rich nostalgia’ with reference specifically to nature and man’s place in the world (187). This nostalgia addresses a major shift regarding sentiment and overruling ideology of the space, in Behn’s case the pastoral retreat and in Milton’s the Garden of Eden. For Milton, the Fall is the turning point. For Behn it is a time prior to the ‘rough sound of War’s Alarms’ and ‘the needless use of Arms’ when ‘Monarchs were uncreated’ (4). In both we see a juxtaposition of two different eras within each poem that evokes the idea of nostalgia.

For Behn, this is a time of indulgence before the permissibility of female sexual desire was considered impossible: prior to the time when honour, that ‘Foe to Pleasure, Nature’s worst Disease’ (10), ‘gathers up the flowering Hair, / That loosely plaid with wanton Air’ (9). Nostalgia and the golden age, Alpers says, are ‘not self-evident... defining features of pastoral’ (28). What nostalgia is, though, is a wistful dream for a time distinct from its opposing period. This lends itself to the idea of pastoral binaries but does not demand generic presupposition.

‘The Golden Age’, *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* all declare the innocence of female desire and erotic pleasure; however, these Haywood pastorals absent nostalgia in an emphasis of the immediacy of the challenge to the contrasting space and ideology. I will address the ideas of nostalgia and immediacy further in the coming section regarding intruders and violence, but while in these three texts Haywood expresses the same philosophy Behn explores, in a past time for which Behn is so nostalgic, Haywood explores it in present day, collocating it with the man-made structure of honour that is enforced outside the pastoral retreat.

While those structures do invade the pastoral retreat, they are not represented in this initial seductive scene between Amena and D'elmont until Anaret's entrance. Until then, the moon and the veiling and unveiling of bodies enhances the sexuality of the scene, with the moon employed to equate the pure, untainted connotations of the natural world with autonomous sexual desire. Similarly, Harvey notes regarding the erotic topography that 'a series of concealments and revelations teased the viewer, such that eighteenth-century gardens have been likened to a striptease' (180). Cynthia contributes instinctively to the sensuality of the setting in a presentation of pathetic fallacy that signals both permissibility of the pastoral retreat and the amatory convention of concealing and revealing.

Merritt proposes that in *Love in Excess's* initial outdoor seduction scene, between Amena and D'elmont, the 'erotic tension is built by gradually focusing on the visual elements of desire' (75). I would agree that the focus on Cynthia's light – or absence of light – foregrounds the visual; however, Merritt claims, 'a transition is made from the description of a complicit nature to the more dramatically visual – the moon both shields and uncovers Amena's body which is gradually exposed to D'elmont's and the reader's view' (75). I suggest Merritt's use of the word 'complicit' indicates a scheming duplicity regarding the moon that is belied by Haywood's own word 'assisted', as well as by Haywood's depiction that the shielding and uncovering were for 'their... eyes' and 'each others beauty' (Haywood, *Love* 58).

Cynthia's cooperation is not due to the coerced collusion of nature by D'elmont, as Merritt claims. Rather, the 'concealing and revealing' that Harvey says serves to provoke sexual desire highlights not only the eroticism but the mutuality of the articulation of that desire. Haywood's pastoral retreat is a sexualised setting that itself promotes sexual liberty for

the female characters. The moon 'shields and uncovers' both bodies at once, revealing D'Elmont to Amena as much as she to him (Merritt 75).

McKeon says that with regard to gender in the eighteenth century, the pastoral associates concepts of male and female with art and nature, and it tests and thinks through these oppositions repeatedly (280). I would argue Haywood, too, repeatedly thinks through oppositions and repeatedly explores situations and pairings - male and female and variations on that dynamic - not to define roles but to consider possibilities. Her concern, though, does not regard gender differences so much as how various relationships reference the female situation with regard to sexuality and its expression. This does, as McKeon says, test oppositions, but with Haywood's focus on female desire, the challenge does not seem to regard women in relation to men but a strict delineation of women's instincts, behaviour, and roles in sexual liaisons.

Though Cynthia is often the focus of critical inquiry in this scene, juxtaposing her here, as she encourages both Amena and D'elmont, with the much-less-examined scene of Amena alone at her window just prior to their famed liaison, offers a pastoral context to the scene in the Tuileries. In a prelude to the first liaison, in which the moon acts for the benefit of both Amena and D'elmont, the moon aids Amena alone. The moon appears in scenes set within the pastoral retreat and outside it, highlighting the association between the two spaces; however, its variance of functions in each highlights the dichotomy of the two.

Amena hears her father finally go to bed in the next room, and 'soon after somebody knocked softly at the window, she immediately opened it, and perceived by the light of the moon which then shone very bright, that it was Anaret' (Haywood, *Love* 53) who has come to

tell Amena that D'elmont has arrived and is waiting and that 'there's nothing wanting but your key to give him entrance' (Haywood, *Love* 54). Shining very brightly in an unmistakable pronouncement of approval, here the moon assists Amena in her pursuance of D'elmont outside the pastoral space, but the teasing sexiness of the veiling and unveiling is reserved for the retreat.

In looking at this scene as a collocation to the liaison within the retreat, the juxtaposition of both the moon and Amena's expression of desire evince Haywood's pastoral binary of the permissibility of sexual desire within the pastoral retreat versus its impermissibility outside it. The moon itself, as a natural signal, veils and unveils the lovers' bodies within the pastoral retreat. At Amena's balcony, however, it 'shone very bright' in a decidedly un-erotic manner (Haywood, *Love* 53). Through the conventional pastoral binary of country versus city, inside and outside the retreat, as well as the pastoral tenet of pathetic fallacy, Haywood iterates her own amatory pastoral binary in her exploration of her own concerns with the expression of female desire.

The aid of the moon is a recurring natural phenomenon in *Love in Excess*, but through its variety of circumstances, only at one other time in the text does it occur when a man and woman are alone together. This is the assignation between Camilla and Frankville, instigated by Camilla for the purpose of declaring her feelings for him. In this scene, the moon aids Camilla in her purpose, which seems to negate the idea that Cynthia is at D'elmont's command. Here, the moon provokes erotic instinct when Camilla, who Frankville has seen but does not know, beckons him to the churchyard with a note she signs as Violetta, of whom Frankville has heard much but never seen. Camilla lures him through

‘the little wicket’ and into the grotto: the setting for her page-long explanation of her purpose in ‘entreating this private interview’ (Haywood, *Love* 193). Frankville is beckoned to this ‘very dark’ space by Camilla so that she may conceal her identity from him, leading him to believe he is meeting Violetta (Haywood, *Love* 194).

Camilla’s exposition culminates when, as Frankville narrates, ‘we came out of the grotto’, and he ‘saw by the light of the moon, which shone that night with an uncommon lustre, the face which in those gardens had before so charmed me’ (Haywood, *Love* 194). The light of the moon here assists Camilla in her allurement of Frankville, an enactment of the agency with which she is empowered within the retreat. With its act of concealing and revealing, the moon functions as an independent agent of seduction, an effective natural device in an amatory pastoral where provocation of sexual desire is a fundamental convention.

As in the initial seduction scene within the pastoral retreat between Amena and D’elmont, this scene between Camilla and Frankville considers the permissibility of female sexual desire found within that pastoral retreat and juxtaposes it with the impermissibility to be found in the retreat’s binary space of the domestic. Camilla has left her patriarchal domestic space and the man her father is compelling her to marry and has summoned Frankville through ‘the little wicket’ where she has the liberty to express ‘such a fervor’ as she feels for Frankville (Haywood, *Love* 196). She literally keeps Frankville in the dark until she chooses to reveal herself to him.

While this is not the baring of sexualised bodies that we see with Amena and D’elmont, it is a means of revelation after having veiled oneself through momentary

deception. Here in the role of instigating seductress, Camilla takes on what is more often seen as a male role in the clandestine liaison. We see Haywood reintroduce this more-common iteration of gender role with regard to the veiling and unveiling tenet in both *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia*, as I will detail later in this section.

The sexual pastoral retreats of *Love in Excess* arise as spaces of sexual freedom. The act of veiling and unveiling is a device common to amatory writers as well; as Ballaster notes, ‘deferral brings pleasure’, and ‘prolonging (sexual) pleasure by withholding the discovery of the body beneath’ is an amatory technique meant to entice the fictional lovers as well as the reader (98). Derrick Puffett references ‘the ultra-elegance of amorous soft porn a la *Daphnis et Chloé*’ (Alpers 150) in the same manner that Haywood’s ‘amatory conventions have been seen as cultivating amoral, pornographic “imaginative state[s] of equipoise”’ (Lubey 310). Alpers, however, more insightfully examines the ‘sophistication and charm with which Longus conducts his tale of delayed gratification’ in the pastoral (324).

In *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia*, Haywood depicts more clear-cut physical pastoral boundaries, and her convention of veiling and unveiling becomes less about pathetic fallacy or mythological signalling of the pastoral and more about complicating her own staging of female sexual desire. *The British Recluse* rearticulates her veiling and unveiling trope to span across the in/out binary of the pastoral, articulating more emphatically the permissibility of the retreat’s difficult relationship with the social reality of impermissibility. As in *Love in Excess*, the actions of veiling and unveiling in *Lasselia* take place within the retreat, but in *Lasselia*, rather than literal bodies, the unveiling is of the self in the form of de l’Amye and is of the male lover only rather than the bodily pairs we see in *Love in Excess*.

In one plot of *The British Recluse*, Cleomira, at the death of her father, is carried into the country by her mother to escape the court. Cleomira returns to the city to attend a ball, believes herself to have fallen in love there, returns to her mother in the country, and is pursued there by her would-be lover from the city. With the help of two co-conspirators who have deceptively cultivated a relationship with her mother, Cleomira's desire is pitched to such a fever she is convinced to leave the countryside for the city with them in the hopes of being able to see him, which her mother has forbidden. Through clandestine meetings, the eventual consummation of their relationship, her pregnancy, confinement, miscarriage, and her return to the city, he repeatedly and fervently expresses his love and devotion to her until, exhausted by her unyielding attention, he puts an end to their relationship. It is only upon her chance discovery of another of his lovers that his true character is definitively revealed to her and she is forced to accept it.

Similarly, we find that in the second plot, Belinda meets this same man who is this time in disguise as a baronet when the carriage containing her, her sister, and her fiancé is overturned. He comes to their rescue, ingratiates himself with them, and seduces her into meeting him 'on a fine grassy Bank, which was at the Foot of a great Tree' (Haywood, *Recluse* 112). Only Haywood's famous interrupter, this time in the forms of both Belinda's sister and her fiancé, disrupts them, keeping them from consummating their very brief relationship. After a duel in which Belinda's fiancé is supposedly killed, her lover returns to the city, and she follows him there, discovering his true identity when she is at the theatre and he is identified by other women who know of his scandals.

In *Lasselia*, Lasselia becomes a 'willing exile' away from the king's court in the city and into the county to escape his adamant and unwanted advances, which have the additional infliction of enraging his mistress, Lasselia's aunt with whom she lives (Haywood, *Lasselia* 112). While living in the country with friends, Mademoiselle Valier who 'is now retir'd into the Country with her Husband', Lasselia meets and becomes great friends with their neighbour whose husband, de l'Amie, is - at the time - in the city (Haywood, *Lasselia* 111). Upon his return, the instant they meet, both are overcome with mutual desire.

Lasselia and de l'Amie spend weeks in each other's company at various events and on various visits to each other's houses, always in the company of Monsieur and Mademoiselle Valier and de l'Amie's wife. One day, however, Lasselia is fortuitously sitting alone 'in sweet Retirement', when she is approached by a 'Messenger, who seem'd to be a Country-Fellow' supposedly to deliver a note from de l'Amie. De l'Amie, encouraged by 'all the different Agitations his Declaration had occasion'd', reveals himself to her (Haywood, *Lasselia* 118). They profess their love, things escalate quickly, and the two become pastoral lovers in part due to de l'Amie's veiling of himself in shepherd's robes and unveiling himself in the pastoral space as Lasselia's avowed lover once he witnesses the 'thousand different Passions' she betrays upon reading his letter (Haywood, *Lasselia* 118). Haywood deals with sex in this layered framework of oppositional binaries: in versus out of the retreat and permissibility versus impermissibility, signaled by her convention of veiling and unveiling.

De l'Amie's and Bellamy's disguises differ in form and motivation. Bellamy assumes a protracted and duplicitous deception against Cleomira and Belinda in an attempt to seduce them while maintaining these false personas; whereas, de l'Amie simply - and briefly - dresses

as a pastoral shepherd in order to discover the degree of Lasselia's romantic feelings towards him, and he subsequently reveals himself to her immediately upon that affirmative revelation. In moving from complicated, ongoing deceit in *The British Recluse* to a simplified form of literal, physical, easily thrown-off disguise in *Lasselia*, Haywood complicates the question of female sexuality by reverting back to the besotted, devoted male pastoral lover of the kind found in *Love in Excess* in the form of Brillian's love for Ansellina, Frankville's for Camilla, and D'elmont's for Melliora. Haywood then retains the idea of consummation found in *The British Recluse* but shifts it back to the pastoral space.

Through these variations, Haywood articulates her retreats as spaces of safety and liberty in which women can assert their sexual desire, and this is true even for Belinda and Cleomira who remain unharmed, though deluded by pastoral fantasy, while they remain in the retreat. It is their initiative to follow or search for Bellamy, driven on by their sexual desire, that leads them to harm outside the pastoral retreat. When women remain within the pastoral space, as Lasselia does, the safety and liberty with which Haywood protects her female characters from impermissibility and prohibition by rejecting societal ideals of restraint, chastity, or honour, allowing Lasselia to consummate her relationship in the same manner Belinda does, but Lasselia stays within the pastoral space – as does her lover.

Though the texts of *Lasselia* and *The British Recluse* both have men in the pastoral space attempting to seduce their potential lovers, de l'Amie's pastoral disguise as a shepherd offers him access to Lasselia that, almost paradoxically, keeps him at a distance from her. Though he is standing next to the spot where she lay in 'sweet Retirement', she is wholly unaware of his true identity and simply takes him for a 'Country-Fellow' who has come to

deliver a message (Haywood, *Lasselia* 117). He asserts himself, not physically but through professions of desire in a letter and awaits her reaction. Though he throws off the physical disguise of the shepherd, he is, for Lasselia, the ideal fantasy of a pastoral lover. Aside from the not insignificant obstacle of his wife and their need to conceal their relationship from her, de l'Amie is a devoted and passionate lover, and Lasselia is able to indulge her sexual passions with him within the pastoral retreat.

Bellamy, too, is the ideal pastoral lover within the retreat but then manifests the conventionally vicious qualities of the city when he returns to London, and this duality of his character stretches across the binary of country versus city. When Belinda and Cleomira attempt to assert the liberty afforded them within the pastoral retreat in the retreat's opposing space, the impermissibility of female sexual desire presents itself in the form of the unveiling of Bellamy's character. Haywood clearly presents female sexual desire as something innocent and to be indulged, but she is highly alert to societal pressures to keep it prohibited and restrained. In *Love in Excess*, her repeated staging of the in/out binary, which asserts that permissibility and impermissibility, continually iterates her understanding of inherent instincts versus social mores.

It is in *The British Recluse*, however, that that dichotomy is highlighted by emphasising not only impermissibility as we see it in *Love in Excess* but by setting the female protagonists in the midst of the impermissibility, recollecting their pasts within the retreat. Then in *Lasselia*, however, Haywood returns to an emphasis on the retreat and seems to double down on that space's ability to allow not just for sexual desire but the repeated fulfillment of it until the

outside world intervenes in the form of both de l'Amye's spurned former potential fiancée and his wife.

Love in Excess and *Lasselia* present veiling and unveiling within the pastoral space; whereas, in *The British Recluse*, Bellamy disguises himself as a pastoral lover within that space but is unveiled in the city where Cleomira and Belinda each discover his unfaithful, lecherous, and at times violent ways. This pastoral lover who seduces Cleomira and Belinda is in direct opposition to Bellamy-the-would-be-rapist we see in his encounter with Miranda. The sexual violence attempted against Miranda by Bellamy then seems to present questions about female sexual desire. We could ask if the retreat as a space of fantasy leads to possible danger if the object of female sexual desire is founded on delusion. Perhaps, however, it simply reinforces the retreat as a space of safety where positions that are contrary to those steadfastly adhered to by society, such as female chastity, can be explored with little or no restraint.

There is clearly a delineation made by Haywood to set out what takes place inside the pastoral retreat and what takes place outside it. The country does become a space of danger when invaded, as I will examine in the subsequent section, but the dichotomous duality of the pastoral binaries highlight that danger, and therefore also the safety, even if the threat's definitive presence is known only in hindsight. The permissibility within the retreat provides a space for questions regarding female sexuality to be raised. The impermissibility outside the retreat simply asserts what is already defined by society: in the case of these three of Haywood's texts, women's honour rooted in chastity and the prohibition of the expression of female desire.

These readings could be muddled by details such as the proposal Cleomira receives and Belinda's fiancé, both threatening a life of domestic dullness rather than the passionate love affairs of an amatory pastoral tryst. Tangential men such as these perhaps serve as impetus for Cleomira's and Belinda's inclination towards Bellamy, but in a discussion of the amalgamation of the amatory and the pastoral, focus on the liaisons is more productive. The question of the allowance or prohibition of female sexual desire does fall squarely within the pastoral structure of binary oppositions. It is spurred from the country versus city duality and goes on to suggest questions regarding corruption and innocence, as I will detail in the coming section.

Permissibility and impermissibility inside and outside the retreat are opposing stances and spaces. However, the sheer number and variation of Haywood's articulations of female sexual desire, male responses, female and male characters, motivations of each, and consequences recognise what McKeon suggests is the defective nature of the oppositions. With reference specifically to Horace's second epode and its moneylender, McKeon suggests the pastoral focuses on a relationship or connection between two opposing terms but that the 'critique is of the simplicity with which "pastoral" oppositions between country innocence and city corruption are conventionally affirmed' (271). In this epode, McKeon clarifies, the co-dependent relationship is about 'the genial georgic *otium* of the rural retreat' being sustained 'financially' and 'morally' by 'the urban *negotium* of the parvenu moneylender' (271). I would suggest that in Haywood's staging of numerous and various representations of female desire, there is a recognition of this kind of interdependency and of the futility of

attempting to assert definitive, independent oppositions regarding gender, sex, or either side of any of her dualities.

Intruders in the Pastoral: A Departure from Corruption and Violence

Haywood's amatory pastorals, though a comprehensive catalogue of compromising positions and feebly protesting, clearly aroused maidens, set up the pastoral retreat to undermine and reject the mores of society outside the retreat by highlighting the contrasting dualities of the two spaces. As I have detailed throughout the chapter, she stages not only an abundance of vividly lustful scenes within the pastoral retreat but a variety of pursuers, degrees of desire, and consequences of actions. Despite these numerous variations, she maintains a delineation between retreat and the space outside the retreat, and the invasions and invaders of the pastoral space reassert the sanctity of the retreat through the repeated juxtaposition of this binary.

The pastoral and its 'long-standing cultural tropes... have an ancient association with erotic Elysium and sexual liberty', and it is this freedom that allows both men and women within the pastoral space to remain at liberty from any sense of corruption that would plague them outside the enclosed retreat (Harvey 149). In this section I will explore the impetus for the sexual pastoral binary of innocence and corruption as it relates to Haywood and the golden age and then move on to examine how Haywood reshapes ideas of violence and peace in the amatory pastoral narrative when the peace and safety of the retreat is violated by intruders. Further, I will examine how Haywood differentiates her articulation of a pastoral focused on female desire from those more conventional pastorals that focus on male desire,

as well as how the amatory narrative, as opposed to the erotic, works in conjunction with pastoral binary of peace and violence.

Within *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, Haywood focuses on female desire as a repeated and varying driving force, and she continually presents the abstract dualities female characters face in the form of the pastoral space's tenets versus societal expectations. Doing so sees her 'articulating change', which McKeon says is the result of the 'elasticity and responsiveness of literary genres', by shifting the focus of female desire away from a reaction to male desire or the object of male fantasy (289). Gutzwiller writes of male fantasy in the pastoral referencing Galatea and Polyphemus and that the physical descriptions of the two 'evoke the opposites of movement and rest, lightness and heaviness, ephemerality and continuance, which are related to and further our sense that the pair stands for the universals of femininity and masculinity' (130). Gutzwiller pointedly states that 'the evocation of Galatea's femininity... clearly stems from a male point of view' (130). She goes on to describe these male fantasies that allow men to continue to delude themselves: Daphnis's 'suggestion that Polyphemus' ugliness appears to her as beauty' and even further, Polyphemus himself claiming that he is beautiful (130-31). This male fantasy creates a disconnect from reality both in its inability to reflect women and in the self-delusion with which the men of the pastoral engage.

In these three Haywood texts, however, the egalitarian sexual desire and the profuse descriptions by a female author through female characters differentiates Haywood's fantasy spaces from one in which the power balance is gendered. Additionally, it reasserts the binary opposition of inside and outside the pastoral space. The in/out duality disassociates female

characters in these three texts from the passivity of a sexual pastoral such as those of Ancient Greece, and Haywood's emphasis on the innocence born of sexual permissibility within the retreat sets up yet another binary of the amatory pastoral.

Even within the pastoral retreat, the fantasy of the space remains largely exclusively male. A focus on female, rather than male, desire destigmatises female sexuality and the implications of corruption that accompany it. Exposing and rejecting the male-centric dream of the pastoral by asserting female desire creates a binary examination of the implications of the freedom to be found within the pastoral retreat. With regard to female sexuality, this duality probes Haywood's proposal of its permissibility and innocence versus societally imposed ideas impermissibility and corruption.

Though I suggest Haywood absents nostalgia for the golden age in favour of a more immediate representation, the same ideals of the retreat representing a space and time of innocence is fundamental to her articulation of the pastoral. As Gutzwiller notes, with reference to Rapin, the golden age sets 'sincerity and innocence' at a time prior to the 'corruption of civilization' (188). In *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, Haywood maintains this same pastoral binary of innocence and corruption, situating them inside and outside the pastoral retreat with each female character occupying both spaces.

The first stanza of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, his famed late sixteenth-century Italian epic poem, is an assertion that 'all the usual reasons for praising the Golden Age are not the important ones' (Poggioli 43). While these seemingly include leisure without work or war, mildness of climate, and fecund fields, Tasso asserts that the only element of the golden age worth praising is that of its sexuality, which was free from societal restraints

regarding the erotic and that this simplicity was the most note-worthy of its aspects. Correspondingly, Poggioli theorises regarding society's obsession with honour that 'the idolatry and credulity of the foolish crowd make of that fictitious deity the cruel tyrant of our life' (44). This turns the idea of innocence within a pastoral into a debate regarding whether sexual desire is innocent or corrupt.

The amatory pastorals of *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* confront this conflict in rejecting any standardisation of female chastity. Feigned innocence is unnecessary as the retreat provides a space for unlocking societal constraints. Poggioli suggests that because society cannot lock up instincts, it instead locks up the figures of it; 'wives and fiancées must remain faithful, and daughters and sisters chaste... the pastoral protests against this situation and accuses society of being responsible for this state of things' (43). It is only society that creates the boundary that places sexual instinct on the side of corruption. Prescott suggests, 'the place of women in society and the particular codes of morality and conduct that prescribe and determine women's behaviour is a central concern of the seduction narrative' (435). I would propose further that the pastoral binaries circumvent that boundary of morality and conduct through the duality of country versus city. The retreat is a space of sexual freedom emphasised by repeated juxtaposition with the very space that enforces that boundary of societally defined morality.

Behn also proffers the idea that honour is a man-made construct of female identity as well, addressing it in an apostrophe in stanza VIII of 'The Golden Age', crying, 'Oh Cursed Honour! thou who first didst damn, / A Woman to the Sin of shame' (8). This 'shame' for Behn is the catalyst for her nostalgic cry for the golden age. Haywood's more exigent

articulation of this same duality moves the juxtaposition from eras to immediate collocated spaces. Behn continues addressing Honour in stanza IX, accusatorily claiming,

‘Honour! that put’st our words that should be free

Into a set Formality.

... that teachest all our Looks and Actions Art;

What Love design’d a sacred Gift,

What Nature made to be possest

Mistaken Honour, made a Theft,

For Glorious Love should be confest:’. (10)

Outside the retreat, the power of sexual expression is repressed by the man-made construct of honour in the amatory pastoral. The temporal juxtaposition in ‘The Golden Age’ and the geographic ones in *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* highlight the binary of innocence and corruption that reframes both ideas by displacing the gender imbalance that long held men’s desire as natural and women’s as the origin of pain, guilt, or violence, which I will continue to address throughout the remainder of this section.

Parsons suggests that repetition in amatory fiction can be ‘recast as a way of working through political issues that remained urgent and seemed intractable throughout the period’ (170). Though she does not detail what those questions are or in what way exactly they are ‘worked through’, I would suggest that the pastoral binaries of these three Haywood texts offers a way to escalate that effort through the oppositions inherent in the dualities. Within these texts’ retreats, Haywood’s female characters evince an agency through sexual expression that is repeatedly denied in the space outside the retreats.

While the permissibility of that space is continually foregrounded, it equally highlights the impermissibility of its oppositional space outside the retreat where the women also continually find themselves. In order to 'work through', as Parsons says, a primary concern of amatory fiction - the assertion of female sexual desire - Haywood stages numerous and various iterations of the retreat. As a fantasy space, it allows for the imagining of various possibilities in the forms of realised worlds without the social impermissibility of the outside world.

Haywood engages the pastoral retreat and its sense of freedom from the oppressive ideology of its opposing space that presents only the corruption of female sexual desire. She echoes the Ancient Greek pastorals in presenting a retreat that not only allows for the expression of female sexual desire but that rejects ideas of guilt and shame as oppositional to the retreat's ideals. This is a long-standing pastoral tenet; in *Eclogue 7*, Virgil suggests that it is within the pastoral retreat that we find respite from the space of the outside world and from its cares.

In this eclogue, Meliboeus recounts that Daphnis saw him wandering after a stray sheep and 'called out' to him saying, 'take a breather, and rest / In the shade with us. Your goat and kids will be safe enough; / Your bullocks will find their own way across the fields, do they need / to drink' (29). In response to this Meliboeus asks himself, 'what should I do? I had no Phyllis or Alcippe / At home to pen my lambs, which were newly weaned; but a singing / Match between Corydon and Thyrsis would be a great thing' (29). Meliboeus then spends the rest of the eclogue recounting the singing competition and its results without referring to his responsibilities outside the retreat again. This seems to evince the idea that,

within the pastoral retreat, we are not responsible to the duties or expectations that are held outside that space.

Through the myriad of variations within *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, the constant remains the lack of corruption signaled by sexual desire within the pastoral retreat. This is not to say, however, that that space remains free from the encroachment of the ideologies of the outside world. Nearly as often as Haywood's female characters express their sexual desire, Haywood presents us with her storied 'interrupter': the maid, the mother, the sister, the fiancé, or even a mob of people in the case of *Lasselia* and de l'Amie. This intruder serves as a reminder of the world outside the retreat in Haywood's amatory pastorals. The intruder does not diminish the validity of the desire nor do they alter the mores of the pastoral space. They simply highlight the lack of freedom outside the space, and rather than validating the societal constraints from outside the retreat, they emphasise the very need for the retreat.

Ideas such as shame and alarm are societal constructs which function as censors of female desire, but without them, the declaration of the innocence of sexual desire within the retreat is not possible. The amatory pastoral retreat is devoid of this societal consciousness until the outside world disrupts its sanctuary. It is only when Amena and D'elmont are alerted by Anaret, Amena's maid who had 'been left centinel [sic] in the garden' (Haywood, *Love* 58), that the 'dreadful tidings soon rouse Amena from her dream of happiness' (Haywood, *Love* 59). Amena's thoughts are only 'wholly taken up with her approaching shame' when the safety of the retreat is disrupted by an invasion from the outside world's mores (Haywood, *Love* 59).

We see similar intruders in the forms of Belinda's fiancé and her sister and Cleomira's mother in *The British Recluse* and in the town's people at the instigation of de l'Amye's wife and spurned would-be fiancée at the inn in *Lasselia*. Only the intrusion of society into the pastoral retreat results in a negative reaction to the sexual conduct within that space. Haywood's binary spaces constitute a means of subverting the authority of society over the authority of natural instincts - of men and of women - in this retreat. These spaces do act, conventionally and in these three texts, as retreats away from their collocated settings: safe from the political upheaval in Tasso, Shakespeare, and Virgil or away from the romantic entanglements in Marvell or Cervantes. This does not, however, discount disruption to the space nor does it guarantee the permanent sanctity of the retreat.

Intruders of Haywood's amatory pastoral spaces serve as the catalyst for a discussion of two sets of binaries regarding that specific pastoral space: innocence and corruption and violence and safety. Poggioli has said, 'venatical attitudes consistently oppose the pastoral', and this is true if we take his use of the word 'pastoral' to mean the space rather than the genre (7). The opposition Poggioli describes is part of generic duality with the 'venatical attitudes' set against the peace of the space that should be a safeguard against those intrusions. In these three Haywood texts, the incursions encourage us to think of her retreats as spaces of freedom, as is conventional, but she extends that liberty to the assertion or attempted assertion of women's own sexual desire.

Empton notes that in reading a pastoral, we accept the portrayal of 'a limited life' and 'pretend it is the full and normal one', such as those of Haywood's female characters in these three pastorals which concern only sexuality (115). With this acceptance, he says, 'in fact the

suggestion of pastoral may be only a protection for the idea which must be taken alone' (115). Safe-guarding the idea on which the pastoral focuses takes the burden off of it as a mechanism for action. Instead it accesses the fantasy and possibility of the pastoral retreat in order to consider, in the case of these three Haywood texts, the binary of permissibility or impermissibility and therefore of the innocence and corruption of sexuality rather than the act.

Lasselia's consummation is significant for Haywood's exploration of the 'idea' she 'protects' within the pastoral: a reassessment of female sexuality through the freedom to express their desire. Accepting the expression of female desire is protected by its repeated confrontation with its opposing idea that that desire equates to corruption. It is the incursion into the pastoral retreat by a representative from the space outside the retreat that highlights the generic duality by overlapping these opposing ideologies.

Attention to the obstacles to sexual fulfillment is significant. Like the variety of motivations, relationships, and consequences, Haywood's interrupter takes on various forms. In the previous section, I have addressed Lasselia being the only woman in these three texts to consummate her relationship in the pastoral setting. Satisfaction, however, is not the essence of either the pastoral or the amatory narrative. As the pastoral is a fantasy space for possibility, this variety of forms speaks more to generic exploration than sexual gratification, but it is the interrupter who presents the impetus of these variations.

While the interrupters in Haywood do serve to thwart the progress of the liaisons, this is less a signal of the lack of freedom within the retreat, because it can be so easily derailed, and more an articulation of the necessity of the space itself. Gifford suggests, 'this is

the essential paradox of the pastoral: that a retreat to a place apparently without the anxieties of the town, or the court, or the present, actually delivers insights into the culture from which it originates' (82). These interrupters encourage us to examine not just the opportunity for the expression of women's sexuality within the space but to question the correlations outside the retreat between female desire and corruption.

Haywood's pastoral retreats in *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, though spaces of sexual autonomy themselves, are invaded by the influence of the outside world, which manifests feelings of shame, fear, or guilt for the female characters. However, these intruding societal conventions are not fundamental qualities of the pastoral retreat itself. They are conventions of the genre but not the space. Haywood writes her spaces within the generic tradition of the pastoral retreat as a sexualised space, antithetical to an insistence on innocence. We are therefore concerned with the function of these invaders from the outside world where strictures of innocence, in the form of sexual chastity, are, in these three texts, rigorously enforced.

Though there is sexual violence within Haywood's pastorals, it pointedly takes place outside the retreat. The 'violence' within the pastoral space articulates a reclamation of female sexuality, rejecting preconceived ideas of innocence and foregrounding female desire as an innate instinct. In *Love in Excess*, Haywood expresses 'violence' in the amatory terms of passion rather than physical violence, which she absents entirely. While in the Tuileries and confounded by the confusion of her overwhelming desire versus her sense of propriety, a lingering remnant of the outside world, Amena is 'attacked by such a charming force without, betrayed by tenderness within' (Haywood, *Love* 58). These words 'attacked' and 'betrayed' by

the 'charming force' of nature do not so much leave us with the sense that Amena is the victim of D'elmont's sexual advances or those of his supposedly coerced cohort the moon but of a society that oppresses the instinctual sexual desires that are as formidable in women as in men.⁷

Violence of feeling is not followed by violence of action in a pastoral space. In the greenhouse, Ciamara confesses to Brione regarding D'elmont that her 'love, fierce as it was before, from hope receives addition to its fury; I rave - I burn - I am mad with wild desires - I dye [sic], Brione, if I not possess him' (Haywood, *Love* 176). Rather than acting upon those feelings, however, Ciamara throws herself upon the floor and 'sighing two or three times, continued to discover the violence of her impatient passion' (Haywood, *Love* 176). In *Love in Excess*, it is emotion, not action, that is violent. Similarly, in *Lasselia*, de l'Amye's note to Lasselia professes that, though he has attempted to withstand his passion, 'all my Endeavours serve but to make the aspiring Blaze more violent, and now 'tis grown as impossible to be cancel'd, as it is to be overcome' (118).

Brillian's narration regarding the beginning of his relationship with Anselina articulates the innocence of female agency within the pastoral retreat. He recounts that it is 'at the foot of a Diana, curiously carved in marble' that he sits and writes his couplet on the base: 'Hopeless, and silent, I must still adore / Her heart's more hard than stone whom I'd

⁷ Wetenhall Wilkes's *A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice to a Young Lady* (1744) states, regarding chastity, that 'no Charm can supply its Place; without it, Beauty is unlovely, Wit is mean and wanton; Quality contemptible, and Good-breeding worthless' (100).

O'Brien notes that 'the values of female chastity and modesty had always been, and were becoming ever more, from the late seventeenth century, points from which British society took its moral bearings' (20).

implore' (Haywood, *Love* 70). However, it is Anselina's addition on the same base of the statue of the virgin moon goddess that promotes action rather than mere forlornness and silence; she writes, 'You wrong your love, while you conceal your pain / Stones will dissolve with constant drops of rain' (Haywood, *Love* 71). As with Amena on her balcony, here, too, the moon empowers the female in an act of seduction. Diana is the means by which Anselina enacts her pursuance of Brilliant.

The statue of Diana, which I argue enables the liberation of female sexuality, is in direct contrast to the violence signaled by the mythological Dionysus in arguably the first erotic pastoral: the Ancient Greek erotic *Daphnis and Chloe*. While Brilliant and Anselina sit at the feet of Diana, in *Daphnis and Chloe*, it Dionysus's temple that is the centre of Dionysophantes's garden and Daphnis, despite his later fear of the physical pain Chloe will be caused by sexual intercourse, compares himself – favourably he thinks – to Dionysus in his competition with Dorcon of which Chloe is the judge. The lionisation of Dionysus continues throughout the narrative with various characters who 'sacrificed a year old lamb to Dionysus' (33), 'poured libations to Dionysus' (34), 'place flowers upon the head of [the statue of] Dionysus' (45), 'offered sacrifice' (48), and 'to Dionysus [Daphnis] consecrated his wallet and goat-skin' (54). Dionysus, and his connotations of Bacchanalian delights, sharply contrast to the virgin goddess who, I have argued, sanctions female desire within Haywood's pastoral retreats.

The extremism of Dionysus as debauched and animalistic is echoed in *Daphnis and Chloe* in the form of Dorcon who 'resolved to gain his object [Chloe], either by bribery or violence' (8), in the form of Lampis who, while Chloe was 'sitting down, weeping, while she

tended her flock' at that moment 'came up with a band of peasants and carried her off' while she began 'uttering piercing cries' (54), and in Lycaenion's warning to Daphnis that 'when [Chloe] enters upon this struggle with you for the first time, [she] will weep and cry out, and will bleed as if she had been wounded. But you need not be afraid at the sight of the blood: when you have persuaded her to yield to your desire, bring her here, where, if she cries, no one can hear her; if she weeps, no one can see her' (37). Despite Chloe's curiosity and impulses, which are equal to Daphnis's, *Daphnis and Chloe* associates female sexuality with screaming, blood, and yielding to male desire.

Daphnis and Chloe presents even consensual sexual liaisons as fraught with female suffering despite the sexual liberty. However, as Harvey notes, 'English pastoral poetry is infused with an atmosphere of liberty from which violence is banished and in which sex becomes "harmless pleasure"', and it is this freedom from both societal sanctions on female sexuality and the violence associated with the assertion of it that Haywood represents in these three amatory pastoral texts (150). Though in the eighteenth century 'strength and vigour were... crucial attributes of the celebrated male body, and male sexual violence could be seen as an expression of appropriate male vigour and authority', this kind of authority and violence are not native to the pastoral retreat (Harvey 197). Haywood's pastoral *The British Recluse* enacts this kind of aggression in the form of Bellamy but outside the retreat.

Haywood does stage a vivid representation of sexual violence in *The British Recluse*; however, this act of violence does not take place within the pastoral space. In further emphasis of the dichotomy between country versus city, Cleomira recounts the story of Miranda. Bellamy, having fallen in love with her, proceeds to pursue her by driving a wedge

between her and her lover, fabricating falsehoods regarding each that are so overwhelming Miranda's lover vows to travel overseas, leaving her infuriated. Despite being married, Bellamy declares his love for Miranda a few days later, which she spurns. He persists, but his profusion of letters has no positive effect; she 'hated him still more, shun'd him as a Monster, and if, by chance, she saw him at any publick Place... her very Countenance discover'd the secret Disdainings of her Soul' (Haywood, *Recluse* 131-132). Driven mad by desire and her repeated rejection, he vows gratification and to 'seek by *Force*, to obtain what, he was now convinc'd, Entreaties wou'd for-ever fail to give him' (Haywood, *Recluse* 133).

Though Cleomira and Belinda were both tenderly but passionately seduced in the country, Cleomira recounts Bellamy's final violent actions toward Miranda. When rebuffed by Miranda, he, 'knowing [Miranda] very often went to Evening-Prayers,... waited at the Church Door with a Hackney-Coach, and was about to seize and drag her violently into it' when he is fortuitously stopped by the crowd exiting the church and two passers by who drew their swords (Haywood, *Recluse* 133). Miranda's encounter with Bellamy contrasts significantly with 'the arching Trees form'd a Canopy over our Heads, while through the gently shaking Boughs soft Breezes play'd in lulling Murmurings, and fann'd us with delicious Gales; a thosand [sic] Nightingales sung amorous Ditties, and the billing Doves coo'd out their tender Transports - every Thing was soothing - every Thing inspiring!' of Belinda's seduction in the pastoral retreat (Haywood, *Recluse* 112). That it takes place in 'the city' emphasises the pastoral binary of the juxtaposed spaces through the lens of sexual violence.

This canopy of trees signals the safety of the pastoral space that goes back to Meliboeus who describes the 'spread of the sheltering beech' in Virgil's first Eclogue (1) and

then continues as a fundamental generic descriptor seen still centuries later Behn's erotic pastoral 'The Golden Age', which begins with 'ev'ry Bough... / These their kind Shade affording all below; / And those a Bed where all below might rest' (1). Within the protection of this space of physical and moral safety and this genre of social criticism, Haywood sets Bellamy's pastoral seductions that, while in that space at least, remain relatively innocuous. In his attempted wooing of Cleomira and Belinda, Bellamy does mislead them as to his identity, but the violence and corruption that characterise his pursuit of Miranda do not manifest themselves within the pastoral retreat.

In the previous section, I discussed Bellamy's veiling and unveiling of himself, but further, the focus of Haywood's pastorals in these three texts is female desire itself, and it is problematic that he is both falsely a pastoral lover and also a determined, entitled, unrepentant, plotting, violent rapist. If Haywood is to foreground both female sexual desire and its ensuing experience while also setting it against the troublesome societal reality that sought to prohibit it, this dual representation of Bellamy asserts both in the kind of extremity for which the amatory narrative is famous. Notably, though, Bellamy is thwarted in his attempts at sexual violence.

The pastoral binary of *The British Recluse* showcases a duality of Bellamy's presented characters. To a less cynical reader, within the retreat, he is a convincing pastoral lover. However, when his pastoral disguise is thrown off, while questions about the legitimacy and reliability of women's desire could arise, I would argue the revelation that he is not only a philanderer but a would-be rapist emphasises the corruption of the city. Doing so further reinforces the oppositional spaces and ideology and comments on men's behaviour rather

than women's judgement. Had Haywood simply wanted to explore the acceptability of female sexuality, erotica would have been a simpler genre in which to do so, but 'many of the distinctive features of amatory fiction set it apart from erotica', and seemingly one of those is the complication of sexual violence (Harvey 29).

Regarding the sexual nature of amatory fiction and erotica, Harvey clarifies that in erotica, 'sexual pleasure and the sexual act were primary... these texts were not meditations on men's and women's behaviour' (33). However, while 'the sexual encounters in amatory fiction are an opportunity to relish erotic pleasure', Harvey suggests the 'primary purpose' of amatory texts specifically is to present 'serious moral arguments regarding men's and women's interactions. This moral framing of sex significantly alters the presentation of sexual activity, rendering it different in kind from the descriptions of sex found in erotica' (31). I agree with Harvey, and King, that we can engage with Haywood's amatory fiction by seeking, as King puts it, 'alternative[s] to approaches that regard the amatory fictions as fantasy delivery systems for panting chambermaids', but Harvey does not go into further detail regard what those 'serious moral arguments' are, and King focuses on the 'lyricism of language' and *Love in Excess* exclusively ('Genre' 93). Throughout the chapter I have argued that reading these three Haywood texts in a way which attends to her repeated deployment of pastoral dualities does raise questions - or as Harvey would have it, engage in 'serious moral arguments' - regarding female sexuality and its permissibility and impermissibility.

Unlike amatory fiction, which Harvey clarifies, 'certainly encased sexual events in a moral story' (30), 'eighteenth-century erotica was saturated with masculinist themes, privileging male pleasure and power and suggesting insidious violence towards women' (21).

While the potential rape of Miranda would simply be customary sexual violence if expressed in the conventions of erotica, in Haywood's amatory pastoral, it is repudiated as part of the corruption of the world outside the pastoral retreat. Rather than being an accepted part of the female sexual experience, the rejection of violence focuses the morality in the amatory pastoral on the space outside the retreat and the conduct condoned there.

Alpers notes that in *Daphnis and Chloe's* pastoral, 'female pain is thought to be inseparable from male desire' (333). Haywood disillusions us of the notion put forth in *Daphnis and Chloe* and articulated by Alpers, specifically with reference to this particular narrative, as the innate connection between male desire and female pain. These three of Haywood's eighteenth-century amatory pastorals liberate women, and the pastoral retreat, from the male erotic dream of the *Hypnerotomachia*, the physical violence of *Daphnis and Chloe*, and the male delusion of *Acis and Galatea* that manifests itself in Polyphemus.

Haywood echoes Behn's sexually passionate pastoral poems where in 'The Golden Age', 'young wanton Gods of Love' are a non-gendered reference to both men and women in the pastoral space where the 'Groves appear'd all drest with Wreaths of Flowers' (2). The amorous women of Behn's poems include the willing mistress who narrates of her time in the grove with Amyntas, revealing that 'many Kisses he did give: / And I return'd the same' (45), Cloris in 'The Disappointment' whose 'Hands his *Bosom* softly meet, / But not to put him back design'd, / Rather to draw 'em on inclin'd' (70),⁸ and 'the yielding Maid' of 'The Golden Age' who 'Permits the Charming Conqueror to win the prize' after seducing him

⁸ True to its title, the poem depicts an unfulfilled liaison when 'In vain th' intraged [sic] Youth essay'd To call its fleeting Vigor back' (74). Regardless, Cloris is still ardently passionate and inclined to acquiesce in their assignation until stanza eleven (of fourteen) when she is awakened 'from the Trance' (75).

‘with tears all soft, and down-cast-eyes’ (7). In Haywood, *Lasselia* has an ‘Excess of Passion’ (130), Belinda tells Cleomira that ‘with all the Sweets of Nature blooming round us’ (Haywood, *Recluse* 112), she was ‘quite lost in Ecstasy’ when Bellamy began to kiss first her hands, ‘then my Lips, my Neck, my Breast’ (113), and Ciamara in *Love in Excess* is racked with ‘consuming fires!’ for D’elmont (177). In these three narratives, the singular instance in which the brutality or the ‘fury’ of a sexually thwarted man is presented occurs outside the pastoral retreat (113).

Throughout the chapter, I have looked at ways in which Haywood explores pastoral binaries in *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* and how the space of the retreat, the permissibility found there, and the perceived innocence of female sexual desire promote a kind of agency for the female characters within the retreat. Due to the dualities of the pastoral, women’s lack of agency outside the retreat is also notably perceptible. This agency, I suggest, manifests itself in the freedom to assert their sexual desire that women find in the pastoral retreat. Articulating a duality that foregrounds attention to female sexuality helps reframe discussions of female desire within the pastoral retreat.

Parsons’s suggestion that female agency and its ‘relation to the social’, as detailed in the introduction to this chapter, is also manifested through the pastoral binary of country versus city (170). I suggest that in the ‘country’ spaces in Haywood’s amatory texts, she asserts female agency through the declarations of female desire, and Parsons’s suggestion of amatory fiction’s relation to the social is clearly iterated in the ‘city’ spaces within the narratives. The intruder into these pastoral spaces, with whom we are concerned in this section, is a manifestation of ‘the social’. Not only do they highlight the amatory, rather than erotic,

character of the narratives but they further complicate the boundaries of the country versus city, emphasising a need for the retreat as a space away from the outside world and signalling the vulnerability of the retreat and its fantasy of possibility.

Conclusion

While Haywood's concentration is relatively narrow - centring on women's sexuality rather than examining economics, social hierarchy, or productivity as they relate to innocence as Scott does in *Millenium Hall* - Haywood's focus on female sexual desire is thoroughly investigated, and through it, she raises more universal issues evoked from her consideration of boundaries. Though Empson restricts his pastoral investigation solely to works by male authors, he notes that 'it is clear at any rate that this grand notion of the inadequacy of life, so various in its means of expression, so reliable a bass note in the arts, needs to be counted as a possible territory of pastoral' (115). I argue these three Haywood texts assert a challenge to the 'inadequacy of life' and her repeated staging of female sexual desire within the pastoral retreat and the equally repeated reminders of the world outside that retreat juxtapose the potential for alternatives to the inadequacies of the world beyond the retreat and the limitations imposed there.

The pastoral provides a mechanism for thinking about gender differences and their limits; although, as stated in the introduction, McKeon clarifies that any suggestion of definitive distinctions is both 'shaky' and 'unstable' (280). Haywood deals with female sexuality within the pastoral's framework of oppositional binaries. Though she largely focuses on the permissibility and impermissibility, and what ensues from there, for women inside

and outside the pastoral retreat, the vast number of situations and characters suggests an exploration of the instability of circumstances surrounding female sexuality.

Haywood plays with the binaries which tell the story of female sexuality, insisting that while she delineates the boundaries, situating women around them is rife with possibility. I have argued throughout the chapter that Haywood maintains several constants in her representations of pastoral dualities. Her representation of inside and outside the pastoral space as well as permissibility and innocence versus the impermissibility and corruption regarding the expression of female sexual desire remain relatively static in their respective spaces.

Throughout this staging and restaging, the repetitious constants for which the amatory narrative is known remain despite pastoral possibility. Included in Haywood's adherence to the iteration of both sides of the pastoral binary is also the amatory intruder. This archetypal character of the Haywood-ian amatory narrative promotes the delaying tactic of revealing and concealing, what Ballaster calls the 'persistent textual withholding', for which amatory fiction is known (35). Having the intruders insinuate themselves into pastoral retreats is ideal for the nature of the generic pastoral's exploration of the relationship between dualities, which can be both oppositional but co-dependent.

McKeon's reading of the generic pastoral concludes that binary oppositions are put forward to represent necessarily dialectical relationships, and it is these relationships that I suggest interest Haywood in these three texts. While the boundaries are evinced, repeated incursions into the retreat bring the two ideologies into direct contact with one another. Foregrounding these binary oppositions in such an invasive way reinforces the dialectical

nature of the pastoral dualities in these three Haywood texts by an outside interruption to the assertion of female sexual desire the space is meant to protect. Similarly, invaders of the pastoral, Bellamy most emphatically in these three texts, do not signal a challenge to the space or - in Haywood's case here - female desire but serve as a stark reminder of the world beyond the retreat and of the necessity of the retreat itself.

In *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, this world beyond is a space where the disallowance of female sexual desire prompts a myriad of representations of female sexual desire within the retreat. From the repeated iteration of this dialectical relationship, Haywood does not find - or seemingly seek - a definitive conclusion on how to reconcile the sides of female desire she frames as pastoral binaries. Within these three texts at least, Haywood seems determined upon a perpetual irresolution of how to reconcile the outside world with the possibility to be found in the retreat.

In one form or another, Haywood does continually pose a question regarding how the relationship between the naturalness of female sexual desire and societal mores inform the possibility of the indulgence of that desire. The agency that the amatory offers women, as referenced by both Ballaster and Parsons, sanctions that indulgence within the pastoral retreat in these texts. Outside those retreats, however, societal codes reinforce the impossibility of its expression. The only conclusion, though, seems to be impossibility beyond the pastoral fantasy. If we are to recognise the paradoxical defectiveness of the pastoral mechanism, perhaps its inadequacy stems only from its inherent fluidity, which - though useful in maintaining generic longevity and inclusiveness - disallows anything beyond consideration of social reality versus possibility.

The Pastoral Utopia
of Sarah Scott's Millenium Hall:
a Community of Female Friendship and Productivity

In December of 1765 Elizabeth Carter wrote a letter from Deal to Elizabeth Vesey, assuring her, 'I have too much of your rural enthusiasm in my composition, my dear Mrs. Vesey, and too nearly resemble you in your hermit state, to have any pretensions for condemning you as *pastoral-mad*' (3: 263). Carter and Vesey were members of the famed eighteenth-century Bluestocking Society, generally recognised to be led by Sarah Scott's older sister: Elizabeth Montagu. Within this society, 'female intelligence was valued and encouraged' (Eger, 'Bluestocking' 29) and standards of 'reason and emotional self-discipline' were high (Peltz, 'Living' 73). Staves remarks that they 'shared a hunger for learning, firm commitments to the Church of England and virtuous living, and a determination to improve themselves and their society' (303), and while their coterie was comprised of privileged women, Norma Clarke notes that their philosophy 'opened up the conversation of the leisured classes to carefully selected individuals from lower down the social scale' (8). All of these efforts and ambitions were nurtured within this society.

As in Carter's letter to Vesey, in much of the Bluestocking correspondence we see expressed a reverence for the pastoral retreat. In Bluestocking correspondence - including that of, Elizabeth Carter, Mrs. Delany, Elizabeth Montagu, Sarah Scott, Catherine Talbot, Elizabeth Vesey, and others - among various discussions of family, friends, politics, literature, travel, and religion, we see recurring ideas and concerns regarding the pastoral retreat and its opposing space: the city. Through these letters, the women delineate the city and the country

as different spaces with different values and expectations, as will be evident throughout this chapter. Many of the Bluestockings clearly revered their country retreats away from London for aspects of it that are conventionally celebrated in literary texts. They write about their retreats in terms traditionally associated with the literary pastoral space, extolling the virtues of happiness, peace, and quiet.

The general sentiment from Bluestocking correspondence is positive; although, there were other women who more emphatically felt the pastoral was an almost suffocating punishment. Bending details this regarding Lady Mary Coke who was known for her letters, journals, and questionable relationship with Prince Edward, Duke of York and who ‘lived out her periods of retirement all too aware of the society from which she felt separated’, and Henrietta Knight, Lady Luxborough who was exiled to the countryside after being erroneously accused by her husband of having an affair (*Retreats* 191). Despite the prevailing good opinion regarding the countryside, Bluestocking correspondence professes some very palpable and genuine concerns about occupying that space. The two most troublesome of these, I would suggest, are a lack of female companionship - rather than merely epistolary relationships - and the idleness inherent in the pastoral retreat.

The primary focus of this chapter is on the single text of Scott’s pastoral utopia *Millenium Hall*, though I will contextualise it with and read it against Bluestocking correspondence, other relevant pastoral precursors, Scott’s contemporary female pastoralists, country house poetry, georgic writers, and Mary Hamilton’s utopia, *Munster Village*. In *Millenium Hall*, Scott unites Bluestocking concerns about female friendship and idleness and sets them in an amalgamated space of the pastoral and utopia that answers these concerns

while embracing generic exploration. This exploration accesses various articulations of the single-sex pastoral and of the utopian tenet of productivity while also engaging with aspects of the country house poem and the georgic, as I will consider in the section on Scott's pastoral utopia.

In Montagu's correspondence we find the recurring ideas that, like many of the Bluestockings, she highly values her retreat from London and sees this space as one of happiness, peace, and virtue. She praises the pastoral retreat, saying that the merriest man of her acquaintance is a Frenchman who lives pastorally 'with the mountain nymphs, liberty and health, in the Dales' (2: 207). However, also recurring throughout her letters is an unease about a lack of female companionship and an unwelcome tendency to idleness in that space. Her letters, like those of other Bluestockings, as I will cite throughout the chapter, are effusive on the subject of the comfort to be found in female friendship.

In an undated letter written in 1741 or 1742, Montagu declares, 'the various pleasures the general world can give us, are nothing in comparison of the collected comforts of friendship' (1: 136), and in a letter to Mr. Friend regarding her sister, she proclaims, 'my joy in seeing my sister will be such as I cannot think of without transport... I am glad that, of all blessings Providence has most lavishly bestowed upon me, that of friendship, for as I am most sensible to it, I am most thankful for it' (2: 41). This emphasis on the comfort of female friendship is a common motif in writings regarding the pastoral retreat by women in the mid-eighteenth century. Scott makes clear the necessity of female friendship through Lady Mary's character, describing her as having 'seen sufficient proof of the real friendship to be found in such fashionable connexions [sic] as she had been engaged in' when, after Lady Sheerness's

death, she is left in a ‘destitute condition’ and abandoned by those who had previously occupied her aunt’s house at cards and other frivolous activities (188-189). The need for friendship is emphatically expressed in *Millenium Hall*, but it is also evident not only in Bluestocking correspondence but in the poetry and novels of other contemporary female pastoralists, as I will detail in the section regarding Scott’s single-sex pastoral.

To address the concern of idleness in the pastoral retreat, Scott amalgamates her pastoral with the useful productivity of the utopia, absenting conventional ideas of *otium* within the retreat and favouring productive ideas of *negotium*. The adjective *negotious* is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as ‘involving or given to, occupation or business’ [‘negotious’], and McKeon cites *otium* and *negotium* as one in a long list of dualities in the generic pastoral stemming from the binary of the city versus country (268). I argue Scott presents this *otium/negotium* duality in what McKeon calls a ‘reversal of values’, which I will also address with reference to the georgic later in the chapter; she charges the women in the city with idleness and manifests productivity for the women in the country through the pastoral retreat’s connection with the utopia (269).

Works of many of Scott’s contemporary female pastoral poets directly address the *otium* of the pastoral retreat as well but generally choose to uphold that tenet as a factor in the peace to be found within that space. Bluestocking novels such as Sarah Fielding’s *The History of Ophelia* (1760) and Frances Burney’s *Evelina* (1778) indirectly address this concern of idleness, but it is given relatively little attention as Fielding and Burney focus more widely on the absurdities of societal custom within the city, as I will detail in the section regarding the

utopia. I would argue, however, that the structure of Scott's text, with its narratives that alternate between inside and outside the pastoral retreat, more fully addresses these concerns.

Scott's articulation of the pastoral is a single-sex space that specifically addresses this significantly problematic and repeatedly referenced dilemma of idleness. I will begin this chapter by establishing her iteration of the pastoral retreat as a single-sex space, exploring what is to be gained from this specific space, why she constructs her pastoral as a community, and how her specific articulation embraces the ideas of her contemporary female pastoralists while reorienting it in its amalgamation with the utopia. In doing so, I will contextualise her representation briefly with its literary-historical roots and then move on in more detail to contextualise her with her contemporary female pastoralists, both poets and novelists.

In *Millenium Hall*, equally significant to her iteration of the pastoral is the collocation of the retreat with the utopia. Through this, Scott addresses the problem of idleness by undertaking representations of *otium* and *negotium* contrary to conventional pastorals. With the amalgamation of the pastoral space with the utopia, she has developed the pastoral retreat into a productive space of useful *negotium*. Having established her single-sex pastoral and her utopia and examined the significance of this amalgamation, I will then move on to discuss the financial issues, social structure, and futurity within her feminist pastoral utopia as they pertain to another Bluestocking concern: marriage.

The focus of analysis from recent criticism of *Millenium Hall* has been predominantly the moral character of the women, the financial or economic situation of the society, and the role of Scott's male narrator. These are often coupled with an examination of the creation of the society at the eponymous hall with an emphasis on topics such as philanthropy, authority,

stewardship, virtue, and sexuality. Like Mary Peace who claims that ‘there is no doubt that this venture indicates a certain confidence about the possibility of reconciling commerce and virtue’ (308), Nicolle Jordan maintains ‘the tableau is clearly designed to inspire admiration of industry’ (49).⁹ While these are true, this thesis looks at Millenium Hall as a model of utopian *negotium* set within Scott’s pastoral community. Though I discuss their repudiation of the vice seen in the previous owners of the second house they acquire in an exploration of country house poetry and the georgic, I focus on their dedication to occupation within the pastoral utopia.

James Cruise notes that the narrator, named as Sir George Ellison in the sequel to *Millenium Hall*, sees Millenium Hall as a ‘green patch [that] allows [Sir George] to retreat in history, back to “the days of Theocritus”’ (557). I would argue the idyllic park is a substantive realisation of the pastoral retreat, but it is also constructed as a female-centric space in which to explore ways to reject and combat what Bluestockings saw as problematic issues with the retreat. Cruise claims that the ‘pastoralism of Millenium Hall is so only by virtue of geographic setting’ (566), but Jordan’s ideas that ‘Millenium Hall’s landscape is the physical manifestation of an ethics of piety, industry, and benevolent stewardship’ more accurately considers the Bluestocking culture in which Scott was writing (32).

Dorice Williams Elliott’s work on female philanthropy in *Millenium Hall* suggests, ‘Scott’s novel helped to establish philanthropy as a defining characteristic of the domestic

⁹ In ‘Gentlemen and Gentle Women’, Jordan uses the word pastoral only three times in her essay: once in footnoting Cruise (34), once in a quote from *Millenium Hall* (48), and once to reference the ‘pastoral principles that (Mrs. Maynard’s) life embodies’ (33) without detailing what those are. Jordan does, however, describe the contrasting landscapes of *Millenium Hall* in a clearly pastoral condition: ‘in the starkest terms, the contrast generates an ethical geography by which vice festers in the city while virtue retires to the countryside’ (32).

woman and to sanction women's writing about social, political, and economic problems' (536). I would argue Scott's aesthetically traditional, unmistakably pastoral opening to the novel defines the text as a reassuring space in which she can articulate the less-reassuring, more-problematic ideas of women dealing with these social, political, and economic issues.

Female Friendship and the Necessity of the Single-Sex Pastoral Retreat

The opening pages and the subsequent descriptions of the physical landscape throughout the novel, replete with the sensory details, make clear that Millenium Hall is set within a pastoral retreat. However, the community in, the social purpose of, and the alternating country versus city narratives within the text support a pastoral reading as well. As cited in chapter one with reference to Alpers's timeline of the representative anecdote, in his brief delineation of the 'history of pastoral criticism', he cites Poggioli and his pastoral study *The Oaten Flute* (1975) in which Poggioli delineates 'pastorals of innocence and happiness' (18). This innocence is most often found in the pastoral's seclusion from the outside world. Poggioli's chapter 'The Pastoral of the Self' discusses the pastoral as an oasis of solitude, a place for one person - or a group of people of the same gender - to escape from the world. Though this space can be invaded by outside forces, as I examine in chapter one, it is notable for its lack of temptation and corruption and for the ensuing focus on more noble, and less worldly, purposes. As a place of vice and infamy, the world outside the retreat represents the oppositional space of the pastoral binary.

The inset narratives, which are framed by the narratives set within the pastoral retreat, signify from what corruption the female inhabitants of this pastoral community are seeking

peace. The title *Millenium Hall* signifies the period of peace after Christ's resurrection, which according to Gary Kelly, 'suggests a utopian theme, based on the assertion in the Bible... that with the return of Christ there would commence a millennium... of peace' (53). The title *Millenium Hall* is at once pastoral and utopian. The Arcadian setting of the pastoral of the self, or of solitude, is a place of virtue and innocence iterated by Scott and other eighteenth-century female pastoralists as a retreat of female friendship that emphasises peace.

This peace is often signaled by the word 'quiet' or 'tranquility' so often voiced by the speaker of the letter, poem, or story, as I will detail throughout this section. In later sections, I will read the pastoral utopia's concerns of economics, *otium*, *negotium*, and occupation within the purposeful and necessary structure of Scott's specifically female-centered society. As a preface to those discussions, in this section I will explore the structure through a contextualisation of *Millenium Hall* with other antecedent and eighteenth-century writers of single-sex pastorals, through an examination of what the single-sex pastoral space offers, and through a differentiation of *Millenium Hall's* pastoral from Scott's contemporaries and predecessors.

In first contextualising Scott's pastoral within the scope other pastoral writing, I would like to look briefly at the ways in which two male writers, pastoral predecessors of the eighteenth-century pastoralists, structured their pastoral spaces. They establish the same single-sex pastoral as Scott does, and while she specifically inveighs against Italian pastorals and what she declares is their corruption, her familiarity with them renders them helpful context for her own pastoral utopia. In *The History of Sir George Ellison* (1766), regarding the education of daughters, Scott says that since they learn Italian and French 'chiefly in

Pastorals, their hearts acquire corruption and folly, faster than their heads do the languages, and their understandings, instead of being improved, are perverted by their studies' (92).¹⁰ Regardless of their supposedly corrupting influence, their single-sex pastoral space is reflected in *Millenium Hall* by Scott who reshapes the initial portrayal to foreground concerns of the Bluestockings.

In Miguel Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605) and Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581) are the seeds of the single-sex pastoral articulated by Scott and other eighteenth-century female pastoralists in their representation of the retreat. Although this thesis is concerned with the representations of the pastoral in story XIV of chapter one in *Quixote*, rather than *Millenium Hall*'s emphasis on rationality and repudiation of quixotism, *Quixote* was clearly being read by eighteenth-century readers in England. This is evidenced, in part, by Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote; or, The Adventures of Arabella* (1752). Though focused on 'Englishness, masculinity, and quixotism' in Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759-67), in 'Gendering the Quixote in Eighteenth-Century England' (2017), Amelia Dale notes that 'English interpretations, appropriations, and transportations of the figure of Don Quixote play a pivotal role in eighteenth-century constructions of so-called English national character' (5). I will, therefore, briefly address two

¹⁰ This same sentiment is evinced in a letter from Carter answering fellow-Bluestocking Catherine Talbot's inquiry about Milton's use of the allusion 'Cynosure' in *L'Allegro*. Carter explains regarding the reference, 'it is perhaps too uncommon and scientific a word, and if the thought was good for much, one would wish that Milton had not by this expression obscured it', but she dismisses it quickly and moves on to news of their common connections. The editor, Reverend Montagu Pennington, clarifies that this allusion is 'a striking instance; among many other of pedantry in our great poet, which Mrs. Carter's correct judgement could not approve. It seems probable that Milton's taste was vitiated by his familiar acquaintance with the Italian Poets' (4: 87).

male-authored pastorals, one Italian and the other Spanish that were written within two decades of one another each featuring a female protagonist within the pastoral retreat, that offer a helpful foundation to an examination of the single-sex, female-authored pastorals of the eighteenth century. Scott and many of her female contemporaries portray the pastoral retreat as the ideal space for both the fruition of female friendship and as an escape from the vice of the world beyond that retreat, which they catalogue extensively in their work and to which I will refer throughout this chapter.

Montagu's letters, among other Bluestocking correspondence, repeatedly exalt female friendship and often lament the absence of such company in their retreats from London.¹¹ To Mrs. Donnellan, Montagu writes, 'I admire my friend above all people, and friendship above all things; it has all the tenderness of love without its weaknesses, and its ecstasies [sic] without its jealousies' (1: 115); to the Duchess of Portland, 'the pleasures of friendship bring to their sweetness no satiety' (1: 205); again to Mrs. Donnellan, 'in being and having a true friend is the greatest happiness we can enjoy' (1: 245); and to her 'dear sister', she writes that she and Mrs. Pendarvis 'walked out together this morning for about an hour, and happily beguiled the time by talking of our sisters, and the comfort of sisterly friendship' (2: 47). It is hardly surprising, then, that the word 'sisters' appears in *Millenium Hall* twenty-five times in a figurative form to convey female friendship. We see this same belief expressed in the Bluestocking letters among Carter, Talbot, Delany, Vesey, and in female-authored poetry and novels, as I will explore throughout the chapter.

¹¹ As I will discuss in the coming section on marriage, Elizabeth Montagu marries in 1742, and Sarah Scott marries in 1751. Some of the letters I reference, then, were written prior to their marriages when one or both sisters were still Robinsons. For the sake of clarity, however, I will refer to them as Montagu and Scott throughout.

In addition to beginning with the single-sex Italian pastorals, I will also examine Scott's articulation of the pastoral within both the frames of the Bluestocking tenets of female friendship, action, virtue, and nurturing assistance of other women, and within the writings of other Bluestockings in both fiction and non-fiction. However, it is also relevant to consider other female writers of the eighteenth century who were outside the Bluestocking circle. The contributions to the pastoral genre made by these female writers also aid in our understanding of the female portrayal of the pastoral as a space and a genre and of various articulations of female concerns in the eighteenth century.

In Elizabeth Eger's discussion of 'bluestocking philosophy', she notes Montagu's 'most profound legacy was to forge a public identity for the female intellectual... both through her own scholarship and her encouragement of other women' (*Reason* 13). I would argue, then, that there is significance in examining how what are seen as Bluestocking concerns - including 'practical virtue' and 'the importance of friendship' - manifest themselves in the work of women outside that circle (Eger, *Reason* 13). These additional texts serve to augment the idea of the eighteenth-century female pastoral beyond the privileged set of the Bluestockings. Simultaneously, it maintains the ideal of the Bluestockings themselves of 'bestowing upon women the means by which their voices might be used' (Eger, *Reason* 17).

In early iterations of the single-sex pastoral, as seen in Tasso and Cervantes, are the juxtaposition of the corruption of the outside world - the war in *Gerusalemme liberata* and unwanted sexual/romantic advances in chapter one's story XIV of *Don Quixote* - collocated with pastoral retreats that provide a space of escape from the outside world. While eighteenth-century, female-authored, single-sex pastoral poems often catalogue the city's vices,

many tend to do so conceptually rather than explicitly. Novelist, playwright, poet, and essayist Frances Brooke, a prominent figure in London's cultural and theatrical circles but not a Bluestocking, opens her poem 'Ode' with the command, 'O, far remov'd from my Retreat / Be Av'rice and Ambition's Feet!' and closes with the wish that 'Nor Pomp, nor Wealth, my Wishes more' (144); Miss Soper's 'Repentance' inveighs against 'a world so abounding with evil' where women of virtue must 'wage open war with the devil' while they work at 'avoiding... every temptation' (275);¹² and the early pastorals of Katherine Philips, known herself 'for the establishment of a "society of friendship"' (Chernaik), exalt female friendship and declaim against the 'boisterous World' in 'A retir'd Friendship, to Ardelia' (58) and in 'A Country life' against the 'Tumult, Discontent' and 'Flattery or Fears!', declaring that there is no 'pride' (177), 'envy', temptation (178), 'Lust, Scorn, or Design' (180). These poems certainly iterate the pastoral dualities of country versus city and virtue versus vice, but their abstraction of vice sets their focus on the virtuousness of the pastoral as an ideal setting for female friendship and for the fruition of their societal concerns regarding women's role, as I will detail throughout the chapter.

Cervantes's and Tasso's iterations are closer to Scott's narrative in specifying the circumstances of the world - and vices - outside the pastoral retreat. However, while these two male-authored pastorals offer a more detailed examination of the retreat and the space beyond it, in both of these works, the pastoral retreats are temporary - and brief - havens

¹² Miss Soper seems now to have become a relatively anonymous writer; although, two of her poems, 'Repentance', cited here and elsewhere in this chapter, and 'Miss Soper's Answer to a Lady, who invited her to Retire into a Monastic Life at St. Cross, near Winchester' both appear in *A Collection of Poems in Six Volumes. By Several Hands Volume VI* (1763). In his critical text *Jane Austen and Leisure* (1998), David Selwyn cites the *Collection* as 'most important perhaps as a survey of mid-eighteenth-century poetry, some of it admittedly fairly minor' (196) and notes that 'Jane Austen owned a copy... [and] we can be sure she read them' (194).

within the narratives, as I will explore. While Cervantes's and Tasso's spaces maintain the same conventions of the pastoral space as a retreat of virtue and peace, such as we find in *Millenium Hall*, the relative momentariness with which that space is occupied offers a clear but cursory examination of the pastoral dualities of city versus country, vice versus virtue, and danger versus safety.

Like Cervantes and Tasso, though, Scott foregrounds the immorality of the outside world in a manner rarely seen in female-authored pastoral poems of the eighteenth century. Other eighteenth-century, female-authored novels that engage with the pastoral opposition of country versus city – such as Fielding's *Ophelia* and Burney's *Evelina*, whose pastoralism I will discuss in detail in the coming sections – place their virtuous heroines within the vicious world beyond the retreat. In contextualising Scott within this range of pastoral articulations, her balance of the dualities, I would argue, offers a deeper engagement with the binary oppositions of country versus city and virtue versus vice that are represented.

The initial impetus for the retreat itself is as an escape from male duplicity in varying forms. *Millenium Hall* associates the vice and sexual or romantic danger for women with the city while constructing a single-sex pastoral retreat as a space where women are able to guard against such corruption. It is not, however, the first pastoral example of female protestation against oppressive societal pressures nor is it the first to juxtapose one female and one male narrator to signal a remonstrance against models that standardise female victimisation. In *Don Quixote*, Cervantes's young, beautiful, wealthy, and recently self-proclaimed shepherdess Marcela is named the cause of death of the young, beautiful, wealthy, scholar-turned-shepherd Grisóstomo who dies when his unsought and un-encouraged love goes unrequited.

Upon arriving at Grisóstomo's funeral, which also serves as her trial, Marcela - after having unintentionally won the hearts of the other shepherds without falling victim to love herself - is condemned as the 'savage basilisk of these mountains' for her rejection of Grisóstomo's unwanted advances (Cervantes 98). She defends herself, her beauty, her virtue, and her modesty: passionately questioning her interrogators, 'if chastity is one of the virtues that most adorn and beautify both body and soul, why should a woman, loved for being beautiful, lose that virtue in order to satisfy the desire of a man who, for the sake of his pleasure, attempts with all his might and main to have her lose it?' (Cervantes 99). Marcela then declares the necessity of both freedom and solitude and retreats from this unwanted sexual attention into her virtuous but isolated pastoral space.

Like the women of *Millenium Hall*, above all else Marcela venerates honour, chastity, and purity; therefore, she secludes herself in this reclusive space which shares similar values with the nearly all female community of Millenium Hall. *Millenium Hall's* single-sex pastoral community is, however, a deviation from Marcela's willful solitude. This pushes beyond *Don Quixote's* articulation of the retreat as mere escape by promoting sisterhood above the self to generate a sense of purpose that binds the charitable morals, the Bluestocking call to action, and the promotion of female friendship of Scott's pastoral to the realisation of them through the utopian community.

Throughout the text, the women repeatedly refer to each other as 'friend' and often represent their friendship as the basis for the community. Lady Mary explains to Sir George that 'the social comforts of friendship are so necessary to our happiness, that it would be impossible not to endeavour to enjoy them' (110), and when Lamont claims that in the

founders' dedication to others they 'choose to make us all slaves to each other', Miss Mancel answers, 'I would only make you friends. Those who are really such are continually endeavouring to serve and oblige each other' (112).

Millenium Hall's pastoral community offers an opportunity for active engagement lacking in a pastoral such as Marcella's where she retreats from Grisóstomo's advances but, in the process, also away from everyone else. She decides to 'choose the solitude of the countryside' where she can 'communicate my thoughts and my beauty to the trees and to the waters' (99). She professes that her 'desire' is 'to live perpetually alone and have only the earth enjoy the fruit of my seclusion' (100). While Marcella articulates surprisingly enlightened commentary on the situation of women and female virtue for a male-authored, early seventeenth-century text, her retreat into the pastoral offers little beyond solitude and an escape from an unwanted situation.

Marcella avows a number of the same values as many mid-eighteenth-century women writers, including the necessity of purity and freedom. Further, the peace and virtue of her retreat is generically indicative of the pastoral, and the time Marcella spends outside the retreat and her speech at Grisóstomo's funeral comment harshly on society and its permissible entitlement to the corruption of women's virtue. However, while Marcella's pastoral retreat is conventional, it challenges societal views but does not move beyond mere rejection of society's mores.

As we use the term 'pastoral retreat', it is meant as a space of retirement. Potential connotations of a hideaway, however, can be misleading. With reference to *Daphnis and Chloe*, Alpers says the pastoral retreat is a way of 'dealing with, not avoiding or retreating from,

present situations and occasions' (92). While the initial motivations of Marcella and the women at Millenium Hall are the same - to extoll honour, chastity, and virtue - it is here that the philanthropic basis for Millenium Hall's society evolves the pastoral space of the self into the truly virtuous pastoral of community. Marcela's pastoral narrative has a notable deficiency of sympathy or empathy, and she develops a worrisome pride in her adherence to her supposedly pastoral values. Her insistence on a solitary pastoral turns to a kind of idolatrous self-love that Scott combats by turning her single-sexed pastoral away from the self and toward establishing a community.

Though Cervantes's protagonist is a woman who promotes the same independent virtuousness in a single-sex pastoral as the women of *Millenium Hall*, Cervantes's solitary single-sex pastoral more reflects what could be - though not unqualifiedly - the male writer's ideal of this specific space;¹³ whereas, Scott's pastoral community and the works of other female pastoralists write the space as one ideal for female friendship. In *The History of Ophelia*, Ophelia's aunt flees the West Indies, as Ophelia tells us, 'with no Companion but myself, in search of a Retreat far from the Sight of human Kind' (43). They find a cottage in 'a delightful Valley' where they live 'situated above twenty Miles distant from any other House' (43) with all 'the vernal Beauties of the finer Seasons' (44). The narrator in Brooke's 'Ode', Delia, proclaims, 'the branching Vine, the Woodbine sweet' and 'the leafy Grove, or... the flow'ry Mead' the perfect place to 'rove' with her 'dear Sabina' (144). Philips's 'A *retir'd Friendship, to Ardelia*' catalogues the vices of the city but declares the pastoral retreat a place

¹³ In addition to *Don Quixote*'s chapter fourteen, we see this same solitude, but of men, in Andrew Marvell's 'The Garden', in lines 220-286 of James Thomson's 'Summer' from *The Seasons* concerning the shepherd at noontime, and in the opening and closing of Garcilaso de la Vega's 'First Eclogue'.

where 'Friendship can be unconcern'd' (57) and 'mischief's self can doe [sic] no harm / To Friendship or to Innocence' (58). *Evelina* offers a slight exception to this rule, but Evelina's guardian, though a man, is a reverend whose repeated, epistolary asseverations assert the virtuousness of the pastoral while Evelina is in the city. We therefore look on him not as a woman but as an intimate who shares the same values as the aforementioned female writers and characters, much like Sir George who evinces these in his story: *The History of Sir George Ellison*.

In Tasso's famed Italian epic *Gerusalemme liberata*, which details a fantastical version of the First Crusade, a young woman finds herself alone in the woods at night. In the morning, she stumbles upon a *locus amoenus* in which she finds three boys playing music and an old man watching his herd while weaving baskets. While most cantos of Tasso's poem are set within the war between Christians and Muslims, this episode of Erminia in the woods portrays the pastoral as a temporary sanctuary for Erminia from both the war raging in the city and her conflicts in love with Tancredi and Clorinda, both of whom she is trying to escape. In *Gerusalemme*, the politics of the outside world are not inflicted on the safe and secluded pastoral setting, and this is, in part, a degree of the innocence of the pastoral.

Erminia finds the mental and physical peace of the retreat a sharp contrast to the war and love triangle of the outside world. When she praises the 'quiet', the shepherd replies that 'in this secluded scene, unoutrag'd and unharm'd have ever been my home, my flocks; nor did the din of arms e'er shake our lowly cot with rude alarms', and he extolls, 'Thanks be to Heaven, that guards, content and free, the shepherd, blest in his humility' (Canto 7). For these men, this freedom from the corruption of the city is a freedom from war, but the men's

single-sex pastoral retreat also offers them a sense of refuge from the romantic entanglements Erminia is attempting to escape.

If the conflicts of the outside world are not inflicted upon the pastoral retreat and this space offers a kind of sheltering tranquility, this is another persuasive reason to read *Millenium Hall* as pastoral. The degree of innocence inherently associated with the pastoral space is not only about a lack of sexuality but about peace. With its peace and security, Scott's framing narrative sets in sharp relief the misfortunes and distress later chronicled in the women's lives leading up to the establishment of Millenium Hall and highlights in specificity the duality of the two spaces.

In many of the female-authored pastorals of the eighteenth century, we see women within the pastoral space denouncing the world beyond the retreat. In Marcella's and Erminia's stories, however, we glimpse short pastoral episodes while most of each story takes place in the setting that embodies the vice being denounced. Scott offers substantial and extensive detail regarding both the situations of corruption in the world beyond the retreat as well as a detailed tour of the pastoral community at Millenium Hall. In these she balances the dualities of virtue versus vice, innocence and corruption.

The direct detail of the corruption - Mrs. Morgan's forced marriage, Miss Mancel's predatory guardian, Lord Robert's and the married Mr. Lenmen's seductions of Lady Mary - is virtually undeniable, and Scott's meticulously detailed vision in her pastoral utopia offers little room for denouncement beyond, of course, the objection of the reality of unattainability. These realities will be discussed with regard to Scott's attempt to realise the fictional Millenium Hall at Hitcham in the next section 'Idleness and Occupation'. Here,

however, as the utopia and pastoral are famously spaces of fantasy and desire, we look not to the verisimilitude of the community but to the aspirations of its mores. The virtues and values Scott extolls are a magnification of Bluestocking beliefs and concerns as she constructs her community to combat the corruption of the city.

In *Millenium Hall*, the women's initial need for the retreat to this community is to create a secure place where self-interest, abuse, neglect, dishonesty, and seduction are not the principles on which their society is governed. They seek the same 'quiet' Erminia praises in the men's single-sex pastoral. It is this peace and quiet we also see praised in the work of many eighteenth-century female pastoralists. Ophelia lauds the 'Content and Tranquility' (44) in which she and her aunt live after returning from the West Indies and what her aunt is 'now convinced' was her romantic and financial 'Misfortune' there (42). Ophelia further reiterates this binary opposition during her time in the city when she longs to return to her home in the country that she might 'seek for Peace and endeavour to forget a vicious Race' (238), and to prevent us thinking this is specific and exceptional to Ophelia, these sentiments are paralleled in the stories of Ophelia and the unnamed young lady with whom Ophelia is mistaken in chapters fourteen through sixteen. Further, in Jane West's *A Gossip's Story* (1796), though Mr. and Miss Dudley retire out of financial necessity, Miss Dudley's 'heart glowed' in the 'obscure retreat' of Seatondell (158), and at the close of the novel, she and Mr. Pelham retire to the 'tranquil retreat' (229) of his country seat but continue to spend a part of each year at her house in Seatondell, 'which afforded an asylum' to her and her father in their time of need (231).

In a letter to Montagu dated May 9, 1764, Carter hopes Montagu is able to ‘enjoy all the leisure and solitude, which are necessary to repair the devastations which hurry and crouds [sic] have made upon your health and spirits during the fatigues of the winter’ (1: 211), and she reiterates the inspiring effects of the retreat in a letter three days later in which she hopes, in spite of the poor weather, that Montagu is ‘at least enjoying the quiet and repose of the country’ (1: 212). In Carter’s ‘Ode, to a Lady in London’ (1758), she echoes this same philosophy, advising, ‘From noise, my dear, and giddy crowds / To rural scenes remove’ (Carter, ‘Ode’). Miss Soper expresses a similar sentiment in the second stanza of ‘Repentance’, stating that the pastoral is the place one goes ‘to retire from the crowd’ (274). Further, the closing two stanzas of Philips’s ‘A *retir’d Friendship, to Ardelia*’ declares those ‘who would not ever seek a shade, / Deserve their Happiness to miss’ because in the pastoral we ‘the boisterous World disdain’ (58). The ‘quiet’ of this space denotes a lack of disruptive forces, and while many female pastoral poets abstractly catalogue the vices of the city, for the women of Millenium Hall, this recurring disruption, iterated in the framed narratives, originates primarily in their relationships with men.

Scott, arguably, turns to a single-sex pastoral because, as Lillian Faderman encapsulates Elizabeth Griffith’s *The History of Lady Barton* (1771), ‘men constantly deceive and are in every way undependable, but women never forget that they can turn to each other’ (76). Griffith, one of the Bluestockings depicted in Richard Samuel’s *Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo (or The Nine Living Muses of Great Britain)* (1777), was a prolific novelist, playwright, and translator who expresses the Bluestocking tenets of strong

female relationships.¹⁴ Though Lady Barton is trapped in an unfortunate marriage, she takes solace in epistolary relationships with her sister and a female friend, Lucy. While we see this same need for female friendships asserted in other Bluestocking novels such as *Millenium Hall* and *The History of Ophelia*, correspondence between Carter and Montagu, among other Bluestockings, articulates this same necessity. Carter writes to Montagu from Tunstal on June 19, 1767, telling her, 'I most heartily thank you for that instance of your friendship and affection, which in a trial in which you imagined your spirits might need some support, so kindly depended on me' (1: 333). Lady Barton's sentiment succinctly articulates the need for female space, and we see this repeatedly echoed throughout the writings of female pastoralists of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who employ the pastoral retreat as a space of possibilities in which to negotiate their own circumstances.

Even Charlotte Lennox's 'Aminta and Delia: A Pastoral' (1747) evinces the idea of female friendships within the pastoral retreat. Lennox, perhaps most famous for *The Female Quixote* and herself another productive Bluestocking estranged from her husband, models 'Aminta and Delia' on more conventional pastoral poetry, structuring it as two shepherds alternately singing to each other about their passion for their lovers rather than one female narrator who recounts the vice of the city and praises the retreat for its peace. Lennox has rejected the voice of the shepherd in favour of highlighting the voice of the shepherdess, and the second stanza opens the poem with Delia wishing for Aminta that 'May ev'ry Grace and blooming Charm be thine, / And the dear Joys of Peace and Friendship mine' (16). It then

¹⁴ Also depicted in Samuel's famous work are Anna Letitia Barbauld, Elizabeth Carter, Angelica Kauffmann, Charlotte Lennox, Catharine Macaulay, Elizabeth Montagu, Hannah More, and Elizabeth Ann Sheridan.

takes a surprisingly Haywood-ian turn with Delia declaring her love for Philander and Aminta hers for Damon in passionate terms: Delia recounting that Philander ‘sees too well the struggling Passions rise, / Glow in my Cheeks and Languish in my Eyes’ while Aminta confesses her ‘Sighs and Blushes speak an equal Flame’ to her lover’s (17).

Lennox also evinces the pastoral in occupations of singing and playing, the continual descriptions of the setting, and the interlocutors’ names: Delia as the moon goddess in reference to Ancient Greece and Aminta whose name harkens back to Tasso’s acclaimed pastoral play about the eponymous hero and his lover Sylvia. Beyond the opening two stanzas, though, Delia and Aminta are wholly consumed with their lovers, hardly acknowledging the other has spoken as each is entirely focused on pressing on with their own enamourments.

Despite their single-mindedness and the traditional convention of the dialogic song, this is not the customary ‘contest’ that is evident in so many pastorals. Rather than rivals, Aminta and Delia are intimates and confidantes, and the pastoral retreat is the setting for their shared experiences. While each is clearly wrapped up in her own amours and the subjects of the poem are Damon and Philander, the voices attest to a connection between the two women in their parallel descriptions of the pastoral space and their corresponding loves. Like many female-authored, eighteenth-century pastoral poems, ‘Aminta and Delia’ is founded on the bond of women.

Other female writers were certainly making use of pastoralism, and we see that not only in pastoral poems, which I will continue to consider throughout the chapter, but we also find the trope of the associations of the countryside with innocence and the city with

corruption within two other Bluestocking novels of the mid-eighteenth century. The taking of the female from that retreat of virtue and re-establishing her into the city is a familiar articulation of the genre seen in *Ophelia* and in *Evelina*. Ophelia is stolen from her aunt and taken from their 'delightful Valley... fine Grove of Trees... [and] clear Brook' by Lord Dorchester, and Evelina travels to London from Howard Grove with Lady Howard, Mrs. Mirvan, and Miss Maria Mirvan, leaving behind her pastoral home with Reverend Villars at Berry Hill (43). While these female protagonists are situated in the city, they embody their pastoral upbringings in order that Fielding and Burney may offer stark, often comical, pictures of corruption and vice outside the pastoral retreat.

For Evelina, these ills include encounters with men at a private ball and the ridotto, the Marylebone Pleasure Garden, the excessive drinking and gambling of Lord Merton, and the deception of Sir Clement among others. Ophelia, upon her first entry into London society, 'could not forbear asking' Lord Dorchester 'why he chose to associate me with so vile a Set of People' (106). Further, from her time in society, she 'learnt that to be impertinent was civil, and thoroughly troublesome was being perfectly well-bred' (131). However, even while in the midst of these infamous characters and situations, the characters of Evelina and Ophelia retain the ideals of pastoral simplicity, instilled in them in the pastoral retreats of their childhood homes.

Regarding simplicity of character, rather than language, Empson observes that 'the praise of simplicity usually went with extreme flattery of a patron', but that it 'was much parodied, especially to make the poor man worthy but ridiculous, as often in Shakespeare; ... The simple man becomes a clumsy fool who yet has better "sense" than his betters and can

say things more fundamentally true' (13). This clumsiness inherent in pastoral simplicity manifests itself in Ophelia's and Evelina's inabilities to navigate what others might see as even basic social situations in society. Without understanding social convention and 'such common customs' (Burney 38), Evelina tells Mr. Lovel she will 'not dance at all' at the private ball (32), and at the ridotto she turns from her 'persecutor' (55), Mr. Willoughby, in 'utmost astonishment' at this 'madman' (48) but is then 'obliged to consent to dance with him' despite her protestations and [false] claims of another partner (50). Though more humorously written than the portrayal of Evelina's flustered humiliation, in Tunbridge Wells, Ophelia confesses she commits the same manner of societal sin. Owing to her ignorance of propriety, she

gave great Offence... while I took Place of those who had a real Title to it... having gone before a young Lady whose Right of Place was disputed, she pursued me with such Swiftmess, and asserted her Prerogative so forcibly, that she threw me down a Flight of a dozen Steps, thereby impressing my Want of good Breeding strongly on my Mind; and the Sense of it being kept awake by my Bruises, I afterwards became so cautious, that nothing but a Desire to escape some impending Danger could have induced me to have taken Place even of a Milliner. (227)

Empson's clumsy fool has better sense than others who display less simplicity, and we see this too in Burney and Fielding's hapless but clearly morally superior young women whose pastoral simplicity reveals more about society's absurdities and short-comings than their own.

While the fools in Shakespeare, as Empson cites, are ‘worthy but ridiculous’, the pastoral simplicity of these heroines reflects the ridiculousness of the situations back on society itself.

In both *Evelina* and *Ophelia*, our lone heroines’ innocence is emphasised by their credulity and ingenuousness. Further, outside the pastoral retreat, though Evelina is afforded some moral guidance in Reverend Villar’s letters, neither she nor Ophelia are accompanied by the moral guardian on whom they are accustomed to rely. Ophelia and Evelina are both solitary pastoral figures attempting to navigate the vicious world outside the pastoral. Ophelia’s ‘dull Simplicity and Innocence’ are well known to Lord Dorchester, and while he acts as her protector, he is assiduous in his care to keep her ignorant of his intentions and to guard against her forming any intimate attachments who might, however unintentionally, deceive her (235).

The only person who he allows as her intimate is Lady Palestine who Ophelia soon realises is ‘rather amusing than engaging; she had a good deal of Wit, but Dissipation had robbed her of her Judgment. She was the Life of a Circle, but a dull Companion *tête a tête*’ (107-08). Evelina, too, is largely left on her own to navigate this unfamiliar society with its illogical codes of behaviour. Mrs. Merton is occupied with her newly returned husband, and Madame Duvall, though largely a caricature of class aspiration, articulates the corruption of the city against which Reverend Villars initially tries to protect Evelina by attempting to refuse to grant her permission to be gone from Berry Hill.

We see this same isolation in the framed narratives of *Millenium Hall* as well where the founders each find themselves alone. While Lady Mary Jones and Miss Selvyn have a significant but passing acquaintance, the only two who share a meaningful and sustained

bond prior to the establishment of Millenium Hall are Miss Mancel and Mrs. Morgan. This connection informs the future structures of the relationships of the women in their community; however, both women are presented with obstacles of corruption in the framing narratives prior to that later period: Miss Mancel in the form of her guardian and would-be rapist Mr. Hintman and Mrs. Morgan in her forced marriage.

While the early days of Miss Mancel and Miss Melvyn's friendship begin to construct the social purpose of their connection, in these narratives outside the pastoral, while the bond of friendship offers them some comfort, it does not save them. Relief from societal viciousness comes only from the deaths of the men who exercise control over them. Their friendship then, even outside the pastoral space, is the root for the ideals of their pastoral utopia, but it is only within the pastoral space that the two women are able to escape vice and the suffering it inflicts.

George E. Haggerty evaluates Miss Mancel and Miss Melvyn's connection as one which 'highlights the effacement of women in eighteenth-century culture and challenges the conventional patriarchal structure of family relations' (112). Within *Millenium Hall*, Scott creates a space for the civilising force of the single-sex pastoral. It is highly alert to the competing forces of sexual temptation and aggression outside its ideology, as well as the virtuous expectations of female friendship within it. By asserting a separate space for women in the pastoral retreat that simultaneously works in tandem with the society outside the retreat, Scott's pastoral offers a stable space for reframing the possible potential for female friendship when left un-harassed.

This is a common basis for female pastoral poetry in the eighteenth century, which lauds the pastoral retreat as the ideal space for the cultivation of female friendships. Carter extolls the value of a life based on female friendship rather than sensual pleasure, writing in 'Ode, to a London Lady',

'While every short-liv'd flower of sense
Destructive years consume,
Through friendship's fair enchanting walks
unfading myrtles bloom' (Carter, 'Ode')

and Philips concludes her poem 'A Country Life' with the pronouncement that 'There are below but two things good, / Friendship and Honesty' (181). We further see this significance of female friendship throughout the Bluestockings' correspondence. In *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, Lady Llanover's commentary references a verse Mary Granville wrote celebrating the friendship and 'fair and spotless fame thy purity displays' of the Duchess of Portland and notes that 'Mrs. Delany's friendship for the Duchess of Portland... instead of declining appeared to *strengthen with age*' (95). Watching Evelina and Ophelia attempt to negotiate alone societies so contrary to their dispositions continually emphasises their isolation; however, in *Millenium Hall*, the collocated framing and inset narratives highlight the potential for such women when that isolation is replaced with a community.

While Ophelia and Evelina each articulate a kind of juxtaposition between the country versus city and we can draw obvious parallels in social commentary, Bluestocking values, and pastoral concerns, Scott's novel disassociates itself from this familiar trope. Its

amalgamation with the utopia, however, allows for a deeper engagement with pastoral dualities and with Bluestockings concerns of friendship and idleness. Further, early examples of single-sex pastorals give us a relevant base for beginning our examination of *Millenium Hall* specifically. What *Don Quixote* and *Gerusalemme liberata* provide us, in part, is historical literary context but also a means of seeing how Scott and her fellow female pastoralists reshape the pastoral to suit their eighteenth-century purposes. Other female pastoralists of the eighteenth century, then, offer contemporary context with regard to the way in which they articulate thematic concerns, familiar tropes, and social criticism. Contextualising Scott's single-sex pastoral with past and contemporary single-sex pastorals informs our reading of her specific iteration of the pastoral retreat as a utopian community.

Idleness and Occupation in Scott's Pastoral Utopia

Within *Millenium Hall's* pastoral retreat, Scott addresses the Bluestocking issue of the idleness they often felt overwhelmed them when they occupied that space. As the *Millenium Hall* community is entirely self-sustaining, and Scott does briefly address the mechanisms they have developed to remain so, her focus, I suggest, is on emphasising occupation rather than idleness and ensuring this is applied to all members of the community. In this section, I will address the realisation of this pastoral binary of *otium* and *negotium* through the amalgamation of the pastoral retreat with the utopia and how this addresses the Bluestocking concerns of idleness and occupation. Further I will contextualise her portrayal with those in Bluestocking correspondence, and poetry and novels of other eighteenth-century women writers.

Scott's pastoral utopia demonstrates financial independence from the outside world. Mrs. Morgan details money spent on education for the girls and for boys, clothes for the girls, alms houses, 'maintenance of the monsters', 'fortunes and furniture' for well-behaved young women of the community who marry, household expenses of the founders, 'the society of gentlewomen with small or no fortunes', which have all amounted only to 'a trifle' (247). Further, she goes on to say that while they 'give very high wages', they have made so much money that they 'have been at a loss what to do with the profits', so they started 'a fund for the sick and disabled' (247).

Turning from the outside world, Scott redirects the economic aspects of the pastoral retreat to the utopian concern of productivity. In doing so, she not only reinforces the communal spirit of her society, but the particular version of occupation which she offers in *Millenium Hall* is a kind of economically specific and benign version of agrarian capitalism. As the focus of this thesis is the pastoral utopia rather than political economy, I will briefly discuss what I see as the role of economics in *Millenium Hall* and then move on to ways in which I see Scott articulate economic concerns in terms of how resources in the community are employed.

Political economy in the eighteenth century is currently an emerging category of study, and until Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nation* (1776), there was little concept in the eighteenth century of economics as we term it. Economics in general is concerned with modes of production, and *Millenium Hall* does offer a particular economic vision in its push back against agrarian capitalism in favour of presentations of gentility. McKeon notes that 'agrarian improvement required an increased access to capital, space, and time', and Scott's

fantasy space of the pastoral retreat has these in abundance (276). With added fortunes they can supplement further development, and with the futurity of the pastoral, which I argue in the coming section on marriage she has structured her society to ensure, the issue of time is of little consequence.

McKeon further suggests that agrarian improvement ‘depended on the capacity of landholders who had absolute property in relatively sizable plots of land to invest capital in relatively long-term agrarian experiments and projects’ (276). This is the type of project in which Scott engages, and her society does flourish under the founders’ direction. They are savvy enough for the society to be self-sufficient, but there is a gentility to the oversight of the community that shies away from discussions of economically significant growth or development and focuses instead on how those resources are used. While this is still an entirely class-based society, which I will also address in the coming section on futurity, I suggest the focus is less about economics than productivity.

Economically, this is the time of the agrarian revolution. While advancements in technology yielded increased production and productivity, and Scott is clear that the Millenium Hall society is expanding, her focus, I would suggest, is less on economic productivity and more about personal productivity as it relates to society. Further, with regard to economics, I would suggest Scott is less concerned with technical economic systems and more about with utopian ideas of upper-class women, which Johns writes in ‘The New Commercialism’ were ‘fairness for themselves and relief for the indigent’ (*Utopias* 54).

With the agrarian revolution, there is a shift towards more capitalised modes of agricultural production, but the women of Millenium Hall are more focused on dispensing

money than making it. Scott tends to gloss over details of their economic ventures with vague proclamations of the kind Mrs. Maynard makes about the addition of Mrs. Trentham's fortune, with which they 'established in the parish a manufacture of carpets and ruggs, [sic] which has succeeded so well, as to enrich all the country' (243). Though Sir George asks her for a tour, with which she readily complies, Scott details the work being done there - the productivity of the community - and its social impact rather than economic strategy or capital improvements. The particulars of their expenditures, cited above, are much more detailed than the economic interests of their agricultural or commercial enterprises.

Johns notes that female writers of utopias in the eighteenth century were 'raising an issue that concerned moral philosophers and political economists', including Smith, and were attempting to 'explain how commercial society could accommodate the poor' (*Utopias* 54). Though Millenium Hall is - almost magically - economically successful, it is this moral imperative, I argue, with which Scott is most concerned. Pastoral - in the retreat - is about leisure; georgic is about production; the utopian genre is about productivity. Scott is pushing the pastoral toward the productivity of these two genres, the latter of which I will address here with regards to the pastoral binary of *otium* or idleness and *negotium* or productivity, and the former of which I will address in the next section with regard to the application of productivity at Millenium Hall.

Unlike the financial concerns that plagued Scott and Montagu's attempt at a real-life Millenium Hall at Hitcham, Scott's fictional utopia has a Midas-like touch for expansion and making profits, and the fecund fields of the pastoral retreat are realised in the utopian turn

for industry.¹⁵ The injection of utopian productivity also provides Scott with a means of combating the pastoral idleness complained of in Bluestocking correspondence. She creates a space of *negotium* indicative of utopias but uncommon within pastoral retreats where *otium* and idleness are the ruling tenets.

In 'The Concept of the Utopia' (2010), Fatima Vieira notes that the general motivation to create a utopia stems from a 'reaction to an undesirable present and an aspiration to overcome all difficulties' (7). Utopian productivity, then, is a by-product of this motivation. As a 'process of growth of humanity' (Vieira 14), the utopia's 'catalytic function' is 'inspiring man to take action' (Vieira 21). The utopia is the form the ideological project takes, and that form is most effectively established through the *negotious* structure of the Millenium Hall community.

Nearly three and a half years after Scott's separation from her husband, in 1755, Montagu writes to her friend Gilbert West, an Eton and Oxford-educated religious scholar and translator, that 'my sister seems very happy, it has pleased God to lead her to truth, by the road of affliction' (3: 337). This affliction is tantamount to the 'undesirable present' Vieira indicates is the precursor to the construction of a utopia. While Scott's utopia is clearly fictional, in 1755 she is living with Lady Barbara Montagu in the comfort of the kind of female-friendship state extolled by contemporary female pastoral poets, though

¹⁵ Scott, Montagu, Elizabeth Cutts, Grace Freind, and Miss Arnold attempted a real-life Millenium Hall at Hitcham in 1768 but were confronted with 'formidable problems, many of them financial' in the forms of insufficient money, a delay in the lease, and that the 'scheme, though simple, proved more expensive than Scott had reckoned, as a great deal of repair, putting in order, and bringing in of supplies was necessary before the desired domestic economy could be instituted' (Rizzo xxvii).

unfortunately without the fecundity or blithe happiness of one unconcerned about illness or resources.

At a broad sweep, the pastoral and utopian genres have dichotomous philosophies regarding 'work'. When Alpers stipulates pastoral characteristics, number six in his list of eight elements is 'that it expresses the idea of *otium*' (10). McKeon, too, notes *otium* but pairs it in a pastoral duality with *negotium* as a means by which we complicate the pastoral by recognising its 'basic oppositional structure' (268). Within Scott's pastoral, McKeon's 'oppositional structure' becomes clear in the portrayal of women's productive roles within the retreat and their idleness outside it.

The construction of the Millenium Hall society - including domestic spaces, schools, charities, and manufacturing businesses - and its maintenance contrast women's roles outside this community where *otium* and coquetry tend to be women's chief occupations. Outside the pastoral utopia with Lady Sheerness as a role model, Lady Mary spends her time as a coquet at cards, gossiping, and plotting clandestine affairs; the second Lady Melvyn devotes herself to conspiring to the exile of her step-daughter in order to secure her own fortune; and Mrs. Alworth employs the mornings of her married life in dressing for the 'multitude of coxcombs [who] attended her toilet' (Scott, *Millenium* 236). At Millenium Hall, women reject any kind of mercenary ideology or irrational, indolent vapidness, and their *negotium* attests to their productivity.

Further to what Vieira terms 'inspiring man to take action', within a feminist utopia, Johns notes, there is a concept of 'different worlds that seek to alter patriarchy and improve the lives of society's powerless' (*Feminism* 193). These 'powerless' in Scott's pastoral utopia are

all women; although, this does not discount class distinction within the gender, as I will address in the subsequent section. The rationality of a productive utopia discounts the pastorally conventional *otium* and encourages us to read *Millenium Hall* as a generic amalgamation. The combination of pastoral and utopia, along with elements of the georgic and country house poem traditions, as I will explore in the next section, come together to promote the Bluestocking aim of industriousness. Regarding this, Faderman notes that ‘throughout the eighteenth century’ women ‘were encouraged to be idle. Bluestockings and a few other women in the eighteenth century refused’ (86).

The Millenium Hall society is structured to combat not only the encouraged idleness of middle and upper class women but to give productive purpose to every member of society regardless of class, age, or ability. McKeon calls this trend toward indolence ‘enforced leisure’ (283) and proposes it was ultimately a result of ‘capitalist improvement’ that caused a ‘breakdown of the domestic economy’ and left women displaced in the labour market (281). In a discussion of employment, McKeon considers how work, enclosures, ‘limiting quasi-independent domestic production’, and other fiscal, commercial, and political factors came together ‘to throw women into competition with men’ (281).

Unsurprisingly, ‘men tended to prevail in this competition’ (281), and women were relegated back to the domestic where ‘household labor, which was in the process of becoming “housework,” [was] the exclusive domain of women and increasingly denigrated as unproductive’ (282). There is, McKeon notes, ‘a reevaluation of domestic work as not so much lesser as different: economically unproductive but charged with the office of spiritual cultivation and maternal nurture’ (282). Clearly in a female-centric society, the question of

which gender does which work is rendered moot; however, Scott tackles this devaluing and subsequent reconsidering of 'domestic work' by integrating it into the structure of the utopian pastoral to ensure a purposefulness to each person's labour. Thus, she marks a recognition of those contributions that, while perhaps not economically significant, are integral to the running of their community.

Because the Millenium Hall society functions as a community, it is structured in a manner that provides everyone with useful employment. The old woman tells Sir George that 'if we are not idle that is all [the founders] desire' (67), and she details that they occupy themselves with useful activities such as 'spinning and knitting', 'making broths and caudles, and such things, for all the sick poor in this and the next parish', and that 'two of us are fixed upon to carry' the results of these labours 'to those that want them' (66). Clearly, these are domestic rather than commercial tasks, but they are also community-based occupations. These varying forms of work reject the idea of idleness for any member of the community - even those who are blind, deaf, or handicapped - and they foreground the necessity of everyone's contribution as requisite for the productive functioning of society.

Similarly, Hamilton's utopia *Munster Village* also aspires to encourage societal outcasts, though not on quite the same scale as *Millenium Hall*. Hamilton, a Scottish novelist who Johns notes 'influenced significant feminists such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Catharine Macaulay' (*Utopias* 112), creates female characters in her utopia who, Johns describes as being 'as practical as the women of Millenium Hall' and who 'will not allow the myth of paradisaal matrimony to tear them from their support network or thwart plans to apply themselves, improve their circumstances, and attempt to create a rational utopia' (*Utopias* 121).

Hamilton's community is run by Lady Frances and is largely academic with its central structure being a tribuna in which 'the sciences and arts are assembled together... and connected... by a large and well chosen library' (22). Its limited admission, however, is comprised of two hundred male 'scholars' and only twenty women (24).

Of these women, though, 'she always gives the preference to those who labour under any imperfection of body - endeavouring, by increasing their resources within themselves, to compensate for their outward defects' (25). As in the Millenium Hall community, in which the philosophy of inclusion means everyone undertakes labour of some kind, *Munster Village* also counsels that 'the most slenderly endowed are not a mere burthen [sic] on the community; even they can contribute their share to the common good' (20). Against this backdrop of utopian productivity is a repudiation of the *otium* generally customary in pastoral retreat. Hamilton extolls the advantageousness of utopian *negotium*, asserting that 'it is every way our advantage that we have no such slothful paradise as the poets feigned in the golden age' (38).

Constructing a pastoral that functions with utopian productivity also engages with Bluestocking complaints of idleness in the country. As the single-sex pastoral answers Bluestocking concerns regarding the solitary nature of the pastoral space and the longing for female companionship there, so too does the amalgamation of the pastoral with the utopia provide relief for the idleness so often complained of in their letters. Though not particularly *negotious* in the sense of contributing to society, and clearly written from a place of sisterly affection, Montagu writes to Scott, reflecting the need for occupation in her retreat from the city. She tells her sister, 'I have sent you the leaves, but fear they will not please you; I copied

them as well as I could, and wish you had every day some commands for me, that I might always have something to do which I should perform with pleasure' (2: 67-68).

Montagu seems to look for any occupation when in 'the country' and complains continually of idleness. Writing to the Duchess of Portland, she protests that she 'cannot abide the country in winter. I love peace with pleasure; but I have such a tendency to dullness [sic]' (2: 214), and more than a decade later, from Sandleford, she confesses she is still 'sedentary, solitary, lazy and dull' (3: 258). Though she does seem to take some pleasure in attempting occupation, her professed attempts to 'amuse' herself are frequently followed by a vehement desire to return to the city. She writes to West, saying, 'I will amuse myself with books and such pleasures as the country affords, and in November, most willingly return to London... really after five months of the most serious retirement, I shall be glad to return to the chearful [sic] joys of society' (3: 302). Montagu's letters reveal the continual struggle over the allegiance to the country retreat and the goodness it should embody and the idea that if one is looking for 'joy', it is to be found in the city.

In an attempt to stave off idleness, Montagu does strive to occupy herself strictly at Sandleford, telling West

neither monk nor owl can be more retired than I am at present, and I inhabit a convent too, and live by rules, not given indeed by a St. Francis or St. Benedict, but by myself, merely that I may seem to have a reason for what I do. I allot seasons for exercise, for reading, writing, &c. &c. that I may not get into a habit of indolence. As all states have their temptations, solitude has its daemon of indolence, the most harmless devil I will allow, but such as in

time, makes great depredations upon the mind, and steps between us and our best purposes. (3: 331)

It is significant to note, though, that while she attempts to make the best of her retreat, and to fend off the devil of idleness, it was only a month prior to this valiant effort at occupation that she wrote, also to West, that only the city is 'the land of the living' (3: 295). Despite this, Bluestocking correspondence extolls the country and even suggests there is occupation to be had.

Though Montagu's letters continually reiterate the toll the solitary and idle existence of the country retreat has on her, Carter writes to her from Deal in May 1762 that 'the fresh air, and the philosophical amusements of the country, for which you so ardently long, will soon, I hope, improve the present negative state of your health to active spirit and joy' (1: 154). These kind of hopes for and attempts at occupation are answered, almost severely so, in Scott's utopian realisation, which both answers this Bluestocking concern and articulates the pastoral retreat in a way that differentiates *Millenium Hall* from the works of many other eighteenth-century female pastoralists.

Though, like Scott, numerous poems by female pastoralists glorify the retreat as a space of female friendship, they tend to maintain the ideal of *otium*, seeing the pastoral space as one in which to relish their retreat from the vice of society but not in which to endeavour to productivity. In Philips's 'A retir'd Friendship, to Ardelia', the narrator invites 'my Ardelia' to come

to this Bower,

Where kindly mingling Souls awhile,

Let's innocently spend an hour,
and at all serious follies smile. (56)

Miss Soper's 'Repentance' also differentiates the idleness of country retirement with the labour of the city, but rather than celebrate pastoral *otium* or attempt to challenge it, she reinforces that a retreat to the country is 'to retire from the crowd / And make ourselves good' (274) – here also echoing a letter to Vesey in which Montagu tells her 'London is the place for sinning' (Major 912).

Chapter twelve of West's *A Gossip's Tale*, contains her famous 'Rodolpho, Earl of Norfolk: A Legendary Tale'. Though this 'legendary tale', written in verse, tells the story of knights, friendship, and loves lost and won, the pastoral elements of the inset narrative are unmistakable: war in the world outside versus peace in retirement, the 'mental calm' to be found in the 'sequester'd grove' (88); idyllic descriptions of the natural world:

A hawthorn hedge the garden bound,
Twas fill'd with many a flow'r;
A woodbine round a maple twin'd,
Compos'd a sylvan bow'r; (89)

and the assertion of virtue and peace to be found in the retreat:

Nor, Edgar, let a friendly fear
Thy present bliss decrease;
Approving virtue cheers my soul.
And all within is peace. (96)

Within the framing text, reactions to the recitation of this tale serve to illustrate further the character of those listening to it: among whom Captain Target had ‘great difficulty refraining from paying his respects to Morpheus during the recital’ and Marianne’s ‘eyes swam with tears’ as she ‘rejoiced that the lovers were at last made happy together’ (96).

This is a love story replete with pastoral conventions initially meant to highlight characters; however, it reflects the kind of fantasy pastoral present in the eighteenth century. West’s tale, when set against a more realistic portrayal of life in a pastoral retreat in the framing narrative of the novel, is of the same dichotomous nature Talbot expresses to Carter in a letter from Cuddesden in January 1745. Between short paragraphs regarding literary recommendations, Talbot writes of the realities of the country that ‘when I came first into the country, I was all pastoral in my notions; I fancied that all shepherds could play on the flute and talk eclogues. Some years have set me right on this head’ (1: 88). This fantasy is recounted in West’s tale, while the ‘reality’ of the retreat is iterated in Mr. and Miss Dudley’s own experience in the framing narrative.

West’s tale reshapes the vision of the pastoral retreat by setting her tale in direct contrast to later in the novel when, from poverty borne of a foolish and trusting investment in a friend, Mr. Dudley and his dependent daughter, Louisa, are forced to make plans to move to the little estate her grandfather left her for mere ‘pocket-money’ (109). While Louisa tells him, ‘I always had a turn for oeconomy [sic] and management; am quite a cottager in my heart, I assure you’ (109), he warns her that ‘a cottage life... is not so pleasant in reality as in theory’ (110). Less bleak than a work like George Crabbe’s *The Village* (1783), written to counter idyllic pictures of life in the country written by Thomas Gray and Oliver Goldsmith,

West's descriptions of Louisa's and Mr. Dudley's relatively brief time in Lancashire do articulate a more realistic portrayal of country life than an idealised pastoral, while encouragingly narrating the benefits of such work.

In the same manner as the founders' labour on the grounds at *Millenium Hall*, Louisa's new residence at Seatondell requires work but also reaps rewards. Though 'in winter books and musick [sic] will afford a never-failing resource from chagrin', Louisa occupies herself with improvements and with arranging for improvements to their new space (154-55). They are rewarded much later when 'the crops looked vigorous, the plantations were healthy' (196). These types of land-management and domestic occupations are the kind iterated in Fielding's *Ophelia*, when Sir Charles recounts the early days in his pastoral retreat where he met his now-fiancée.

As a friend of her father's, Sir Charles would visit their house and see her 'employed either in attending her Mother, taking Care of the Family, or working for them' (Fielding 266).¹⁶ So admirable does this born-and-bred Londoner find 'the Alacrity and good Sense, with which she performed her different Duties' that he 'became her Companion in many of them' (Fielding 266). While these are often domestic duties - and not necessarily on par with Montagu's directing the operations of her husband's mines - they are, in the pastoral commentary of these novels, *negotium*. They allow everyone to be productive and to contribute to their environment in a way counter to the *otium* of singing or strolling through the countryside.

¹⁶ In chapters twenty-seven through twenty-nine, Sir Charles's fiancée's father tells the story of his family and mournfully recounts his wife's 'Stroke of the Palsy', which 'affected her Head and deprived her of all her Limbs' (150). She later recovers all but the use of her hands. Sir Charles's fiancée also has eight brothers and sisters for whom she cares in place of her mother.

Like *Millenium Hall*, *Ophelia* and *A Gossip's Story* promote, to varying degrees, productivity. Fielding promotes Sir Charles's fiancée's labours for her family in opposition to the 'Employ of the idle' in Tunbridge Wells: 'the impertinently critical Observations of others' and an obsession with precedence (227). In a vein more similar to *Millenium Hall*, West's Louisa Dudley attempts 'healing the village animosities' (159) in the same way the old woman tells Sir George that 'we used to quarrel, to be sure, sometimes when we first came to these houses, but the ladies condescended to make it up amongst us' (67). Though Miss Dudley is 'forced to listen to many a dull detail of wrongs and insults', she also 'reproved the idle' in her attempts to reform the community in the pastoral retreat to which she moves (159). What has been created by these female authors for the female characters are pastoral retreats that disassociate *otium* within the space and an acknowledgement of contributions, sometimes beyond those with recognisable or quantifiable economic benefits.

On the subject of *otium* and *negotium* as they relate to the pastoral retreat, McKeon argues that 'on the face of it (although at a high level of generalization), the retirement of women from what was deemed productive agricultural labor substantiated orthodox pastoral associations of the female with nature, retreat, and *otium* and the male with culture, activity, and *negotium*' (283). McKeon suggests this is in part due to 'contradictions engendered by social change' which saw women relegated to domestic labours and their 'depreciation' as 'agricultural cultivators' (283). In addition to being self-sustaining, *Millenium Hall* counters this relegation with the community's production of carpets and rugs. However, *Millenium Hall*, *Ophelia*, and *A Gossip's Story* also make the case, as I have detailed, that while perhaps

not recognised as economically consequential, women's domestic labours were significant contributions.

McKeon goes on to counter the argument that women had no economic influence, citing it the 'singular social role of the unproductive housewife to sustain the cycle of exchange by the perpetual desire for consumer goods and by the satisfaction of that desire' (283). While consumption would help drive the market in terms of supply and demand, this discussion of the dualities of *otium* and *negotium* within the pastoral space of *Millenium Hall* is not concerned with this type of economics or class but rather productivity and contribution to society as they relate to the pastoral community. I am concerned with *negotium* in the form of productive contributions to the community as opposed to the *otium* of two female friends who situate themselves in the pastoral retreat simply to 'mix the Heart-expanding Bowl!' as Brooke suggests in her pastoral ode (144).

Johnson finds the pastoral favourable only for its aesthetic appeal and the reaction that appeal engenders. Writing in 'Rambler 36' he tells us, 'it exhibits a life, to which we have been always accustomed to associate peace, and leisure, and innocence'; therefore, in it 'we are to meet with nothing but joy, and plenty, and contentment' (*Rambler*). This is presented in the opening pages of the text when we see the women engaged in pastoral occupations of reading, music, and art. We are also introduced to the pastoral through Sir George's description of 'a scene truly pastoral' which was reminiscent of 'the days of Theocritus' (56). He proceeds to describe the 'sound of a flute', a 'shepherd, watching a large flock of sheep', and the 'profusion of flowers' he then details (56). To these he adds the 'rural simplicity', the 'pastoral air', and 'happy amiable innocence' (57). With this opening, the backdrop of the

pastoral retreat is clear; however, the conversation quickly turns to the functioning of their society, and the overwhelming *negotium* with which they function is a product of their utopia.

Regarding the amalgamation of nature and *negotium*, as well as the appreciation of the beauty of the grounds, Sir George writes that Mrs. Morgan

stopped us in one spot, saying... 'that building, (pointing to a what we thought a pretty temple) which perhaps you imagine designed only for ornament or pleasure, is a very large pidgeon house, that affords a sufficient supply to our family, and many of our neighbours. That hill on your right-hand [sic] is a warren, prodigiously stocked with rabbits. (110)

The idyllic pastoral retreat's fecundity and utopian *negotium* work as complementary forces at Millenium Hall. Scott's illustration of Millenium Hall's paradisaical park is an effective, detailed description of a pastoral setting that can be articulated as a 'mode of political critique of present society... or... a retreat from politics into an apparently aesthetic landscape' (Gifford 11). For Scott, it is both. It is the 'aesthetic landscape' and the community's relationship to it as both beneficiaries and cultivators that evinces pastoral fecundity supplemented by *negotious* endeavour.

Mrs. Morgan continues her discourse on the community's provisions by noting the deer and hares, which their arrangement of the land provides. Jordan, in her examination of stewardship, notes that Sir George 'Ellison's observations remind us to appreciate how landscape design and land management contribute to the model society we are visiting' (42). This injection of productivity and rational planning into nature's bounty and pastoral beauty

incorporates a practicality that enables the continued, prosperous functioning of their society that contrasts with the keeping of the land under its former male owners.

In her female-centered pastoral, Scott pushes back against the idleness encouraged in women by an eighteenth-century society in which ‘so many men make female frivolity and idleness fashionable’ (O’Brien 46). Millenium Hall’s single-sex pastoral community offers a space away from the mercenary and vicious principles of the world outside the retreat whilst the generic references to utopian conventions spurs the women’s virtuousness into action. In Scott’s combination of the two, we find a provoking kind of criticism that repeatedly calls into question not only women’s character but their purpose. She marshals the established pastoral binary of country versus city and its inherent idleness and occupation and integrates the utopian ideas of hope and action. Vieira argues that the ‘prevailing tone of the eighteenth-century utopia was satirical’; therefore, utopias were ‘more destructive than constructive’ (11). While this is certainly true, I would propose that Scott’s synthesis of the pastoral and utopia challenges this assessment by mediating a female space of productivity, futurity, and community.

Criticism of Consumption and a Project of Productive Peace:

Country House Poetry and Georgic Considerations in Millenium Hall

While *Millenium Hall* is clearly an extended portrayal of a pastoral utopian amalgamation, there are also aspects of the genre of country house poem and of the georgic within the novel. In his catalogue of aspects of the country house poem, Alastair Fowler notes

an ‘opposition between the praised house and either the city... or contrasted houses of a showier sort’ (1). Taking into consideration McKeon’s previously mentioned premise that the country versus city binary is the basis for other pastoral dualities, this creates an overlap between the pastoral and the country house poem with regard to this convention.

Venturing into the country house poem oeuvre with a stop on the tour at the newly acquired house for the Millenium Hall community offers further means for Scott to explore the pastoral binary of innocence and corruption as well as ways in which to address those issues. Further, considerations of georgic influence in *Millenium Hall* reveal new ways to engage with productivity and a reassessment of the pastoral binary of *otium* versus *negotium*, as well as what McKeon terms the ‘reversal of values’ within the *Georgics* as they apply to Millenium Hall (289). I discuss attention to the significant tenet of corruption and ideas of ownership in Scott’s undertones of the country house poem. From here I will briefly examine the georgic in relation to occupation and generic experimentation.

During the discussion of the inner workings of the Millenium Hall community, the founders, Sir George, and Lamont tour the newly acquired house, and the founders explain the history of its previous owners. Scott’s moralistic and somewhat hyperbolic characterisations noticeably venture into the realm of the country house poem in its didactic, eighteenth-century form. Of eighteenth-century country house poems in particular, Williams observes that ‘by the time we get to Pope, not in the idealising pastorals but in the Epistles, we have the altered, the more explicit, feelings of just this class’ (58). Williams is referring to the order of social class, which at the time was ‘continually reconstituted’ by factors both political and economic (58). Rather than this order being ‘received and natural’ as he says we

find in Thomas Carew and Ben Jonson or ‘achieved and precarious’ as in Marvell (59), Pope turns to “the use of Riches”, and what is recommended, between the extreme vices of miserliness and profligacy, is the prudent productive investment, tempered by reasonable charity’ (58). Scott epitomises these vices in the two previous male owners of this second residence.

The first of these two owners was so parsimonious and fearful of losing the money he had accumulated that he had ‘fortified every door and window with such bars of iron, that his house might have resisted the forcible attack of a whole army’ (220). The miser’s only company, after the death of a servant, was the ‘churlish beast’ he kept as a guard dog (220), and when he died, ‘they found the old man on a great chest which contained his money, as if he had been desirous to take possession even in death’ (221). Contrarily, the nephew, however, is ‘almost distracted with joy at the sudden acquisition of a large fortune’ (221). Scott recounts his lavishness in prodigious terms: he ‘bespoke the *most eloquent* equipage; bought the *finest* set of horses... launched into *every* expense until in only the third year of his inheritance he is forced ‘to sell a considerable portion of his estate’ (221) (emphasis mine). Scott notes that, while seemingly antithetical in their financial philosophies, the two men are ‘alike criminal’ (222).

Though the two former owners engage with their avarice in different ways, the vice in which they both partake is also repudiated in the eighteenth-century country house poem. Specifically with reference to Pope’s epistles to Bathurst and Burlington, Williams suggests that, in the eighteenth-century country house poem, ‘the house is properly subsidiary to the uses of money and productive investment’ (59). It is not the actual house with which the text

is concerned; it is the application of those resources. Upon arriving at what was ‘formerly a very fine mansion’, Sir George allegorically observes ‘the outside is greatly out of repair, but the building seems strong’ (219). The founders intend to reshape not the foundation itself but the application.

The duality of virtue versus vice, marked by use of resources, is particularly relevant in eighteenth-century country house poems. Scott highlights this in the contrast of the former owners with the founders of Millenium Hall. Through them, Sir George tells us the house ‘was purchased to be the seat of charity and benevolence. How directly we were lead to admire the superior sense, as well as the transcendent virtue of these ladies, when we compared the use they made of money, with that to which the two late possessors had appropriated it!’ (222). Profligacy makes way for rectitude in a detailed repudiation of rapaciousness.

Williams further notes that the idea of social order in country house poems of the eighteenth century had become ‘a matter for conscious moral teaching’ (59). Scott’s blatant moralising works in cooperation with the utopian call to action and Bluestocking sense of employment to push this teaching beyond the criticism we find in a country house poem such as Mary Leapor’s ‘Crumble-Hall’ (1751). Leapor, a gardener’s daughter who worked as a kitchen maid, gives us in ‘Crumble-Hall’ what David E. Shuttleton calls ‘an ironic, “below-stairs” perspective’ (106). Though ‘Crumble-Hall’ is often read as a subversion of ‘the tradition of country-house poetry by its behind-the-scenes-look at domestic labor from the perspective of one of its workers’, this female-authored text is worth reading against *Millenium Hall* for its censure of consumption and the voice it gives the lower classes (Dalporto 228).

Leapor's country house poem is critical of upper-class dissipation and elaborate displays of affluence, and rather than adhere to convention and praise the owners of the house and their magnanimity, she pays tribute to the grounds and the workers.

Leapor's poem begins customarily enough with descriptions of country house charity and hospitality. In stanza two, lines thirteen and fourteen identify 'That *Crumble-Hall*, whose hospitable Door / Has fed the Stranger, and reliev'd the Poor' (112). The house was 'well known of old to Knights, and hungry Squires' who knew of the 'powder'd Beef and Warden-Pies', the 'Pork, Peas, and Bacon... / With tainted Ven'son, and with hunted Hare: / With humming Beer her Vats were wont to flow' (112). In the third stanza, she moves on to celebrate the impressive structure of the building itself, but her tour of the house quickly declines into a description of the rooms, staircase, and ironic furnishings of the rooms which

'are furnish'd amiably, and full:

Old Shoes, and Sheep-ticks bred in Stacks of Wool;

Grey *Dobbin's* Gears, and Drenching-Horns enow [sic];

Wheel-spokes – the Irons of a tatter'd Plough'. (117)

From here, though, we climb to where 'a gay Prospect meets the ravish'd Eye: / Meads, Fields, and Groves in beauteous Order lie' (117). In line 107, there is a distinct shift in the poem where Leapor moves her focus to the labour and labourers necessary to maintain the façade of perfection of the house as well as to the realities of what that meant for her and people of the labouring class.

Leapor spends the next several stanzas paying tribute to 'the menial Train', cataloguing the duties of the labourers, focusing heavily on the kitchen in lines that echo

Mary Collier's 'The Woman's Labour' (1739) (117).¹⁷ Leapor and Scott both push back against avarice and consumerism by criticising former owners of country houses. Leapor, rather than emphasising corruption through praise of resource management or treatment of the community, piles her criticisms relentlessly from room to room in Crumble-Hall. She extolls the labourers who produce rather than the owners whom she sees primarily as people who consume. Leapor herself is, of course, a labourer. Scott, too, expresses these same grievances against extravagance but instead, as one in the station of owner, advocates for new, responsible owners.

In 'Visiting Crumble-House', Sharon Young argues that 'the significance of the genre in the eighteenth century more generally lies not only in its depiction of space and property, but also in the consideration of detail and specificity alongside wider sociopolitical discussion - to accommodate multiple perspectives, multiple ways of seeing' (54). She suggests 'Crumble-Hall' is 'not so much a satiric undercutting... but a playful and inventive exploration of the possibilities-and limitations-of the form' (54). Scott's venture into writing about the country house in the spirit of country house poetry, I would argue, is less about form than about what Young calls 'ways of seeing' these possibilities. I suggest this is what Scott articulates in her collocation of the Millenium Hall founders with the house's former male owners during this brief part of the tour of the pastoral utopia. It is not 'the house' that is the problematic issue; it is the use of those resources. Unlike Leapor who is concerned with class, Scott's all-female

¹⁷ Collier, a female labouring-class poet like Leapor, wrote her poem on the unceasing work of women in response to Stephen Duck's 'The Thresher's Labour' (1730) in which he compares the work of women unfavourably to the work of men, which he declares is much more difficult and significant.

pastoral addresses issues of gender; therefore, rather than focus on the house itself, Scott is focused on the community she is constructing.

Specifically referencing country house poetry from the eighteenth century, Williams notes the house is also 'subsidiary' to 'the creation rather than the celebration of Nature: nature in man's works rather than in a received or fortunate paradise' (59). Leapor's poem criticising consumption also emphatically criticises the destruction of nature in the name of 'improvements'. Her final three stanzas celebrating nature and condemning 'modern Whims' (121) conclude with the couplet 'Then cease, *Diracto*, stay thy desp'rate Hand; / And let the Grove, if not the Parlour, stand' (122). This is clearly not a point in which she and Scott were in agreement. With regard the park in which Millenium Hall is set, it is explicitly explained that it is the ladies who have made the 'improvements'.

Scott, and Hamilton seventeen years later in *Munster Village*, both allude to famed landscape architect Capability Brown and his penchant for estate parks that looked natural but that were in actuality highly manipulated. When Lamont 'observed the artist's hand was never more distinguishable, and perceived in various spots the direction of the person at present most famous for that sort of improvement', the founders assure him 'lady [sic] Mary Jones, Mrs. Mancel, and Mrs. Morgan, were the only persons who had laid out that wood' (68). Hamilton's utopia, not quite as concerned with female self-sufficiency as productivity, 'sent for Mr [sic] Brown, who found great *capabilities* in the situation; under his direction it is now one of the finest places in England' (21-22). Lady Mary Hamilton, who is herself the daughter of an earl, and Scott both buy into the upper-class ethos of this penchant for 'improvement', unlike Leapor, a labouring-class writer who inveighs against it. For each,

though, these serve the purpose of their works: Leapor to censure the middle and upper classes, Hamilton to celebrate art and intellect, and Scott – whose women do their own work – to renounce idleness.

Further, Scott's focus is more on the inherent fecundity expected of a conventional pastoral. Along with the previously mentioned deer and hare that supply Millenium Hall with provisions, Mrs. Morgan describes their 'canal, and these other pieces of water, as well as the river [which]... furnish our table with a great profusion of fish' (110). Scott's inclinations toward utopian productivity do, however, articulate the same sense of personal responsibility and responsibility to others. While Leapor rejects 'man's work' in 'nature', Scott combines the women's work with pastoral fecundity in a generic amalgamation of the pastoral and utopia that also evinces concerns of the contemporary country house poems.

Regarding what she terms 'Bluestocking theology' (56), Karen O'Brien notes the Bluestockings 'rejected schemes of philosophy or theology which demanded... an eschatological concern for the next life, rather than for the life lived on earth' (59). While Scott emphasises pastoral fecundity, *negotium* is equally significant. In highlighting the founders' productivity as a challenge to corrupt management, Scott embraces not only an aversion to idleness but the Bluestocking ideal of a purposeful existence. In 1741, Montagu writes to the Duchess of Portland, 'I think if we are here for nothing at all but for another life, the whole order in the world is vain,' (125) and she continues that 'it is the first law of nature and of God, that we do not abandon our post here till his [sic] gracious will has worked its pleasure by our means' (2: 125-26). The fundamental nature of this purposefulness in Scott's pastoral utopia, as manifested in her absolute repudiation of idleness, also asserts

itself in the ancient idea of the georgic, and I will spend the remainder of this section exploring critical evaluations of the georgic and ways in which *Millenium Hall* articulates and diverges from georgic convention.

Much like the country house poem's convention of celebrating the landowner and his superintendence of his demesne, Gifford suggests the 'pastoral could be used to serve a courtly function in praising a patron by describing his effortless management of the country in his ownership' (30). He clarifies that 'this is, in a sense, the opposite of the georgic because it is significant that nature gives riches to the estate, just as it is natural that the patron has a stewardship of the land' (30). McKeon, on giving us 'a few words on terminology', says, "Georgic" is a Latinization of the Greek for "the facts of farming" (357). He further explains that 'the very purpose of the *Georgics*' is that 'they aim to provide farmers hardy instruction in the science of productive husbandry' (268). Regarding this focus on work, Patterson find 'the central principle of the *Georgics*' in Book One lines 145-146: 'Labor omnia vincit / Improbus, et duris urgens in rebus egestas' (136). Though Patterson offers no translation, C. Day Lewis's Oxford University Press (2009) translation reads, 'Yes, unremitting labour / And harsh necessity's hand will master anything' (55).

In one of his few references to the georgic, Alpers states that 'in Virgil's works, pastoral and georgic are distinct: in the latter, nature's uncertainties and harshness are more prominent, because it is conceived as the habitation of farmers' (28). This is not what we see in *Millenium Hall*. Scott's pastoral utopia does not follow Virgil as a handbook to husbandry; although, it is clearly an instructional model for productive living that could be related to the idea of the georgic but which is more clearly linked to the utopia and its generic guide. In

looking at ideas of productivity, however, as I have detailed in the previous section regarding the binary of idleness and occupation, Scott places emphasis on celebrating various forms of productivity, including moral, agricultural, and commercial.

Throughout the novel, the founders, Mrs. Maynard, and other members of the community detail for Sir George and Lamont the various forms of productivity in their community. These are catalogued by Mrs. Maynard, just following the enumeration of the rules, when she describes the forms of productivity encouraged by the founders for those in their society: ‘working for the poor people, in visiting, in admonishing, in teaching them wherever their situations required these services’, and to keep ‘up these inclinations with all the spirit of pursuit’ that keeps an idle mind from dissipation, the founders nurture inclinations toward ‘gardening, drawing, music, reading, or any manual or mental art’ (118). Again, while some of these are not commercially or economically productive, they do serve to support Scott’s version of productivity within her community.

Scott synthesises her guiding tenet relatively early on in the text when Mrs. Maynard is explaining the origins of Millenium Hall to Sir George and Lamont. From its inception, the community was based on the idea of productivity as a means of staving off various forms of corruption, including idleness, in which Scott believes ‘vice strengthens, the seed of every vanity flourishes unmolested and luxuriant; discontent, malignity, ill humour, spread far and wide, and the mind becomes a chaos... this therefore my good friends laboured to expel from their infant establishment’ (118). In an attempt to lead the members of the community to what Scott sees as the key to a moral life, Mrs. Maynard tells the men, regarding the founders, that

for the first year of this establishment my friends dedicated most of their time and attention to this new community... endeavouring to cultivate in this sisterhood that sort of disposition which is most productive of peace. By their examples and suggestions... they led them to industry and shewed [sic] it to be necessary to all stations, as the basis of almost every virtue. An idle mind, like fallow ground, is the soil for every weed to grown in;... they taught them that it was the duty of every person to be of service to others. (117-118)

While the practicality of the livability of Millenium Hall's society can easily be called into question, it is this underlying tenet of leading a life that is 'productive of peace' on which *Millenium Hall* is focused.

Scott sees this way of life, in short, as being so productively occupied that there is no space – or time – for idleness and corruption. Pastorally, her guiding principle is iterated in the retreat at the hall, but it is also highlighted in the decided lack of peace in the framed narratives. In the functionality versus philosophy consideration, it relates directly to the *Georgics*, about which R.O.A.M. Lyne ruminates, 'Virgil gives selective and often unhelpful advice to a type of farmer who was increasingly an irrelevance in contemporary Italy. Why?' (xxv).

A question regarding the relevance of Scott's founders' position in society or the idea of class in the eighteenth century in relation to Lyne's observations regarding the *Georgics* is reasonable but draws us a little far afield from the ideas of work and productivity. I will address class in the coming section pertaining to marriage and the futurity of Scott's society,

but focusing on productivity here, I would suggest the structure of the Millenium Hall society and its continual iteration of the necessity of productivity in the form of occupation staves off the kind of corruption the women of the community are trying to avoid by moving from the city to the pastoral retreat. Lyne answers his relevance query by allowing that ‘we may infer... Virgil’s belief that the farmer’s existence is an embodiment of the idea of “swords into ploughshares”: in other words, the moral life is peaceful’ (xxvi). It is this productive peacefulness that I suggest Scott foregrounds in her georgic consideration of the pastoral.

Critics often turn from the literal productivity in Virgil’s *Georgics* to a more figurative reading. Patterson’s essay ‘Pastoral versus Georgic: The Politics of Virgilian Quotation’ focuses heavily on Sir Frances Bacon’s understanding of Virgil’s apiary guide ‘as a metaphor for the institutionalization of learning’ (137). Lyne, while acknowledging that ‘Virgil confines his practical advice to farming’, hones in on Seneca’s reading that Virgil ‘wished not to teach farmers, but to delight readers’ (Lyne xxiv). Lyne himself then proceeds to ‘reduce the *Georgics* to a moral and political metaphor, to an allegory’ (Lyne xxxi). McKeon sees that ‘the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues* - vigorous land cultivation and tranquil animal herding - also operate within the same basic scheme of oppositions’ from one another as the pastoral, I suggest we see this same manipulation in *Millenium Hall* (268).

In relating further to Virgil’s georgic idea of work and the Bluestocking aversion to idleness, this ‘experiment’, as McKeon calls Virgil’s *Georgics*, is – in *Millenium Hall* – also a staging of an inversion of *otium* and *negotium*. While in the early section regarding occupation and idleness I discussed McKeon’s observations on *otium* and *negotium* as they relate to women, men, and ‘productive agricultural labor’ of the eighteenth century, McKeon also

discusses them in terms of the georgic (283). Here, though, it is less about who does what work and is more closely concerned with poetic forms.

McKeon cites inconsistencies in the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues*, what he terms a ‘reversal of values’, in which they – simply put – express each other’s underlying doctrine (269). He finds that ‘each may be felt periodically to enact a value reversal that runs counter to what appears to be its more customary commitment’ (268). He cites the fourth *Georgic* and its ‘restored golden age predicated on perpetual peace and the autoproduktivity of an unforced nature’ and the second *Eclogue* which ‘internalizes the amused disdain of the sophisticate for the humble bumpkin’ (269).

I would argue we see a form of this ‘reversal of values’ within *Millenium Hall* as well. Scott’s reconstruction of women’s roles and also how we view women’s productivity sees pastoral *otium* challenged. In Scott’s single-sex pastoral, the *negotium* that McKeon observes was usually reserved for men is then considered a generic given when the pastoral retreat is merged with utopian practice. Not only is *negotium* associated with women within Scott’s pastoral retreat, but as I have previously detailed, her inset narratives repeatedly portray women engaged in idleness, which she relates to the viciousness of the world outside the pastoral retreat. This pastoral binary emphasises the useful productivity of Scott’s community, and while the ladies of Millenium Hall seem far too genteel for the kind of georgic productivity McKeon describes as ‘vigorous’, we know that they are such ardent landscapers that Lamont takes their work for Capability Brown, that the founders superintend the manufacturing of carpets and rugs by the members of the community, and that each member – regardless of age or infirmity - engages in purposeful work.

I would further suggest that where *Millenium Hall* most closely aligns with the georgic is in McKeon's observation that 'Virgil conceived the *Georgics* as an experimental poetic enterprise implicitly analogous to the technological experiments that are the subject of his poem', and I would suggest Scott's gynocentric 'enterprises' follow in that tradition (268). While her subject matter differs, her construction of a female-superintended society, in the form of a single-sex pastoral retreat, is experimental. She writes a pastoral that glorifies female friendship – like many of her contemporary female pastoralists. She writes a utopian community based on productivity and the idea that everyone is able to contribute – a Bluestocking idea also articulated in *Munster Village*. Her criticism of avaricious landowners and their wastefulness is reminiscent of Leapor's country house poem *Crumble-Hall*. Her experiment seems to be in connecting all of these to marshal criticism regarding female idleness and to promote productivity as well as to reconcile concerns of her fellow Bluestockings with respect to the pastoral retreat. It is a very personal experiment, but it is also a literarily significant one in the complexities with which it interconnects pieces of various, consequential modes and genres which were being reiterated in new and exploratory ways in the eighteenth century.

Marriage, Futurity, and Class Hierarchy in Scott's Female Pastoral Utopia

In a letter from Deal dated October 14, 1765, Carter responds to a letter in which Montagu had described a pastoral retirement for the two, reflecting,

you cannot think how delightfully I have lost myself in reveries ever since I received your letter; how I have wandered with you along side of the river, and listened to the cascade while we were resting on the green bank, and the little rock... Paris, Rome, éclat, glitter, admiration, and &c. rushed upon my mind, and expelled all the gentle images of philosophic poetrial [sic] life, and tranquil friendship. The vale of Tempe vanished from my sight, and what was of infinitely worse consequence to my happiness, in the hurry and turbulence of the great world, I could not find my friend. (1: 280)

Key in Carter's message to Montagu is the fear or anxiety of a life without a space of female friendship. Carter invokes images of the pastoral retreat as the ideal space in which to fulfill this dream, and her description of the river and green bank is set in juxtaposition with Paris and Rome as clear signals of the pastoral binary of country versus city. Trepidation at a loss of a space of female friendship is foregrounded with her pastoral allusion to the Vale of Tempe, which 'the Greeks were accustomed to associate with rural delights' including 'its features [which] are soft and beautiful, from the broad winding river, the luxuriant vegetation, and the glades', which disappears upon the intrusion of the city, and with it Montagu as well (Chisholm 578).

As I discussed in the earlier section regarding female friendship, like *Millenium Hall*, a longing for a future focused on female friendship characterises much of the Bluestocking poetry and correspondence and is often set within the fantasy space of the pastoral, and the title *Millenium Hall* immediately signals this idea of futurity. Further, Scott's attempted

realisation of a space in which to fulfill the desire of a female-centric space of friendship focuses on a major obstacle to this future prospect: marriage.

In this section I will detail the view widely held, by upper-class women, that while marriage was a societal necessity, it was also an impediment to female agency. After detailing the circumstances that motivate Scott, and the founders, to create a space exclusively for female friendship, I will move on to discuss Scott's reinforcement of societal ideas of class, her belief in the obligation of upper class people to those less fortunate than themselves, and how her conception of class informs her attempts to reform the social obligation of marriage.

Along with the conventions of the city versus county pastoral binary and the tranquility of the space, the fecundity of the pastoral helps manifest the Bluestocking idea of eternal friendship, and the dream of that future is lionised in Carter's poetry as well. She closes her 'Ode, to a Lady in London' with the assurance of eternal friendship, 'Nor with the narrow bounds of time its beauteous prospect ends, / But lengthen'd through the vale of death to paradise extends' (Carter, 'Ode'). Colie suggests that 'because the pastoral is so "useless" in interpreting human life, it is important for its recreative, dreaming beauty all the same' (Alpers 35). Within *Millenium Hall*, this 'dreaming beauty' provides Scott a means with which to foreground futurity and Bluestocking concerns of female friendship in a space renowned for its sense of possibility.

While the dream of a life exclusively dedicated to female friendship and the social tenet of marriage are irreconcilable as concurrent futures, like most eighteenth-century women, Scott accepted the societal necessity of marriage. She iterates this in *Millenium Hall* when Mrs. Melvyn tells Lamont, 'we consider matrimony as absolutely necessary to the good

of society', and both Scott and Montagu married (163). However, like most Bluestockings, Scott believed marriage put women in a position that diminished their agency. Betty Rizzo writes that both Scott and Fielding knew 'there was a great advantage to being unmarried... because only unmarried women were free to work toward their own ends' (xvi). Fielding never married and had a writing career that spanned twenty years, ending just six years prior to her death when her health had begun to decline. While Scott wrote *The History of Cornelia* (1750) before and translated *Agreeable Ugliness; or, The Triumph of the Graces* (1752) during her marriage, she wrote and published the majority of her works after she and her husband separated while she was living with Lady Barbara Montagu.¹⁸

Laura Thomason, in *The Matrimonial Trap: Eighteenth-Century Women Writers Redefine Marriage* (2014), notes that Bluestocking Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany 'consistently describes the prospect of marriage as threatening a dangerous loss of autonomy or control' (85) and characterises her husband as 'my tyrant – my jailor; one that I was determined to obey and oblige, but found it impossible to love' (95).¹⁹ Two years before her own marriage, at age 21, Montagu expressing the same sentiment, writing to Mrs. Donnellan of 'our friend Penny'

¹⁸ Scott's works following her separation from her husband include *A Journey Through Every Stage of Life* (1754), *The History of Gustavus Ericson, King of Sweden* (1761), *The History of Mecklenburg* (1762), *Millenium Hall* (1762), *The History of Sir George Ellison* (1766), *The Life of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné* (1772), and *The Test of Filial Duty* (1772).

¹⁹ This demonstrative quote has been widely cited from Mary Delany's popular *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany* (1861). See *The Paper Garden: Mrs. Delany Begins Her Life's Work at 72* by Molly Peacock (2011) (79); 'Angles of Refraction: The Letters of Mary Delany' Eleonora Chiavetta in the *Journal of Early Modern Studies* (2014) (206); *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* by Lillian Faderman (1998) (98). Betty Rizzo in her essay 'Renegotiating the Gothic' in *Revising Women: Eighteenth-Century "Women's Fiction" and Social Engagement* (2002) (75).

who is 'under great anxiety' owing to her sister's coming marriage, Montagu says, 'I do not wonder at her fears; I believe both experience and observation have taught her the state she is going into is in general less happy than that she has left' (1: 116-117).

In *Millenium Hall*, though Mrs. Melvyn declares the founders' belief that marriage is a necessity to any society, they also assert the necessity of remaining unmarried themselves because to be so would be to surrender their agency, which - within *Millenium Hall* and within *Munster Village* as I will detail in the coming paragraphs - asserts itself as creating communities and serving others. Throughout Sir George's and Lamont's tour of Millenium Hall, they are told of the importance of service and of the good works of the founders. Scott justifies, or attempts to justify, the social rank of the community by reinforcing this message of what Scott calls 'benevolence [which] longs for objects on which to exert itself' by citing marriage as a way by which the founders can 'exert' themselves (110). While defending the founders' decision not to marry, Mrs. Melvyn assures the men that, while remaining unmarried, the founders can 'certainly much more promote wedlock, than we could do by entering into it ourselves' (163).

Thompson notes that Scott and Montagu's marital circumstances, despite their very different outcomes, however, 'demonstrate the necessity of marriage in the eighteenth century, a period in which genteel married women did not independently own property or work for a living' (108-09). The situation of Millenium Hall's founders, unmarried female property owners, reconciles women's lack of agency and its cause. Regardless of the pain incurred upon her lover's death, Mrs. Mancel 'has often declared, that she plainly sees the merciful hand of providence bringing good out of evil... for had she married Sir Edward

Lambton, her sincere affection for him would have led her to conform implicitly to all his inclinations' (161). This belief that marriage was counterproductive to self-governing, active employment went beyond the Bluestockings, and we see this same commitment to the construction of a productive society and the same conviction that marriage is an impediment to that plan in Hamilton's *Munster Village*.

Despite Lady Frances and Lord Darnley being very much in love, and the connection being approved of by her father - though he is deceased when she begins to construct her society - she declares her love, declines Lord Darnley's proposal, swears she will 'never dispose herself to any *other*', but 'advised him to marry' (20). As she has just inherited her father's estate, Lord Darnley assumes the change is due to her new fortune. He urges her to 'settle the property of the family out of his power, previous to her marriage', but she is committed to what she calls her 'first duty' (20). This duty is the care of her orphaned niece and nephew and the establishment of her society. *Munster Village* and *Millenium Hall* articulate the oft-repeated belief, by upper-class women in the eighteenth century, that marriage obstructs women's ability to be productive. *Millenium Hall*'s founders have had their romantic experiences, and as a result, they establish their community free from those encumbrances.

Though the founders remain unmarried while 'promot[ing] that in others, which they themselves do not chuse [sic] to practise [sic]', their rejection of their own matrimony is not out of hand: Mrs. Morgan is widowed; Miss Mancel's lover dies at war; Lady Mary narrowly escapes a clandestine elopement with a married man; and Miss Trentham's betrothed abandons her, to his own detriment, for a coquet of brief acquaintance (Scott, *Millenium* 163). Like Scott herself - and Granville whose first husband mercifully died five years into

their marriage - the founders have had experiences with men and matrimony and following those negative experiences, choose to expend their energies elsewhere. In reference to the first georgic, Patterson writes that 'the products of hardship and need are human effort and inventiveness... the instrument of invention is not logic but experience' (136). It is this romantic experience founded on hardship that gives way to the construction of Millenium Hall's female-centered community. The founders have seen the dangers of marriage and romantic relationships outside the pastoral retreat and create within it a space that remains safe from mercenary, lecherous, or abusive men.

Generically, the pastoral retreat is a fantasy space of simplicity and tranquility. As we see in the poetry and correspondence of a number of eighteenth-century female pastoralists as detailed in the early parts of this chapter, this fantasy often manifests itself as female friendship. In *Millenium Hall*, however, this fantasy is exclusively reserved for upper class women. Scott creates a social hierarchy, which, I suggest, echoes her own experience. Thomason observes that after Scott's separation from her husband, 'Scott's life was more typical for a woman in the Bluestocking circle' (109), and Gary Kelly reminds us that 'most bluestocking ladies were unmarried, widowed, separated from their husbands, or living independently while married' (17). Closer still to the fictional founders in the Millenium Hall community, Kelly notes that 'many had close and long-lasting friendships with women of similar background and experience. Some lived much of their lives together in all-female households' (17). Within Millenium Hall, it is the founders who are able to fulfill this dream by creating a class structure that allows them to send out the 'lower ranks' to fulfill what they acknowledge as the social responsibility of marriage.

The founders, like Lamont, refer to the 'lower sort of people' and 'superiors' as well as 'the great' and 'their inferiors' (165). They do have 'servants' who cook, clean, attend them, and drive their post-coach, post-chaise, and boat (116). Scott accepts this class structure, a social ranking based on monetary worth, as an inherent part of society whether inside or outside the pastoral retreat. Indeed, it is such an intrinsic and expected component of a society that, while there are only eleven rules, number five allows for 'a sufficient number of servants [to be] provided' (116). Scott pronounces this class structure so blatantly that Mrs. Maynard tells Sir George and Lamont that while the girls of a 'lower rank' (115) are 'never out of the room with us', at meals and after eight o'clock in the evening, 'they are under the immediate care of the house-keeper [sic], with whom they are allowed to walk out for an hour or two every fine day; lest their being always in our company should make them think their situation above a menial state' (160). Scott also, however, recognises this class structure as a man-made hierarchy.

Though Mrs. Mancel explains to Lamont regarding the trials of 'the lower rank of people' and 'the riches of the great' that 'poverty... exercises' the 'industry and patience' of the former, the latter suffer 'trials of their temperance, humility and humanity', she concludes that 'as for the future, there may probably be no inequality' (245). Scott asserts this sentiment of ultimate equality more comprehensively in *The History of Sir George Ellison* when Sir George tells his first wife that 'when you and I are laid in the grave, our lowest black slave will be as great as we are; in the next world perhaps much greater; the present difference is merely adventitious, not natural' (13). Fielding also expresses this same idea, having Ophelia - who was raised primarily in a remote part of Wales and is entirely bewildered by class

distinctions - philosophise that 'the Grave... leveled all Distinctions, and brought high and low on an Equality' (140). Even Montagu, herself highly alert to class rank and position and desirous of both, writes to the Duchess of Portland that 'the unequal distribution of the things of this world is the greatest proof that can be that there is another where the difference will be made up' (2: 129).

Though sure of eventual egalitarianism, in the meantime, the founders subscribe to the belief that 'the great' have a responsibility to those who are not as blessed. In the final pages of the novel, Lamont engages in a discussion with the founders regarding what he sees as 'their works of supererogation' [sic] but what they simply call, as Mrs. Mancel words it, 'the performance of our duty' (244). To a dumbfounded Lamont, she explains their responsibility to those without the same fortune as the founders and that 'we are told by him who cannot err, that our time, our money, and our understandings' are to be used 'to feed the hungry, to cloath [sic] the naked, to relieve the prisoner, and to take care of the sick' (244). Though Scott reinforces class hierarchy by creating societies that are structured accordingly, she recognises the arbitrariness of social position and declares it the responsibility of 'the great' to live virtuously, charitably, and for the good of others.

Mrs. Maynard tells Sir George and Lamont it is the founders' firm belief that 'it was the duty of every person to be of service to others' (118), and Sir George later tells Lamont in *Sir George Ellison* to 'let the superiority given us appear in the superior good we do' (41). Societally created social distinctions stand, but the responsibilities to those less privileged are also clear. This, too, is in keeping with the Bluestocking philosophy of engaging in reshaping gender boundaries, which Kelly calls 'a class-based project of social and cultural reform',

which I argue Scott performs in relation to class hierarchy and marriage reform (16). The social aspects of the community are structured in a manner that bonds the founders together as the *materfamilias*. Protection is indicative of the pastoral retreat, a space specifically chosen by the founders who themselves take on a protective role regarding the women of the society.

On their first day walking on the grounds, Sir George narrates that ‘man never appears there as a merciless destroyer; but the preserver, instead of the tyrant of the inferior part of the creation’ (69). This is part of the safety of the pastoral space over which, I argue, the founders see themselves as guardians, largely due to the class hierarchy they have created. Sir George speaks to ‘a very old woman spinning at one of the doors’ who he ‘accosted... by admiring the neatness of her habitation’ (65). In reference to the protection offered by the founders, she tells him that she and her ‘neighbours are as happy as princesses’, and they are grateful for the founders’ guidance because ‘poor folk cannot know every thing as these good ladies do’ (65). The idea of protection, as iterated early in the novel, is manifested again through Scott’s portrayal of the young women’s marriages.

With language more reminiscent of battle rather than a purportedly respected societal institution, the women construct their argument regarding marriage. While Sir George and the women agree that it is ‘pretty equal as to both sexes, each can destroy the other’s peace’ through marriage, Mrs. Trentham likens the act to facing ‘the enemy’s cannon’ (164). Further Mrs. Melvyn explains that ‘as, according to all antient [sic] tenures, those obliged to perform knight’s service, might... be excused by sending deputies to supply their places; so we, using the same privilege substitute many others’ (163). These words ‘obliged’ and ‘privilege’ signal the class hierarchy in Millenium Hall that disenfranchises the women of the society who are

not the founders by obligating them to the founders in whose control they find themselves. The working class servant girls are trained up according to Millenium Hall's mores and are then sent out in the founders' place, an aspect of the community that throws into relief the fact that the founders' pastoral dream is reliant on the labour and dependence of working-class girls and on those same girls going out to perform marriage on their behalf.

In an undated letter during the final months of 1741, Montagu wrote to Scott, 'I look upon you so much as a part of myself, that my affection for you is as self-love [sic]. I hope you will make a husband as happy as you have made a sister' (2: 47-48).²⁰ As George and Sarah Scott lived together as man and wife for less than a year,²¹ seemingly neither were made as happy as the female friendships of the time. Though Faderman briefly suggests of *Millenium Hall* that 'perhaps Scott felt that if she scandalized society by antimarriage [sic] views that were too shockingly unorthodox and threatening, her novel would not get a fair reading' (105), I would suggest that despite the outcome of her own marriage, she - like Granville - took issue with the function rather than the form of this societal practice.

A year after Montagu (then Robinson) sends a letter to Mrs. Donnellan regarding her concerns about the impending marriage of 'our friend Penny', she herself would marry Edward Montagu. That same year, in an undated letter that falls between two others dated November 23, 1742 and December 3, 1742, she writes to the Reverend Mr. Friend,

²⁰ Montagu married in 1742. Scott married in 1751, though she and George Scott had a prolonged courtship that lasted nearly a decade.

²¹ The two never officially divorced, and the cause of the demise of their marriage is not definitively known.

I have, every day since you made me a wife, had more reason to thank you for the alteration... I cannot be so unjustly diffident as to doubt of the duration of my happiness, when I see the author of it dispensing content to all his dependents, and should he ever cease to use me with more care, generosity, and affection, than I deserve, I should be the first person he has ever treated in this manner. (2: 229-230)

Though Montagu's own accounts of her marriage vary - seemingly based on time, correspondent, and mood - and Scott separated from her husband after an exceptionally short period, both sisters married men of their own choosing and seem to recognise the societal necessity of a well-planned marriage.

This opinion was shared by Mrs. Delany who, after being made a widow at twenty-four, remained unmarried for nineteen years, despite the urges of her family who were ultimately disappointed in her own choice of Dr. Delany (Thomason 97, 101). Thomason encapsulates Mrs. Delany's views on marriage thusly, 'Delany never advocates that women should behave unconventionally. Instead, she attacks society's use of the conventions themselves, suggesting that genuine attention to morality and reason will lead couples to happiness' (106). It is this, I suggest, Scott models with regard to marriage at Millenium Hall, with particular attention to money and companionship. Money to be gained by a husband through marriage was of particular concern as the consequence of this type of courtship led to incompatible matches.

Ingrid H. Tague notes in 'Love, Honor, and Obedience: Fashionable Women and the Discourse of Marriage in the Early Eighteenth Century' (2001) that 'brides were being bought

and sold with no regard for their future happiness or compatibility with their husbands' (76-77). When a seventeen-year-old Granville was pushed into a mercenary marriage with the sixty-year-old Alexander Pendarves by her scheming uncle at whose financial mercy not only she but her parents found themselves, her choices were marriage or the financial ruin of her entire family. I would argue that the eighteenth-century societal concerns regarding 'economic practices, consumerism, and political theory [that] fueled a growing cultural anxiety about the relationships among money, fashion, and women' are addressed by Scott in a pastoral situation that simply eliminates the monetary, and therefore mercenary, aspect (Tague 80).

The founders use the agency they maintain by not marrying, in part, to oversee the marriages of young women of the community. In this idealised society, unlike in the world outside the retreat, fortune and class are not considerations. Through the lens of marriage, Scott further foregrounds the duality of the worlds inside and outside her pastoral retreat. In absenting money-focused arranged marriages for other young women of the community, Scott absents the mercenary element to which so many women - including numerous Bluestockings - objected. Granville 'claims that "the world" - that is, her genteel society - is corrupt because it values money over common sense, honor, and even physical beauty', but Scott negates the very source of that corruption and sets up the financial concerns of her pastoral retreat in terms applicable to a female-centered society (Thomason 98).

The difficulties for young women in marriage are both the arrangement by mercenary relatives who, according to Richard Allestree's *The Ladies Calling* (1673), 'are sometime such idolaters to Wealth and Honor, that they sacrifice their children to them' and that within

these marriages is an untenable discrepancy of expectations, personalities, and values (Thomason 92-93). When these things are in accordance, however, even the Bluestockings and other upper-class women approve of marriage. In a letter written to West in 1755 on the topic of 'our friend Torriano's' marriage (3: 320), Montagu writes favourably of the institution when the arrangement is made 'by Hymen's sober assistance' (3: 321). She rejoices that Torriano 'has all the good sense and delicacy necessary to direct him', and she 'imagine[s] he has chosen a woman of merit, and she cannot have proposed to herself anything but domestic happiness, for their circumstances and situation exclude all other views; so far it seems to be an holy union, and I heartily wish he may be happy' (3: 321). When, in October 1781, the Countess of Stamford describes to Granville (by then Delany) the marriage of Miss Thynne and Lord Aylesford as a 'prospect [that] appears a very pleasing one, as there is every reason to hope she will be happy [because] Lord Aylesford has been uncommonly fortunate in having more opportunities of making himself acquainted with her merit than is generally the case' (Granville 62), Granville replies that she sends her 'most respectfull [sic] compliments and congratulations... upon the marriage', for she has 'long been an admirer of the young lady; and... had a great partiality for Lord Aylesford' (Granville 63).

In Hamilton's *Munster Village*, Lady Frances does marry once her niece and nephew are of age and her society is not only functioning but profitable; however, when she declines Lord Darnley in their youth there is no guarantee he will not marry someone else - as she has indeed encouraged him to do. Writing to a woman who has admonished her for her rejection of him, Lady Frances responds regarding her decision about 'the man I (*did*, and do *now*) fondly love' and their situation, she says, 'I honor the married state: and have high ideas

of the happiness resulting from an union of hearts. Domestic society is founded on the union betwixt husband and wife' (55). While not a Bluestocking, Hamilton expresses the same ideas regarding love and partnership in marriage: the connection must be made of minds as well as hearts.

Against the idea of superficial familiarity, Montagu warns, 'I have known many men [who] see all the cardinal virtues in a good complexion, and every ornament of a character in a pair of fine eyes, and they have married these perfections, which perhaps, might shine and bloom a twelvemonth, and then, alas!' (2: 29). She means to say 'nothing disrespectful of love' but is sure that 'a long and intimate acquaintance is the best presage of future agreement' (2: 29). The Bluestocking concern of incompatibility is relieved in Scott's plan to remove money as an object of potential marriages. By enacting this stratagem, the founders believe they are both protecting women from disadvantageous connections while finding a means to fulfill their own pastoral longing: the creation of a space of female friendship in perpetuity.

Though marking a clear social hierarchy, as I have detailed, the founders excuse themselves from what they consider 'absolutely necessary to the good of society' and 'a general duty' while marshaling the 'lower rank' to fulfill this obligation (Scott, *Millenium* 163). While this feels a bit exploitive, it is done with a kind of utopian practicality that looks to sustain the future of the community. In Scott's amalgamation of the pastoral and utopia, she moves beyond the dream of a space of female friendship, like the one Carter describes, and attempts to construct a society in which, she believes, the 'city' that disrupts so many pastoral dreams cannot intrude.

She does this by ensuring the futurity of the space through the continual renewal of Millenium Hall's population. Sustainment of residents presents no challenge in this single-sex pastoral where there is no reproduction; there is an apparently endless line of women waiting to be admitted. Though the society seemingly has no difficulty with population, in what they consider an act of charity, they 'take every child after the fifth of every poor person, as soon as it can walk' and provide it with care and education (Scott, *Millenium* 66). Further, the founders have been 'obliged to refuse admission to many' and 'some who wished to board, have likewise been refused' (Scott, *Millenium* 121). With this superfluity of potential residents, the founders can continually marry off young women in their stead, thus fulfilling what they see as a societal obligation, without worry regarding the future of their community. In influencing these young girls to marry, Scott fulfills what she sees is the responsibility of the higher ranking members of society to the 'lower ranks' by reconsidering what is voiced by Scott, Granville, Montagu, Hamilton, and others as a significant source of discontent: marriage.

To liberate lower class women at Millenium Hall from the burden of an uncompanionable marriage, however, Scott reconstructs the foundation of marriage by first altering the motive of seeing young women married and then by reconsidering to whom young women should be married. Throughout their time as part of Millenium Hall's community, young girls and women are expected to contribute constructively to their society. Once they marry, 'the young bride' is given 'a fortune, and that she might have her share of employment, and contribute to the provision for her family', the founders 'had stocked her dairy, and furnished her with poultry' (Scott, *Millenium* 163). In this, the only and therefore

seemingly paradigmatic, example, the young woman ‘had for three years been in service... having for that whole time been courted by a young farmer of good character’ (Scott, *Millenium* 162). The practice of arranged marriage is eliminated and replaced by a lengthy courtship and the means through which young women choose a companionable partner. While the founders supply the means by which the future couple shares in the responsibility of their situation, assuming the young woman ‘proved deserving’, they fulfill their role through motivation and guidance rather than avarice and social climbing (Scott, *Millenium* 163).²²

Though only one aspect of their female-centered pastoral community, the discussion around marriage is a significant one with regards to exploring how Scott sets up the class hierarchy of her society as a means of fulfilling a Bluestocking fantasy of a retreat that allows for undisturbed female friendship in perpetuity. Constructing a class hierarchy, which she and the founders purports to believe is man made rather than naturally occurring, also allows the founders to play benefactresses to what they have established as the ‘lower ranks’.

While excusing themselves from marriage with the justification that they can do more good while maintaining the agency to be gained by not marrying, the founders reinforce their class structure, but to fulfill their duty as protectors, they make specific and significant moves to reform the institute of marriage. Monetary considerations are discounted, and in ridding

²² The founders’ lack of desire to assert their ascendancy is also evinced earlier in the text when they come upon the enclosed space of the ‘enfranchised company’, people who were ‘once unfortunate, but now happy beings’ (Scott, *Millenium* 73). Lamont says it reminds him of Lord Lamore’s enclosure ‘where he kept lions, tygers [sic], leopards, and such foreign animals’ and declares it ‘a triumph of human reason’ to tame these ‘beautiful wild beasts... by the superior art of man’ (71). Mrs. Mancel replies, ‘when reason appears only in the exertion of cruelty and tyrannical oppression, it is surely not a gift to be boasted of’ (71).

young couples of this mercenary concern, conscious consideration of compatibility is foregrounded. Scott recognises the need in society for marriage, and in an effort to reshape the necessary institution, her staging of it simply shifts the motivations for marriage rather than calling for an end to the practice altogether. In creating this reassuring future for the young women they send out of the retreat in their place, the founders - echoing the longing of the Bluestockings - secure their pastoral retreat of female friendship.

Conclusion

Through her establishment of a single-sex pastoral utopia, Scott addresses the Bluestocking concerns of female friendship and idleness. In doing so, she differentiates her female-centric pastoral from various other articulations of single-sex pastorals by focusing on community rather than the self and by amalgamating the retreat with the utopia. Utopian *negotium* ensures occupation and purposefulness for each member of the community. Further, it safeguards the fecundity of the pastoral and couples it with the futurity ensured by the utopian productivity. This, then, ensures not only the perpetuity of society, but more importantly to the Bluestockings, in the founders and their unmarried state within this pastoral utopia, Scott realises the Bluestocking dream of a space exclusively for female friendship. This is a prevalent subject amongst Carter, Fielding, Griffith, Philips, and others who articulate it as a significant concern of middle- and upper-class women of the early and mid-eighteenth century. Work by Scott's fellow female pastoral poets and novelists and contemporary Bluestocking correspondence highlight the concerns of friendship and idleness on which Scott sets the foundation for the construction of *Millenium Hall*.

The writing of these learned and literate society women encourages us to think of Millenium Hall as an idyllic retreat from worldly concerns to a space of fantasy fulfillment. The deployment of working-class young women into marriages and reading Scott's criticism of vicious landlords against working-class poet Mary Leapor's 'Crumble-Hall', however, clarifies the strict boundary of social class despite the community spirit of this pastoral utopia that celebrates the female. Despite reinforcing this class boundary, Scott recongises it as a worldly construct rather than one inherent to human nature, and in her own privileged way, she does, I argue, attempt to reconstruct the marital fates of working-class young women by restructuring the fundamental roles of men and women in marriage.

Scott's exploration of the role of women challenges their prescribed place in society by creating a space that juxtaposes the dualities of *otium* and *negotium*. By reversing these two dialectical generic elements of the pastoral, Scott challenges both the societal convention that encouraged idleness in women and the generic tenet of the pastoral. Scott does, however, keep in place the fundamental binary, but in inverting the dynamic of *otium* and *negotium*, Scott presents a community that pushes back against the expectation of female indolence, a concern shared by the Bluestockings in their correspondence, non-Bluestocking Lady Mary Hamilton in her utopia *Munster Village*, and working-class poet Mary Leapor.

In a section of his essay 'Politics vs Literature: An Examination of *Gulliver's Travels*' (1946) regarding the Houyhnhnms in Swift's utopia (1726), George Orwell opines that 'happiness is notoriously difficult to describe, and pictures of a just and well-ordered society are seldom either attractive or convincing. Most creators of "favourable" Utopias, however, are concerned to show what life could be like if it were lived more fully' (Swift 334). Orwell

argues that the catalyst for the utopia is a life more fully lived rather than a life of perfection. It is of this striving for a fuller life that Scott's sister writes to her early in their correspondence, when Scott was still a teenager, rhetorically asking 'how should we regret every span of life that did not seem to stretch towards the attainment of some desire' (1: 118). This desire and potential fulfillment is manifested in *Millenium Hall's* pastoral, and though the society itself remains unrealised, Scott's tenets of purposeful productivity in a peaceful retreat of female friendship remain.

New Generic Dimensions that Blur Boundaries Between the Pastoral and the Gothic

in Ann Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho

In the second half of the long eighteenth century, the gothic was largely perceived to be a genre written by and for women. Despite the notable exceptions of Horace Walpole and Matthew Lewis, novels by Charlotte Dacre, Sophia Lee, Ann Radcliffe, Clara Reeve, and other female writers dominated the gothic literature landscape. Markman Ellis, in *The History of Gothic Fiction* (2003), observes that 'the vulgar entertainment of gothic romance was not only compatible with the reading and writing of women, but confirmed in the publishing market and the circulating library' (48). Gothic fiction gave female authors a space to write for and about women. In engaging with the pastoral in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), Radcliffe explores what I will argue are pliable boundaries between the gothic and the pastoral through the experiences of her female protagonist.

Radcliffe opens the novel with an invocation of conventional descriptions of the pastoral space: a retreat of the kind Johnson says, 'entertains the mind with representations of scenes familiar to almost every imagination' (*Rambler* 36). In the next section in this chapter, 'The Father Figure', I will address Radcliffe's establishment of the customary pastoral retreat, St. Aubert's role in affirming the pastoral duality of country versus city, and Emily's connection both to the physical landscape and to her father as an underpinning to her character. In section two, I will explore the first substantial co-mingling of the genres in Emily's gothic test within the pastoral space, the reassertion of her pastoral character in terms of her pastoral ideology, the gothic tenet of inheritance, and sensibility.

Having substantiated this foundational premise, I will move on in the next two sections to discuss manifestations of music, landscapes, and imagination and ways in which they reject or reinforce conventional generic iterations as well as articulations of their relationship with Emily, who is, I argue, representative of the pastoral's potential for interiority. In the penultimate section, I will address Emily's encounters with Montoni following her aunt's death, in what I will argue are a series of instances in which Radcliffe explores the interiority of the pastoral and gothic, questions regarding pastoral and gothic boundaries, archetypal representations of character, and the pastoral's capacity for flexibility.

Though the pastoral and the gothic seem to create a dichotomous duality, throughout the novel Radcliffe blurs the boundaries between the two. In chapters one and two, I have argued the pastoral space and its ideals are represented more conventionally. In Haywood's *The British Recluse* and *Lasselia* - much like *Daphnis and Chloe* - the pastoral spaces are retreats with clearly articulated borders. We do see incursions from the outside world, in the form of representations of societal mores extolling the necessity of female virtue and honour, enter the retreat causing chaos, but the boundaries are still intact. In Scott's *Millenium Hall*, the narrative that is set within the pastoral retreat frames the 'city' narratives, marking the boundary not only spatially within the narrative but structurally for the text.

In *Udolpho*, we see an acknowledgment of this more-strictly represented binary opposition with regard to St. Aubert and Valancourt. In their situations, Radcliffe portrays the country and the city in contrast to one another in a token recognition of the conventional pastoral. For St. Aubert, the return to the retreat is a restoration or a repatriation of sorts, as I will detail in the next section. For Valancourt, the return is

redemptive. Though less egregiously than we are initially led to believe, Valancourt falls into temptation in Paris. The rehabilitation of his character takes place in the pastoral retreat when he repents and asks forgiveness. The duality of his gambling and penal service in Paris and his return to the virtuous space of the pastoral retreat come together in one character to articulate one of what Gutzwiller calls one of the pastoral's 'thematic antitheses... innocence and experience' (93).

For Emily, however, though there are oppositional dichotomies - her versus Montoni and freedom versus confinement - the idea of such strict delineations is less clear cut. McKeon concludes his 'What is Pastoral?' section with the suggestion that 'pastoral is a cultural mechanism whose poetic and ideological function is to test the dialectical fluidity of dichotomous oppositions' (272). It is this I argue Radcliffe does by articulating the country versus city duality in the hyperbolised form in the gothic novel. *Udolpho* opens with stereotypical representations of the pastoral retreat: descriptions of the peaceful and idyllic landscape, rejection of the city, effusive praise of simplicity. These last long enough to establish securely St. Aubert's and then Emily's characters as representative of those conventions as I will detail in the following section. From here, though, 'the gothic' repeatedly appears within the pastoral spaces of La Vallée and Languedoc and inversely we see the values associated with the pastoral space and the reactions they engender assert themselves within the gothic space.

Radcliffe herself uses the term pastoral in the first sentence of the novel, and I will apply the pastoral opening she asserts to an examination of St. Aubert's and Emily's characters in the first section. As I clarify in the introduction to the thesis, the word

landscape as used here denotes simply the literal, physical world; in this chapter, it specifically relates to the St. Auberts's house in La Vallée and to mountains as seen in several instances throughout the text. Hereafter I will refer to St. Aubert and Emily's 'connection to the landscape' as one of Radcliffe's pastoral tenets in reference to the peace, virtue, and simplicity with which Radcliffe imbues what she terms the 'pastoral landscapes' (1).

This connection to the landscape, I suggest, informs the formation of Emily's character, which is associated with St. Aubert's and is, as I will detail in the coming section, rooted in the pastoral opening of the novel. Emily is established through what I will refer to as her 'pastoral education' as imparted by St. Aubert in the opening chapters of the text. Critics reference Emily's education but do not address her pastoral upbringing specifically (Botting 60; Davison 100; Ellis 52-54; and Meyer Spacks, *Desire* 156). In brief comments on Emily's education as it correlates to her virtue, I argue that Emily's early years in the pastoral retreat with her father who embodies that space's values, as I will detail in the next section, is the impetus for her education. It therefore forms the interiority of her self, which we see manifested even with the gothic setting.

Thus far in chapter three, I have referenced the pastoral and its ideals. While fully recognising that 'the pastoral' is a binary relationship between the country and the city and not simply the pastoral retreat as a space, as I have specified throughout the introduction and chapters one and two, within this chapter, I place particular emphasis on the pastoral retreat's ideals. Throughout the chapter I will refer to it simply as 'the pastoral' in reference to its relationship to the gothic, though the generic pastoral is that relationship between the two. Within the first section regarding St. Aubert and Emily, I will establish their relationship

with what Radcliffe articulates as the pastoral retreat's set of values which I will then refer to as pastoral ideology.

Throughout the thesis, I have discussed the pastoral in terms of its various binaries and the space of the retreat in terms of virtue, safety, and peace. In the next section, I will discuss in detail Radcliffe's iteration of the ideology of her pastoral retreat at La Vallée and how St. Aubert and Emily are representative of the ideals of that space. I have previously considered McKeon's supposition that the country versus city binary is a catalyst for the various other generic dualities, and I would maintain that, with regard to *Udolpho*, that is largely the case as well. Radcliffe, however, escalates this binary correlation by substituting the gothic for 'the city'. The 'gothic', however, is not simply a geographical location or a genre of writing.

While gothic has been associated with the discord between Britain's Catholic past and eighteenth-century Protestantism (Davison 25, 205; Ferguson Ellis 47-48, 207-208; Ellis 92-93, 105-106, 173; Miles, *Gothic* 104, 112; Varma 219-220) or with contemporary political movements, including the terror of French Revolution (Botting 85; Davison 11-12, 47-48, 262; Ferguson Ellis 14; Ellis 81-83, 102-106; Mudge 94-95), this thesis is interested less in the metaphorical and more in an exploration of shared gothic and pastoral conventions. Fred Botting catalogues 'staple gothic ingredients' as 'dark subterranean vaults, decaying abbeys, gloomy forests, jagged mountains and wild scenery inhabited by bandits, persecuted heroines, orphans and malevolent aristocrats' along with an 'atmosphere of gloom and mystery populated by threatening figures' (39). To these he adds the still more abstract ideas of

‘shocks, supernatural incidents and superstitious beliefs set out to promote a sense of sublime awe and wonder which entwined with fear and elevated imaginations’ (39).

Though these desolate descriptions seem wholly antithetical to the space of the pastoral retreat and its ideals, I would argue the pastoral retreat is famously a space of possibility removed from the outside world. Carol Margaret Davison suggests the gothic appears to be ‘anachronistic because it emerged during the Enlightenment when novels generally focused their lens on contemporary reality’ (25), and Mudge notes that the gothic is also marked by ‘extravagant fantasies’ (94). In *Udolpho*, Radcliffe juxtaposes two illusionary spaces. The pastoral retreat is a fantasy of peace, virtue, and safety: conventional wish-fulfillment of the retreat beyond the reach of societal conventions of the outside world. The gothic is a chimera manifesting things that are fearful or forbidden.

For Emily, I argue, these things fearful and forbidden come in the form of her lineage in the gothic’s ancient-sin-of-the-father trope and in the desire for power she asserts at *Udolpho*. Botting notes the gothic asserts itself in ‘images of violence and excessive passion, in villainous threats to proper domestic structure’, and this is true through the exploration of both of the pastoral and the gothic spaces in *Udolpho* (58). Emily is confronted with this gothic trope in her home at La Vallée, but while she is confronted with her own inclination for power in the gothic *Udolpho*, I argue, throughout the chapter, that Emily is a kind of cypher for the ideals of the pastoral retreat; therefore, her struggle at *Udolpho* is a magnified and reshaped iteration of the country versus city binary.

In *The Rise of the Woman Novelist* (1986), Jane Spencer notes, ‘the focus in the Gothic novel is on the heroine’s mind: it is not only what happens to her that concerns us, but how

she reacts to it' (193). Though Radcliffe sets up the novel with an introduction that thoroughly embraces the aesthetic and ideology of the pastoral retreat, from here she embarks on a pastoral enterprise of investigating binaries, which are reframed in a larger sense that creates a mobility for the pastoral ideology through Emily's embodiment of them. This allows Radcliffe to circumvent conventional boundaries and move the pastoral 'retreat', in the form of its values, into the physical space of the gothic as well as negotiating a space for the gothic within the pastoral heroine's interiority.

In Emily's experience with the duality of the genre, a space is opened up to explore the pastoral as a potential vehicle for considerations of interiority and unresolved tensions between the pastoral and the gothic by delving into shared conventions both concrete (music and mountains) and abstract (the imagination). Emily's experience in the retreat's oppositional space is more heightened, more fraught. This for Emily, unlike for St. Aubert and Valancourt, is a more existential test of interiority, as I will detail in the final two sections. Set within the gothic, Emily does face real threats from Montoni; however, within her imagination, the more-abstracted, less-material confrontations and the pastoral's mobility allow Radcliffe to reconsider both the heroine's test, the pastoral binaries, and representations of the pastoral space and ideology.

In *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology* (1989), Kate Ferguson Ellis proposes, 'in the feminine Gothic the heroine exposes the villain's usurpation and thus reclaims an enclosed space that should have been a refuge from evil but has become the very opposite, a prison' (xiii). Usurpation and reclamation are common gothic topoi, and Ellis and I do agree on the agency demonstrated by gothic heroines. Unlike *A Sicilian*

Romance's (1792) gothic castle where Radcliffe situates Julia or *The Romance of the Forest's* (1791) gothic abbey in which she situates Adeline, though, Emily's 'refuge from evil' is set within the pastoral retreat: a physical space conventionally replete with ideals of peace and safety but an unconventional opening for a gothic novel.

A Sicilian Romance commences with dangers for Julia in the forms of her father and the Duke, as well as the mysterious, unearthly noises coming from the hidden, lower part of the castle. These create fears of the future and of the unknown, and Julia spends the bulk of the novel attempting to escape both. Similarly, in *The Romance of the Forest*, Adeline is kept in watchful fear in her make-do domestic space of the long-since-abandoned abbey with her father figure Pierre de la Motte who attempts to trade her to the Marquis Phillipe de Montalt for his protection. Rather than auditory terror such as the 'low hollow sound, which arose from beneath the apartment, and seemed like the closing of a door' that 'chilled into a silence' Julia and Emilia in *A Sicilian Romance*, here Adeline's further fears arise from a mysterious parchment and series of dark rooms accessed only through a trap door (35). Like Julia, Adeline's only option is to flee the terror and danger of her domestic space and not to return.

The chaos and disquietude of the commencement of Radcliffe's other gothic novels are not resolved until the heroines find peace away from their original homes. Emily's peace begins with the beginning of the novel, at her home in La Vallée. Gutzwiller recounts that 'a life of withdrawal into a rustic setting' has been 'used as a model for contemporary philosophical ideals of peace and contentment' since Theocritus (111). This model, I argue, is highlighted in *Udolpho* with the pastoral retreat's articulation of these conventional ideals as

the foundation of the novel from which we can explore ideas of ‘peace and contentment’ in collaboration and competition with their gothic binaries. As I will detail throughout the chapter, Radcliffe destabilises strict boundaries between the gothic and the pastoral, questioning interiority, perception, and confinement in both pastoral and gothic spaces.

The Father Figure, the Heroine, and Pastoral Origins

Within a gothic novel, the father or father figure is archetypally presented in the role of patriarchal manipulator. Though this archetype is unveiled in volume two to be Montoni, the husband of Emily’s paternal aunt, we are initially introduced to Emily’s biological father St. Aubert, prior even to meeting the heroine herself. In a divergence from gothic custom, he neither holds her captive nor attempts to sell her to the highest bidder, unlike Montoni who will later do both. As I will detail throughout this section, St. Aubert is the product of an upbringing within a pastoral space, unfavourable time spent in the pastoral’s binary counterpart, the city, and a rejoiceful return to the retreat.

Radcliffe constructs her idea of ‘the pastoral’ around the introduction of the physical landscape itself in the opening pages as well as around St. Aubert’s character. In this section, I will examine Radcliffe’s pastoral principles, St. Aubert’s pastoral character, and the rearticulation of those ideas in Emily’s inheritance of them from her father. Then, throughout the chapter, I will refer to this construction and analyse how this identity responds to the pastoral/gothic duality as it manifests itself in aspects such as music, landscape, and the imagination, and finally the gothic character of Montoni.

Emily's initial father figure is, uncharacteristically for a gothic novel, indeed her biological father who, even more anomalously, is neither absent nor tyrannical. He raises Emily according to a set of beliefs founded on pastoral principles to which he adheres, promoting a life of tranquility, freedom, and connection to the natural world. From here, Emily moves into the gothic space of Udolpho where Montoni, who marries Emily's aunt - her guardian after her father's death - takes on the archetypal gothic father figure role. He imprisons her and bargains with three different men, each of whom is vying to marry her. In an extended evocation of the pastoral prior to arriving at Udolpho, including both the physical setting and the characters of St. Aubert and then Emily as I will detail in the coming paragraphs, however, Radcliffe sets up the pastoral both to contrast and to work in tandem with the gothic.

Though the gothic trope of the tyrannical father figure extends to include any male figure of authority, and arguably Montoni does fulfill that role within the gothic portion of the novel in Italy, there is a notable contrast between Emily's domestic situation with St. Aubert and the standard of most gothic heroines. Radcliffe fashions St. Aubert as the embodiment of the ancient tenets of the pastoral: connection to the landscape, peace and simplicity, and the country versus city binary. Emily does not face the same dilemmas as Radcliffe's Julia or Adeline, whose father and father figure both attempt to sell them to older, lecherous members of the peerage in exchange for position or protection. Though in *The Italian* (1797) Radcliffe's orphaned Ellena, who is raised by her maiden aunt, is spared this type of potential lascivious subjugation, she is kidnapped from her own house and forced into confinement in the convent of San Stefano. These biological fathers of Radcliffe's other

gothic heroines are notably despotic or absent or both, and each of these three characters is raised solely by women, some prior to the novels' beginnings.

I would argue this matriarchal upbringing is less a comment on the ability of women to raise children than it is a commentary on male authority figures who, to read gothic novels, which work to undermine the figure as a whole, it seems are incapable of parental responsibility. I would also argue that by initiating these narratives with scenes fraught with unpredictability even within the customary stability of the domestic space, the quasi-*in media res* commencements to these stories heighten what already seem to be precarious situations for the female characters. Contrary to this, *Udolpho* invokes, from the initial sentence, the peace and safety of a long-since well-established pastoral landscape that, as Johnson has declared in 'Rambler 36', we are familiar with from our own childhoods and to which we return, even as adults, as a familiar space of contentment.

Radcliffe begins the novel 'on the pleasant banks of the Garonne, in the province of Gascony, [where] stood, in the year 1584, the chateau of Monsieur St. Aubert. From its windows were seen the pastoral landscapes of Guienne and Gascony, stretching along the river, gay with luxuriant woods and vines, and plantations of olives' (1). The origination of the novel with the pointed connection of St. Aubert and the pastoral retreat's physical landscape in the first sentence signals a deviation from the well-established gothic landscape and father figure. Bending suggests, with specific reference to Elizabeth Montagu, that identity is defined not only by space occupied but by space un- or formerly occupied.²³ I

²³ Bending notes in *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture* (2013) that 'what establishes Montagu as a woman in fashionable retirement is precisely that she will leave the country again and return to the metropolitan world of literature and high society; or, conversely, that she takes the town with her when she goes to the country' (148).

propose that this pastoral duality shapes St. Aubert's character as one who has rejected the city and its corruption and embraced the county's innocence and 'contentment' (Johnson, 'Rambler 36'). Emily's emulation of her father and their parallel characters substantiates for the heroine an equal share in the inculcation of the pastoral ideology.

St. Aubert, as one who has 'mingled in the gay and in the busy scenes of the world' but who has now retired to a life of 'pastoral simplicity', challenges the model of the debased, vicious gothic father figure (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 1). His return to the pastoral innocence of his childhood articulates the long-established and easily recognisable retreat of the pastoral. Radcliffe stages a retreat to the countryside so often figured in pastoral writing, that of a retirement to the country to escape the iniquity of the city.

In addition, though, Radcliffe generates a physical space whose ideals are embodied by St. Aubert and Emily, and this asserts itself with extreme avidity within both the pastoral retreat and its binary space: the city for St. Aubert and the gothic for Emily. The dichotomy of this duality, however, creates disparate father figures in St. Aubert at La Vallée and Montoni at Udolpho. I will address Montoni in a later section, but here I establish the significance of Emily's pastoral inheritance from St. Aubert and the ways in which this generates new dimensions of a character typically read as a gothic heroine.

St. Aubert, though forced from the countryside of his youth due to a lack of means to support himself, in time 'disengaged himself from the world, and retired hither, to realize [sic] the wishes of many years' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 2). In the form of his upbringing in the pastoral space and the value he sets on the principles and ideals he has learned there, St.

Aubert takes the pastoral with him into city but is finally able to return to his native surroundings. Amidst their pastoral world of larches, beech, pine, mountain ash, and orange, lemon, and palm trees, St. Aubert sat with his wife and Emily ‘under the ample shade of a plane-tree [sic], that spread its majestic canopy towards the river’, and he ‘loved to sit in the fine evenings of summer... watching, beneath its foliage, the setting-sun [sic], the mild splendour of its light fading from the distant landscape’ (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 4). While St. Aubert is the embodiment of the pastoral retreat in his preference for the country over the city and for his idealisation of the natural world, he is an atypical gothic father figure. With Emily’s inheritance of the pastoral ideals from him and with her return to her home at La Vallée, she, then, becomes an atypical gothic heroine.

Radcliffe establishes the parallel characters of St. Aubert and Emily from the first pages of the novel. After listening to St. Aubert contemplate the ‘sweet calm’, ‘high enthusiasm’, and ‘thrilling delight’ brought on by nature, St. Aubert’s and Emily’s parallel attachment to the natural world is verbalised when she declares, ‘O my dear father... how exactly you describe what I have felt so often, and which I thought nobody had ever felt but myself’ (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 15). Prior to any hint of the gothic, indeed in excess of two hundred pages prior to Emily’s arrival at Udolpho, Radcliffe establishes connection to the landscape as a tenet of her pastoral.

Further, Radcliffe chronicles the innate association Emily feels to the landscape, stating, ‘it was one of Emily’s earliest pleasures to ramble among the scenes of nature’ (6). Radcliffe then reveals, regarding this same space, that ‘this, too, was the favourite retreat of St. Aubert’ (7). Though the connection to the pastoral originates with St. Aubert, Radcliffe

foregrounds Emily as a heroine who will embody these pastoral ideals even within the gothic setting as a consistent representation of the pastoral against which to read various other generic elements, as I will detail throughout the chapter.

Emily, too, after her ordeal in the pastoral's binary space of the gothic, retires to what Radcliffe concludes on the final page are the 'the pleasant and long-loved shades of La Vallée' (672) in the same manner that St. Aubert retires 'to this spot [to which] he had been attached since his infancy' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 2). It is significant that Radcliffe establishes the pastoral retreat of Emily's home at La Vallée and Emily as a pastoral heroine early in the novel. It will then serve as a foundation against which to explore the pastoral's binary relationship with the gothic by merging various common aspects of the pastoral retreat and gothic in an exploration of the iterations of each and their relationships.

Emily loses her mother, and the greater part of her education is taught and reinforced by her father, most often in the setting of the natural world. Ellis, too, notes, 'Emily achieves her innate innocence and virtue by a course of education and advice' (52). He does not, however, remark on her education's source or the implications for her inculcation within a long-standing literary and cultural pastoral. To Ellis's analysis, I would add that Emily's character is constructed within pastoral frameworks and its conventions of rationality in the vein of Fontenelle, safety in the vein of Virgil, and virtue in the vein of Pope, as well as of her parents' identities, liberates her from gothic tropes such as the ancient-sin-of-the-father, as I will address further in the next section.

The Ancient Sin of the Father: A Gothic Trope in a Pastoral Space

One significant gothic mystery of *Udolpho* that invades the pastoral and illustrates the blurriness of pastoral and gothic boundaries regards the picture over which Emily finds her father weeping and the papers he enjoins her to destroy after his death. Through a series of suspicious dialogues and images, we are led to question St. Aubert's character and Emily's parentage. Here we have the gothic convention of the ancient-sin-of-the-father inserting itself into the pastoral space. This gothic trope within the pastoral setting of La Vallée attempts to challenge the idea of Emily's lineage. With the recurring issue of St. Aubert's secret, Radcliffe reappropriates the gothic trope in a reconsideration of the resilience of the pastoral's own boundaries. Though Radcliffe articulates a clear delineation between 'the city' and 'the country' with regard to St. Aubert and Valancourt, both of whom return to the retreat as a space of safety from corruption, Emily is forced to confront corruption within her own pastoral space.

In *The Romance of the Forest*, Adeline's engagement with this trope in the form of La Motte's former crimes as the impetus of his need for protection – and therefore his dealings with the Marquis – disappears from her ken the minute she is free of the abbey. In *Romance*, it is a gothic trope in a gothic space. Furthermore, this sin is real; La Motte himself is running from it before we are even introduced to Adeline. He is 'always a weak, and sometimes a vicious member of society' (Radcliffe, *Romance* 2) who lives in Paris, 'devoted to its luxuries' (3) and is forced by his own vice to flee 'his creditors and the persecution of the laws' (1). There is no room for obfuscation. *Udolpho* offers a more nuanced presentation of the trope and therefore an opportunity to explore the boundaries between pastoral and gothic.

For Emily, this 'sin' is speculation; it is gothic but invades the pastoral space; and it presents itself repeatedly throughout the novel. Rather than being a catalyst for the heroine's fear, as it is for Adeline while she resides in the abbey, Emily's engagement with the ancient-sin-of-the-father is not a source of constant fear because, first and foremost, she does not believe it is real, though there is circumstantial evidence at each occurrence that it is. Secondly, though, this sin presents itself within the pastoral space: La Vallée and later Languedoc. Though the trope is gothic, in *Udolpho*, it has been resituated into the pastoral space as a questionable accusation concerning two characters who have been wholly identified - thus far - with the virtue of pastoral retirement. Unlike Adeline who is surrounded by fear, suspicion, and dissembling, Emily's life has been one of the innocence and tranquility of an undisturbed pastoral retreat. It is only after St. Aubert's death that questions about his past - and therefore the validity of his virtue and hers - arise.

When the ancient-sin-of-the-father trope presents itself in *Udolpho*, it is not the first incursion of the gothic within the pastoral. At midnight in Languedoc, Emily, St. Aubert, and La Voisin hear the gothic music of Laurentini, a decidedly gothic character. The following night Emily looks out on the sublimity of the landscape that in the dark becomes gothic in its obscurity - despite being pastoral in the daylight. I will discuss both of these instances in the subsequent section on music; however, in exploring ideas of Emily's character, it is significant to keep in mind that these gothic incursions into the pastoral space have already suggested a lack of definitive boundaries between the two.

When the ancient-sin-of-the-father trope presents itself after St. Aubert's death, we have already been through repeated scenes in which Radcliffe has pointedly asserted the

conventional ideals of the pastoral space: first in the landscape, then in St. Aubert, and then in Emily in quick succession. With the commitment to the idea of the connection between those ideals and characters being reinforced continually through the first six chapters, indeed until St. Aubert's death when this gothic trope presents itself at La Vallée, not only do questions of Emily's parentage arise but of her self as well. We have been inculcated with the assurance of the parallels between St. Aubert and Emily, which are both asserted as virtuously pastoral from the opening pages of the novel.

Miles contends generally that 'the figure of the father testifies to the internalization of some ancestral sin', but Radcliffe's portrayal of St. Aubert as a model of generosity and pastoral freedom for Emily rejects this generalised father figure standardisation (*Gothic* 203). While this common gothic topos presents itself in novels such as Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and Radcliffe's own *The Romance of the Forest* and *A Sicilian Romance*, and is the catalyst for much action in these three texts, I would argue that contrary to embodying centuries of sin, as Miles suggests, St. Aubert is representative of the centuries-old ideals of the pastoral retreat. These mores mark his character with an innocence indicative of the space in which he is raised and to which he chooses to return, which frees Emily rather than trapping her into a lineage of corruption.

This gothic trope of the ancient-sin-of-the-father has invaded not just the pastoral setting but the domestic space of the heroine, customarily the territory of the gothic. Ferguson Ellis notes that gothic authors 'mark off' the house as 'an area to be purified from the demands of absolute obedience levied in the name of a contaminated religion and a contaminated domestic ideology' (51). This is seen in countless gothic novels where abbeys,

castles, and ruins are tyrannically ruled over by duplicitous father figures, with *Udolpho* marking a significant exception.

I would argue the pastoral retreat at La Vallée combats the obligation to purification within the gothic on several levels. Most notable is that it is not a gothic domestic space. The opening page of the novel describes the ‘pastoral landscapes’ that surround the St. Aubert home; they are comprised of ‘the soft green of the pastures’ with their ‘flocks, and herds, and simple cottages’ where ‘M. St. Aubert loved to wander, with his wife and daughter’ in ‘pastoral simplicity’ (1). Within this physical space, the house itself maintains comparably pastoral qualities with the ‘neat simplicity’ and ‘chaste simplicity’ of the ‘simple and elegant residence’ (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 2).

Additionally, St. Aubert is markedly antithetical to the corrupt gothic archetype of the father figure. The pastoral education St. Aubert imparts to Emily contrasts him with Radcliffe’s other fathers and father figures whose mercenary tendencies lead them to attempt to sell off their daughters for protection, money, or noble connections. Because of this, St. Aubert does not represent the corrupt ideology of the gothic that Ferguson Ellis proposes, in general, must be ‘purified’ from the domestic. Her principally accurate assessment of the domestic in the gothic emphasises the need to read *Udolpho* by attending to its exploration of the pastoral.

The domestic space here and the father figure who embodies it are anomalously informed by a set of conventions that are, on the surface, entirely contrary to those of the gothic and which both confront and challenge its tropes. In these confrontations, however, Radcliffe blurs any suggestion of definitive contrast and explores a dialectical relationship

between the pastoral and gothic, as I will discuss in the coming sections regarding music, mountains and the imagination, and Emily's confrontations with Montoni.

Miles goes further and specifically associates St. Aubert himself with the sin of sexual transgression, suggesting that after St. Aubert's death, when Emily is attempting to destroy his papers as she has promised, St. Aubert acts as a 'spectral countenance' to provoke a breach of their relationship and that their trust is broken by Emily's 'ascription of sexual guilt to her father' ('Radcliffe' 48). This conclusion does not take into account that Emily's potential violation of her promise is unrealised, and as I will detail, she repeatedly disavows any belief of her father's guilt when confronted with accusations against him in Languedoc. The paragraph describing Emily's actions and thoughts regarding her promise to her father and her accidental and only partial discovery of a fragment of information he entreated her to destroy stretches farther than the length of an entire page. Radcliffe concludes this protracted description of Emily in St. Aubert's closet with the very brief but very pointed sentence 'But the delusion was momentary' (103).

Just days after her father's death, we see Emily's assertion of her pastoral values in refusing to give in to gothic temptation. Emily goes on to voice aloud to herself 'I have given a solemn promise... to observe a solemn injunction... Let me hasten to remove the temptation, that would destroy my innocence, and embitter my life' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 103). Finally, Emily's conscious removal of, rather than giving in to, this alluring provocation reaffirms her commitment to the principles of her upbringing, engendered by Radcliffe's established pastoral ideals. Though we see Emily steadfastly avowing her confidence in her

father's innocence, it is clear the gothic has invaded the pastoral space in reference to the role of the father.

We will see this intermingling of gothic and pastoral again in the next section on music. Further, in the coming section regarding Emily's imagination, I will explore ways in which she herself comes to embody this binary when she is confined in the gothic space. Here, Emily's firm resistance to the gothic within her pastoral domestic space draws a clearer, though not definitive, line between the pastoral and gothic binary than we see later in the novel, as I will address throughout the chapter.

During this gothic test in her pastoral home, Emily assesses her past with her father, her immediate emotional reaction, and her hope for her future contentedness. Her reasoning, which - despite being alone - she goes so far as to verbalise, focuses on herself rather than her promise to her father. The remembrance of her 'solemn promise' leads her to 'remove temptation, that would destroy my innocence and embitter my life', not to obey her father's dying wish (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 103). Emily recognises the gothic temptation to act treacherously and dishonestly, and fearing the potential resulting repercussions for her sense of self, she questions neither herself nor her actions.

Destroying the papers here is a rational choice on Emily's part; however, throughout the novel, we see instances of her sensibility. She weeps after her mother's death, and her father chides her for her emotions, telling her 'all excess is vicious' (20). She is also 'was terrified almost to fainting' at their dangerous drive 'along the edge of a precipice' (30). We also often see Emily faced with gothic confrontations that would seem naturally to engender reactions of sensibility, such as here in the form of this gothic trope. Though she is

sometimes tempted and sometimes overcome by emotion, she does often instead revert to the peaceful calm of the pastoral retreat whose values were instilled in her by St. Aubert. Patricia Meyer Spacks observes that 'by the last decade of the century, even those who celebrated the force of sensibility (Radcliffe, for instance) also criticized it' (*Desire* 238). I would suggest that this is what we see here, much like the later instance when, after seeing the 'horror of the chamber... the strength of her resolution remedied the weakness of her frame' (249). The desire to remain in 'innocence' and not to 'embitter' herself when confronted with this ancient-sin-of-the-father, a distinct desire to hold steadfastly to her upbringing, is a steadfast reaffirmation of La Vallée as a pastoral retreat despite this intrusion of the gothic.

Moreover, the manifestation of the ancient-sin-of-the-father gothic trope in the pastoral setting at La Vallée seems to presage of Emily's coming trials at Udolpho. As I will detail in coming sections concerning those trials, Radcliffe mediates pastoral/gothic boundaries by articulating each within the other rather than having a strict division between each. Incursions into the pastoral by outside forces are not new; we see them in Longus's second-century *Daphnis and Chloe*, and in chapter one, I cite a number in Haywood's *Love in Excess* and *The British Recluse* written centuries later. While Radcliffe does have characters who represent each ideology and who are found in the seemingly opposing setting, Laurentini at Languedoc for instance, Radcliffe also writes her pastoral pervasions in a variety of forms including the music and the imagination, as I will address in the coming sections.

What Miles sees as Emily's conflict of conscience arises again in the closing pages of the novel. After leaving Tuscany, Emily is surprised by the gothic hiding - quite literally - in Languedoc in the form of Signora Laurentini who has been living in the monastery at St.

Claire under an assumed name with a fabricated past. Emily maintains her faith in her father's virtue. Though Emily is confronted with people continually remarking on her resemblance to the Marchioness de Villeroi - Dorothee, the nuns, Laurentini - and this would seem to hint at some mysterious machinations prior to her birth, Emily repeatedly reaffirms her faith in her father.

When Laurentini says to her 'you are the daughter of the Marchioness', Emily replies, 'I am the daughter of the late Mons. St. Aubert... and the lady you name is an utter stranger to me', but Laurentini counters, 'at least you believe so' (647). Laurentini's assurance of Emily's relation to the marchioness is due to 'the family likeness, that you bear her', but Emily 'remembering the extreme emotion which St. Aubert had betrayed on the mention of the Marchioness, would now have suffered something more than surprise, had her confidence in his integrity been less; as it was, she could not, for a moment, believe what the words of Laurentini insinuated' (647). The dichotomous confrontation between Emily who is unwavering in her certainty of St. Aubert's innocence and Laurentini who is unwavering in her certainty of the veracity of his corruption continues to blur the pastoral/gothic boundaries even after Emily's escape from Udolpho.

In these opening two sections of the chapter, I have detailed Radcliffe's initial foregrounding of the pastoral retreat as an ideology and Emily's connection to it, exploring how Emily fends off gothic temptation within the pastoral space. I would suggest this introduction to Emily in the opening chapters and the hints at her embodiment of the pastoral ideology encourage us to think of pastoral in dimensions of interiority that we have not seen in the previous works in chapters one and two. While we have explored the pastoral

boundaries, the retreat, and intruders, Radcliffe, early in *Udolpho*, begins to articulate the pastoral ideology as an existential framework. With this, she can reshape ways in which to articulate pastoral binaries as well as generic conventions such as the retreat and the imagination. In the following sections, I will examine how Radcliffe mediates various elements of the pastoral and the gothic in a reconsideration of their relationship, functions, and effects.

Music and the Pastoral Self

The duality of what, as I detailed in the introduction, McKeon calls ‘a spatial or geographical antithesis between country and city’ is highlighted in *Udolpho* with the disruption of each space by the more basic tenets of its opposing genre: the peace and safety of the pastoral retreat versus the fear and disconcertment of the gothic (268). From within *Udolpho*’s dark and desolate gothic depths, in Emily’s solitude following the death of her aunt, the clearest signal of the pastoral - that of its juxtaposition with its binary space - reveals itself to Emily. The forcefulness of this incongruity between the pastoral and the gothic is tempered by the manner through which it is conveyed: the generic pastoral convention of music.

As I will address throughout the remainder of the chapter, prevailing opinion in literary criticism categorises Emily as a gothic heroine: a helpless victim lacking agency and overwrought with emotion, but I have argued that attention to *Udolpho*’s engagement with pastoral conventions foregrounds both her freedom of movement and of mind as well as moved the pastoral retreat’s ideology beyond its conventional physical boundaries. In his

influential study of aesthetics, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), Edmund Burke theorises of the sublime that 'whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger... or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime*' (39). He later clarifies that this includes fear, suggesting that 'fear or terror, which is an apprehension of pain or death' manifests itself physically 'in proportion to the nearness of the cause, and the weakness of the subject' (130). Within *Udolpho*, which is built - in part - on the sublime, the fear inherent in the gothic space and conventions functions as the counterpoint to the pastoral retreat's tranquility. I will consider Burke's theories on the beautiful and the sublime in more detail in the coming section on imagination, but here I will look at ways in which fear in the gothic is challenged through pastoral mobility.

Fifteenth-century Italian humanist, writer, and leading figure in the Florentine Renaissance Cristoforo Landino defines Virgil's pastoral idea of 'libertas' as 'a term for excellence and greatness of spirit, when we cannot be coerced by any fear. Nay rather, relying on a good conscience, with free speech, we promote that which is honest and lawful' (Patterson 77). Though Landino - like most pastoral theorists, critics, and authors - references monetary or economic freedom, I would argue that as his postulation of 'coercion of fear', as he terms it, is a fundamental premise for the terror of the gothic, it holds significant relevance to Emily as a heroine. Though Emily clearly lacks freedom of movement while at *Udolpho*, and her surroundings and imagination do function to 'coerce fear', it is here that the conventions of the pastoral retreat offer her a sense of freedom to repudiate both the sublimity of that fear and her gothic confines.

While in her room at Udolpho, Emily hears ‘notes of distant music’ and rushes to her casement where the ‘soft melody... accompanied by a voice so full of pathos... stole over her mind, amidst the anguish of her present suffering, like a celestial strain, soothing, and reassuring [sic] her; - “Pleasant as the gale of spring, that sighs on the hunter’s ear, when he awakens from dreams of joy, and has heard the music of the spirits of the hill” (386). In this allusion to Ossian, which I will address in the following paragraphs, Emily comes to the erroneous conclusion that the music is made by Valancourt. Rather, it is Du Pont, who had also left the romantic verse for her in her parents’ fishing cabin in La Vallée. Poggioli notes of poetry and music that they ‘become avenues of escape from disappointment and sorrow’ and that ‘pastoral poets themselves... speak almost always of poetry and music as if they were one and the same thing’ (40). While this does not, when Emily hears the music at Udolpho, aid in clarifying the identity of the musician, it does reinforce the pastoral nature of the music she hears within the gothic castle, emphasising the binary juxtaposition of freedom and fear.

Upon hearing this music, Emily is reassured and relieved of the ‘anguish of her present suffering’. This anguish, and the potential to give into that distress, within the gothic Udolpho, I would argue, is reminiscent of Emily’s conflict upon finding St. Aubert’s papers in his closet. While not referencing the pastoral influences of her upbringing, Botting notes that Emily ‘is educated in the virtues of simplicity and domestic harmony. She is prone, however, to overindulge her sensibilities’ (60). Here, though, when that education reasserts itself, her inclination ‘to overindulge’ is tempered. Diane Long Hoeveler suggests that ‘the gothic feminist becomes a heroine because music and art... lead her to her rightful identity (61); however, she also proposes that ‘the ability to be touched by music and art -

characterizes all of the good, sentimental characters in the gothic universe' (60). Emily does at times give her self up to cathartic sensibility. However, though she is 'touched' by the music she hears, this reaction rouses her from the prospect of gratifying impulses to sensibility and frees her from intemperance as well as her suffering at the hands of gothic terrors and confinement.

The liberty Radcliffe writes within the pastoral is unlike the freedom and slavery of Virgil's first eclogue or of the freedom of sexual expression in several of Haywood's novels, as I argue in chapter one. In *Udolpho*, Radcliffe's representation of pastoral liberty offers a freedom from gothic fear. In this abstract representation of pastoral freedom, she explores the possibility of interiority, a mental or emotional freedom despite physical confinement, in the pastoral while rooting that possibility in the more concrete and recognisable pastoral convention of music.

In this scene, one of Radcliffe's many instances of intertextuality, she references Ossian: an ancient author invented by Scottish poet James Macpherson. Radcliffe herself notes the allusion; although, the work is neither pastoral nor gothic; it is an epic poem in which Ossian, the narrator, focuses primarily on battles, hunts, unhappy loves, and losses. Though Emily is being held in the gothic castle of Udolpho at the time of this reference, the parallel, I would argue, is within the idea of the memories of physical landscape: for Emily this is La Vallée and its connotations, as I will detail further. Henry Okun, in 'Ossian in Painting', surmises the same connection for Ossian and his comrades as I do for Emily: 'the landscapes... and the sentiments that surround them, manage somewhat to sustain them' (328).

The memory that sustains Emily, however, is of the pastoral retreat, which her imagination manifests within Udolpho. She vividly imagines the physical space of La Vallée, its surroundings, and the source of her pastoral self: St. Aubert. While at her casement, she hears pastoral music entirely incompatible with her gothic surroundings. Following the allusion to Ossian, Radcliffe describes that Emily's

emotion can scarcely be imagined, when she heard sung, with the taste and simplicity of true feeling, one of the popular airs of her native province, to which she had so often listened with delight, when a child, and which she had so often heard her father repeat! To this well-known song, never, till now, heard but in her native country, her heart melted, while the memory of past times returned. The pleasant, peaceful scenes of Gascony, the tenderness and goodness of her parents, the taste and simplicity of her former life – all rose to her fancy, and formed a picture, so sweet and glowing, so strikingly contrasted with the scenes, the characters and the dangers, which now surrounded her.

(Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 386)

As consequential to the generic pastoral as the music Emily hears, which I will continue to address, is the pastoral's most primary of dualities: the country versus the city or, as Radcliffe has magnified it, the country versus the gothic, which she specifically iterates in this passage.

One significant element of reading *Udolpho* as a pastoral is the sense of freedom, rather than enclosure, with which the novel initially introduces Emily's character. As in this passage, this is confronted in her time at Udolpho, but initially, we are encouraged to think of her not as a typical gothic heroine but as a pastoral heroine who embodies its generic

freedom. This initial and prolonged pastoral freedom is evident in the early pages of the novel when she journeys through ‘the verdure of woods and pastures’ (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 43), climbs to ‘a little green summit, where the trees opened’ (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 45), and ‘surveyed with delight... the cedar, fir, and cypress, which stretched nearly to their highest summits’ and the ‘cheerful green of the beech’ (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 41). This freedom exhibited in the settings of the natural landscape later serves to highlight Emily’s gothic confinement.

Radcliffe is clearly aware of this conflict as it asserts itself continually throughout the novel and is directly addressed in her essay ‘On the Supernatural’ (posthumously published in 1826). Though focused in the essay on juxtaposed spaces with regard to the pastoral versus its collocated, corrupt setting, Radcliffe does not use the word pastoral. She does, however, address the pastoral ideal and elucidate the dangers of ‘an intercourse with the world’ outside the natural retreat (169).²⁴ Additionally, she is concerned with the presentation of this duality and its ensuing impact. She denounces directors of *Hamlet* (1609) who sabotage dramatic effect with an incongruity between space and emotion. She writes,

In the scene where Horatio breaks his secret to Hamlet, Shakspeare [sic], still true to the touch of circumstances, makes the time evening, and marks it by the very words of Hamlet, ‘Good even, sir,’ which Hanmer and Warburton changed, without any reason, to ‘good morning,’ thus making Horatio relate his most interesting and solemn story by the clear light of the cheerfullest [sic] part of the day; when busy sounds are

²⁴ With regard to John Dryden, Radcliffe considers his intercourse with the city ‘too often humiliating to his morals, and destructive of his sensibility’ (169-170).

stirring, and the sun itself seems to contradict every doubtful tale, and
lessen every feeling of terror. The discord of this must immediately be
understood by those who have bowed the willing soul to the poet. (168)

In the pastoral bookends of *Udolpho* and the pastoral congruity of her characters within that physical space, Radcliffe creates a narrative representation of her theory on the importance of the connection between presentation of that setting and feeling.

While Radcliffe's criticism of the production of *Hamlet* focuses on temporal rather than spatial settings, the repercussions of the presentation of the 'clear light of the cheerfullest [sic] part of the day' present themselves in the physical setting with the 'busy sounds' and in the characters themselves whose dialogue and tone clash with Horatio's solemnity. However, she does emphasise that there are scenes in which contrast serves to heighten rather than detract from the emotional element. In 'On the Supernatural', Mr. S. responds to the critique of Hanmer and Warburton's production of *Hamlet* by asking, "How happens it then," said Mr. S--,"that objects of terror sometimes strike us very forcibly, when introduced into scenes of gaiety and splendour, as, for instance, in the Banquet scene in *Macbeth*?" and is told, 'They strike, then, chiefly by the force of contrast' (168).

This, I would argue is the principle that Radcliffe follows when she repeatedly contrasts Emily's pastoral innocence and, in the Ossian passage, the music with the gothic setting and its related terrors. It is the very binary opposition articulated in the Ossian passage where Emily's imagination reacts to the music by bringing about a picture that is 'sweet and glowing' and 'strikingly contrasted' with the 'profound stillness' of her room where she sat on her 'dark and desolate couch' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 386). The music here

creates the kind of incongruity that Radcliffe suggests can be used effectively to ‘strike’, and in creating that discord between visual and auditory imagery, Radcliffe opens the door for an exploration of other pastoral ideas such as the imagination and liberty.

While I will address the idea of imagination and the resulting consequences of its intervention in the coming sections, the idea of music in *Udolpho* is first presented in the opening chapters, which are set in the pastoral retreat. Though we later see a confluence of pastoral and gothic, there is an early staging of the pastoral foundation in genre, interiority, landscape, and ideology as well in music. This foundation, while functionally keeping the ideals of the pastoral retreat intact throughout the text, provides a stable point of departure for questioning the boundaries between the pastoral and the gothic. Music blurs those boundaries – physical and generic – when it emerges in the pastoral and in the gothic settings and sets the imagination in motion both pastorally and gothically.

While it is Emily’s imagination that reaffirms her commitment to the ideals of the pastoral retreat, as I will address in the sections on pastoral boundaries and on Montoni, in this passage her imagination is stimulated by music, an art repeatedly associated with the pastoral. In his *Eclogues*, Virgil writes, ‘You are masters / Of music, you Arcadians’ (43), and Meliboeus opens Virgil’s first eclogue observing to Tityrus ‘here you loll, your slim reed-pipe serenading / The woodland spirit beneath a spread of sheltering beech’ (1). In this dialogue, Tityrus is idly playing his pipe within the safety of his pastoral space; whereas, Meliboeus has been evicted from the pastoral retreat and is exiled into its oppositional space devoid of the ensured protection the retreat provides. As I noted in chapter one was also the case in *The British Recluse*, here too we see a connection to the generic protection and safety in the

‘sheltering beech’ and in Meliboeus’s lament that he ‘must leave my home place, the fields so dear to me / ...but you can take it easy / In shade’ (1). Virgil, with these opening lines to the first eclogue, signifies the pastoral space’s association with the protection and safety to be found in nature while signalling the freedom to be found in the security of the pastoral retreat celebrated in music.

In the Ossian passage in *Udolpho*, the presence of music with pastoral connotations within the gothic space signals both the pastoral’s authorial and cultural significance. Long Hoeveler’s declaration that ‘female gothic novels’ are ‘in fact orchestrated by an acoustics of pain, toxic nostalgia, and desire’ emphasises the need to challenge readings of *Udolpho* as strictly a gothic novel (85). Rather than succumbing to these, Emily is freed from her gothic constraints by the music which mediates for her a separate, safe space, though of the mind, within the gothic. This is the same confrontation Tityrus and Meliboeus together present in Virgil’s first eclogue, but in *Udolpho*, it is Emily alone who bears the weight of the generic duality in a juxtaposition of pastoral interiority with the physical confines of the gothic. Within this space of fear and terror, the music here provides her ‘hopes... so new’ (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 386).

All music within the novel cannot, as Long Hoeveler contends, be dismissed as merely the ‘trappings and paraphernalia of the gothic’ alone (101). Pastoral music emerges throughout the text in various spaces. Radcliffe writes that Emily listens with ‘delight’ (9) to Du Pont’s music at the fishing cabin; M. Quesnel’s chateau is notable for the absence of the ‘song of conviviality’ that was characteristic of St. Aubert’s youth there (22); and Radcliffe

describes the untroubled atmosphere of the ‘romantic town of Leucate’ where St. Aubert and Emily ‘caught the joyous song, that was wafted on the breeze’ (60).

The music Emily hears here following the allusion to Ossian clearly embraces the ideals of her pastoral retreat; the references to La Vallée’s simplicity and peace emphasise the duality with her current gothic surroundings while articulating a consideration of the possibilities of the pastoral as a force of interiority and virtue. This instance of the pastoral within the gothic reasserts the foundational pastoral premise of her character and the pastoral retreat’s customary liberty and peace even within gothic confines. The juxtapositions here, though, are not only pastoral and gothic, peace and fear, or even freedom and confinement. Music generates these generic binaries, but supplementary to those are the abstract and the material.

Emily’s confinement is literal; she is locked in Udolpho. Her freedom, however, is abstract; it is of the mind and the imagination. Though her literal freedom will come later in the novel, here the oppositions between the pastoral and the gothic are further muddled. Emily is a mechanism through which Radcliffe deploys the pastoral into the gothic, not only in confrontation but competition. Emily can be, is in fact, ‘free’ while still being ‘confined’. This seems to raise questions about the legitimacy of either – or both – of those terms and states of being. They work in opposition and in collaboration, both generating and rejecting absolute spatial, generic, or cognitive boundaries.

As I have noted, music is a significant aspect of life at La Vallée; however, Emily and St. Aubert encounter music at Languedoc whose origins and function evoke dialectical but entirely contrasting reactions and emotions to the pastoral music Emily hears at La Vallée

and Udolpho. When Emily and St. Aubert are sitting with La Voisin near Chateau Le-Blanc and St. Clair, they hear music that La Voisin tells them might make one 'think the woods were haunted', and when St. Aubert asks does no one have the 'courage to follow the sounds', La Voisin tells him 'the people have at last been afraid of being led into harm, and would go no further [sic]' (68-69). The origins of this music are unknown in part one of the novel, but in the penultimate chapter, they are revealed to be Laurentini, a character decidedly associated with corruption in the forms of murder, lust, betrayal, jealousy, corruption, dissimulation, and vengeance.

Laurentini's influence, though, I would argue, is foreshadowed by 'that bright planet', Venus, that rises when the music begins (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 69). Bending notes that Venus carries connotations of the 'erotic' (*Retreats* 27) and 'venereal pleasures' (*Retreats* 29),²⁵ and though his study specifically concerns landscape gardens throughout the eighteenth century, the landscape garden culture was so pervasive that Venus would have communicated easily recognisable connotations. With express reference to the pastoral, Poggioli notes the 'beauty of a woman of the world, of a glamorous mistress or paramour, of that kind of woman who in the rhetoric of love is sometimes called a siren (a Venus or Cleopatra...) is out of place in the eclogue' (52).²⁶ Though the music is superstitiously associated with death by the shepherds and people of the village and though Laurentini herself was the cause of the

²⁵ Eighteenth-century erotic literature such as *Venus in the Cloister* (1692 and 1725), *The School of Venus* (1725 and 1745), *The Nightly Sports of Venus; Or, The Pleasures of Coition* (1785), and *Venus School Mistress* (1788) reinforce the carnal associations of the allusion.

²⁶ Upon their return from Venice into the gothic Udolpho, the Marquis de Villeroi, who has proposed to Laurentini, becomes aware of the 'dangerous traits of her character and the blemishes of her late conduct', and he is convinced 'he had been deceived in her character and she, whom he had designed for his wife, afterwards became his mistress' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 656).

marchioness's death, it is Laurentini's corrupt licentiousness that was the catalyst for her and the marquis's actions, the guilty consequences of which perpetuate the disquietude of the countryside all these years later through her music.

Venus and the music emerge and disappear together again on the following night, the night of St. Aubert's death. Much like Emily's position at Udolpho when she hears the pastoral music, this night she also moves to her casement. In the Ossian passage, when she hears the pastoral music, Emily is immersed in the gothic: trapped in its castle, held captive by its characters, menaced by obscurity and fear that prey on her imagination. The power of the tenets of the pastoral retreat in her imagination, however, overcome gothic sublimity to create a clarity of mind that not only evokes a vivid picture of her pastoral past but reasserts the interiority born of her upbringing in the pastoral retreat.

On the night of St. Aubert's death, rather than creating a pastoral atmosphere which 'rose to her fancy, and formed a picture' as it does in the gothic Udolpho (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 386), here the music is paired with a sublime obscurity, that quality which 'seems in general to be necessary', Burke observes, 'to make any thing very terrible' (59). Upon opening the window, the atmosphere is made terrible when Emily finds that 'obscurity prevented her from distinguishing any object on the green platform below', and she is 'chilled with a melancholy awe' (84). The confusion and trepidation sown by the gothic as the music magnifies the darkness and fear emphasises the need to recognise the pastoral when it presents itself, even within the gothic. The 'hope', 'joy', and 'tenderness' Emily experiences upon hearing the pastoral music during her gothic confinement is juxtaposed with her emotional reaction to the sublime strains she hears in its contrasting physical space

(Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 388). There she is ‘chilled with a superstitious awe,’ and these divergent reactions present a visual and an emotional manifestation of dualities (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 84).

The first music Emily hears in the castle at Udolpho is neither pastoral nor comforting but linked to this music from the night of her father’s death. From her casement in the gothic Udolpho, she ‘observed the same planet, which she had seen in Languedoc... when suddenly the notes of sweet music passed on the air’, but rather than a suffusion of peace and comfort, Emily is filled with ‘a superstitious dread’, ‘fear’, and ‘trembling expectation’ (330). Venus again brings connotations of corruption and death, and though it ‘seemed to her, as if her dead father had spoken to her in that strain, to inspire her with comfort and confidence... reason told her, that this was a wild conjecture, and she was inclined to dismiss it’ (330).

Pastoral ‘reason’ versus ‘wild conjecture’ that stokes gothic fear stemming from Emily’s reaction to music functions as an interior representation of a generic pastoral duality in Radcliffe’s heroine’s gothic test. Confronting the pastoral’s oppositional force through an exploration of the dialectical nature of the pastoral/gothic dynamic highlights their dependency of each on the other. Further, Emily’s sense of self, which has been rooted in the pastoral retreat’s ideals from the start of the novel, maintains its pastoralism as a cornerstone against which to consider that dependency and the boundaries that attempt to define the oppositional nature of their binary.

Spatial and Cognitive Dualities: Mountains and the Imagination

The pastoral and gothic contain shared elements that I will argue Radcliffe juxtaposes in her collocation of the two genres and ideologies, and I propose that, in addition to music, we see these generic aspects through both the tangible and the transcendental. In a demonstration that the freedom Radcliffe's mediation of boundaries manifests is neither solely physical nor mental but an inextricable combination of the two, the shared pastoral and gothic elements specifically present themselves in the form of the mountainous landscapes and the imagination.

In chapter five, Radcliffe begins a detailed description of a quintessential pastoral landscape through which Emily, St. Aubert, and Valancourt are traveling: 'little woody recesses appeared among the mountains, covered with bright verdure and flowers; or a pastoral valley opened its grassy bosom in the shade of the cliffs' (*Udolpho* 48-49). In a gothic novel, mountains and shades of cliffs quite naturally offer gothic connotations: danger, darkness, sublimity, and perhaps the unknown or insurmountable. In his study of vastness, Burke notes that 'greatness of dimension, is a powerful cause of the sublime' (71) and that 'extension is either in length, height, or depth. Of these the length strikes the least; an hundred yards of even ground will never work such an effect as a tower an [sic] hundred yards high, or a rock or mountain of that altitude' (72). Despite Radcliffe's zealous application of Burke's sublime theory, in this specific scene, she appropriates what should be a gothic aspect – in literature and landscape – and rearticulates it as a pastoral marker even outside the original retreat at La Vallée. Radcliffe's inclusion of the pastoral mountains here also echoes works of her pastoralist predecessors. As I will detail, it contrasts this specific

iteration of the landscape with Emily's first observations upon her arrival at Udolpho and complements the pastoral mountains she encounters upon her escape.

Pastoral mountains are not unprecedented. In 'Summer' of James Thomson's series *The Seasons* (1710) he describes 'Happy Britannia!' where 'on thy mountains flocks / Bleat numberless' (Barrell and Bull 310),²⁷ and further back, in Theocritus's 'Idyll II', Polyphemus professes to his would-be lover Galatea, 'I fell in love with you, my sweet, when first you came / ...to gather flowers of hyacinth / On the mountain' (33). The inclusion of mountains in the pastoral scene here in *Udolpho* where they offer recesses and shade is also reminiscent of Virgil's Arcadia in his *Eclogues*. Gifford notes Virgil's 'Arcadia is significantly an alpine region that is cut off on all sides by other high mountains. It is the perfect location for a poetic paradise' (20).

This protective space of the pastoral retreat - customarily of love, happiness, sheep, and flowers - offers a stark contrast to the sublime gothic aesthetic as Burke observes that 'an immense mountain covered with shining green turf' is not as 'productive of the sublime' as a mountain scene which is 'dark and gloomy' (81). Darkness and gloom are evident at the first sight of Udolpho. Upon initially arriving at the castle at twilight, Emily was overcome by 'the gothic greatness of (Udolpho's) features, and its mouldering walls of dark grey stone, [which] rendered it a gloomy and sublime object. As she gazed, the light died away on its walls, leaving a melancholy purple tint... as the thin vapour crept up the mountain' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 226-227). I will contrast the dying light with the emergence of light when Emily finally escapes Udolpho later in the section; however, here Radcliffe follows Burke's theory

²⁷ Radcliffe cites Thomson's 'Summer' on pages fifteen and seventeen, though not these lines, in the early pages of the novel when she is establishing her pastoral foundation for the text and for Emily.

regarding colour which is 'productive of the sublime', that 'in buildings, when the highest degree of the sublime is intended, the materials and ornaments ought neither to be white, nor green, nor yellow, nor blue, nor of a pale red, nor violet, nor spotted, but of sad and fuscous colours, as black, or brown, or deep purple, and the like' (81-82).

Radcliffe's articulation of Burke's theory on colour not only emphasises the duality of the opposing landscapes through this detail but - like music - through the emotional reactions brought about by each. Rather than the 'enthusiasm' and 'delightful emotions' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 49) of the pastoral mountains, upon seeing Udolpho, Emily 'gazed with melancholy awe' upon this 'melancholy purple tint' until she is finally filled with 'fearful emotions' regarding her situation in this gothic setting (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 227). The original sense of peace and safety are replaced by fear and dread.

Upon Emily's escape from Udolpho with her maid Annette, Annette's lover Ludovico, and Emily's rejected suitor Du Pont, they travel through the mountains in 'wilds so desolate, that they appeared, on the first glance, as if no human being had ever trode [sic] them before' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 454). The peace and safety of the group is signaled, however, when they hear 'from a distance... the faint tinkling of a sheep-bell [sic]; and, soon after, the bleat of flocks' which had been concealed by 'intervening mountains' that surrounded Montoni's territory (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 454).²⁸ When they hear this, they are 'cheered by this

²⁸ Within the pastoral recesses and valleys of the initial pastoral mountain passage, we also see the conventionally pastoral 'flocks and herds loitering along the banks of a rivulet, that refreshed it with perpetual green' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 49). This invocation of the 'flock' in two of Radcliffe's pastoral passages is the traditional prelude to countless pastoral stories. John Lyly's drama *Galatea* (1577) opens with Galatea telling her father 'whilst our flock doth roam up and down this pleasant green you shall recount to me, if it please you, for what cause this tree was dedicated unto Neptune' (32). The first lines of Baptista Mantuanus's fifteenth-century *Eclogues* are 'Friend Faustus, pray thee, once our flock in shade and pleasaunt [sic]

hope' and eventually come 'upon one of those pastoral vallies [sic] of the Apennines, which might be painted for a scene of Arcadia' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 454). As in the original mountain scene, the mountain here offers a promise of safety, and in their escape, we see the juxtaposition of that safety with their previous confinement.

As part of the pastoral, mountains echo the centuries-old practice of protection and peace. As part of the gothic space, they foster a menacing space of fear and danger. Radcliffe reclaims the meaning of enclosure, through the pastoral, to articulate it as freedom rather than restriction. This overlap, however, in pastoral and gothic aesthetics – the differentiation of which seems to be determined more by light, colour, and denizens (sheep or marauders) than literal, physical landscape – suggests an unsettlingly close connection between the pastoral and the gothic. The contiguity of these comparable physical landscapes highlights in material form what Radcliffe has suggested in the imagination, as I will detail in this section, and music; the boundary between these two seemingly divergent spaces and sets of ideals is elusive. Attention to these pastoral elements, however, allows the literary and cultural implications of various distinctions to make each side clear while simultaneously suggesting underlying similarities.

The pastoral and gothic both carry their own generic conventions: simply put, the peace, safety, and innocence of the pastoral and the dread, obscurity, and terror of the gothic. However, as both are spaces of fantasy that serve to address the inadequacies of the world outside those spaces, the inherent duality of the generic pastoral works especially effectively in

bale doth chew the cuddle of auncient [sic] love let us begin to tale [sic]' (175), and in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, (1599) upon Rosalind's initial entry into the pastoral landscape, as she speaks to the first person she meets, Corin the shepherd, she says, 'I pray thee... buy thou the cottage, pasture and the flock' (2.4.90-91).

conjunction with the gothic with an emphasis on fulfilling the limitations with which the pastoral is concerned. In a country versus city pastoral, the country fulfills a fantasy the city cannot achieve. As I detailed in chapter two, we see this in the poetry of mid-eighteenth-century female pastoralists: a longing for a space where female friendship can flourish outside of worldly concerns and marriage. Haywood explores the pastoral retreat as a space for the expression or fulfillment of female desire. For Emily, the retreat is articulated at its most rudimentary: simply a safe space of peace and innocence; although, Radcliffe is interested in exploring ideas of literal and mental confinement through the binary relationship of both spaces.

Udolpho's gothic aspects have been repeatedly read through the lens of Burke's sublime. Ferguson Ellis proposes that 'Radcliffe used Burke as the theoretical base for her work' (xvi), and similarly, Terry Castle concludes that 'the contemporary theory of the sublime [was] a central philosophical influence on [Radcliffe's] writing', that her 'debt to Burke is profound', and that 'above all, her sense of the sublimity of nature... is Burkean in essence' (675). Though Kristin M. Gerten goes on to discuss 'Kantian freedom' and ways in which Radcliffe emulates but also deviates from Burke, she acknowledges that 'from the time of their publication, Radcliffe's novels have been associated with contemporaneous theories of the sublime and, specifically, with Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*' (716-717). While critics generally concur, to varying degrees, about the influence of Burke's sublime, there are clear reasons to read the opposing duality of the gothic in the light of the pastoral rather than solely according to Burke's definition of the beautiful.

The most conspicuous reason is that Radcliffe identifies her opening scene - La Vallée: Emily's home - as pastoral. As I have argued in the opening sections of this chapter, this device foregrounds not only the aesthetic landscape of the genre but the tenets of safety and innocence associated with that space. This means that when physical landscapes arise later in the novel that correspond with these aesthetic and spatial values,²⁹ as they do here when Emily escapes Udolpho, they signal those same associations as the opening scenes at La Vallée.

Further, I have argued throughout the chapter that Emily is a reflection of the ideals of the pastoral retreat first inculcated in her in the pastoral setting of her homeland in the opening chapters. While the dual nature of the pastoral manifests itself in the gothic's invasion of that pastoral space, Emily maintains the virtue associated with the retreat. With regard to 'the beautiful', Burke, however, maintains that he 'confine[s his] definition to the merely sensible qualities of things' (91). He justifies this by further theorising that our conflation of beauty and virtue is erroneous and due only to the former's 'strong tendency to confound our idea of things' (111). Burke purports to discount references to the beautiful as anything other than physical appearance; therefore, the generically inherent corruption in the gothic of *Udolpho* is most accurately confronted in a pastoral reading of the novel which moves the discussion beyond aesthetics of landscape or the heroine.

To read Radcliffe's non-sublime landscapes as 'beautiful' rather than pastoral is to disregard the dualities of the novel and to focus only on the physical distinctions of different

²⁹ Radcliffe notes the 'pastoral landscapes' (1), 'pastoral simplicity' of St. Aubert's life (1), 'pastoral supper of cream and fruits' (5), 'pastoral valley' (35), 'pastoral valley' (49), 'pastoral luxury' of their outdoor feast (67), 'tranquil beauty of the pastoral scenery' (167), the 'pastoral scenery' (171), 'pastoral scenes' (226), 'images of pastoral beauty' (242), 'charms of sylvan and pastoral landscape united' (455), 'beauty of sylvan and pastoral landscape' (462).

spaces. While Burke associates pain, danger, terror, and fear with the sublime, as I noted in the previous section, the conventions of the novel that function simultaneously as competing and dialectical oppositions are proclaimed pastoral from the start of the novel. While Burke suggests the motivation of the sublime is terror, as I noted with regard to pastoral liberty in reference to music, his enquiry into the beautiful concludes that people's 'loose and inaccurate manner of speaking' about beauty has 'misled us both in the theory of taste and morals; and induced us to remove the science of our duties from their proper basis... to rest it upon foundations altogether visionary and unsubstantial' (111). He notes that beauty is also 'no creature to our reason' nor does it have 'any reference to use' (112). Burke's theory regarding 'the beautiful' is largely concerned with proportion, perfection, size, gradation, colour, and other aspects pertaining to visual aesthetics.

In repudiating proportion as an element of the beautiful, Burke extolls the beauty of the rose and apple blossom and then asks, 'what by general consent is allowed to be a more beautiful object than an orange tree, flourishing at once with its leaves, its blossoms, and its fruit?' (94). He continues throughout his *Enquiry* to discuss smoothness 'in trees and flowers... slopes of earth... streams... coats of birds and beasts' (113), the variation of a 'beautiful bird' (114), and the delicacy of the myrtle, orange, almond, jessamine, and vine (115). These are, however, a catalogue of visual principles.

When he, briefly, reflects on the reaction 'the beautiful' engenders, he defines it as 'that quality or those qualities in bodies by which they cause love, or some passion similar to it. I confine this definition to the merely sensible qualities of things' (91). He reiterates this same theory of reaction with regard to various aesthetics throughout parts four and five (92,

158, 110, 154, 155, 157) and also explains their relation to terror (112) and to the sublime and terrible (113). In clarifying beauty and love's seemingly interdependent relationship, Burke explains that love is 'that satisfaction which arises to the mind upon contemplating any thing beautiful, of whatsoever nature it may be' (91). Love of something 'pleasant', though, while powerful - and subjective - is not as comprehensive to experience as the pastoral (Burke 120, 150, 152).

There are instances in *Udolpho* that echo Burke's theory of the beautiful. Radcliffe describes 'the soft green of the pastures' on page one, and her awareness of his theory is clear in various illustrations throughout the novel (1). Burke does not 'now recollect any thing beautiful that is not smooth' (113), and Radcliffe depicts this in 'the smoothness of the water' in Venice and 'its reflected images' (184). Burke extolls the beauty of softened light (157), and Radcliffe's 'moon shone with a clear lustre' (360). Regarding the appeal of clarity to the eye, he says 'we are pleased' with it (118), and in a like manner, tells us, 'the beautiful in *Feeling*' gives us 'the same species of pleasure' (120). If we return to Radcliffe's illustration of Emily's vision of La Vallée and her emotional reaction to it prompted by music in the Ossian passage from the previous section, Radcliffe does describe the scene as 'pleasant', which is in line with Burke's supposition, but the pastoral, rather than simply the beautiful, vision moves beyond that.

Radcliffe's pastoral retreat could clearly be read aesthetically according to Burke's theory, but the significance of the space for Emily is in the conjuration of the 'peaceful scenes', 'the taste and simplicity of her former life', and her parents who - at this stage of the novel - signal the pastoral ideology of Emily's upbringing, the very force that has brought this

vision to her in the gothic *Udolpho*. To reiterate, Radcliffe tells us Emily's 'emotion can scarcely be imagined' and that 'her heart melted'. Emily's emotional reaction to the scene, which instills in her a feeling of comfort and safety from her childhood, articulates further emotional dimensions than Burke's love. There is an obvious overlap in the visual aesthetics of the beautiful and the pastoral; however, a pastoral binary moves beyond finding pain in the sublime and pleasure or love in beauty.

The significance of the pastoralism of the vision is the binary of virtue or innocence versus corruption: the pastoral ideology which laid the foundation for Emily's upbringing versus her current gothic surroundings. As I noted, Burke has said the beautiful is unrelated to virtue, but virtue and its related term innocence are long-recognised tenets of the pastoral retreat. Though set in a larger supposition about the analogous relationship 'between herders and heroes' in the story of Paris, Gutzwiller recounts 'Heracles' choice between virtue and vice' (29). In a discussion of shepherd equivalents and the conventional 'figure of the old virtuous shepherd', Alpers notes Orlando's lines describing Adam 'present Adam as... "a model of pastoral virtue"' (202), and McKeon notes innocence and corruption as one of the 'familiar' sets of pastoral dualities (268).

The pastoral has, in its generic make-up, elements that directly affect the people living in or even temporarily retreating into that space with regard to the practical - if fanciful - removal from the corruption of the corresponding space. The 'beautiful' is a category of aesthetics, and Burke's insistence on 'the science' confines his discussion of it to its physical traits and his theory on why we should not conflate those with 'morals' (111). The pastoral retreat, though it could possibly conform aesthetically to Burke's 'beautiful' and though it is a

space of fantasy, is a representation of the possibilities within that fantasy. Generically, the pastoral has the potential to offer a means of social, political, gender, economic, and religious criticism, and as I have suggested in this chapter, in conjunction with the gothic, Radcliffe poses questions that would not be possible within a space defined only by its physical attractions and repulsions.

The pastoral landscape into which Emily escapes from Udolpho is not significant solely because of its physical beauty or because of the absence of terror or threat of pain compared with the sublimity of the castle and its surrounding landscape. Radcliffe describes the 'light' and 'simplicity' in a scene that 'might be painted for a scene of Arcadia' which 'are finely contrasted by the grandeur of the snow-topt [sic] mountains above' which signal safety and a lack of corruption (454). As the party descends into this Apennin-ian Arcadia, Radcliffe describes the 'morning light... upon the brow of a hill, which seemed to peep from "under the opening eye-lids [sic] of the morn"' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 454). While Burke does address this form of light, he does so merely as a rejection of the sublime effect, noting 'mere light is too common a thing to make a strong impression on the mind, and without a strong impression nothing can be sublime' (79). This is not an endorsement of the 'beauty' of the scene because the light in this passage signals more than simple illumination. Morning light, as I have noted, Radcliffe declares is the 'cheerfullest [sic] part of the day', bringing not only literal light but emotional and atmospheric connotations as well ('Supernatural' 168).

In addition to using the words pastoral and Arcadia, here, though not cited in Castle's footnotes, is the significant inclusion of Milton's famed pastoral elegy 'Lycidas' (1637), written in memory of Edward King, Milton's friend and academic rival at Cambridge.

While Radcliffe very briefly references several other of Milton's works throughout the novel,³⁰ I would suggest the significance with 'Lycidas' specifically here is in the shift between the second and the third stanzas in which this line is found with the first two. The natural elements with which Milton begins the poem are in vivid opposition to the bright sun that begins the third stanza.

The 'Laurels', 'Myrtles brown', and 'Berries harsh and crude' that the narrator has 'com [sic] to pluck... with forc'd fingers rude' foretell of what Milton informs us several lines later is Lycidas's death 'ere his prime' (Barrell and Bull 185). For two stanzas Milton laments his friend until he begins his reminiscence of their time at Cambridge with a pastoral analogy of the two as shepherds: 'under the opening eye-lids [sic] of the morn, we drove a field... batt'ning our flocks' (Barrell and Bull 186). The salient point for Radcliffe's passage in *Udolpho* is the shift from lament to the sun signalling a new day and new endeavours. I would propose this same shift is signified in Radcliffe's move from the gothic on one side of the mountain, to the decent into a new epoch for Emily that commences after her escape from *Udolpho*. While this begins here with their escape, which is only hours in the past, the sentiment is reinforced with Radcliffe's only other reference to 'Lycidas' in *Udolpho*, which closes the following chapter with Lycidas's concluding line of hope and futurity: 'To-morrow [sic] to fresh woods and pastures new' (475).

An exploration of the pastoral landscape in the initial mountainous passage, however, reveals further pastoral implications. Here, St. Aubert 'smiled, and sighed at the romantic picture of felicity his fancy drew', 'sighed again to think, that nature and simplicity were so

³⁰ Radcliffe references 'L'Allegro' (3), *Comus* (70) (272) (357) (389) (670), 'Il Penseroso' (352) (629), and 'O Nightingale' (501).

little known to the world', and is 'pursing this train of thought' on the value of the pastoral landscape (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 49). St. Aubert's sighs are accompanied by smiling, romantic pictures, felicity, and his imagination. These trains of thought, after the descriptions of the setting, connect St. Aubert - and therefore Emily who I argue throughout the chapter inherits her pastoralism from him - with the landscape. We see these feelings of felicity and safety through the pastoral imagination repeatedly emerge within the gothic castle of Udolpho. I address the idea of the imagination further in the final section regarding Montoni, but in this quintessentially pastoral scene, it is significant to note the imagination originates in the pastoral space and with St. Aubert from whom Emily inherits it.

Johnson, though, is critical of imagination as it pertains to the pastoral, what Radcliffe calls 'fancy', which he sees as a distraction from reality. I would argue Emily's imagination, as it relates to images of the pastoral space at La Vallée, functions as a mechanism of mental and emotional escapism much like the pastoral space itself functions as a physical retreat. Radcliffe, however, while maintaining the customary escapism of the genre, offers an alternative, purposeful function for the imagination. In Emily, it is iterated as a catalyst for action rather than an evasion or denial of reality.

In Johnson's pastoral *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (1759), he portrays an imagination that he sees as dangerous. The princess, Rasselas's sister Nekayah, says she will not allow myself anymore to play the shepherdess in my waking dreams. I have often soothed my thoughts with the quiet and innocence of pastoral employments, till I have in my chamber heard the winds whistle, and the sheep bleat; sometimes freed the lambs entangled in the thicket, and sometimes with

my crook encountered the wolf. I have a dress like that of the village maids, which I put on to help my imagination, and a pipe, on which I play softly, and suppose myself followed by my flocks. (94)

Nekayah's imagination, however, is an illusion. Radcliffe reshapes not the purpose of the imagination but the actuality of the content. The purpose for both Nekayah and Emily is escape; however, Nekayah's summons of her imagination is an act of fantasy. Emily's imagination is a recollection of memories. As I will detail further in the section on Montoni, visions of the pastoral retreat from her past sustain her while she is confined in Udolpho.

Burke asserts that 'the mind of man possesses a sort of creative power of its own' and 'this power is called Imagination [sic]; and to this belongs whatever is called wit, fancy, invention, and the like' (17). As it relates to the pastoral retreat, Radcliffe's narrative version of Emily's imagination corresponds with Burke's theory that the imagination must be 'images of things in the order and manner in which they were received by the senses, or in combining those images in a new manner, and according to a different order' (17). Though he claims 'this power' is 'creative', he also maintains that, with regard to our imagination, we cannot 'produce anything absolutely new' (17-18). This is the form Emily's imagination takes when it conjures the pastoral retreat, which differentiates it from Nekayah's and therefore rejects Johnson's criticism of the imagination in the pastoral as an idle fancy. When Emily's mind is taken out of its gothic surroundings, it reestablishes itself in the pastoral at La Vallée in Emily's memories.

At Udolpho, we see Emily's imagination asserts itself in another form. This is a variation from the pastoral associations of her imagination in several ways, the most pertinent

of which is that while the pastoral images of her imagination are made up of memories, the gothic illusions of her imagination are pure invention. Because of this, her gothic imagination has few boundaries, and it does run away with her at times, causing her to imagine banditti in the forest, to presume the presence of a rotting corpse in the room two doors down from hers, to surmise Madame Montoni's death on circumstantial evidence, and to project quasi-supernatural qualities onto the shadowy figure on the battlements. This is not, however, 'imagination' in line with Burke's definition. While he goes on to explain that 'the imagination is the most extensive province of pleasure and pain, as it is the region of our fears and our hopes', that pain and fear must be based in previous experiences (18). While the initial incitements of Emily's gothic imaginings are based on fragments of things she observes, they are not - as a whole - based in her reality.

There is a correlation between these gothic chimeras and Johnson's idea of the imagination as it relates to the pastoral: experiences or situations created in the mind based not on the reality of memories but from fanciful ideas meant, in Emily's case, to stoke fear. Conventionally, the imagination based in the idea of the pastoral retreat is simply a pleasing escape from reality, but this paralysing gothic form of the imagination, which Johnson dislikes for its overwhelming ability to distract the imaginer, functions identically for Emily. Radcliffe's reconditioning of this form of distracting imagination creates the source of Emily's terror.

Radcliffe writes in 'On the Supernatural' that Shakespeare, Milton, and 'Mr. Burke by his reasoning... agree that terror is a very high [source of the sublime]; and where lies the great difference between horror and terror, but in the uncertainty and obscurity, that

accompany the first, respecting the dreaded evil' (168). Unlike the pastoral memories of her imagination, her uncertainty is what stokes Emily's gothic chimeras. The gothic images and sensations originate not from experience but from insinuation based on the obscured unknown: a hurried glance in a unlocked room known to contain a secret, a kind of urban legend regarding the castle and Montoni's past, unidentifiable figures and sounds in the distance.

Mystery is necessary for terror to take hold, and that obscurity is a source of the sublime. Obscurity, and in turn these gothic fabrications of Emily's imagination based on the unknown, is what makes the gothic, for Emily, terrifying. It is Emily's 'known' - her familiar pastoral space of the retreat and her familial, domestic life within it - that is the 'power' Burke applies to the imagination. Radcliffe relies on the unknown as a source of terror in her other gothic novels: the mystery of the hidden chamber in the abbey of *The Romance of the Forest*, the ghostly tumult in *A Sicilian Romance*, and the masked identity of the monk in *The Italian*. For the characters of these novels, the power does not shift until the revelations at the ends of the texts that explain away any mysteries or supposedly supernatural occurrences.

In *Udolpho*, with Emily and her imagination, Radcliffe asks if it is not possible for there to be a force within the gothic that counters it. Emily's interiority is no longer only based in her upbringing in the pastoral retreat but is an existential realization of fantasy both pastoral and gothic. Both genres address an inadequacy of the normal or the present day in some sense, and this emergence of dual representations of imagination signals a confrontation between the memory of virtue, safety, and peace of the pastoral retreat and the threat to that life in the form of gothic corruption.

As with mountains, Radcliffe addresses both pastoral and gothic representations in the imagination, and her portrayal contradicts Johnson's assertion of the dangers of indulging in the fancy of pastoral escapism. In *Udolpho*, it is the imagination excited by the terrors that result from incarceration and obscurity, that are a threat to the heroine's agency and sense of self. For Emily this selfhood is rooted in the pastoral retreat's ideals. Antithetically, rather than being a distraction from real life and its duties that lulls the heroine into inaction, Radcliffe's portrayal of the pastoral images in the imagination sees it as the catalyst that buoys the heroine to action by recalling to her the freedom inherent in her pastoral retreat.

While Nekayah and Emily indulge in the pastoral as escapism, unlike Nekayah who employs it as a distraction from reality, Emily fortifies herself through her pastoral memories and associations. When Emily recalls Morano's words that Montoni 'would not quit the castle *he dared to call his*, nor willingly leave *another* murder on his conscience', her imagination turns to the ghost story of the castle's previous owner Laurentini who she imagines Montoni murdered presumably both in revenge for Laurentini spurning his advances and in order to expedite his inheritance (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 284). In an attempt to 'divert her anxiety' at being in the hands of a murderer, Emily 'took down from her little library a volume of her favourite Ariosto; but his wild imagery and rich invention could not long enchant her attention; his spells did not reach her heart, and over her sleeping fancy they played, without awakening it' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 284).

In a reiteration of Addison's 'The Pleasures of the Imagination' where he theorises 'a description in Homer has charmed more readers than a chapter in Aristotle', philosophy

does little to comfort Emily or to ‘awaken’ her ‘fancy’ (Addison 94). She, therefore, ‘put aside the book’ and turns to the pastoral, taking up ‘her lute, for it was seldom that her sufferings refused to yield to the magic of sweet sounds’ (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 284). In ‘Rambler 36’ Johnson, too, asserts that pastoral images are ‘more than adequate to the strongest reason, and severest contemplation’, and it is into these retreats Emily retires to combat her gothic confinement (*Rambler*). Here we see the binary of the pastoral and gothic within the imagination, and its various articulations raise questions regarding the representation, origin, and function of ‘imagination’ itself.

Pastoral Heroine - Gothic Power

At *Udolpho*, when confronted with Montoni and imprisoned in the gothic castle, the pastoral images in Emily’s imagination reassert the freedom inherent in that retreat, compelling her to confront Montoni and fight against her captivity. I argue that Montoni embodies the gothic and the patriarchal confinement that genre represents; however, Emily’s imagination, when fortified by memories of her pastoral past, allows her both to confront the gothic within its own space and to access one of its own tropes in doing so. Having delineated Radcliffe’s reconsideration of the imagination in the previous section, I will move on to specify how this reveals itself when Emily is confronted by Montoni, how her engagement with the gothic trope of power further obscures the gothic/pastoral boundary within the gothic space, and how Radcliffe’s exploration of interiority informs a reading of Emily’s test in the gothic that moves beyond ways in which we have seen other female authors challenge their heroines.

In contrast to St. Aubert, Montoni reveals himself as the conventional tyrannical gothic father figure. Ferguson Ellis relates the widely held view that the 'medieval landscape of the Gothic novel becomes an analogue for the corrupt, male-dominated world' (48). While agreeing with this as a general guide to the gothic, I would add that, with regard to *Udolpho* specifically, this analysis serves to emphasise the significance of the pastoral as one side of the duality with the gothic while asserting the pastoral nature of St. Aubert, as I detail in the second section. (48). In a polarity to St. Aubert's tranquil innocence, Montoni's character, 'unprincipled, dauntless, cruel and enterprising, seemed to fit him for [leader of the banditti]... his very courage was a sort of animal ferocity' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 358). Though St. Aubert and Montoni are representative father figures of the generic duality between pastoral and gothic ideals, it is Emily's internalisation of the pastoral ideology that confronts the gothic Montoni in *Udolpho*.

Montoni is characterised in identical terms by both Emily and Madame Montoni. When Morano invades Emily's room at *Udolpho*, he is stabbed by Montoni who orders his removal from the castle regardless of Morano's seemingly mortal wound and there being little shelter within close distance of the castle. Emily, despite her abhorrence and terror of Morano, 'pleaded a cause of common humanity, with the feelings of warmest benevolence' for the 'senseless' Morano, but Montoni, 'with a monster's cruelty, again ordered his defeated enemy to be taken from the castle' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 267). In the next chapter, Emily's aunt laments being 'chained for life to such a vile, deceitful, cruel monster' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 281).

I suggest it is this inhuman characterisation in these monstrous terms that enables the representation of Montoni's authority as an unassailable force. This serves, then, not only to evoke general fear but to highlight the binary opposition within Emily's imagination between freedom and confinement, as I have discussed regarding music, and her character and Montoni, as I will examine in this section. Within *Udolpho*, the invasion of the pastoral characters, landscape, and ideology in the form of Emily's imagination challenges the gothic's monstrosity and the power that Montoni holds.

The idea that Emily's virtue, and therefore character, are tested within the gothic is well-established. Davison argues the gothic is 'ever critical of cloistered, untested virtue, and so Emily's theoretical education is, subsequent to the deaths of her parents, subjected to some fairly severe practical tests' (100). I contend that an identification of her virtue as the object of that test - as Ellis, Long Hoeveler, and Davison among others note - does not fully consider the significance of Emily's character. Emily's pastoral origin is the source of both her virtue and, I argue, her ability to prevail in her conflict with her gothic confinement, despite being removed from the pastoral's physical space and resituated in the gothic.

Out of a sense of preservation for her aunt, Emily advises Madame Montoni to sign over her property rather than risk Montoni's anger and violence. After Montoni kills Madame Montoni and turns his attention to Emily, though, she refuses to resign to him her property at La Vallée and her aunt's estate in Toulouse. Prior to appearing before him, her imagination presents her with the image of her pastoral lover Valancourt and their future life in that pastoral retreat. It is for his 'sake also she determined to preserve these estates, since they would afford that competency, by which she hoped to secure the comfort of their future

lives' in her pastoral homeland (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 379). Emily's brief respite in the pastoral retreat of her imagination defends against the thought that Montoni would 'employ some stratagem for obtaining' the deeds to her aunt's property and La Vallée, and 'instead of overcoming her with despondency, [it] roused all the latent powers of her fortitude into action' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 379). These 'latent powers', I would argue, suggest a complexity to Emily's character beyond pastoral innocence.

While images of the pastoral retreat in Emily's imagination have displaced her gothic fears and isolation, the gothic also invades her imagination and exploits her emotional reaction to her surroundings as well as redraws the boundary between the pastoral and the gothic. Though we see these competing forces underpin ideas that promote a dialectical but opposing relationship between the pastoral and gothic, their corresponding manifestations within Emily challenge this. This is further complicated by the revelation that Emily has 'latent' potential for authority and control: antagonistic ideals suited for the pastoral's oppositional space but not the pastoral retreat itself.

Power is antithetical to the pastoral retreat but not necessarily to the generic pastoral. Power, however, is quintessentially gothic, and Emily's unfulfilled potential for asserting it strengthens the duality between the two. An engagement of dialectical oppositions is inherent in the pastoral, but until this point in the novel, representations of Emily as one who embodies the ideals of the pastoral retreat had been evinced repeatedly. Here, however, she asserts the gothic desire for power.

In the gothic *Udolpho*, Emily recalls the first lessons St. Aubert teaches her in La Vallée when he 'instructed her to... acquire that steady dignity of mind, that can alone

counterbalance the passions, and bear us... above the reach of circumstances' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 5). Though Emily's current circumstances are gothic, the pastoral memories that assert themselves in her imagination here displace the fear and obscurity founded in gothic convention. Emily calls to mind her pastoral past. Upon retiring to her room, she

thought again of the late conversation with Montoni, and of the evil she might expect from opposition to his will. But his power did not appear so terrible to her imagination, as it was wont to do: a sacred pride was in her heart, that taught it to swell against the pressure of injustice... for the first time, she felt the full extent of her own superiority to Montoni, and despised the authority, which, till now, she had only feared. (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 381-82)

The gothic visions of Montoni as a murderer that have run wild in her imagination have been overcome, the motivation of which stems from memories of her pastoral past.

In Eugenia C. DeLamotte's *Perils of the Night: A Feminist Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic*, she writes that 'the "fear of power" embodied in Gothic romance is a fear... of social forces' (Davison 92). I would suggest Emily challenges these social forces that are manifested in the gothic through visions of the pastoral retreat: itself conventionally an escape from those forces. It is also these social, as well as physical, constraints I argue Emily overcomes in her evocation of the pastoral within the gothic. The 'fear of power' typical of a gothic heroine is displaced by Radcliffe's evocation of the pastoral retreat's ideals in the form of Emily, which challenges Montoni's gothic embodiment of patriarchy in a confrontation of the pastoral's binary oppositions.

Between Emily and Montoni, the pastoral binary of innocence versus corruption is manifested here through the gothic convention of control. Again, Emily notes that Montoni's 'power did not appear so terrible', and she 'felt the full extent of her superiority', seemingly, then, confident in her own ability to assert control over him (381-82). While Montoni retains a steady trajectory of gothic immorality, this new-found capacity - even desire - for power raises concerns about Emily and in turn the boundaries of pastoral and gothic. She now evinces the ability and impulse to fulfill a kind of gothic fantasy. *Udolpho*'s internal trial of the pastoral female in 'the city' intensifies various other iterations of the same convention.

In *The History of Ophelia* and *Evelina*, we see similar storylines of young women raised in the pastoral retreat only to find themselves in the country's contrasting space of the city. Ophelia and Evelina are subjected to trials of comportment and manners in the city away from their pastoral upbringings. They attend parties, balls, and social events whose cultural practices are alien to them. Both must learn through trial and error how to navigate those situations and people either by adopting manners befitting their new surroundings or remaining inconspicuous enough not to draw unwanted attention to their rejection of societal mores. Both observe their surroundings and those observations are reported and reflected on to the reader, but neither Ophelia nor Evelina have recourse to interiority. They are, like Emily, inculcated with a pastoral ideology and their tests are of character; however, these trials look outward.

What we see in *Udolpho* is a confrontation between pastoral and gothic values that takes place in Emily's mind. Emily's confinement and a degree of her terror in the gothic is

certainly based on very real threats. I would not, like some critics, argue that Emily is a kind of gothic coquet, happy in varying degrees - and perhaps even aroused at - being pursued by rapists and murders.³¹ Troubling as they are to Emily, these are, though, conventional gothic menaces. Beyond this, having the pastoral binary of virtue versus corruption played out in Emily's mind complicates the articulation of the pastoral ideology on which Radcliffe has initially laid the foundation of Emily's character. Further, this well-established pastoral duality is articulated through the gothic concern of the heroine's interiority.

While Radcliffe is alert to the physical sexual threat and rapaciousness of violence in the gothic, she is also mapping out the complexities of the mind as a mean to explore an internal psychology through existential questions regarding Emily. Emily's interiority complicates more clear-cut delineations of character and situations that we have seen in previous pastoral texts. In Haywood's amatory pastorals of chapter one, the intruder enters the physical space of the past retreat. While Haywood questions societal constructs of virtue, as I have argued, in *Udolpho*, the pastoral space is Emily's mind, and this is where the intrusion happens. Radcliffe's investigation into interiority articulates a variation on dimensions of character that Haywood, Burney, Fielding, and Hamilton emphatically assert are static.

Hamilton's *Munster Village* begins with a characterisation of the imminently corrupt Lord Munster: a man who would not be out of place in a Radcliffe novel, though here his behaviour, and subsequent death, become the catalyst for his daughter's charitable, utopian

³¹ See Ellis's *The History of Gothic Fiction*, Long Hoeveler's *Gothic Feminism: The Professionalization of Gender from Charlotte Smith to the Brontës*, and Miles's *Gothic Writing, 1750-1820, A Genealogy* and Davison's where she refutes Frederick Frank and Robert Kiely who also claim this (103-104).

community. Owing to a trifling and insignificant slight by the king, 'his having been refused a ribbon by his Sovereign', Lord Munster removes himself from court and sets up his life in the country (3). Hamilton is adamant, though, that he 'in vain sought... happiness in a retreat, which his crimes made it impossible he should ever find' (3). The self, Hamilton seems to suggest, is constant. Lord Munster is corrupt and remains so regardless of whether he situates himself in the city or the country.

Fielding evinces this same stance regarding inborn identity in *The History of Ophelia* when, in the end, Ophelia twists herself into knots attempting to justify marrying her kidnapper and would-be seducer, Lord Dorchester. She forgives him, citing 'the pernicious Education and Examples, which had created any Blemishes in a Mind that seemed naturally virtuous and upright', a mind temporarily corrupted owing only to him being born in the city but which is in fact intrinsically 'country' (273). However, she assures herself he is possessed of a 'mind' in accordance with her own ideals born in the pastoral retreat. Emily's actions in *Udolpho* seems to question this premise.

I would suggest that while Emily may have 'latent powers of fortitude' (Radcliffe, *Udolpho* 379) and a desire to enact them, she also craves liberty from the oppression of the gothic, a freedom to which she is accustomed in the pastoral retreat. Emily's gothic impulses, however, are galvanised by pastoral desires. Emily's conflict with Montoni is an antagonistic engagement between two opposites. Up until Madam Montoni's death, Radcliffe has clearly drawn these two characters as 'pastoral' and 'gothic' respectively. Emily's desires, however, take on gothic and pastoral associations: power and freedom. Her power, though, is embraced to regain her liberty, to regain her pastoral space, and to reject the gothic.

Engaging Emily and Montoni in a battle for power within the gothic setting accesses a spectrum of possibilities for the pastoral/gothic duality. These possibilities include the pervasive effects of the spaces themselves, possible internalisation of conflicting ideals, and ideological ramifications for the self. Emily's motivations, though, are still rooted in her pastoral retreat's ideals. Montoni's desperate quest for power is avaricious. Emily's is to hold fast to her pastoral self. The pastoral memories of her imagination urge her to fight to reclaim her pastoral freedom through the means of this gothic trope, further muddling the boundary between pastoral and gothic and evincing, in this 'gothic' novel at least, their mutually dependent relationship.

The effectiveness and usefulness of an imagination spurred on by pastoral images is predicated on not succumbing to that imagination. As I have argued, Radcliffe resituates both the motivation and the outcome of the imagination, combating the frivolousness of mere escapism. Emily's imagination, summoned to contest the fears of the gothic, galvanises her into an action uncharacteristic of a gothic - or pastoral - heroine. The pastoral in Emily's imagination is both of the mind and her reaction to her gothic confinement. Though Emily's gothic fantasies compound and hyperbolise the danger found in her surroundings, Radcliffe rejects the mental and physical confinement of the gothic by displacing the gothic even within its own space.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have argued that Radcliffe amalgamates the pastoral and the gothic, but rather than setting each in the kind of geographic juxtaposition I discuss in

chapters one and two, Radcliffe deploys the pastoral ideology into the gothic space and the gothic ideology into the pastoral space and in doing so blurs generic boundaries. I argue that Radcliffe inaugurates *The Mysteries of Udolpho* in pastoral rather than gothic convention in a marked divergence from typical gothic practice. In doing so, she sets up the foundation of the novel, against which the elements of music, mountains, and the imagination will be staged.

In framing this gothic novel as initially pastoral, Radcliffe presents us with an equally atypical father figure, who I argue is the basis through which we read Emily's character throughout the text. St. Aubert's pastoral identity is inherited by Emily and serves as a point of departure against which we then look at other pastoral and gothic elements. Emily's engagement with these elements of the pastoral and the gothic, I have argued, serve ultimately to present her as a pastoral heroine. Though her identity and resolve are challenged within *Udolpho*, as is typical for a gothic novel, I argue Emily prevails in this archetypal test due in large part to her internalising of the pastoral ideology.

In considering various iterations of pastoral representation, I have argued that Radcliffe perpetuates an exploration of the relationship between the pastoral and the gothic in a repeated staging that blurs boundaries between the two. Radcliffe engages in representations of both pastoral and gothic music, allowing each to present itself both within its own and its opposing space, creating in Emily a sense of dread and foreboding even within the pastoral space and a offering her a sense of peace and security within the gothic space. Further, Radcliffe articulates pastoral mountains as sheltering spaces against gothic representations of sublimity and obscurity, and her iteration of pastoral and gothic

mountains both perpetuates the connection and also - somewhat paradoxically - the stark opposition between the generic pastoral and the gothic.

Emily's imagination, like Radcliffe's representations of music, asserts itself through pastoral and through gothic images. I argue Radcliffe marshals the idea of pastoral and exploits its transportive powers as a kind of meditative pastoral space within Emily's imagination while Emily is confined in *Udolpho*. Though Emily and Montoni foil one another as archetypal characters of good and evil, I argue this good in Emily comes not only from her repudiation of the gothic as we see in other gothic novels but from her pastoral self, which is inherited from her father and emphatically articulated from the start of the novel. Radcliffe represents St. Aubert as a typical pastoral character in the retreat after having rejected the city, who now lives a life immersed in simplicity and a connection to the pastoral retreat and its ideology.

In pushing pastoral ideology beyond its customary boundary of retreat, Radcliffe raises questions of the self and of the binary structure of the generic pastoral by confronting the gothic and pastoral's shared ideas of music, landscape, imagination and the fundamental country versus city duality. In repositioning sides of those shared elements into their oppositional spaces, Radcliffe explores the interdependent relationships of seemingly dichotomous conventions. Further, she challenges the reader to reconsider not the pastoral itself but the boundaries customarily ascribed to it, and she articulates the possibility of a shift in those lines.

Even within the gothic, Emily's unrelenting agency and confrontations with Montoni evince her pastoralism, spurred on by her origins at La Vallée, her visions of that space, her

father, and memories of Valancourt. This is the freedom Radcliffe's rearticulation of the pastoral celebrates. Consequently, her articulation of the pastoral questions but then reinforces Emily's existential significance. I would argue that engaging in a discussion of the pastoral binaries as they repeatedly assert themselves within opposition spaces in the text offers a reading that substantiates *The Mysteries of Udolpho* as a pastoral, as well as a gothic, novel.

Conclusion

Through an examination of eighteenth-century and current criticism as well as comparative and close readings, I have examined the five primary texts with which this thesis is concerned with specific attention to the amalgamation of the generic pastoral with the amatory, utopian, and gothic genres and to the pastoral dualities presented in these miscegenetic works. In comparing and contrasting genres, I uncovered how the juxtaposition of the pastoral with the amatory, feminist utopian, and gothic genres serves to emphasise the pastoral's somewhat paradoxical ability to be both traditional and versatile. I have concentrated on the ideology of the pastoral with attention in chapters one and two to women's roles inside and outside the retreat. I have analysed how the fluidity of pastoral conventions aid in our further and continued study of how female-authored representations of the pastoral explore female characters, their situations, and social concerns.

Writing about 'material conditions as gender relations', McKeon observes that 'the increasingly unequal sexual division of labor, which because it made men more than before the principal visible inhabitants of the rural landscape, established them as heirs apparent to the role of pastoral personage whose natural authenticity was more persuasively gendered female' (283). This analysis references social culture rather than literary texts, but the consequences of this shift in gender relations was, as McKeon notes, of interest to eighteenth-century pastoralists and critics. Relegating women to the domestic effectively erased them from the pastoral space. I have argued throughout this thesis that eighteenth-century female pastoralists foreground female concerns and/or

agency in articulations of the generic pastoral. These texts by Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe - and the works of other eighteenth-century female pastoralists - encourage us to continue to rethink any perceived literary erasure.

I have read *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, *Lasselia*, *Millenium Hall*, and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* against other contemporary pastoral, amatory, utopian, and gothic texts; however, moving beyond a primary focus on the pastoral as an amalgamation with these genres and into in-depth analysis or criticism - such as but not limited to those concerning economic issues, other genres, or landscape theory - is not within the scope of this thesis. This thesis is also not a study in the form of the novel. While this classification was initiated and developed throughout the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, an examination into what does and does not constitute a novel is beyond the breadth of a project concerned with the already-vast subject of the pastoral, its binaries, its many and varied forms of elasticity, its convergence with three other genres, the people situated within its spaces, and the social structures various iterations of the pastoral call into question. In consideration of this, the term novel has been absented in favour of the more-apt term narrative, or simply 'text', in chapter one where its accuracy could be most debatable.

Of narrative pastorals, Alpers notes, 'a piece of fiction can be called pastoral when its author - for whatever reason, with whatever awareness, and concerned with whatever subject or theme - has recourse to usages which are characteristic of older pastorals and which in turn make a tale or novel pastoral' (376). Through an engagement with the pastoral's easily recognisable, though eminently pliable, conventions I have highlighted the retreat's catalytic function - variously - as a space of safety, perpetuity, liberty, interiority, and female

exploration. Further, I have argued that these Haywood, Scott, and Radcliffe have ‘recourse to usages’ of the genre in their attempted investigations of fantasy versus social reality in their articulations of pastoral dualities.

Haywood considers possibilities of permissibility and indulgence in her assertion of the presence of egalitarian sexual desire in the retreats of *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia* as well as in the prohibition of that desire in the retreat’s oppositional space. Haywood’s pastoral retreats embrace both the liberty and safety of the space to empower her female characters sexually and to highlight the societal association between corruption and female desire outside the retreat. In doing so, Haywood brings attention to violence within the pastoral space, absenting sexual violence against women that, for some of her pastoral predecessors, was a generic given. Haywood’s narratives are distinctly amatory in their exclusion of sexual violence and in their focus on the female and the limited but also far-reaching concern of female sexuality.

Though the sexual liberty of Haywood’s retreats are, as I detail in chapter one, often disrupted by Haywood’s famous interrupter, while physically simply a relative, maid, wife, or neighbour, they are ideological representations of the world beyond come to reassert the shame and corruption associated with female sexuality outside the retreat. This intruder is a fundamental literary convention of the amatory narrative, but Haywood’s deployment of it into the pastoral retreat serves as a constant reminder of the dialectical relationship in Haywood’s amatory narratives between the country and the city, permissibility and impermissibility, innocence and corruption. In *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, and *Lasselia*, Haywood repeatedly circumvents pastoral boundaries in both an exploration of possibility to

be found in the pastoral retreat and of the impossibility of indulging that which rejects social reality so thoroughly.

Scott's reconsideration of the pastoral retreat establishes a permanent female-centred community and realises solutions to concerns of the Bluestockings by rejecting societal strictures of idleness and isolation. In absenting the leisure of the pastoral in favour of the productivity of a utopia, Scott further challenges conventional notions of the languid and affected female. I have evidenced these issues of lack of employment and lack of female companionship in Bluestocking correspondence of Elizabeth Carter, Mrs. Delany, and Elizabeth Montagu, Catherine Talbot, and Elizabeth Vesey and have read *Millenium Hall* against other literary works that exalt female friendship by Frances Brooke, Sarah Fielding, Elizabeth Griffiths, Charlotte Lennox, Katherine Philips, Miss Soper, and Jane West.

Though these women present the pastoral longing for a space of female friendship, only Fielding's *The History of Ophelia* and West's *A Gossip's Tale* touch on the issue of lack of occupation in the pastoral. Fielding and West, however, are more focused on representing societal absurdities; although, both do reflect briefly on the same reversal Scott evinces of *otium* in the city and *negotium* in the country. Hamilton's *Munster Village*, as a utopia similar to Scott's, proclaims the necessity of occupation and productivity. Scott's coalescence of the pastoral and the utopia, though, more thoroughly considers these two contemporary female concerns.

Like Scott, Radcliffe unshackles her heroine in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* from the pastoral's tradition of leisure and asserts her as an emissary of the generic ideals. For Radcliffe, this is a provocation of the patriarchal ideals that signal the pastoral's competing

force in the pastoral and gothic ideological conflict. Consideration of the dichotomy, the incorporation of the pastoral and of the gothic within their contrasting spaces, rather than simply alongside one another, encourages a reassessment of the boundaries of the pastoral and of the notions of *Udolpho* as a gothic novel and Emily as a gothic heroine. In *Udolpho*, the pastoral - renowned for its tranquility in the retreat, where we are first introduced to it at La Vallée - takes on an adversarial role with its hyperbolised convergence with the gothic rather than the conventional city.

Unlike Haywood and Scott, whose female founders assume their agency within the safety of their retreats, Radcliffe sends her heroine on a quest to confront the heightened version of the pastoral's contrast with city in Emily's foray into the gothic space and to challenge its inherent patriarchal confinement through an articulation of the pastoral ideology as interiority. For Emily, the pastoral retreat becomes a space of interiority that she accesses despite physically being situated in the gothic space. In his chapter 'Romantic Transformations', Botting notes, 'in the period dominated by Romanticism, gothic writing began to move inside, disturbing conventional social limits and notions of interiority and individuality. The internalisation of gothic forms represents the most significant shift in the genre, the gloom and darkness of sublime landscapes becoming external markers of inner mental and emotional states' (83-84). I would suggest that, in *Udolpho*, Radcliffe offers an early glimpse at the ideas of interiority through her articulation of Emily as a conflicted heroine. Radcliffe does return Emily to safety and virtue, a conventional ending of both the pastoral and gothic. While this seems to evince a limitation to Radcliffe's experiment, it does

offer an interesting complication to the pastoral in its expression of the retreat as space, character, and ideology.

Each chapter considers the binary relationships within the pastoral as they concern the various generic coalescences. While we cannot definitively mark the pastoral's development, evolution, or timeline, each iteration contributes to the critical conversation regarding the pastoral. The retreat is a safe space, both physically within the text and generically, and it is ideal, not only in its descriptions of an idyllic setting in the narrative but also in its capacity to encourage exploration of potential alternatives to the world beyond the retreat's borders.

This thesis has examined how these explorations are articulated in the amatory, utopian, and gothic texts. Haywood's repeated iterations of female assertions of sexual desire are safe within the space of the retreat. The three primary texts of chapter one also highlight various challenges to that desire in the form of incursions into the retreat and the consequences of pursuing desire outside it. While *Millenium Hall* also repeatedly moves between the country and the city, Scott structures 'the city' in a series of framed in-set narratives, isolated the world beyond the retreat both geographically within the narrative and structurally within the novel. Though Scott is more emphatic in her delineation of the two spaces than Haywood, Radcliffe blurs the distinction altogether by articulating the ideology of the pastoral retreat as interiority. In *Udolpho*, the country versus city binary is hyperbolised in La Vallée and its counterpart at Udolpho. Further, the pastoral manifests itself as in existential model of the genre with Emily's interiority at the forefront following the establishment of her character in the early chapters of the novel.

This study of the deployment of the pastoral into amatory, utopian, and gothic texts has revealed mindful explorations of the social situations in these amalgamations. Though widely read in their day and the object of varying approaches to literary criticism today, a detailed examination of *Love in Excess*, *The British Recluse*, *Lasselia*, *Millenium Hall*, and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* through the lens of pastoral dualities informs new dimensions of these female-authored works at a time when the pastoral was of profound significance to English literature.

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